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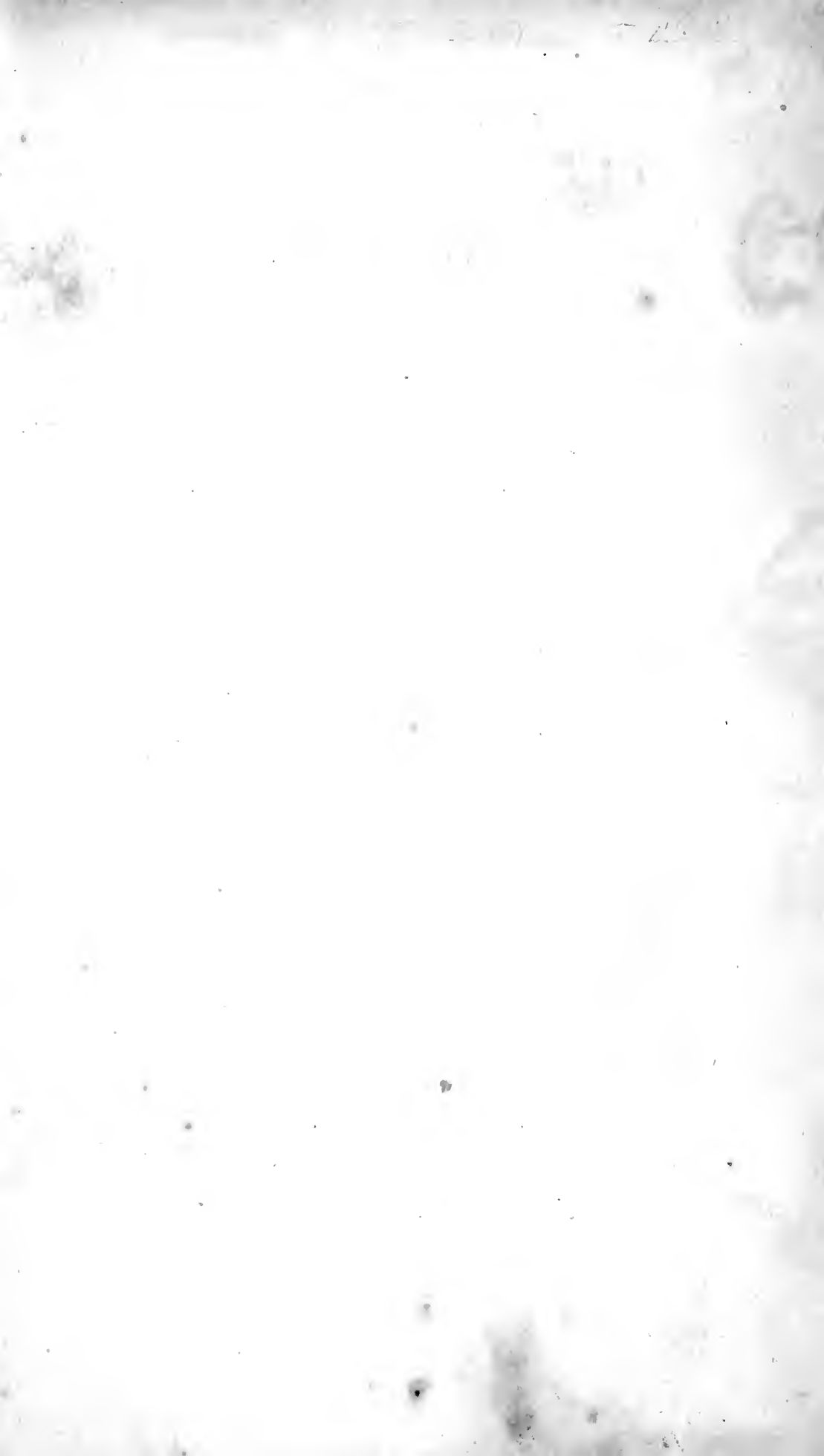
ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY

William H. Herndon is authority for the statement that Abraham Lincoln, while in business at New Salem with William Berry, read "Rollin's Ancient Histor." Wm. M. Thayer, in his book, "From Pioneer Home to the White House," adds that Lincoln borrowed books of this character from William and Bowlin Green, and from Mentor Graham.

See Herndon's Lincoln, page 113, and Thayer, page 253.

H. E. Barker







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CHARLES ROLLIN,
Born 1661. Died 1741.
Baltimore. Published by Geo. M. Dowell & Son.

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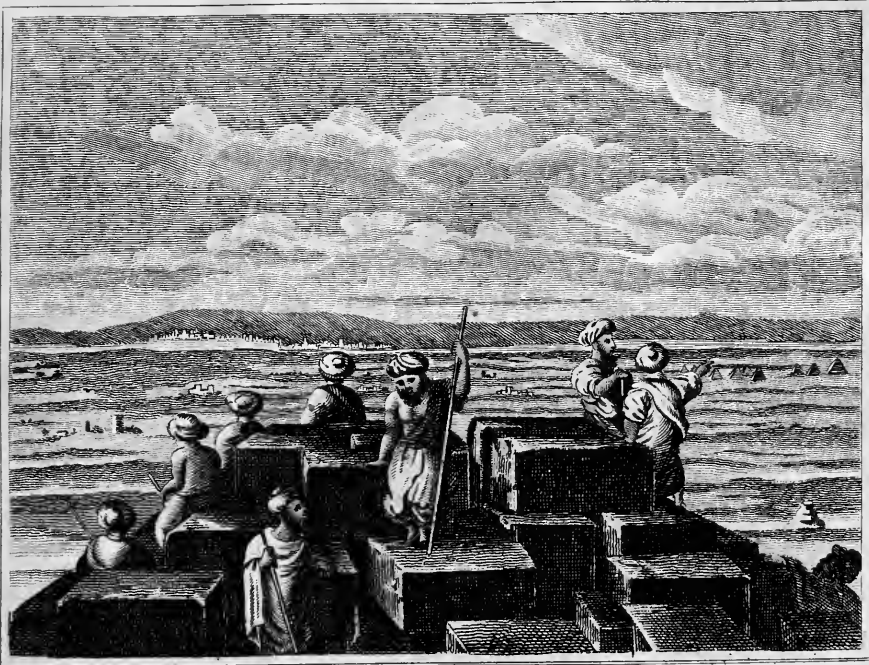
ANCIENT HISTORY
of the

*Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians,
Babylonians, Medes & Persians,
Macedonians & Grecians*

BY C. ROLLEN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



TOP OF THE FIRST PYRAMID OF GIZAH.

Horton.

BALTIMORE

Published by

GEO. MCDOWELL & SON,

212 Market Street.

1832.



THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE
**EGYPTIANS. CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS AND GRECIANS.**

BY CHARLES ROLLIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, PROFESSOR OF ELOQUENCE IN THE ROYAL COL-
LEGE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY THE REV. R. LYNAM, A. M.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

FROM THE LATEST LONDON EDITION, CAREFULLY REVISED AND CORRECTED.

BALTIMORE:
PUBLISHED BY GEO. M'DOWELL & SON,
212, MARKET STREET.

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1832.

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R. J. MATCHETT,
PRINTER.

TO THE PUBLIC.

To attempt any laboured panegyric of an author of so distinguished celebrity as **ROLLIN**, would be an arduous, as well as superfluous undertaking.

His profound erudition, the benevolence of his intentions, but above all, the piety of his sentiments, which clash with no sect or party among Christians, have already placed him high in the annals of fame, and have procured his writings an universal perusal.

A peculiar felicity has attended **Rollin** as an author. His various performances have not only been perused with avidity by the public at large; they have also merited the applause of the learned and ingenious. Writers of the most enlightened and of the most refined taste in polite literature, such as **Voltaire**, **Atterbury**, &c. have honoured him with the highest and most deserved encomiums.

So various is our author's information, and so consummate his knowledge in every subject which occupied his pen, that, viewing him in this light, we would be ready to imagine he had seldom stirred abroad from the studious and cloistered retirement of a college; but, on the other hand, when we consider the easy elegance for which his style is so remarkable, we are apt to conclude, that he passed part of his time in courts.

A circumstance which reflects the highest honour upon this author, is his uncommon modesty. Learning, which too often elates the mind, and produces a haughty air of superiority, had no such effect on **Rollin**. This great man, so far from delivering his sentiments in a dictatorial tone, ever speaks in terms the most unassuming.

No preceptor ever studied so carefully the genius and dispositions of youth, or adapted his information so successfully for their improvement, as our author. In all his works, it is not the pedagogue who instructs, but the fond parent--the amiable friend.

APPROBATION.

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 3, 1729.

I HAVE read, by order of the lord-keeper, a manuscript, entitled *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians and Greeks, &c.* In this work appear the same principles of religion, of probity, and the same happy endeavours to improve the minds of youth, which are so conspicuous in all the writings of this author. The present work is not confined merely to the instruction of young people, but may be of service to all persons in general, who will now have an opportunity of reading, in their native tongue, a great number of curious events, which before were known to few except the learned.

SECOURSSE.

MEMOIRS OF ROLLIN.



IT is a remarkable instance of literary injustice, that the Author of the Ancient History, while describing the events of empires, and delineating the manners of nations, and the characters of individuals, has been suffered (in this country at least) to have the actions of his own life condemned to the silence of utter oblivion. Numerous editions of these volumes have passed, in all forms, through the British press, without the smallest memoir having been conceded to the spotless fame of the learned writer. A curiosity to become acquainted with the lives of those whose works have gratified us, and a desire of comparing their actions in the turbulence of the world with their sentiments in the calm of the closet, are feelings so natural and universal, that we trust we shall not be refused the thanks of the English readers of Rollin, for endeavouring to supply, from the best sources to which we have access, a sketch of the life of the amiable historian.

Charles Rollin was born in the city of Paris, on the 30th of January, 1661. He derived no celebrity from his parentage: he was the second son of a cutler at Paris, and was originally destined, like his elder brother, to follow the business of his father. A Benedictine friar, whom he sometimes served at mass, discovered in him more intelligence and love of learning, than he could submit to see sacrificed to a mechanical occupation. He declared to Rollin's mother his opinion of her son's ability, and descanted upon the advantage of cultivating such eminent talents. The affectionate parent, who was a widow, thought herself precluded by necessity from a scheme which her discernment approved. She urged her inability to defray the expenses of a learned education for her son: but this obstacle being afterwards surmounted by the zeal of the benevolent ecclesiastic,* young Rollin was dismissed from toils to which he was superior, and full of eager delight comenced the more pleasing labours of the college.

He pursued his studies with that avidity 'which grows by what it feeds on;' and the wonderful celerity of his progress soon requited the patronage of his Benedictine friend. The amiableness of his heart disclosed itself as visibly as the quickness of his genius. The alteration of his views and circumstances did not swell his bosom into any disdain of his former condition; and his behaviour to his mother was changed in nothing, but the greater delicacy of his tenderness and submission. She was made to participate in the triumphs and honours of her son; as she often found, under her humble mansion, persons of high birth and eminent stations so-

* He obtained for young Rollin 'une bourse' at the college of Plessis. Speaking of the 'boursiers,' Rollin observes, (*Traite des Etudes*, tom. 4. p. 371.) 'Ils sont les enfants de la maison; et les colleges, dans leur origine, ont ete fondees pour eux.' They are upon the foundation, therefore, like the scholars at the colleges of Cambridge.

liciting that young Rollin might pass the vacations with their sons, who were his fellow-students at college.

After having studied the *humanities* and philosophy at the college of Plessis, he devoted three years to theology at the Sorbonne, one of the most famous schools in Europe for divinity. His teacher in rhetoric was M. Hersan, a professor of considerable reputation in France. This gentleman conceived such an exalted opinion of Rollin's virtue and abilities, that he declared he was sometimes tempted to call him *divine*. When any composition of prose or verse was required from him, the professor was not ashamed to commend his pupil even to the disparagement of himself. 'Apply (he would say) to Rollin; he will do it better than I can.'*

When M. Hersan relinquished his duties at the college of Plessis, our Author, though only in the twenty-third year of his age, was judged by the university, competent to succeed so able and learned a master. Nothing but his own modesty debarred him from the honour; he consented however, to become professor of an inferior class, and in 1687 was advanced to the chair of rhetoric. In the following year M. Hersan, with the permission of the king, resigned, in favour of Rollin, the professorship of eloquence in the royal college.

The warm eulogies and accumulated benefits which our Author received from his venerable master, might have awakened in hearts, less susceptible than his, some lively emotions of gratitude. Rollin always delighted to pay the most affectionate acknowledgments to his benefactor. At the end of his second volume of *Traite des Etudes*, he has given to the world M. Hersan's character, which, if drawn with fidelity, (and we doubt not it is,) exhibits a union of learning and virtue, to which there are few parallels. He thus speaks of him: 'He was accustomed to behave towards me in the character of parent as well as master, having always loved me as his son. In the classes he took particular care of my instruction, destining me even then to be his successor. I can say, without flattery, that no one ever possessed greater talent for making his pupils relish the beauties of authors, and for inspiring them with emulation. The funeral oration of M. Le Tellier, chancellor, which he pronounced in the Sorbonne, and which is the only piece of prose that he permitted to be published, is sufficient to show how far he excelled in delicacy of taste; and the verses which we have from his pen may pass for models in that kind of composition. But he was still more estimable for the qualities of his heart, than those of his mind. Kindness, simplicity, modesty,† disinterestedness, contempt of riches, generosity carried almost to excess, these virtues constituted his character. He never availed himself of the unbounded confidence which a powerful minister‡ placed in him, except for the purpose of obliging others. At the time I was principal of the college of Beauvais, he sacrificed, from kindness to myself and love to the public, two thousand crowns to defray there the expense of some necessary repairs and embellishments. But the last years of his life, though spent in retirement and obscurity, surpassed all the rest. He withdrew to Compiègne, the place of his birth. There, separated from all society, occupied solely in the study of sacred history, which had always been his delight, having continually in his mind the

* Vie de Rollin prefixed to *Traite des Etudes*. To this, once for all, we acknowledge many obligations.

† 'He would never allow himself to be chosen rector of the university.'

‡ M. de Louvois.

thought of death* and eternity, he devoted himself entirely to the service of the poor children of the town. He built for them a school, perhaps the most handsome in the kingdom, and established a master for their instruction. He fulfilled the office of one himself; he assisted very frequently at their lessons; he almost always had some of them at his table: he clothed many: he distributed to all, at stated seasons, different rewards for their encouragement, and his sweetest consolation was to think, that after his death these children would make for him the same prayer that the famous Gerson, whose humility led him to become schoolmaster at Lyons, requested in his will to be made for him by his pupils; "My God, my Creator, have pity upon thy poor servant, John Gerson." He has had the blessing to die poor, in some sort, in the midst of the poor; that which remained of his property having hardly sufficed for a last endowment which he had made of *Sisters of Charity* for the instruction of girls, and the care of sick persons.'

Such was the preceptor; and we shall see the pupil, who has given this account, practising similar virtues, and engaged in occupations equally useful. Although Rollin was intrusted, at an early period of life, with the duties of a very important situation, he acquitted himself in them with all the wisdom and gravity of age, no less than with the zeal and activity of youth. Considering that nothing could be more necessary to a student than a knowledge of his native tongue, he required his pupils to pay a more strict attention to the French language, and to make themselves familiar with the *chefs d'œuvre* of poetry and eloquence which it contains. Classical learning appears to have been in a declining state; for the knowledge of the Greek language had been so much neglected, that Rollin is called the reviver of it in the university. To fix the minds of his pupils more attentively upon their studies, he established examinations, to which the public were admitted, and in which it was the duty of the scholars to give an account of, and answer questions relative to, the Latin or Greek authors they had read during the preceding years. These exercises were found so useful, and were so agreeable to the taste of the nation, that without any decree of the university, they were adopted by all the colleges; and from those they passed into private schools, and penetrated (our Author tells us) into all the provinces.

Although sensible of the duty of respecting the customs of the university, there was one practice to which he declared an invincible repugnance, from that love of propriety which in his bosom was paramount to all other considerations. It was the custom, supported much more by its antiquity than its wisdom, for the professors to compose tragedies, the parts of which were sustained by the pupils. Rollin argues most strenuously in his fourth volume of *Traite des Etudes* against these theatrical exhibitions: and as part of his reasoning applies to the annual performances of Terence's plays, at one of our great public schools, it may be worth while to give a short abstract of his opinions upon the subject.

After adverting to the inconvenience and the labour to which the professors were subjected by the practice, he complains that it often happened that the scholars, under the pretext of preparing for the tragedy, abandoned or neglected their regular studies for nearly two months. He next alludes to the expenses incurred. He declares that the pupils did not gain

* 'He published a collection of extracts which he had made upon this subject, called, *Pensees edificantes sur la mort, tirees des propres paroles de l'Ecriture sainte et des saints Peres.*'

even the advantage of improving their elocutions: that Quintilian* remarks after Cicero, that there is a great difference between the delivery of players and orators: why, therefore, accustom the young to a faulty manner, which they will be compelled to abandon, when they come to speak upon real business in public? He adds, that the greatest objection against scenical exhibitions, is the injury which it is probable will be inflicted upon the piety and morals of the young performers. It is natural enough they should be seized with a desire of gaining ocular instruction in the best manner of filling their parts; and for that purpose they may frequent the theatre too often, and imbibe such a taste for plays, as may be followed with fatal results. If our seminaries are to be converted into play-houses, the passion of love, even in its most honourable form, should be excluded. All that makes one feel the impression of love (says M. de Fenelon,†) ‘the more it is softened and disguised, the more dangerous it appears to me.’ M. de Rochefoucault condemns plays for the same reason.

Rollin’s concluding objection is of such a solemn and weighty nature, that we shall give the translation of his own words:—‘There had crept in an abuse still more intolerable, one expressly forbidden by the law of God,‡ (I know not what was the origin of the prohibition,) and which kept its ground a long time in the university: it was that of robing the young pupils in female dresses in the tragedies. Can the world have been ignorant during so many years, that such a custom (to use the expression of Scripture) was an abomination in the sight of God? The imprudence of some persons, who perhaps had little knowledge, or little religion, may have first introduced it; and men afterwards followed, without reflection, a practice which they found established. Since the university has forbidden it, all persons have opened their eyes, and complied with a regulation so wise and necessary. Those who had the most concern in it, were chiefly persuaded by what they heard related of a gentleman who was an able professor,§ and still more remarkable for his virtue; who at his death evinced extreme pain at having followed a custom, which he knew had been to some scholars an occasion of immorality (*dérèglement.*) That is the time and situation in which we should place ourselves to judge soberly of what we should follow, and what we should avoid.’

M. Rollin proceeds with obvious satisfaction to relate the manner in which the exhibition of tragedies was formally condemned by the corporation of the city of Toulouse, and literary exercises adopted instead at the college of Esquile. In our author’s time, most of the colleges at Paris had relinquished the obnoxious custom, and it was afterwards totally abandoned at the university. Why do we (who often boast so loudly of our superior virtue and discernment) retain amongst us a practice which was condemned in France, and exploded from the country, nearly a century

* No gestus quidem omnis ac motus a comœdis petendus est. Quamquam enim utrumque eorum ad quemdam modum præstare debet orator, plurimum tamen aberit a scenico. *Quintil.* lib. i. cap. 11.

† Education des Filles.

‡ The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman’s garment, for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God. *Deut.* xxii. 5.

In Bishop Mant’s Bible we meet with the following note to this passage. ‘It was an idolatrous custom for men to wear the flowered garments of women, when they worshipped Venus; and for women to wear a coat of mail and armour, when they worshipped Mars; these dresses being accounted more pleasing to them, as better suiting their particular characters; for Venus was supposed to be the goddess of pleasure and love, and Mars the god of arms and war. The idolatrous notion of deities of different sexes was a great corruption of the knowledge of the true God; and gave great occasion for debauchery and impurities, even in their religious worship. It was this custom which the present law was designed to discountenance.’ *Lowman.*

Without questioning the correctness of this statement, we may observe, that the prohibition, ‘a man shall not put on a woman’s garment,’ is so express and unqualified, that every violation of it, for whatever purpose, must be accounted a sin. The words ‘all that do so are abomination unto the Lord,’ declare the sin to be of such a heinous nature, that a Christian should tremble at the thought of being wantonly guilty of it.

§ M. de Belleville, professor of rhetoric in the college of Flessis.

ago? If all the force of Rollin's arguments respecting the criminality of such a custom could be annihilated, what possible benefit can accrue from the annual performances at Westminster-school? Although we must admire the delicacy and philanthropy of many of Terence's sentiments, yet the ideas which predominate in his scenes, are those of soft lovers and lying slaves. How far the scholars of Westminster are obliged to submit to these scenic exhibitions, and how far the yoke is one which cannot be discarded, is a deliberation which concerns those who are intrusted with the government of the school. It cannot be impossible that the female characters at least should be expunged: and is it not fit that moral propriety should be more consulted than dramatic harmony? Parents, who consider it the most important part of their duty carefully to guard the virtuous principles of their children, cannot follow a more zealous guide than the amiable Rollin. We warn them, therefore, to hesitate before they sanction a custom from which his feelings always recoiled with the most lively abhorrence.

After having held the professorship of rhetoric at the college of Plessis with great reputation for the space of eight or ten years, our author resigned his post, with the view of devoting his leisure to the study of ancient history. But his absence from the university was short; he was recalled in the end of the year 1694 to fill the situation of rector. This dignity he enjoyed two years successively; which prolongation of his office was a rare distinction, and an honourable proof of the confidence which Alma Mater reposed in his zeal and abilities.

Of the number of strangers who visit Paris, to gratify their curiosity, and indulge in pleasure, how many are ignorant that the capital of luxuries contains a venerable seat of learning. The metropolitan university of France is renowned for the intiquity of its origin, the eminence of its professors, and the erudition of its scholars. Pope Honorius III. called it *a paradise of delights which the hand of the Most High had planted at Paris, the school of all kinds of literature.* The University styled herself the *eldest daughter of kings*; a title which she might justly assume on account of many important privileges anciently bestowed upon her by royal favour. Her schools at first consisted of four divisions, according to the number of nations or tribes, of which she formed the university. The distinction of nations or tribes was afterwards merged in the four faculties of divinity, civil and canon law, physic, and the sciences. The rector was the supreme head of the whole body.

On being elected to this high station, Rollin presided in it with the most laudable vigilance and assiduity: he was strict in maintaining the discipline of the colleges: he revived the ancient customs, and introduced some salutary reforms. He complied with the statutes of the university which enjoined him to visit the colleges; although his predecessors had thought themselves at liberty to neglect this useful duty. He converted into a law, the practice of commencing the lecture in the classes of humanity and philosophy, with the explanation of some passage of scripture. With the same view of extending biblical knowledge, he published, for the benefit of the inferior classes, a collection of maxims selected from the Old and New Testament. Although there was no man more humble and inoffensive, when he was only personally concerned; he was very tenacious of the rights of his office, considering that the dignity of university was united with his own. At a public thesis of law (says Amelot de la Houssaye,) he would never suffer that the archbishop of Sens; For-

tin de la Hoguette, should take precedence of him. He mortified the pride of another archbishop with a severe reproof of a practical nature. At the feast of candlemas, it was the rector's duty, prescribed by ancient custom, to present a wax taper to the king and the queen, and among other eminent persons, to the archbishop of Paris. The metropolitan, M. de Harlay, not feeling much gratification at this honour, adopted a very unceremonious method of receiving it. Upon the arrival of the deputies of the university, a gentleman of his household appeared, who made the archbishop's apologies, and received the taper in his stead. M. Rollin, aware of the indignity put upon his predecessors, and expecting the same himself, took suitable precautions, and determined to resent indifference with indifference. When therefore, he had arrived with all his train, in the court before the porch of Notre-Dame, instead of waiting upon M. de Harlay, he sent the syndic of the university with orders to carry the taper to the archbishop's gentleman.

His office of rector expiring, Rollin was engaged in superintending the education of the nephews of Cardinal de Noailles. The Abbe Vittement recalled him to a public station by obtaining for him the place of principal of the college of Beauvais. Rollin at first expressed some repugnance at the thought of filling such a situation; not, we suppose, from any indolent love of ease, but from an anxious sensibility which magnified in his apprehension of the difficulties he would have to encounter. Such appears to have been the state of his feelings when he wrote to M. Duguet, a learned theologian, by whose persuasion chiefly, Rollin's scruples were overcome. 'You have almost forced me (declares our author to him) to undertake an important and difficult office; you are bound to assist me in bearing the weight of it. I have to instruct in religion, youths who are becoming numerous; it is for you to furnish me with such lights and instructions as I ought to impart to them.' The connexion of learned men is often as advantageous to the public, as it is agreeable to themselves. The consequence of Rollin's entreaty was, that M. Duguet composed his *Commentaires sur l'ouvrage des six jours et sur la Genese*. The first volume of this work, printed separately under the title of *Explication sur l'ouvrage des six jours*, is an excellent performance, in which the useful throughout is enlivened with the agreeable.*

The college of Beauvais soon exhibited proofs of the estimation in which Rollin's talents were held by his countrymen. This society, which previously had been almost deserted, began to abound with scholars under the government of its new principal. A singular instance is given of the uncommon reputation which he enjoyed. A rich gentleman of one of the provinces, attracted by Rollin's fame, brought his son to be received as a pensioner in the college of Beauvais. Rollin declared his inability to admit him, as the number of pensioners was already inconveniently great; and, to convince the father, he conducted him through all the apartments and dormitories, which were completely occupied. However, parental expectation was not to be so easily frustrated: 'I have come to Paris (exclaimed the father) on purpose to bring you my son; I shall depart to-morrow, and I will send him to you with a bed; I have but him, you may put him in the court, in the cellar, if you please, but let him be in your college, and from that moment I should have no uneasiness about him.' The goodness of Rollin could not resist such an appeal as this.

He was obliged to receive the youth, and to dispose of him in his own apartments, until he could place him amongst the other scholars.

In our Author's time the duties of a principal resembled those of a master of a seminary, more than of a head of a college, in modern days. It was his province, not only to guard the discipline, and preside over the studies of the scholars, but also to instruct them in religious and moral duties, and even attend to their diet, and personal comfort. With what care, what vigilance and affection, each of these parts of his office should be fulfilled, Rollin has explained at length in his *Traite des Etudes*. The description must have been easy to him; for (according to the testimony of those who knew him,) particularizing the duties of a principal, he has given the details of what was his own invariable practice.

He endeavoured to perpetuate among his countrymen the accomplishments of learning, and the principles of correct taste. There is no purer joy (he declares*) to a scholar and a man of virtue, than to contribute by his exertion to qualify youths for the office of skilful professors; and the pleasure is heightened, if he acts upon motives of gratitude, to repay, in some measure, the benefits which he himself has received from the university. Rollin's actions were in conformity with this generous sentiment. He was too amiable not to be warmed with a grateful remembrance of the manner in which he himself had been raised to eminence; it was impossible he should forget the benevolence of his Benedictine friend, the favours of M. Hersan, and the dignities which the university had bestowed upon him. He acquitted these obligations by labouring to advance others in that honourable course which he himself had trodden. One of the most learned of his pupils was M. Crevier, the author of several voluminous works. This gentleman continued Rollin's Roman history, but in the task has proved himself inferior to his master. He published also, besides other works, a history of the Roman emperors; and there is an edition of Livy which passes under his name, although he is not entitled to the credit of the whole performance. The origin of this work deserves to be recorded. The notes of Crevier's Livy, which are concise and learned, where the result of literary conversations held between Rollin, and some of the professors of the college of Beauvais, the Abbe d'Asfeld, and others. M. Crevier, as the youngest person, had the task of digesting and compiling the matter of these discussions. They took place when the duties of the college were finished, and originated in the zeal of Rollin, who considered them as no more than a recreation. Thus, even the leisure of this learned man was ingeniously employed, and became productive of benefit to the republic of letters.

But no virtues and no qualifications, however distinguished, could protect him from the rage of religious animosity. He was persecuted for *Jansenism*, a crime which those, who are not much acquainted with theological controversies, may desire to be explained to them. The name of Cornelius Jensen or Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, has become celebrated on account of his posthumous work, called *Augustinus*, which is deeply impregnated with Calvinistic sentiments. About the middle of the seventeenth century this book was made the pretext of a violent controversy in France. The Jesuits, incensed against the followers of Jansen, and inflamed with the lust of dominion, more perhaps than the love of truth, caused the following articles, as expressing the bishop of Ypres's faith to be con-

* *Traite des Etudes*.

demned by the Faculty of theology at Paris, and afterwards by pope Innocent the Tenth.

1. There are divine precepts which even good men cannot obey without the assistance of God.

2. That no man can resist the influence of divine grace on his mind.

3. That to render human actions meritorious, it is not necessary for them to be free from necessity, but constraint.

4. That the doctrine of free-will is a gross error.

5. That Jesus Christ died not for all men, but only for the elect.

The Jansenists uttered complaints and replies: and as the propositions, which were declared heretical, were not given in the words of Jansen, they denied that they were to be found in his book. In the sequel the two parties were entangled in a vehement dispute concerning the extent of divine grace. The Jesuits maintained, 'that there is a general grace bestowed upon all mankind, but in such a sense subordinated to free-will, that this grace is rendered efficacious or inefficacious as the will chooses, without any additional assistance from God, and without needing any thing exterior to itself to make its operations effectual; on which account it is distinguished by the epithet *sufficient*. The Jansenists, on the contrary, affirm, that no grace is actually sufficient, unless it be also efficacious; that is, that all those principles which do not determine the will to act effectively, are insufficient for action, because, they say, no one can act without efficacious grace.'* The ablest advocates of the Jansenists were M. Arnold, and other members of the Society of Port Royal; together with the celebrated Blaise Pascal, a man whose profound and universal genius it is impossible to contemplate without astonishment. If it were ever allowable to rejoice at a controversy, it would be when it gives birth to such admirable works as Pascal's *Provincial Letters*. The eloquence of Frenchmen of the most opposite tastes and sentiments, has been employed in panegyriizing this extraordinary production. It was the opinion of Voltaire, that the best comedies of Moliere do not surpass the *Provincial Letters* in wit, nor the discourses of Bossuet excel them in sublimity. The Bishop of Meaux himself, who is perhaps the most eloquent of all the moderns, being interrogated what work (omitting his own writings) he should most desire to be the author of, answered, the *Provincial Letters*. D'Alembert and Boileau have contributed eulogies equally warm and unqualified as the preceding. The work, which so many acute judges have conspired to praise, was eventually the chief cause of the extinction of the order of the Jesuits. Pascal made a transition from the subject of sufficient and efficacious grace, to attack the principles and morality of his adversaries: and he exposed their artful iniquity with so much pungency of ridicule, and so much vehemence of reproof, that they became universally contemptible. Although their order was not suppressed in Europe, nor expelled even in France, till more than a century afterwards; yet they gradually lost their authority, and were unable to withstand the kindness and the weight of those arguments which Pascal had thought their enemies to wield against them. They retained their power, however, long enough to inflict consummate vengeance upon the society of Port Royal. When the ferocious Jesuit Michael Le Tellier was appointed confessor to Louis XIV., that monastery, which had become illustrious by the residence of learned scholars, and devout nuns, was razed to the ground, and the very

**Provincial Letters*. Letter 2.

dead disinterred to gratify the revenge of the disciples of the fanatic Loyola.

Rollin's offences consisted in the constancy with which he retained his friendship for some of the exiled members of Port Royal, and in the courage which animated him to write in defence of what he considered to be the doctrines of truth. Thus rendering himself hateful to a powerful party, he became the victim of their intrigues, and was finally ordered to quit the college of Beauvais. He bore this injury with great magnanimity. Although compelled unjustly to forego the duties of a principal, he still retained the most anxious regard for the youth over whom he had presided. His chief concern was to see such a successor in his place, as would be most competent to support the interest and reputation of the college. The person whom his own judgment approved was M. Coffin: and when he was assured that the appointment of this gentleman was agreeable to others as well as himself, he found his bosom relieved of the greatest inquietude which disturbed him. On the evening of the 6th of June, 1712, after having paid in chapel, the sacrifice of devotion to his heavenly Protector, Rollin silently left the college, without any attendant, and with little consolation but what was afforded him by a mind conscious of its integrity. The scholars were not aware till after his departure, that the connexion with their virtuous principal, was dissolved. When the unwelcome intelligence was announced to them, then, (says M. Crevier, who was a witness of the scene) it was evident how much Rollin was beloved. As soon as it was known with certainty, that he had departed from the college never to enter it again in his former capacity, the grief of the scholars was loud and universal. The *Boursiers* expressed their regret in a more honourable manner than by empty lamentations. Rollin had been accused of negligence to them in particular: in order to confute this calumny, and repair as far as possible an injury to which they had been accessory, they addressed to him a letter, and all put their signatures to a testimonial, avouching their deepest respect and gratitude to the master from whom they had been so unexpectedly separated.

Rollin fixed his residence in a retired part of Paris, where he had purchased a small house, which he inhabited until his death. The concerns of education, and the interests of the youth of France, still occupied his attention. His solitude was constantly intruded upon by parents, who came to consult him respecting their children. They seem to think they should not fully discharge their duty to their offspring, unless they sought the benefit of M. Rollin's judicious advice. His kindness satisfied the parental anxieties of all who approached him; but his most tender regard was reserved for his late scholars of the college of Beauvais. In this M. Coffin sympathized with him, and paid so much deference to his predecessor's judgment, as not to venture to undertake any thing of importance without his counsel.

The fruit of Rollin's leisure, and first production from his pen, was an edition of Quintilian's Institutions, which has been republished in London, and is the chief edition which is used in the schools of our Gallic neighbours. In this publication our Author gave a preface, written in pure Latinity, ably characterizing the merit of the great Roman rhetorician, and explaining the utility of his work for the purpose of forming both the orator and the man of virtue. As the book was designed chiefly for juvenile scholars, he retrenched those parts of the author, which seemed obscure

and redundant. He elucidated the text with a selection of short notes, and prefixed a summary to the head of each chapter.

This edition appeared in 1715, and the same year the university appointed him *Procureur*, or chief of the nation of France. In this office he had an opportunity of giving a public specimen of that eloquence, in the study and explanation of which so many years of his life had been employed. The regency under Louis XV, had just bestowed upon the citizens the privilege of gratuitous instruction: which favour they were enabled to grant by securing a fixed stipend to each professor of the university. The funds to defray these salaries, were levied from the department of the Post. This tax was no more than a debt of justice to the university, which had made the first attempt, in France, for the establishment of posts, by those messengers who used to conduct the young students from foreign nations to Paris, and were the only agents of communication between them and their country. Rollin having to express the public thanks for the bounty of Louis, endeavoured (as he himself informs us*) to explain the earnest and careful manner in which the university laboured to imbue the minds of her scholars not only with learning, but much more with tenets of probity and religion. His discourse was so gratifying to the members of the learned body, which he represented, that they requested him to expand his thoughts, and to discuss in detail what he had been obliged to treat in a very brief and cursory manner. The following is their decree, extracted from the records of the university.

‘Anno Domini 1720, die 13 Januarii.

‘Placuit per amplissimum Rectorem, Universitatis nomine, gratias maximas agi haberique domino Carolo Rollin, cumque ei precibus agi, ut orationem suam typis imprimat ac faciat publici juris; sin vinci modestia non possit, saltem partem eam suæ orationis quæ est de Ratione docendi in Academia Parisiensiusurpari consueta, fusius aliquanto atque uberius, per singula capita explicet, etc. Atque ita ab amplissimo Rectore conclusum fuit signatum Coffini, Rector.’

Considering this request as obligatory as a command, Rollin took up his pen, and produced his *Traite des Etudes, or Manner of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres*. This work, which is very comprehensive in its plan, is divided into six parts. In the first, the Author treats of the study of languages, the French, the Latin, and the Greek. In the second, he discourses of poetry; and in the third, of rhetoric. The two next are appropriated to history and philosophy; and the last, which is intended to direct the judgment of teachers, enters into a detail concerning the management of youth, and the government of a college. These subjects are discussed, if not always in a profound, at least in an agreeable manner. Rollin possessed the French art of saying common things in a pleasant way; and his disquisitions often show more oratorical neatness, than philosophical depth. Those who can read Blair's Lectures in their own language, need not undertake the task of studying the *Traite des Etudes*. Still, the perusal of the latter work will repay the reader of taste; as besides displaying the most anxious and watchful zeal for the good of the community, it develops the character, and embodies many of the chief beauties, of the best French and classical writers. The book is curious

* Dedication to *Traite des Etudes*.

also, as unfolding the ancient institutes and discipline of the university of Paris. Perplexed as parents are liable to be, with a multiplicity of novel schemes of education, let them determine that no system is complete, which does not embrace all the points which Rollin enumerates—learning, morals, and religion. The ancient university of Paris (we are assured by him*) aimed at three objects: first, to cultivate the minds of youth, and to adorn them with all the knowledge which they are capable of receiving; next, to rectify and regulate their hearts by the principles of honour and probity, in order to make them good citizens; and lastly, as the perfection and consummation of the work, to actuate them with the spirit of sincere *Christians*.

From the time of the delivery of Rollin's public harangue to the completion of his *Traite des Etudes*, was a period of nearly ten years; at the end of which the university again elevated him to the office of Rector. Rollin had not abandoned his principles, nor his enemies softened their intolerance. In a discourse which he delivered on the 11th of December, 1730, he showed that neither time nor persecution had convinced him of the error of those doctrines, which had occasioned his former disgrace. How far he was indiscreet in thus rekindling religious feuds, we have not precise information enough to enable us to determine. Although it seems irreconcilable with his character that he should be guilty of any acrimonious bitterness in avowing his opinions, yet his delinquency was considered as unpardonable as before. The honours, which would have expired in a few months, were violently seized from him: he was displaced from his post, and driven into his former retirement.

Intolerance could not snatch the pen from his hands, nor close the press against his publications. To assist those studies of youth, over which he was debarred from personally presiding, he composed his *Ancient History*, which appeared in thirteen volumes at different times, between 1730 and 1738. Of all his works, this is the one which has obtained for its author the greatest degree of celebrity: it has spread his renown through the most intelligent nations of Europe; and what is no small distinction, has made his name as familiar to English readers, as the names of the most esteemed writers among their own countrymen. A reputation so eminent must be built upon solid merit. The author of the *Ancient History* has effected much more than he professed to undertake; since his volumes, rising above the rank of an ordinary accompaniment to scholastic studies, contain a fund of knowledge and gratification suitable to the taste of every description of readers. They are so deeply imbued with the spirit and learning of antiquity, that those who are debarred from the original works of the classical writers, cannot go to a better source to form correct notions of the temper and manners of ancient people: while the more accomplished scholar will be delighted to find the substance of his studies embodied, and presented to the review of his mind, in one consistent work.

The plan of the *Ancient History*, which embraces the events of many centuries, and the exploits of many nations, required that its author should possess a very extensive range of erudition. It was necessary to search all the stores of antiquity, in order to ascend to the most distant epochs of the Egyptian and Assyrian annals, and to describe the numerous transactions of Carthaginians, and Greeks, and Macedonians. Accordingly, we find there is scarcely a classical writer from whom Rollin has not enriched his pages; historians and poets, philosophers and orators, are all

* Discourse Preliminaire.

constrained in turn to furnish incidents and allusions, and embellish the account of their own, or preceding ages. The variety of scenes and events, through which the reader is carried, is sufficient to stimulate the dullest curiosity, and sustain an ardent interest in the mind. We are transported to the greatest cities of the world, to Carthage, to Athens and Babylon, amidst a succession of events which possess all the liveliness and splendour of romance without its exaggerations. We become familiarized with the most noble characters of antiquity: we accompany Hannibal in his invasions of Italy, follow Cyrus to the throne of Persia, and are amazed at the daring achievements of Alexander in his rapid conquest of the East. We pass from the tumults of the camp to the noise of the forum, and learn how Pericles and Demosthenes swayed the minds of the capricious Athenians; or retiring to the converse of philosophers, we hear Socrates discourse upon the rules of practical wisdom, and wonder how so much acuteness and magnanimity should be repaid with an infamous death. In short, we meet with such a number of curious incidents, noble sentiments, and weighty apothegms, that the chief spoils of ancient times being collected together, only a moderate industry is requisite to store them in our minds.

Upon the moral instruction to be gained from the perusal of history, Rollin always carefully enlarges. His pages are almost as thickly interspersed with reflections as those of Euripides, but with more propriety; as it is the peculiar province of history to instruct by maxims drawn from experience, while tragedy aspires to purify the soul by the emotions of terror and pity. Our Author's custom of moralizing so diffusely, is to be attributed to his solicitude for the virtuous principles of the young, for whose benefit chiefly his Ancient History was compiled. Persons, however, of riper age and more mature judgment may be delighted with his sentiments. It was a compliment paid him by that Duke of Cumberland who was his contemporary: 'I know not how M. Rollin manages: every where else, reflections weary me; in his book they charm me, and I never lose a single word of them.' Whatever opinion we may form of the profusion with which his sentiments are lavished, it is impossible not to admire their excellent tendency. Nothing can be more pure, more noble, and more pious, than our Author's reflections. In estimating the qualities of any great character, his judgment is never dazzled by the lustre of specious exploits: he makes the true glory of actions to consist in the virtuous motives which inspired them, and the degree of utility which followed, or was likely to follow, their execution.

As the education of all the learned part of Christendom is grounded upon a close acquaintance with the writings of pagan authors, nothing should be more carefully guarded against, than an anomalous mixture of Christian and heathen principles. An unqualified admiration of heathen characters, will gradually infuse into the heart the tenets of heathen morality; so that a scholar often, by a process imperceptible to himself, incorporates the sentiments of paganism with the profession of Christianity. Rollin was aware of this danger, to which the lovers of classical literature are exposed. To counteract it, he determines the merit of pagan actions by the standard of Christian morality. Nor is this unjust: to judge *men* by a perfect law which they did not possess, would be a flagrant breach of equity; but to estimate *actions in the abstract* by any rule which is not rigidly correct, would be voluntarily to mislead our own understandings. In the perusal, therefore, of ancient history, it is sufficient sometimes to

admire the magnanimity of the great characters which it portrays, without imitating their conduct. Rollin is generally careful to intercept our admiration, whenever it is likely to exceed due bounds; and he animadverts upon the sentiments which might be excusable in a heathen, but can admit of no palliation under the light which revealed religion has imparted. This correctness and delicacy of moral feeling, which pervade our Author's work, will considerably enhance its value with those who know how artfully their principles may be attacked in the midst of historical disquisition. It would have detracted nothing from their elegance, but would have obviated the reproach, which they bear, of disingenuous and rancorous hostility to the Christian revelation, if the two most accomplished historians of our own country had not deviated from the track before them, in order to asperse a faith, the excellence of which they were too arrogant and self-sufficient to appreciate. Rollin labours to establish, and not confound, the principles of his readers: his taste as well as virtue would not allow him to interrupt the pleasures of fancy, or the emotions of the heart, by a silly and unexpected sneer. If he enchants us not with all the graces of Hume or Gibbon, neither does he attempt to perplex us with their insidious sophisms. To study his volumes is to accustom ourselves to form correct sentiments, and to nourish a generous enthusiasm for piety and virtue.

His style (of which it is not fair to judge with rigorous minuteness from a translation, which was executed many years ago) possesses a graceful ease, and harmonious sweetness. It is formed upon the model of Xenophon; with the writings of which historian he had an accurate acquaintance, as they constituted his favourite study. He has imitated his beauties with so much success, that as the disciple of Socrates was denominated the *Attic Bee*, so the pupil of Hersan has been styled the *Bee of France*.*

Amidst many excellences, his work does not exhibit much historical acumen. He is not eminent for that critical sagacity, which guides the reader satisfactorily through various discrepancies, preserves him from being imposed upon by the hasty accounts of historians, and often collects the truth from a few scattered hints or allusions, ingeniously compared together. Rollin confides with too much credulity in the unfounded anecdotes, and exaggerated relations of the ancient writers; and while his facts are not always authentic, neither is his chronology remarkable for its accuracy. Minor defects have been observed. Important and trifling occurrences are sometimes mingled together in awkward confusion; and he has contributed to the inequality of style, which disfigures his book, by frequently borrowing fifty or sixty pages together from different modern writers.† These obligations he ingenuously avows, and never affects to treat in a new way, the subjects which have been discussed satisfactorily by others before him.

The reputation of our Author's writings attracted the notice of the great, from whom he received many flattering marks of regard. The Prince Royal of Prussia, afterwards Frederick II., cherished a warm esteem for him, and in one of his letters complimented him with a sentiment worthy of Mécènes: *Des hommes tels que vous marchent à côté des souverains.*'

* 'Un honnête homme. Rollin, dit M. Montesquieu (Œuvres posth.) 2, par ses ouvrages d'Histoire, enchanté le public. C'est le cœur qui parle au cœur; en sent une secrète satisfaction d'entendre parler la vertu: c'est l'abeille de la France.'

† Siècles Littéraires de la France.

The Queen of England had expressed a desire to maintain a correspondence with him, but the plan was frustrated by her death. The duke of Orleans entrusted to him the superintendance of the studies of his son, and wished him to take every Monday an account of the young prince's proficiency. Such intercourse as this, however honourable, was too distant to supply the place of that friendship, which seldom subsists in its full warmth of affection, but between equals. Amongst the private friends of Rollin, were ranked many men whose talents and situations reflected a degree of honour upon the persons whom they judged worthy of their intimate regard. The Abbé d'Asfeld is particularly named as the most tender and amiable friend of our Author. The souls of these two virtuous men were attracted together and united by a close conformity of sentiments, by the same earnest piety, and the same pure taste in the studies of literature. Rollin allowed the Abbé to participate in all his labours, and in all his pleasures. He disburdened his anxieties to him, while he was at the head of the college of Beauvais; and assisted himself by his judgment during the composition of his learned works. He made him also the companion of his rural walks; in which the two friends perused together the *Lives of Plutarch*, thus contriving that the beauties of nature and the beauties of learning should be tasted at the same time, and each be heightened by the other.

Rollin softened the pleasure of old age by the innocent pleasures of conviviality. During the last years of his life he yielded, more freely than before, to the numerous invitations with which his society was courted. Every day almost, he dined abroad with his friends, excepting Sundays and festivals, when his piety kept him at home, that he might be able to attend vespers. At these entertainments his kindness and address always effected some useful object. Parents were benefited by his experienced councils; and the children, whom they presented to him, were encouraged by his tenderness, and improved by his skilful interrogatories. If, sometimes after the repast, (his biographer relates) he happened to slip away without being observed by any one, he was sure to be found in an adjoining apartment with a young scholar, who was giving an account to him of some passage of history, or reciting some choice piece of eloquence, or poetry.

Thus he enjoyed one of those pure gratifications, which Cicero* enumerates as compatible with the condition of old age: 'Quid enim est jucundius senectute stipatâ studiis juventutis? An ne eas quidem vires senectuti relinquemus, ut adolescentulos doceat, instituat, ad omne officii munus instruat? quo quidem opere quid potest esse præclarior?' He verified, also, the same orator's commendation of age: 'Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verùm etiam sit operosa, et semper agens aliquid et moliens; tale scilicet, quale cujusque studium in superiore vitâ fuit.' He was sixty years old when he took up the pen the first time to write in his native language; and he was nearly ten years older when he commenced his *Ancient History*, a laborious work, which seemed to require the vigorous application of youth, in order to execute it. The love of ease did not overcome his industry even at seventy five; for it was at such an advanced stage of life that he ventured to undertake a new work. This was the *Roman History from the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium*; the first volume of which was published with the last of the *Ancient History*.

* De Senectute.

It appears by his letters that he deliberated some time with his pious friends, whether he should commence an arduous undertaking at a declining age, which he desired to consecrate entirely to the studies and meditations of religion. It was represented to him, that the sacrifice of his leisure being so advantageous to youth, could not fail to be acceptable to his Creator. He was persuaded by this reasoning, and lived to finish nearly half of the intended work. This last performance does not possess sufficient merit to exalt it to a comparison with the Ancient History; which inferiority is supposed to arise, either from the natural decay of age, which had enfeebled his powers, or from the fierceness and tumult of the events of the Roman republic, which might be disgusting to his tranquil disposition, and the peaceful sentiments of old age. His desire of being useful, or else that garrulity which increases with years, betrayed him into an unpardonable excess of moralizing. While he merely indicates many important events, he dwells with prolixity upon those which furnish opportunity for the serious reflections with which he was burdened. The greatest benefit of the work to a French reader is, that he may enjoy in it the finest parts of Livy elegantly translated into his own language.* M. Crevier continued the history from the ninth to the sixteenth volume; and however little praise Rollin's part of the performance has received, his pupil has been commended still less.

But our Author's name had acquired sufficient lustre from his former publications; and as his days had been honourably spent, so they were triumphantly closed. In the short illness which was fatal to him, when the last sacraments were being administered, his friends and pupils were overpowered with grief, and could not refrain from tears. Elated with Christian hope, and anticipating the glorious reward of his labours, he piously reprov'd their lamentations, by declaring: 'I wish to see no tears, and no marks of affliction, this day with us is a festival.' Supported by such holy sentiments, he joyfully expired, after a long life, which had been extended to the eighty-first year. The members of the university were present at the solemnity of his funeral; but the customary eulogy, by a public discourse, was denied him. The same religious hatred, which persecuted him during his life, saddened his obsequies, and suppressed the praise which was due to his memory. Neither his venerable age, nor his numerous virtues, had been able to preserve him from the aspersions of calumny. He had been accused of concealing in his humble mansion a press, from which issued anonymous pamphlets, inimical to the peace of both church and state. The informations against him were so positive and urgent, that Cardinal Fleury, the minister, ordered the police to examine his house; and the search was as rigorous, as the accusation had been malicious and groundless. Thus in life, and in the grave, this most harmless man was the victim of Jesuitical hatred. Louis XVI. endeavoured to cancel the injustice which had been done him, and ordered a statue to be erected to his memory, among those of the most illustrious men of France.

To this honour he was indisputably entitled, by being adorned with all those excellences which constitute a great and amiable character. In Rollin, we admire learning ennobled by virtue, and virtue exalted by piety. He lived in a brilliant era of French literature, in an age of the most perfect orators and poets. Although his works do not elevate him

* *Siècles Littéraires.*

to the renown of the most eminent writers of his country, yet his talents were very considerable, his learning extensive, and his taste pure and classical. Of his virtues we may affirm, that they were almost without a blemish. We see him presiding over the education of the youth of France with as much affection and vigilance, as if he were the patriarch of the whole nation, and had adopted all the children of the country as his sons. We observe him in retirement constantly practising the lessons which he taught, and portraying the loveliness of virtue by the efficacy of a good example.

Depressed by an obscure birth, and an humble fortune, Rollin had to surmount many difficulties, in order to gain the eminent posts of learning. It was his own strength chiefly on which he was compelled to rely, as he had no friends, but those whom his exemplary conduct and superior talents happened to conciliate. When his success had equalled his merit, and perhaps surpassed his ambition, his mind was as humble as if he had remained in the obscurity in which he was born. He never affected any disdain of his former condition, nor attempted to conceal the meanness of his birth; on the contrary, he gave notoriety to it by his own pen, and in a Latin epigram reminds one of his friends, that he took his flight from the caves of *Ætna* to the tops of *Pindus*.

Doctissimo viro N. Bosquillon, cum ei cultellum in xenia mitterit.
 Ætna hæc, non Pindus, tibi mittit munera; morem
 Cyclopes Muis præcipuere suum.
 Translatum Ætnæis me Pindi in culmina ab antris
 Hic se, si nescis, culter, amice, docet.*

At the time he was caressed by the most illustrious persons in Europe, he lived in a style as simple and unostentatious as that of the plainest citizen. His house was so small, that it could sometimes with difficulty contain the numerous visitants who flocked to him. Splendour and parade were wearisome to him. When courtesy compelled him to be present at those entertainments, which had no attraction but the luxury of the repast, and the rank of the guests, he always returned home dissatisfied. 'Those dinners (he would complain) where one does nothing but dine, fatigue me: I reckon such days lost.' He preferred the tables of virtuous citizens, who were zealous for the education of their children: with them he had always an opportunity to discharge his duty. 'These (he would say) are my dukes and peers.'

His moderation was a virtue which proceeded from disinterestedness, and not a duty imposed by unavoidable poverty. He had many opportunities of enriching himself, all of which he magnanimously overlooked, or rejected. He never availed himself of his intercourse with the great, for the purpose of self-aggrandisement; although his income at the time of his

* There are some other verses by Rollin which are a proof of his amiable condescension. He sent to young Lepelletier a large taper, such as it was customary to present to the presidents of Parliament at the feast of Candlemas; at the same time he addressed to him the following lines, which must be understood as spoken by the university:—

Ad venustulem et elegantulum et peramabilem Pelteriolum, cum ei, tanquam futuro quondam senatûs principi, circum mitteret.

Incipe, parve puer, dono cognoscere matrem,
 Venturique istud pignus honoris habe
 Talia supremi quis sedes summa senatûs
 Contigerit, soleo munera ferre viris.
 Te manet hæc sedes; summum Themis ipsa tribunal
 (Vera cano) patri destinat, inde tibi.†
 Cura sit interea ludo tibi fingere corpus;
 Mox animum pulchris artibus ipsa colam.

Academia Parisicnsis, primogenita regum talia.
 31 Jan. 1695.

† This prediction was verified: for twelve years afterwards, M. Lepelletier was president, and he was succeeded by his son

greatest prosperity, was scarcely three thousand livers.* He relinquished those profits which would have been only the just remuneration of his study and labours: for the sole stipulation which he made with the bookseller who published his works was that he might be allowed to indemnify him, if he should happen to incur any loss.

After he had quitted the college of Beauvais, his friend and protector, the president of Mesmes, secretly solicited for him a pension upon an ecclesiastical benefice. When he was upon the point of obtaining his request, he sent for Rollin to communicate the intelligence, which he thought would be joyfully received. But our Author having heard the proposal, exclaimed, with surprise, 'A pension, my lord, for me! why, what service have I rendered the church, that I should possess ecclesiastical revenues?' The president reminded him, that the Christian education which he had given to so many youths was a service rendered to the church as well as the state; and urged him, as he was far from rich, to accept the assistance which was offered. 'My Lord, (replied Rollin) I am richer than the king;' and firmly persisted in rejecting property to which he thought none but churchmen entitled. The impropiators of this country have been too long in possession of church lands, to feel any scruples concerning the validity of their titles: when, however, they see half the clergy impoverished, and themselves abounding in wealth, they might very aptly put the question to their consciences, 'What service have *we* done to the church, that we should possess ecclesiastical revenues?' The property which has been so long enjoyed by them, and the right to which has been solemnly recognized, no moderate and peaceable subject would desire to see disturbed: but when the clergy, who are compelled to undergo an expensive education, and afterwards to devote their time and studies to ecclesiastical functions, are envied a mechanic's pittance, which is all that most of them ever gain from the altar; surely they may be permitted to silence clamour, and repel odium, by pointing to the impropiators, and asking what those laymen have done for the church, that they possess its revenues, without any of the dispute or obloquy which the clergy encounter?

Although straitened in his circumstances, Rollin is commended for great liberality and beneficence. He assisted with his purse the scholars whom he intended for professors, and who were too indigent to defray the entire expences attendant upon their studies. Every month his servant distributed alms to a considerable amount: and on one occasion, being informed of the increase of the price of bread, he wrote to his faithful domestic from the chateau d'Asfeld: 'You must double the ordinary distribution for the last month, and for this: you must even make it triple, if you think it necessary. Do not be afraid of impoverishing me by giving too much: it is laying out my money at great interest.'

In devotion, our Author was rigid and even superstitious. During the time of the popular fanaticism respecting the Abbé Paris,† Rollin was to be seen praying at the tomb of the pious deacon.

* One hundred and twenty-five pounds.

† Francis Paris, a famous deacon of Paris, was the eldest son of a counsellor of parliament. After the death of his father, he relinquished all his property to his brother, and retiring from the world, devoted himself to prayer, and the rigorous duties of penitence. He submitted even to manual labours, and wove stockings for the poor, whom he considered as his brethren. He died in his retreat in 1727, being 37 years of age. His brother having erected a tomb for him in the cemetery of St. Medard, the poor whom the deacon had relieved, some rich persons who had been edified, and many females who had been instructed by him, resorted to the sepulchre to pray and exercise their devotion. Among the multitudes of sick persons who at last flocked to the tomb, a few cures were effected, which were considered by the Jansenists as miraculous, but which might

He said his breviary with the most punctual regularity. He heard mass every day, and always received the sacrament on Sundays. He cherished a singular devotion towards the Virgin Mary; and on the days consecrated to her worship, he usually went to Notre-Dame, where he heard mass, communicated, and passed part of the morning in prayers. Every year, if he was at Paris in the month of October, he made on foot the pilgrimage of St. Denys, during the festival of that apostle of France.

He visited also every year, his parish church of St. John en Grève, in order to renew his baptismal vows at the sacred font.

It was a practice which he commenced when he was principal, and afterwards continued till his death, to pray every day to the infant Jesus Christ for the young, to the Virgin Mary for mothers, and to St. Joseph for fathers and masters.

During Lent he practised great austerities, and observed the discipline of the primitive ages of the church. Such is the picture which has been drawn of Rollin's devotion. Protestants perhaps may be tempted to smile at some of his superstitious performances, but it is their duty, while they shun his errors, to imitate his piety, and the amiable virtues which were engendered by it.

It has been usual to prefix to the English edition of the *Ancient History*, a letter from Bishop Atterbury; and as the great celebrity of the writer makes it interesting, we shall not presume to withhold it.



A Letter written by the Right Reverend Dr. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, late Lord Bishop of Rochester, to M. ROLLIN, in commendation of this Work.

REVERENDE ATQUE ERUDITISSIME VIR,

Cum, monente amico quodam, qui juxta ædes tuas habitat, scirem te Parisios revertisse, statui salutatum te ire, ut primum per valetudinem liceret. Id officii, ex pedum infirmitate aliquandiu dilatatum, cum tandem me impleturum sperarem, frustra fui; domi non eras. Restat, ut quod coram exequi non potui, scriptis saltem literis præstem; tibi que ob ea omnia, quibus à te auctus sum, beneficia, grates agam, quas habeo certè, et semper habiturus sum, maximas.

Reverà munera illa librorum nuperis à te annis editorum egregia ac perhonorifica mihi visa sunt. Multi enim facio, et te, vir præstantissime, et tua omnia quæcunque in isto literarum genere perpolitata sunt; in quo quidem Te cæteris omnibus ejusmodi scriptoribus facilè antecellere, atque esse eundem et dicendi et sentiendi magistrum optimum, prorsus existimo; cumque in excolendis his studiis aliquantulum ipse et operæ et temporis posuerim, liberè tamen profiteor me, tua cum legam ac relegam, ea edoctum esse à te, non solùm quæ nesciebam prorsus, sed etiam quæ antea didicisse mihi visus sum. Modestè itaque nimium de opere tuo sentis cum juventuti tantum instituendæ elaboratum id esse contendis. Ea certè scribis, quæ à viris istiusmodi rerum haud imperitis, cum voluptate et fructu legi possunt. Vetera quidem et satis cognita revocas in memoriam;

be naturally occasioned by violent convulsions, which would produce a removal of disorders depending upon obstruction. The disturbance at length became so great, that the government was obliged to order the cemetery to be closed in January, 1732.

The Parisian miracles (with two other instances still more weak) Mr. Hume has been audacious and silly enough to compare with the miracles recorded in the New Testament. Dr. Paley has replied to the sophist in his *Evidences*, part. i. prop. 2. chap. 2.

sed ita revocas, ut illustres, ut ornes; ut aliquid vetustis adjicias quod novum sit, alienis quod omnino tuum: bonasque picturas bonâ in luce collocando efficis, ut etiam iis, à quibus sæpissimè conspectæ sunt, elegantiores tamen solito appareant, et placeant magis.

Certè, dum Xenophontem sæpiùs versas, ab illo et ea quæ à te plurimis in locis narrantur, et ipsum ubique narrandi modum videris traxisse, stylique Xenophontei nitorem ac venustam simplicitatem non imitari tantùm, sed planè assequi: ita ut si Gallicè scisset Xenophon, non aliis illum, in eo argumento quod tractas, verbis usurum, non alio prorsùs more scripturum, judicem.

Hæc ego, haud assentandi causâ (quod vitium procul à me abest,) sed verè ex animi sententiâ dico. Cùm enim pulchris à te donis ditatus sim, quibus in eodem aut in alio quopiam doctrinæ genere referendis imparem me sentio, volui tamen propensi erga te animi gratique testimonium proferre, et te aliquo saltem munusculo, etsi perquam dissimili, remunerari.

Perge, vir docte admodùm et venerande, de bonis literis, quæ nunc neglectæ passim et spretæ jacent, benè mereri; perge juventutem Gallicam (quando illi solummodò te utilem esse vis) optimis et præceptis et exemplis informare.

Quod ut facias, annis ætatis tuæ elapsis multos adjiciat Deus! iisque decurrentibus sanum te præstet atque incolumem. Hoc ex animo optat ac vovet,

Tui observantissimus,

FRANCISCUS ROFFENSIS.

Pransurum te mecum post festa dixit mihi amicus ille noster, qui tibi vicinus est. Cùm statueris tecum quo die adfuturus es, id ille significabis. Me certè annis malisque debilitatum, quandocunque veneris, domi invenies.

6° Kal. Jan. 1731.

(TRANSLATION.)

REVEREND AND MOST LEARNED SIR,

WHEN I was informed by a friend who lives near you, that you were returned to Paris, I resolved to wait on you, as soon as my health would permit. After having been prevented by the gout for some time, I was in hopes at length of paying my respects to you at your house, and went thither, but found you not at home. It is incumbent on me, therefore, to do that in writing, which I could not in person, and for all the favours you have been pleased to confer upon me, to return you the warmest acknowledgments which, as I now feel, I shall ever continue to cherish.

And, indeed, I esteem the books you have lately published, as presents of uncommon value, and such as do me very great honour. For I have the highest esteem, most excellent Sir, both for you, and for every thing that comes from so masterly a hand as yours, in the kind of learning of which you treat; in which I sincerely believe that you far excel all other writers, and are at the same time the best master both of speaking and thinking well: and I freely confess that, though I had applied some time and pains in cultivating such studies, when I read your volumes over and over again, I am instructed by you not only in things of which I was entirely ignorant, but also those which I fancied myself to have learned before. You have, therefore, too modest an opinion of your work, when you declare it composed solely for the instruction of youth. What you

write may undoubtedly be read with pleasure and improvement by persons who are proficient in learning of that kind. For whilst you call to mind ancient facts, and things sufficiently known, you do it in such a manner, that you illustrate, you embellish them; still adding something new to the old, something entirely your own to the labours of others: by placing good pictures in a good light, you make them appear with unusual elegance and more exalted beauties, even to those who have seen and studied them most.

In your frequent correspondence with Xenophon, you have certainly extracted from him, both what you relate in many places, and every where his very manner of relating; you seem not only to have imitated, but attained, the shining elegance and beautiful simplicity of that author's style: so that had Xenophon excelled in the French language, in my judgment, he would have used no other words, nor written in any other manner, upon the subjects you treat, than you have done.

I do not say this out of flattery, (which is far from being my vice,) but from my real sentiments and opinion. As you have enriched me with your handsome presents, which I know how incapable I am of repaying either in the same or in any other kind of learning, I was willing to testify my gratitude and affection for you, and at least to make you some small, though exceedingly unequal, return.

Go on, most learned and venerable Sir, to deserve well of sound literature, which now lies universally neglected and despised. Go on, informing the youth of France (since you will have their utility to be your sole view) upon the best precepts and examples.

Which that you may effect, may it please God to add many years to your life, and during the course of them to preserve you in health and security. This is the earnest wish and prayer of,

Your most faithful friend,

FRANCIS ROFFEN.

P. S. Our friend, your neighbour, tells me you intend to dine with me after the holidays. When you have fixed upon the day, be pleased to let him know it. Whenever you come, you will be sure to find one so weak with age and sufferings, as I am; at home.

December 26, 1731.

It is proper to add, that the volumes of the *Ancient History* not being published by the Author all at one time, there were several prefaces or introductions for the different parts of the work. These by the English editors have been retrenched and incorporated into one. R. L.

London, Feb. 5, 1823.

INTRODUCTION.



THE UTILITY OF PROFANE HISTORY, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO RELIGION.

THE study of profane history would be unworthy of a serious attention, and the great length of time, bestowed upon it, if it were confined to the bare knowledge of ancient transactions, and an unpleasing inquiry into the eras when each of these happened. It little concerns us to know that there were once such men as Alexander, Cæsar, Aristides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period; that the empire of the Assyrians made way for that of the Babylonians, and the latter for the empire of the Medes and Persians, who were themselves subjected by the Macedonians, as these were afterwards by the Romans. But it highly concerns us to know by what means those empires were founded; the steps by which they rose to the exalted pitch of grandeur we so much admire; what it was that constituted their true glory and felicity, and what were the causes of their declension and fall.

What is to be observed in history, besides the events and chronology.

1. The causes of the rise and fall of empires.

It is of no less importance to study attentively the manners of different nations; their genius, laws, and customs; and especially to acquaint ourselves with the character and disposition, the talents, virtues, and even vices, of those men by whom they were governed, and whose good or bad qualities contributed to the grandeur or decay of the states over which they presided.

2. The genius and character of nations, and of the great persons that governed them.

Such are the great objects which ancient history presents; exhibiting to our view all the kingdoms and empires of the world, and at the same time, all the great men who are any way conspicuous; thereby instructing us, by example rather than precept, in the arts of empire and war, the principles of government, the rules of policy, the maxims of civil society, and the conduct of life that suits all ages and conditions.

We acquire, at the same time, another knowledge, which cannot but excite the attention of all persons who have a taste and inclination for polite learning; I mean, the manner in which arts and sciences were invented, cultivated, and improved; we there discover and trace, as it were with the eye, their origin and progress; and perceive with admiration, that the nearer we approach those countries which were once inhabited by the sons of Noah, in the greater perfection we find the arts and sciences; and that they seem to be either neglected or forgotten, in proportion to the remoteness of nations from them; so that when men attempted to revive those arts and sciences, they were obliged to go back to the source from whence they originally flowed.

3. The origin and progress of arts and sciences

I give only a transient view of these objects, though so very important, in this place, because I have already treated them with some extent elsewhere.*

But another object, of infinitely greater importance, claims our attention. For although profane history treats only of nations who had imbibed all the chimeras of a superstitious worship, and abandoned themselves to all the irregularities of which human nature, after the fall of the first man, became capable; it nevertheless proclaims universally the greatness of the Almighty, his power, his justice, and above all, the admirable wisdom with which his providence governs the universe.

4. The observing, especially, the connexion between sacred and profane history.

If the inherent conviction of this last truth raised, according to Cicero's obser-

* Vol. III. and IV. of the method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c.

vation,* the Romans above all other nations; we may, in like manner, affirm, that nothing gives history a greater superiority to many other branches of literature, than to see in a manner imprinted in almost every page of it, the precious footsteps and shining proofs of this great truth, viz. that God disposes all events as supreme Lord and Sovereign; that he alone determines the fate of kings, and the duration of empires; and that he, for reasons inscrutable to all but himself, transfers the government of kingdoms from one nation to another.

God presided at the dispersion of men, after the flood. We discover this important truth in going back to the most remote antiquity, and the origin of profane history; I mean to the dispersion of the posterity of Noah into the several countries of the earth where they settled. Liberty, chance, views of interest, a love for certain countries, and similar motives, were, in outward appearance, the only causes of the different choice which men made in these various migrations. But the Scriptures inform us, that amidst the trouble and confusion that followed the sudden change in the language of Noah's descendants, God presided invisibly over all their councils and deliberations; that nothing was transacted but by the Almighty's appointment; and that he alone guided and settled all mankind† agreeably to the dictates of his mercy and justice. *The Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the earth.*‡

God only has fixed the fate of all empires, both with respect to his own people and the reign of his Son. We must therefore consider as an indisputable principle, and as the basis and foundation to the study of profane history, that the providence of the Almighty has, from all eternity, appointed the establishment, duration, and destruction of kingdoms and empires, as well in regard to the general plan of the whole universe, known only to God, who constitutes the order and wonderful harmony of its several parts, as particularly with respect to the people of Israel, and still more with regard to the Messiah, and the establishment of the church, which is his great work, the end and design of all his other works, and ever present to his sight.—*Known to the Lord are all his works from the beginning.*§

God has vouchsafed to discover to us in holy Scripture, a part of the relation of the several nations of the earth to his own people; and the little so discovered, diffuses great light over the history of those nations, of whom we shall have but a very imperfect idea, unless we have recourse to the inspired writers. They alone display, and bring to light, the secret thoughts of princes, their incoherent projects, their foolish pride, their impious and cruel ambition; they reveal the true causes and hidden springs of victories and overthrows; of the grandeur and declension of nations; the rise and ruin of states; and teach us what judgment the Almighty forms both of princes and empires, and consequently, what idea we ourselves ought to entertain of them.

Powerful kings appointed to punish or protect Israel. Not to mention Egypt, that served at first as the cradle (if I may be allowed the expression) of the holy nation; and which afterwards was a severe prison, and a fiery furnace to it;|| and, at last, the scene of the most astonishing miracles that God ever wrought in favour of Israel: not to mention, I say, Egypt, the mighty empires of Nineveh and Babylon furnish a thousand proofs of the truth here advanced.

Their most powerful monarchs, Tiglath-Pilezar, Salmanazar, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and many more, were in God's hand, as so many instruments, which he employed to punish the transgressions of his people. *He lifted up an ensign to the nations from far, and hissed unto them from the end of the earth, to come and receive his orders.*¶ He himself put the sword into their hands, and appointed their marches daily. He breathed courage and ardor into their soldiers, made their armies indefatigable in labour, and invincible in battle; and spread terror and consternation wherever they directed their steps.

The rapidity of their conquests ought to have enabled them to discern the invi-

* Pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernaque perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.—Orat. de Arusp. Resp. n. 19.

† The ancients, themselves, according to Pindar, (Olymp. Od. vii.) retained some idea, that the dispersion of men was not the effect of chance, but that they had been settled in different countries by the appointment of Providence.

‡ Gen. xi. 8, 9.

§ Acts, xv. 18.

¶ I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage. Exod. vi. 6. Out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt. Deut. iv. 20.

† Isai. v. 26, 30. x. 28, 34. xiii. 4, 5.

sible hand that conducted them. But, says one of these kings* in the name of the rest, *By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent: And I have removed the bounds of the people and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand hath found as a nest, the riches of the people; and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth or peeped.*†

But this monarch, so august and wise in his own eye, how did he appear in that of the Almighty? Only as a subaltern agent, a servant sent by his master: *The rod of his anger, and the staff in his hand.*‡ God's design was to chastise, not to extirpate his children. But Sennacherib *had it in his heart to destroy and cut off all nations.*§ What then will be the issue of this kind of contest between the designs of God, and those of this prince?|| At the time that he fancied himself already possessed of Jerusalem, the Lord, with a single blast, disperses all his proud hopes; destroys, in one night, a hundred fourscore and five thousand of his forces: and putting *a hook in his nose, and a bridle in his lips*¶ (as though he had been a wild beast,) he leads him back to his own dominions, covered with infamy, through the midst of those nations, who, but a little before, had beheld him in all his pride and haughtiness.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, appears still more visibly governed by a Providence, to which he himself is an entire stranger, although it presides over all his deliberations, and determines all his actions.

Being come at the head of his army to two highways, the one of which led to Jerusalem, and the other to Rabbah, the chief city of the Ammonites, this king, not knowing which of them would be best for him to strike into, debates for some time with himself, and at last casts lots.** God makes the lot fall on Jerusalem, to fulfil the menaces he had pronounced against that city; viz. to destroy it, to burn the temple, and lead its inhabitants into captivity.

One would imagine, at first sight, that this king had been prompted to besiege Tyre, merely from a political view, viz. that he might not leave behind him so powerful and well fortified a city; nevertheless, a superior will had decreed the siege of Tyre.†† God designed, on one side, to humble the pride of Ithobal its king, who fancying himself wiser than Daniel, whose fame was spread over the whole East; and ascribing entirely to his rare and uncommon prudence the extent of his dominions, and the greatness of his riches, persuaded himself that he was *a god, and sat in the seat of God.*‡‡

On the other side, he also designed to chastise the luxury, the voluptuousness, and the pride of those haughty merchants, who thought themselves kings of the sea, and sovereigns over crowned heads; and especially that inhuman joy of the Tyrians, who looked upon the fall of Jerusalem (the rival of Tyre) as their own aggrandisement. These were the motives which prompted God himself to lead Nebuchadnezzar to Tyre; and to make him execute, though unknowingly, his commands. IDCIRCO ECCE EGO ADDUCAM *ad Tyrum Nebuchodonosor.*

§§ To recompense this monarch, whose army the Almighty had caused to *serve a great service against Tyre*|| (these are God's own words;) and to compensate the Babylonish troops, for the grievous toils they had sustained during a thirteen years' siege: *I will give, saith the Lord God, the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army.*¶¶

The same Nabuchadnezzar, eager to immortalize his name by the grandeur of his exploits, was determined to heighten the glory of his conquests by his splendor and magnificence, in embellishing the capital of his empire with pompous edifices, and the most sumptuous ornaments. But while a set of adulating courtiers, on whom he lavished the highest honours and immense riches, make all places resound with his name, an august senate of watchful spirits is formed, who weigh, in the balance of truth, the actions of kings, and pronounce upon them a sentence from

* Sennacherib.

† Isai. x. 13, 14.

‡ Isai. x. 5.

§ Ibid. v. 7.

|| Ibid. ver. 12.

¶ Because thy rage against me, and thy tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook into thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest. 2 Kings, xix. 28.

** Ezek. xxi. 19, 23.

†† Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.

‡‡ Ezek. xxviii 2.

§§ This incident is related more at large in the history of the Egyptians, under the reign of Amasis.

|| Ezek. xxix. 18, 20.

¶¶ Dan. iv. 1—34.

which there lies no appeal. The king of Babylon is cited before this tribunal, in which there presides a Supreme Judge, who, to a vigilance which nothing can elude, adds a holiness that will not allow of the least irregularity. *Vigil et sanctus.* In this tribunal all Nebuchadnezzar's actions, which were the admiration and wonder of the public, are examined with rigour; and a search is made into the inward recesses of his heart, to discover his most hidden thoughts. How will this formidable inquiry end? At the instant that Nebuchadnezzar, walking in his palace, and revolving, with a secret complacency, his exploits, his grandeur and magnificence, is saying to himself, *Is not this great Babylon that I built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?** in this very instant, when, by vainly flattering himself that he held his power and kingdom from himself alone, he usurped the seat of the Almighty: a voice from heaven pronounces his sentence, and declares to him, that, *his kingdom was departed from him, that he should be driven from men, and his dwelling be with the beasts of the field, until he knew that the Most High ruled in the kingdoms of men, and gave them to whomsoever he would.*†

This tribunal, which is for ever assembled, though invisible to mortal eyes, pronounced the like sentence on those famous conquerors, on those heroes of the pagan world, who, like Nebuchadnezzar, considered themselves as the sole authors of their exalted fortune; as independent of authority of every kind, and as not holding of a superior power.

As God appointed some princes to be the instruments of his vengeance, he made others the dispensers of his goodness. He ordained Cyrus to be the deliverer of his people; and to enable him to support with dignity so glorious a function, he endued him with all the qualities which constitute the greatest captains and princes; and caused that excellent education to be given him, which the heathens so much admired, though they neither knew the author nor the true cause of it.

We see in profane history the extent and swiftness of his conquests, the intrepidity of his courage, the wisdom of his views and designs; his greatness of soul, his noble generosity; his truly paternal affection for his subjects; and, in them, the grateful returns of love and tenderness, which made them consider him rather as their protector and father, than as their lord and sovereign. We find, I say, all these particulars in profane history: but we do not perceive the secret principle of so many exalted qualities, nor the hidden spring which set them in motion.

But Isaiah affords us this light, and delivers himself in words suitable to the greatness and majesty of the God who inspired him. He represents this all-powerful God of armies as leading Cyrus by the hand, marching before him, conducting him from city to city, and from province to province; *subduing nations before him, loosening the loins of kings, breaking in pieces gates of brass, cutting in sunder the bars of iron,* throwing down the walls and bulwarks of cities, and putting him in possession of *the treasures of darkness, and the hidden riches of secret places.*‡

The prophet also tells us the cause and motive of all these events.§ It was in order to punish Babylon, and to deliver Judah, that the Almighty conducts Cyrus, step by step, and gives success to all his enterprises. *I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways, for Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect.*|| But this prince is so blind and ungrateful, that he does not know his Master, nor remember his benefactor. *I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me;—I girded thee, though thou hast not known me.*¶

Men seldom form to themselves a right judgment of true glory, and the duties essential to regal power. The Scripture only A fine image of the regal office. gives us a full idea of them, and this it does in a wonderful manner,** under the image of a very large and strong tree, whose top reaches to heaven, and whose branches extend to the extremities of the earth. As its foliage is very abundant, and it is bowed down with fruit, it constitutes the ornament and felicity of the plains around it. It supplies a grateful shade, and a secure retreat to beasts of every

* Dan. iv. 30.

† Dan. iv. 31, 32.

‡ "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which called thee by thy name, am the God of Israel."—Isai. xlv. 1—3.

§ Isai. xlv. 13, 14.

|| Isai. xlv. 13, 4.

¶ Isai. xlv. 4, 5.

** Dan. iv. 7, 9.

kind; animals, both wild and tame, are safely lodged under its hospitable branches; the birds of heaven dwell in the boughs of it, and it supplies food to all living creatures.

Can there be a more just or more instructive idea of the kingly office, whose true grandeur and solid glory does not consist in that splendour, pomp, and magnificence which surround it; nor in that reverence and exterior homage which are paid to it by subjects: but in the real services and solid advantages it procures to nations, whose support, defence, security, and asylum, it forms, (both from its nature and institution,) at the same time that it is the fruitful source of terrestrial blessings of every kind; especially with regard to the poor and weak, who ought to find, beneath the shade and protection of royalty, a sweet peace and tranquillity not to be interrupted or disturbed; while the monarch himself sacrifices his ease, and experiences alone those storms and tempests from which he shelters others?

Methinks the reality of this noble image, and the execution of this great plan (religion only excepted,) appears in the government of Cyrus, of which Xenophon has given us a picture, in his beautiful preface to the history of that prince. He has there specified a great number of nations, which, though far distant one from another, and differing widely in their manners, customs, and language, were however all united by the same sentiments of esteem, reverence, and love for a prince, whose government they wished, if possible, to have continued for ever, so much happiness and tranquillity did they enjoy under it.*

To this amiable and salutary government, let us oppose the A just idea of the conquerors of antiquity. idea which the sacred writings give us of those monarchs and conquerors, so much boasted by antiquity, who, instead of making the happiness of mankind the sole object of their care, were prompted by no other motives than those of interest and ambition. †The Holy Spirit represents them under the symbols of monsters generated from the agitation of the sea, from the tumult, confusion, and dashing of the waves one against the other; and under the image of cruel wild beasts, which spread terror and desolation universally, and are for ever gorging themselves with blood and slaughter. How strong and expressive is this colouring!

Nevertheless, it is often from such destructive models that the rules and maxims of the education generally bestowed on the children of the great are borrowed; and it is there ravages of nations, the scourgers of mankind, they are destined to resemble. By inspiring them with the sentiments of a boundless ambition, and the love of false glory, they become (to borrow an expression from Scripture) *young lions: they learn to catch the prey, and devour men—to lay waste cities, to turn lands and their fatness into desolation by the noise of their roaring.*‡ And when this young lion is grown up, God tells us, that the noise of his exploits, and the renown of his victories, are nothing but a frightful roaring, which fills all places with terror and desolation.

The examples I have hitherto mentioned, and which are extracted from the history of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, prove sufficiently the supreme power exercised by God over all empires; and the relation he thought fit to establish between the rest of the nations of the earth, and his own peculiar people. The same truth appears as conspicuously under the kings of Syria and Egypt, successors of Alexander the Great: between whose history, and that of the Jews under the Maccabees, every body knows the close connexion.

To these incidents, I cannot forbear adding another, which, though universally known, is not therefore the less remarkable; I mean, the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. When he had entered that city, and viewed all the fortifications of it, this prince, though a heathen, owned the all-powerful arm of the God of Israel, and in a rapture of admiration, cried out, “It is manifest that the Almighty has fought for us, and has driven the Jews from those towers, since neither the utmost human force, nor that of all the engines in the world, could have effected it.”§

† Dan. vii.

‡ Exek. xix. 3, 7.

§ Joseph. l. iii. c. 46.

* Εδουλόγη ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμὲ κλεῖν τὸ σωτήν τῷ πάντας αὐτῷ κηρίζησθαι, ὥστε ἂν τῇ αὐτῷ γυνάμει δέξῃσιν κυεῖν ἄσθῆσι.

God has always disposed of human events relatively to the reign of the Messiah.

Besides the visible and sensible connexion of sacred and profane history, there is another more sacred and more distinct relation with respect to the Messiah, for whose coming the Almighty, whose work was ever present to his sight, prepared mankind from far, even by the state of ignorance and dissoluteness in which he suffered them to be immersed during four thousand years. It was to show the necessity there was of our having a Mediator, that God permitted the nations to walk after their own ways; and that neither the light of reason, nor the dictates of philosophy, could dispel their clouds of error, or reform their depraved inclinations.

When we take a view of the grandeur of empires, the majesty of princes, the glorious actions of great men, the order of civil societies, and the harmony of the different members of which they are composed, the wisdom of legislators, and the learning of philosophers, the earth seems to exhibit nothing to the eye of man but what is great and resplendent; nevertheless, in the eye of God, it was equally barren and uncultivated, as at the first instant of the creation by the Almighty *fiat. The earth was WITHOUT FORM AND VOID.** This is saying but little: it was wholly polluted and impure, (the reader will observe that I speak here of the heathens,) and appeared to God only as the haunt and retreat of ungrateful and perfidious men, as it did at the time of the flood. The earth was corrupt before God, and was filled with iniquity.†

Nevertheless, the sovereign arbiter of the universe, who, pursuant to the dictates of his wisdom, dispenses both light and darkness, and knows how to check the impetuous torrent of human passions, would not permit mankind, though abandoned to the utmost corruptions, to degenerate into absolute barbarity, and brutalize themselves, in a manner by the extinction of the first principles of the law of nature, as is seen in several savage nations. Such an obstacle would have retarded too much the rapid course promised by him to the first preachers of the doctrine of his Son.

He darted from far into the minds of men the rays of several great truths, to dispose them for the reception of others of a more important nature. He prepared them for the instructions of the gospel, by those of philosophers; and it was with this view that God permitted the heathen professors to examine, in their schools, several questions, and establish several principles, which are nearly allied to religion; and to engage the attention of mankind, by the spirit and beauty of their disputations. It is well known, that the philosophers inculcate, in every part of their writings, the existence of a God, the necessity of a providence that presides over the government of the world, the immortality of the soul, the ultimate end of man, the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked, the nature of those duties which constitute the bond of society, the character of the virtues that are the basis of mortality, as prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, and such like truths, which, though incapable of guiding men to righteousness, yet they were of use to scatter certain clouds, and to dispel certain obscurities.

It is by an effect of the same Providence, which prepared from far the ways of the gospel, that, when the Messiah revealed himself in the flesh, God had united together a great number of nations, by the Greek and Latin tongues; and had subjected to one monarch from the ocean to the Euphrates, all the people not united by language, in order to give a more free course to the preaching of the apostles. When profane history is studied with judgment and maturity, it must lead us to these reflections, and point out to us the manner in which the Almighty makes the empires of the earth subservient to the reign of his Son.

Exterior talents indulged to the heathens. It ought likewise to teach us the value of all that glitters most in the eye of the world, and is most capable of dazzling it. Valour fortitude, skill in government, profound policy, merit in magistracy, capacity for the most abstruse sciences, beauty of genius, delicacy of taste, and perfection in all arts: these are the objects which profane history exhibits to us, which excite our admiration, and often our envy. But at the same time, this very history ought to remind us, that the Almighty, ever since the creation, has indulged to his enemies all those shining qualities which the world esteems, and on which it frequently bestows the

* Gen. i. 2.

† Gen. vi. ii.

highest eulogiums; and, on the contrary, that he often refuses them to his most faithful servants, whom he endues with talents of an infinitely superior nature, though men neither know their value, nor are desirous of them. *Happy is that people that is in such a case; yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord.**

I shall conclude this first part of my preface with a reflection which results naturally from what has been said. Since it is ^{We must not be too profuse in our applauses of them.} certain, that all these great men, who were so much boasted of in profane history, were so unhappy as not to know the true God, and to displease him; we should therefore be particularly careful not to extol them too much. St. Austin, in his *Retractions*, repents his having lavished so many encomiums on Plato, and the followers of his philosophy; because these, says he, were impious men, whose doctrine, in many points, was contrary to that of Jesus Christ.†

However, we are not to imagine, that St. Austin supposes it to be unlawful for us to admire and praise whatever is either beautiful in the actions, or true in the maxims of the heathens. He ‡ only advises us to correct whatever is erroneous, and to approve whatever is conformable to rectitude and justice in them. He applauds the Romans on many occasions, and particularly in his books *De Civitate Dei*,§ which is one of the last and finest of his works. He there shows, that the Almighty raised them to be victorious over nations and sovereigns, of a great part of the earth, because of the gentleness and equity of their government (alluding to the happy ages of the commonwealth:) thus bestowing on virtues, that were merely human, rewards of the same kind with which that people, though very judicious in other respects, were so unhappy as to content themselves. St. Austin therefore does not condemn the encomiums which are bestowed on the heathens, but only the excess of them.

Students ought to take care, and especially we, who by the duties of our profession are obliged to be perpetually conversant with heathen authors, not to enter too far into the spirit of them; not to imbibe unperceived, their sentiments, by lavishing too much applause on their heroes; nor to give into excesses, which the heathens indeed did not consider as such, because they were not acquainted with virtues of a purer kind. Some persons, whose friendship I esteem as I ought, and for whose learning and judgment, I have the highest regard, have found this defect in some parts of my work, on the *Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres*, &c. and are of opinion that I have gone too great lengths in the encomiums I bestow on the illustrious men of antiquity. I indeed own, that the expressions on those occasions are sometimes too strong and too unguarded: however, I imagined that I had supplied a proper corrective to this, by the hints with which I have interspersed those four volumes, and therefore, that it would be only losing time to repeat them; not to mention my having laid down, in different places, the principles which the fathers of the church establish on this head, in declaring with St. Austin, that without true piety, that is, without a sincere worship of God, there can be no true virtue; and that no virtue can be such, whose object is worldly glory; a truth, says this father, acknowledged universally by those who are inspired with real and solid piety. *Illud constat, inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem sine vera pietate, id est veri Dei vero cultu, veram posse habere virtutem; nec eam veram esse, quando glorie servet humanae||*

When I observed that Perseus had not resolution enough to kill himself,¶ I did not thereby pretend to justify the practice of the heathens, who looked upon suicide as lawful; but simply to relate an incident, and the judgment which Paulus Æmilius passed on it. Had I barely hinted a word or two against that custom, it would have obviated all mistake, and left no room for censure.

The ostracism, employed at Athens against persons of the greatest merit; theft connived at, as one would imagine, by Lycurgus in Sparta; an equality with regard to possessions established in the same city, by the authority of the state, and things of a like nature, may admit of some difficulty. However, I shall pay a more immediate

* Psal. cxliv. 15.

† Laus ipsa, qua Platonem vel Platonicos seu academicos philosophos tantum extuli quantum impios homines non oportuit, non immerito mihi displicuit; præsertim quorum contra errores magnos defendenda est Christiana doctrina.—Retract. l. i. c. 1.

‡ Id in quoque corrigendum, quod pravum est; quod autem rectum est, approbandum.—De Bapt. con Donat. l. vii. c. 16.

§ Lib. v. cap. 19, 21, &c.

De Civitate Dei, lib. v. c. 19.

¶ Vol. IV. p. 385.

attention to these particulars,* when the course of the history brings me to them; and shall be proud of receiving such lights as the learned and unprejudiced may please to communicate.

In a work like that I now offer to the public, intended more immediately for the instruction of youth, it were heartily to be wished, there might not be a single thought or expression that could contribute to inculcate false or dangerous principles. When I first set about writing the present history, I proposed this for my maxim, the importance of which I perfectly conceive, but am far from imagining that I have always observed it, though it was my intention to do so; and therefore on this, as on many other occasions, I shall stand in need of the reader's indulgence.

As I write principally for the instruction of youth, and for persons who do not intend to make very deep researches into ancient history, I shall not crowd this work with a sort of erudition, that otherwise might have been introduced naturally into it, but does not suit my purpose. My design is, in giving a continued series of ancient history, to extract from the Greek and Latin authors all that I shall judge most useful and entertaining with respect to the transactions, and most instructive with regard to the reflections.

I wish it were possible for me to avoid the dry sterility of epitomes, which convey no distinct idea to the mind; and at the same time, the tedious accuracy of long histories, which tire the reader's patience. I am sensible that it is difficult to steer exactly between the two extremes; and although, in the two parts of history which commence this work, I have retrenched a great part of what we meet with in ancient authors, they may still be thought too long; but I was afraid of spoiling the incidents, by being too studious of brevity. However the taste of the public shall be my guide, to which I will endeavour to conform hereafter.

I was so happy as not to displease the public in my first attempt.† I wish the present work may be equally successful, but dare not raise my hopes so high. The subjects I here treated, *viz.* polite literature, poetry, eloquence, and curious pieces of history, gave me an opportunity of introducing into it, from ancient and modern authors, whatever is most beautiful, affecting, delicate, and just, with regard both to thought and expression. The beauty and justness of the things themselves which I offered the reader, made him more indulgent to the manner in which they were presented to him; and besides, the variety of the subjects supplied the want of those graces which might have been expected from the style and composition.

But I have not the same advantage in the present work, the choice of the subjects not being entirely at my discretion. In a series of history, an author is often obliged to introduce a great many things that are not always very interesting, especially with regard to the origin and rise of empires; these parts are generally overrun with thorns, and offer very few flowers. However, the sequel furnishes matter of a more pleasing nature, and events that engage more strongly the reader's attention; and I shall take care to make use of whatever is most valuable in the best authors. In the mean time, I must intreat the reader to remember, that in a widely extended and beautiful region, the eye does not every where meet with golden harvests, smiling meads, and fruitful orchards; but sees, at different intervals, wild and less cultivated tracts of land. And to use another comparison after Pliny, ‡ some trees in the spring emulously shoot forth a numberless multitude of blossoms, which by this rich dress, (the splendour and vivacity of whose colours charm the eye,) proclaim a happy abundance in a more advanced season; while other trees, § of a less gay and florid kind, though they bear good fruits, have not, however, the fragrance and beauty of blossoms, nor seem to share in the joy of reviving nature. The reader will easily apply this image to the composition of history.

To adorn and enrich my own, I will be so ingenuous as to confess, that I do not scruple, nor am ashamed, to rifle wherever I come; and that I often do not cite the authors from whom I transcribe, because of the liberty I take to make some slight

* This Mr. Rollin has done admirably, in the several volumes of his Ancient History.

† The method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c. The English translation (in four volumes) of this excellent piece of criticism, has gone through several editions.

‡ *Arborum flos, est pleni veris indicium, et anni renascentis flos gaudium arborum. Tunc se novas, aliasque quam sunt, ostendunt, tunc variis colorum picturis in certamen usque luxuriant. Sed hoc negatum plerisque. Non enim omnes florent, et sunt tristes quædam, quæque non sentiant gaudia annorum; nec ullo flore exhilarantur, natalesve pomorum recursus annuos versicolorum nuncio promittunt.*—Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xvi. c. 25.

§ As the fig trees.

alterations. I have made the best use in my power of the solid reflections that occur in the second and third part of the Bishop of Meaux's * *Universal History*, which is one of the most beautiful, and most useful books in our language. I have also received great assistance from the learned Dean Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, in which he has traced and cleared up, in an admirable manner, the particulars relating to ancient history. I shall take the same liberty with whatever comes in my way that may suit my design, and contribute to its perfection.

I am very sensible, that it is not so much for a person's reputation thus to make use of other men's labours, and that it is in a manner renouncing the name and quality of author. But I am not over-fond of that title, and shall be extremely well pleased, and think myself very happy, if I can but deserve the name of a good compiler, and supply my readers with a tolerable history, who will not be over-solicitous to inquire what hand it comes from, provided they are pleased with it.

Students, with a very moderate application, may easily go through this course of history in a year, without interrupting their other studies. According to my plan, my work should be given to the highest form but one. Youths in this class are capable of pleasure and improvement from this history; and I would not have them enter upon that of the Romans, till they study rhetoric.

It would have been useful, and even necessary, to have given some idea of the ancient authors from whom I have extracted the following materials. But the course itself of the history will show this, and naturally give me an opportunity of producing them.

The judgment we ought to form of the auguries, prodigies, and oracles of the ancients. In the mean time it may not be improper to take notice of the superstitious credulity objected to most of these authors, with regard to auguries, auspices, prodigies, dreams and oracles; and, indeed we are shocked to see writers, so judicious in all other respects, lay it down as a kind of law, to relate these particulars with a scrupulous accuracy, and to dwell gravely on a tedious detail of trifling and ridiculous ceremonies, such as the flight of birds to the right or left hand, signs discovered in the smoking entrails of beasts, the greater or less greediness of chickens in pecking corn, and a thousand similar absurdities.

It must be confessed, that a reader of judgment cannot, without astonishment, see the most illustrious persons among the ancients, for wisdom and knowledge; generals who were the least liable to be influenced by popular opinions, and most sensible how necessary it is to take advantage of auspicious moments; the wisest councils of princes perfectly well skilled in the arts of government; the most august assemblies of grave senators; in a word, the most powerful and most learned nations in all ages; to see, I say, all these so unaccountably weak as to make the decision of the greatest affairs such as the declaring war, the giving battle, or pursuing a victory, depends on the trifling practices and customs above mentioned; deliberations that were of the utmost importance, and on which the fate and welfare of kingdoms frequently depended.

But at the same time, we must be so just as to own that their manners, customs and laws, would not permit men in these ages to dispense with the observation of these practices; that education, hereditary tradition transmitted from immemorial time, the universal belief and consent of different nations, the precepts and even examples of philosophers; that all these, I say, made the practices in question appear venerable in their eyes; and that these ceremonies how absurd soever they may appear to us, and are really so in themselves, constituted part of the religion and public worship of the ancients.

Their's was a false religion, and a mistaken worship; and yet the principle of it was laudable, and founded in nature; the stream was corrupted, but the fountain was pure. Man when abandoned to his own ideas, sees nothing beyond the present moment. Futurity is to him an abyss invisible to the most eagle-eyed the most piercing sagacity, and exhibits nothing on which he may fix his views, or form any resolution with certainty. He is equally feeble and impotent with regard to the execution of his designs. He is sensible that he is dependent entirely on a Supreme Pow-

er, that disposes all events with absolute authority, and which in spite of his utmost efforts, and of the wisdom of the best concerted schemes, by only raising the smallest obstacle and slightest disappointments, renders it impossible for him to execute his measures.

This obscurity and weakness oblige him to have recourse to a superior knowledge and power; he is forced, both by his immediate wants, and the strong desire he has to succeed in all his undertakings, to address that Being, who he is sensible has reserved to himself alone the knowledge of futurity, and the power of disposing it as he sees fitting. He accordingly directs prayers, makes vows and offers sacrifices, to prevail, if possible with the Deity to reveal himself either in dreams, in oracles, or other signs, which may manifest his will; fully convinced that nothing can happen but by the divine appointment and that is a man's greatest interest to know this supreme will in order to conform his actions to it.

This religious principle of dependence on, and veneration of, the Supreme Being, is natural to man; it is imprinted deep in his heart; he is reminded of it by the inward sense of his extreme indigence, and by all the objects which surround him; and it may be affirmed, that this perpetual recourse to the Deity is one of the principal foundations of religion, and the strongest band by which man is united to his Creator.

Those who were so happy as to know the true God, and were chosen to be his peculiar people, never failed to address him in all their wants and doubts, in order to obtain his succour and the manifestation of his will. He accordingly was so gracious as to reveal himself to them; to conduct them by apparitions, dreams, oracles, and prophecies; and to protect them by miracles of the most astonishing kind.

But those who were so blind as to substitute falsehood in the place of truth, directed themselves, for the like aid, to fictitious and deceitful deities, who were not able to answer their expectations, nor recompense the homage that mortals paid them, in any other way than by error and illusion and a fraudulent imitation of the conduct of the true God.

Hence arose the vain observation of dreams, which, from a superstitious credulity, they mistook for salutary warnings from heaven; those obscure and equivocal answers of oracles, beneath whose veil the spirits of darkness concealed their ignorance; and by a studied ambiguity reserved to themselves an evasion or subterfuge, whatever might be the issue of the event. To this are owing the prognostics, with regard to futurity, which men fancied they should find in the entrails of beasts, in the flight and singing of birds, in the aspect of the planets, in fortuitous accidents, and in the caprice of chance; those dreadful prodigies that filled a whole nation with terror, and which it was believed nothing could expiate but mournful ceremonies, and even sometimes the effusion of human blood; in fine, those black inventions of magic, those delusions, enchantments, sorceries, invocations of ghosts, and many other kinds of devination.

All I have here related was a received usage, observed by the heathen nations in general; and this usage was founded on the principles of that religion of which I have given a short account. We have a signal proof of this in the *Cyropædia*.* where Cambyses the father of Cyrus, gives that young prince such noble instructions, instructions admirably well adapted to form the great captain and great prince. He exhorts him above all things, to pay the highest reverence to the gods; and not to undertake any enterprise, whether important or inconsiderable, without first calling upon and consulting them; he enjoins him to honour priests and augurs, as being their ministers and the interpreters of their will; but yet not to trust or abandon himself implicitly and blindly to them, till he had first learnt every thing relating to the science of divination of auguries and auspices. The reason he gives for the subordination and dependence in which kings ought to live with regard to the gods, and the necessity they are under of consulting them in all things is this: how clear sighted soever mankind may be in the ordinary course of affairs; their views are always very narrow and limited with regard to futurity; whereas the Deity, at a single glance, takes in all ages and events. "As the gods," says Cambyses to his son, "are eternal, they know equally all things, past, present, and to come." "With regard to the mortals who address them, they give salutary counsels to those whom they are pleased to favour, that they may not be ignorant of what things they ought, or ought not, to undertake. If it is observed, that the deities do not give the like councils to all men,

* Xenoph. in *Cyrop.* l. i. 25. p. 27.

we are not to wonder at it, since no necessity obliges them to attend to the welfare of those persons on whom they do not vouchsafe to confer their favour."

Such was the doctrine of the most learned and most enlightened nations, with respect to the different kinds of divination; and it is no wonder that the authors who wrote the history of those nations, thought it incumbent on them to give an exact detail of such particulars as constituted part of their religion and worship, and was frequently in a manner the soul of their deliberation, and the standard of their conduct. I therefore was of opinion, for the same reason, that it would not be proper for me to omit entirely in the ensuing history, what relates to this subject, though I have, however, retrenched a great part of it.

Archbishop Usher is my usual guide in chronology. In the history of the Carthaginians, I commonly set down four eras: the year from the creation of the world, which for brevity's sake, I mark thus, A. M. those of the foundation of Carthage and Rome; and lastly the year that precedes the birth of our Saviour, which I suppose to be the 4004th of the world; wherein I follow Usher and others, though they suppose it to be four years earlier.

To know in what manner the states and kingdoms were founded, that have divided the universe; the steps whereby they arose to that pitch of grandeur related in history; by what ties families and cities were united in order to constitute one body or society, and to live together under the same laws and a common authority; it will be necessary to trace things back in a manner, to the infancy of the world, and to those ages, in which mankind, being dispersed into different regions, (after the confusion of tongues,) began to people the earth.

In these early ages every father was the supreme head of his family; the arbiter and judge of whatever contests and divisions might arise within it; the natural legislator over his little society; the defender and protector of those who, by their birth, education, and weakness, were under his protection and safeguard.

But although these masters enjoyed an independent authority, they made a mild and paternal use of it. So far from being jealous of their power, they neither governed with haughtiness, nor decided with tyranny. As they were obliged by necessity to associate their family in their domestic labours, they also summoned them together, and asked their opinion in matters of importance. In this manner all affairs were transacted in concert, and for the common good.

The laws which paternal vigilance established in this little domestic senate being dictated with no other view than to promote the general welfare, concerted with such children as were come to years of maturity, and accepted by the inferiors with a full and free consent, were religiously kept and preserved in families, as an hereditary polity, to which they owed their peace and security.

But different motives gave rise to different laws. One man overjoyed at the birth of a first-born son, resolved to distinguish him from his future children, by bestowing on him a more considerable share of his possessions, and giving him a greater authority in his family. Another more attentive to the interest of a beloved wife, or darling daughter, whom he wanted to settle in the world, thought it incumbent on him to secure their rights and increase their advantages. The solitary and cheerless state to which a wife would be reduced in case she should become a widow, affected more intimately another man, and made him provide beforehand for the subsistence and comfort of a woman who formed his felicity.

In proportion as every family increased, by the birth of children and their marrying into other families, they extended their little domain, and formed, by insensible degrees, towns and cities. From these different views, and others of the like nature, arose the peculiar customs of nations, as well as their rights, which are infinitely various.

These societies, growing in process of time very numerous, and the families being divided into several branches, each of which had its head, whose different interests and characters might interrupt the general tranquillity; it was necessary to intrust one person with the government of the whole, in order to unite all these chiefs or heads under a single authority, and to maintain the public peace by a uniform administration. The idea which men still retained of the paternal government, and the happy effects they had experienced from it, prompted them to choose from among their wisest and most virtuous men, him in whom they had observed the most tender

and fartherly disposition. Neither ambition nor cabal had the least share in this choice; probity alone, and the reputation of virtue and equity, decided on these occasions, and gave the preference to the most worthy.*

To heighten the lustre of their newly acquired dignity, and enable them the better to put the laws in execution; as well as to devote themselves entirely to the public good, to defend the state against the invasions of their neighbours, and the factions of discontented citizens, the title of king was bestowed upon them, a throne was erected, and a sceptre put into their hands; homage was paid them, officers were assigned, and guards appointed for the security of their persons; tributes were granted; they were invested with full powers to administer justice, and for this purpose were armed with a sword, in order to restrain injustice, and punish crimes.

At first every city had its particular king, who being more solicitous to preserve his dominion than to enlarge it, confined his ambition within the limits of his native country.† But the almost unavoidable feuds which break out between neighbours, jealousy against a more powerful king, the turbulent and restless spirit of a prince, his martial disposition or thirst of aggrandizing himself, and displaying his abilities, gave rise to wars which frequently ended in the entire subjection of the vanquished, whose cities were by that means possessed by the victor, and insensibly increased his dominions. Thus a first victory paving a way to a second, and making a prince more powerful and enterprising, several cities and provinces were united under one monarch, and formed kingdoms of a greater or less extent, according to the degree of ardour with which the victor had pushed his conquests.‡

The ambition of some of these princes being too vast to confine itself within a single kingdom, it broke over all bounds, and spread universally like a torrent, or the ocean; swallowed up kingdoms and nations; and gloried in depriving princes of their dominions who had not done them the least injury; in carrying fire and sword into the most remote countries, and in leaving every where, bloody traces of their progress! Such was the origin of those famous empires which included a great part of the world.

Princes made various uses of victory, according to the diversity of their dispositions or interests. Some considering themselves as absolute masters of the conquered, and imagining they were sufficiently indulgent in sparing their lives, bereaved them as well as their children of their possessions, their country, and their liberty; subjected them to a most severe captivity; employed them in those arts which are necessary for the support of life, in the lowest and most servile offices of the house, in the painful toils of the field; and frequently forced them, by the most inhuman treatment, to dig in mines, and ransack the bowels of the earth, merely to satiate their avarice; and hence mankind were divided into freeman and slaves, masters and bondmen.

Others introduced the custom of transporting whole nations into new countries, where they settled them, and gave them lands to cultivate.

Other princes again, of more gentle dispositions, contented themselves with only obliging the vanquished nations to purchase their liberties, and the enjoyment of their laws and privileges, by annual tributes laid on them for that purpose; and sometimes they would suffer kings to sit peaceably on their thrones, upon condition of their paying them some kind of homage.

But such of these monarchs as were the wisest and ablest politicians, thought it glorious to establish a kind of equality between the nations newly conquered and their other subjects, granting the former almost all the rights and privileges which the others enjoyed. And by this means a great number of nations that were spread over different and far distant countries, constituted, in some measure, but one city, at least but one people.

Thus I have given a general and concise idea of mankind, from the earliest monuments which history has preserved on this subject, the particulars whereof I shall endeavor to relate, in treating of each empire and nation. I shall not touch upon the his-

* Quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provchebat.—Justin. l. i. c. 1.

† Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat. Intra suam cuique patriam regna finiebantur.—Justin. l. i. c. 1.

‡ Domitis proxinis, cum accessione virium fortior ad alios transiret, et proxima quæque victoria instrumentum sequentis esset, totius orientis populos subegit.—Justin. ibid.

tory of the Jews nor that of the Romans. I begin with the Egyptians and Carthaginians, because the former are of very great antiquity, and as the history of both is less blended with that of other nations; whereas those of other states are more interwoven, and sometimes succeed one another.

REFLECTIONS ON THE DIFFERENT SORTS OF GOVERNMENTS.

THE multiplicity of governments established among the different nations of whom I am to treat, exhibits, at first view, to the eye and to the understanding, a spectacle highly worthy our attention, and shows the astonishing variety which the sovereign of the world has constituted in the empires that divide it, by the diversity of inclinations and manners observable in each of those nations. We herein perceive the characteristic of the Deity, who, ever resembling himself in all the works of his creation, takes a pleasure to paint and display therein, under a thousand shapes, an infinite wisdom, by a wonderful fertility, and an admirable simplicity: a wisdom that can form a single work, and compose a whole, perfectly regular, from all the different parts of the universe, and all the productions of nature notwithstanding the infinite manner in which they are multiplied and diversified.

In the East, the form of government that prevails is the monarchical; which being attended with a majestic pomp, and a haughtiness, almost inseparable from supreme authority, naturally tends to exact a more distinguished respect, and a more entire submission, from those in subjection to its power. When we consider Greece, one would be apt to conclude, that liberty and a republican spirit had breathed themselves into every part of that country, and had inspired almost all the different people who inhabited it with a violent desire of independence; diversified however, under various kinds of government, but all equally abhorrent of subjection and slavery. In one part of Greece the supreme power is lodged in the people, and is what we call a *democracy*; in another, it is vested in the assembly of wise men, and those advanced in years, to which the name of *aristocracy* is given; in a third republic, the government is lodged in a small number of select and powerful persons and is called *oligarchy*; in others, again, it is a mixture of all these parts, or of several of them, and sometimes even of regal power.

It is manifest, that this variety of governments, which all tend to the same point, though by different ways, contributed very much to the beauty of the universe; and that it can proceed from no other being than Him who governs it with infinite wisdom, and who diffuses universally an order and symmetry, the effect of which is to unite the several parts together, and by that means to form one work of the whole. For although in this diversity of governments, some are better than others, we nevertheless may very justly affirm, that *there is no power but of God! and that the powers that be are ordained of God.** But neither every use that is made of this power, nor every means for the attainment of it, are from God, though every power be of him: and when we see these governments degenerating sometimes to violence, factions, despotic sway, and tyranny, it is wholly to the passions of mankind that we must ascribe those irregularities, which are directly opposite to the primitive institution of states, and which a superior wisdom afterward reduces to order, always making them contribute to the execution of his designs, full of equity and justice,

This scene or spectacle, as I before observed, highly deserves our attention and admiration, and will display itself gradually, in proportion as I advance in relating the ancient history, of which it seems to me to form an essential part. It is with the view of making the reader attentive to this object, that I think it incumbent on me to add to the account of facts and events, what regards the manners and customs of nations; because these show their genius and character, which we may call, in some measure, the soul of history. For to take notice only of eras and events, and confine our curiosity and researches to them, would be imitating the imprudence of a traveller, who, in vesting many countries should content himself with knowing their exact distance from each other, and consider only the situation of the several places, the manner of building, and the dresses of the people, without giving himself the least trouble to converse with the inhabitants, in order to inform himself of their genius, manners, disposition, laws, and governments. Homer, whose designs was to give, in the person of Ulysses, a model of a wise and intelligent traveller, tells us, at the

* Rom. xiii. 1.

very opening of his *Odyssey*, that his hero informed himself very exactly of the manners and customs of the several people whose cities he visited; in which he ought to be imitated by every person who applies himself to the study of history.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ASIA.

As Asia will hereafter be the principal scene of the history we are now entering upon, it may not be improper to give the reader such a general idea of it, as may communicate some knowledge of its most considerable provinces and cities.

The northern and eastern parts of Asia are less known in ancient history.

To the north are ASIATIC SARMATIA and ASIATIC SCYTHIA, which answer to Tartary.

Samatra is situated between the river *Tanais*, which divides Europe and Asia, and the river *Rha* or *Volga*. *Scythia* is divided into two parts; the one on this, the other on the other side of mount *Imaus*. The nations of Scythia best known to us are the *Sacæ* and the *Massagete*.

The most eastern parts are, SERICA, Cathay; SINARUM REGIO, China; and INDIA. This last country was better known anciently than the two former. It was divided into two parts; the one on this side the river *Ganges*, included between that river and the *Indus*, which now composes the dominions of the Great Mogul; the other part was that on the other side of the *Ganges*.

The remaining part of Asia, of which much greater mention is made in history, may be divided into five or six parts, taking it from east to west.

I. THE GREATER ASIA, which begins at the river *Indus*. The chief provinces are, GEDROSIA, CARMANIA, ARACHOSIA, DRANGIANA, BACTRIANA, the capital of which was *Bactria*; SOGDIANA, MARGIANA, HYRCANIA, near the Caspian sea; PARTHIA, MEDIA, the city *Ecbatana*: PERSIA, the cities of *Persepolis* and *Elymais*; SUSIANA, the city of *Susa*; ASSYRIA, the city of *Nineveh*, situated on the river *Tigris*; MESOPOTAMIA, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; BABYLONIA, the city of *Babylon*, on the river *Euphrates*.

II. ASIA BETWEEN THE PONTUS EUXINUS AND THE CASPIAN SEA. Therein we may distinguish four provinces. 1. COLCHIS, the river *Phasis*, and mount *Caucasus*. 2. IBERIA. 3. ALBANIA; which two last-mentioned provinces now form part of Georgia. 4. The greater ARMENIA. This is separated from the lesser by the *Euphrates*; from Mesopotamia by mount *Taurus*; and from Assyria by mount *Niphates*. Its cities are *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta*; and the river *Araxes* runs through it.

III. ASIA MINOR. This may be divided into four or five parts, according to the different situation of its provinces.

1. *Northward*, on the shore of the Pontus Euxinus; PONTUS, under three different names. Its cities are *Trapezus*, not far from which are the people called *Chalybes* or *Chaldei*; *Themiscyra*, a city on the river *Termodoom*, famous for having been the abode of the Amazons. PAPHLAGONIA, BITHYNIA; the cities of which are, *Nicia*, *Prusa*, *Nicomedia*, *Chalcedon*, opposite to Constantinople, and *Heraclæa*.

2. *Westward*, going down by the shores of the *Ægean sea*; MYSIA, of which there are two. The LESSER, in which stood *Cyzicus*, *Lampsacus*, *Parium*, *Abydos* opposite to *Sestos*, from which it is separated only by the *Dardanelles*; *Dardanum*, *Sigæum*, *Ilion*, or *Troy*; and almost on the opposite side, the little island of *Tenedos*. The rivers are the *Arsepe*, the *Granicus*, and the *Simois*. Mount *Ida*. This region is sometimes called *Phrygia Minor*, of which *Troas* is part.

THE GREATER MYSIA. *Antandros*, *Trajanopolis*, *Adramyttium*, *Pergamus*. Opposite to this Mysia is the island of LESBOS; the cities of which are, *Methymna*, where the celebrated *Arion* was born; and *Mitylene*, which has given to the whole island its modern name, *Metelin*.

ÆOLIA. *Elea*, *Cuma*, *Phocæa*.

IONIA. *Smyrna*, *Clazomenæ*, *Teos*, *Lebedus*, *Colophon*, *Ephesus*, *Priene*, *Miletus*.

CARIA. *Laodicea*, *Antiochia*, *Magnesia*, *Atabanda*. The river *Mæander*.

DORIS. *Halicarnassus* *Cnidus*.

Opposite to those four last countries are the islands CIIOS, SAMOS, PATMOS; COS; and Lower towards the south, Rhodes.

3. *Southward*, along the Mediterranean

LYCIA. The cities of which are, *Telmessus, Patara.* The river *Xanthus.* Here begins mount *Taurus*, which runs the whole length of Asia, and assumes different names, according to the several countries through which it passes.

PAMPHYLIA. *Perga, Aspendus, Sida,*

CILICIA. *Seleucia, Corycium, Tarsus,* on the river *Cydnus.* Opposite to Cilicia is the island of *Cyprus.* The cities are, *Salamis, Amathus, and Paphos.*

4. *Along the banks of the Euphrates, going up northward:*

THE LESSER ARMENIA. *Comana, Arabyza, Melitene, Satala.* The river *Melas*, which empties itself into the *Euphrates.*

5. *Inlands.*

CAPPADOCIA. The cities of which are *Neocæsarea, Comana, Pontica, Sebastia, Sebastopolis, Diocæsarea, Cæsarea,* otherwise called *Muzaca, and Tyana.*

LYCAONIA and ISAURIA. *Iconium, Isauria.*

PISIDIA. *Seleucia, and Antiochia of Pisidia.*

LYDIA. Its cities are, *Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia.* The rivers are, *Caystrus, and Hermus,* into which the *Pactolus* empties itself. Mount *Sipylus and Tmolus.*

PHRYGIA MAJOR. *Synnada, Apamia.*

IV. SYRIA, now named *Suria*, called under the Roman emperors, the *East* the chief provinces of which are,

1. **PALESTINE**, by which name is sometimes understood all *Judea.* Its cities are, *Jerusalem, Samaria, and Cæsarea Palestina.* The river *Jordan* waters it. The name of *Palestine* is also given to the land of *Canaan*, which extended along the *Mediterranean*; the chief cities of which are *Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Accaron,* and *Gath.*

2. **PHENICIA**, whose cities are, *Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus.* Its mountains, *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus.*

3. **SYRIA**, properly so called, or **ANTIOCHENA**; the cities whereof are, *Antiochia, Apamia, Laodicea, and Seleucia.*

4. **COMAGENA.** The city of *Samosata.*

5. **CÆLOSYPRIA.** The cities are, *Zeugma, Thapsacus, Palmyra, and Damascus.*

V. ARABIA PETRÆA. Its cities are, *Petra* and *Bostra.* Mount *Casius.*
DESERTA. FELIX.

OF RELIGION.

It is observable, that in all ages and regions, the several nations of the world, however various and opposite in their characters, inclinations, and manners, have always united in one essential point; the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a Supreme Being, and of external methods necessary to evince such a belief. Into whatever country we cast our eyes, we find priests, altars, sacrifices, festivals, religious ceremonies, temples, or places consecrated to religious worship. In every people we discover a reverence and awe of the divinity; a homage and honour paid to him; and an open profession of an entire dependence upon him in all their undertakings and necessities, in all their adversities and dangers. Incapable of themselves to penetrate futurity, and to ascertain events in their own favour, we find them intent upon consulting the divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows, and offerings. It is by the same supreme authority they believe the most solemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is this that gives sanction to their oaths; and to it by imprecations is referred the punishments of such crimes and enormities as escape the knowledge and power of men. On their private occasions, voyages, journeys, marriages, diseases, the divinity is still invoked. With them their every repast begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterprise formed, without his aid being first implored; to which the glory of the success is constantly ascribed by public acts of thanksgiving, and by the oblation of the most precious of the spoils, which they never fail to set apart as the indispensable right of the divinity.

They never vary in regard to the foundation of this belief. If some few persons, depraved by false philosophy, presume from time to time to rise up against this doctrine, they are immediately disclaimed by the public voice. They continue singular and alone, without making parties, or forming sects; the whole weight of the public authority falls upon them; a price is set upon their heads, while they are universally regarded as execrable persons, the bane of civil society, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of commerce.

So general, so uniform, so perpetual a consent of all the nations of the universe, which neither the prejudice of the passions, the false reasoning of some philosophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary, can proceed only from a first principle, which pervades the nature of man; from an inherent sense implanted in his heart by the Author of his being, and from an original tradition as ancient as the world itself.

Such were the source and origin of the religion of the ancients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of persisting in the purity and simplicity of these first principles; but the errors of the mind and the vices of the heart, those sad effects of the corruption of human nature, have strangely disfigured their original beauty. There are still some faint rays, some brilliant sparks of light, which a general depravity has not been able utterly to extinguish; but they are incapable of dispelling the profound darkness of the gloom which prevails almost universally, and presents nothing to view but absurdities, follies, extravagancies, licentiousness, and disorder; in a word, a hideous chaos of frantic excesses and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than these maxims of Cicero? * That we ought above all things to be convinced that there is a Supreme Being, who presides over all the events of the world, and disposes of them as sovereign lord and arbiter: that it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy: that he penetrates into, and is conscious of whatever passes in the most secret recesses of our hearts: that he treats the just and the impious according to their respective merits, that the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleasing in his sight, is not by the use of riches and magnificence in his worship, but by presenting him with a heart pure and blameless, and by adoring him with an unfeigned and profound veneration.

Sentiments so sublime and religious, were the result of the reflections of the few who employed themselves in the study of the heart of man, and in tracing him to the first principles of his institution, of which they still retained some happy, though imperfect ideas. But the whole system of their religion, the tendency of their public feasts and ceremonies, the soul of the pagan theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and professors; the very example of the gods, whose violent passions, scandalous adventures, and abominable crimes were celebrated in their hymns or odes, and proposed in some measure for the imitation, as well as adoration of the people; these were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the minds of men, and to form them to virtue and morality. It is remarkable, that in the greatest solemnities of the pagan religion, and in their most sacred and revered mysteries, far from perceiving any thing to recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the most essential duties of ordinary life; we find the authority of laws, the imperious power of custom, the presence of magistrates, the assembly of all orders of the state, the example of fathers and mothers, all conspire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and sacrilegious worship, under the name, and in a manner under the sanction, of religion itself: as we shall soon see in the sequel.

After these general reflections upon paganism, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I shall reduce this subject, though infinite in itself, to four articles, which are, 1. The feasts. 2. The oracles, auguries, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The public shows and representations of the theatre. In each of these articles, I shall treat only of what appears most worthy of the reader's curiosity, and has most relation to this history. I omit saying any thing of sacrifices, having given a sufficient idea of them elsewhere. †

OF THE FEASTS.

AN infinite number of feasts were celebrated in the several cities of Greece, and especially at Athens, of which I shall only describe three of the most famous, the Panathenea, the feasts of Bacchus, and those of Eleusis.

THE PANATHENEA.

THIS feast was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of that city to which she gave her name, ‡ as well as to the feast we speak of. Its

* Sit hoc jam a principio persuasum civibus: dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ geruntur eorum geri judicio ac numine; eosdemque optime de genere hominum mereri, et, qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem. Ad divos adeunto caste. Pietatem adhibento, opes amovento.—Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 15 et 19.

† Manner of Teaching, &c. Vol. I.

‡ Αθήνη.

institution was ancient, and it was called at first *Athenea*; but after *Theseus* had united the several towns of *Attica*, into one city, it took the name of *Panathenea*. These feasts were of two kinds, the great and the less, which were solemnized with almost the same ceremonies; the less annually, and the great upon the expiration of every fourth year.

In these feasts were exhibited racing, the gymnastic combats, and the contentions for the prizes of music and poetry. Ten commissaries, elected from the ten tribes, presided on this occasion, to regulate the forms, and distribute the rewards to the victors. This festival continued several days.

The first day, in the morning, a race was run on foot, each of the runners carrying a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other without interrupting their race. They started from *Ceramicus*, one of the suburbs of *Athens*, and crossed the whole city. The first that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the prize. In the afternoon, they ran the same course on horseback.

The gymnastic or athletic combats followed the races. The place of that exercise was upon the banks of the *Ilissus*, a small river, which runs through *Athens*, and empties itself into the sea at the *Piræus*.

Pericles first instituted the prize of music. In this dispute were sung the praises of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, who, at the expense of their lives, delivered *Athens* from the tyranny of the *Pisistratides*; to which was afterwards added the eulogy of *Thrasylbulus*, who expelled the thirty tyrants. These disputes were not only warm among the musicians, but much more so among the poets, and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in them. *Æschylus* is reported to have died with grief upon seeing the prize adjudged to *Sophocles*, who was much younger than himself.

These exercises were followed by a general procession, wherein a sail was carried with great pomp and ceremony, on which were curiously delineated the warlike actions of *Pallas* against the *Titans* and giants. This sail was affixed to a vessel, which was called by the name of the goddess. The vessel, equipped with sails, and with a thousand oars, was conducted from *Ceramicus* to the temple of *Eleusis*, not by horses or beasts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it, which put the oars in motion, and made the vessel glide along.

The march was solemn and majestic. At the head of it were old men, who carried olive branches in their hands, *ἑταλλοφόροι*; and these were chosen for the symmetry of their shape, and the vigour of their complexion. Athenian matrons, of great age, also accompanied them in the same equipage.

The grown and robust men formed the second class. They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the strangers who inhabited *Athens*, carrying mattocks, with other instruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian woman of the same age, attended by the foreigners of their own sex, carrying vessels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The third class was composed of the young persons of both sexes, and of the best families in the city. The youth wore vests, with crowns upon their heads, and sang a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddess. The maids carried baskets, in which were placed the sacred utensils proper for the ceremony, covered with veils to keep them from the sight of the spectators. The person, to whose care those sacred things were intrusted, was bound to observe a strict continence for several days before he touched them, or distributed them to the Athenian virgins;* or rather, as *Demosthenes* says, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. It was a high honour for a young woman to be chosen for so noble and august an office, and an insupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We find that *Hipparchus* treated the sister of *Harmodius* with this indignity, which extremely incensed the conspirators against the *Pisistratides*. These Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrellas and seats for them.

The children of both sexes closed the pomp of the procession.

In this august ceremony, the *ραψῳδοί* were appointed to sing certain verses of *Homer*; a manifest proofs of their estimation of the works of that poet, even with regard to religion. *Hipparchus*, son of *Pisistratus*, first introduced this custom.

* Οὐχι προσετημένον ἡμερῶν ἀρετῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον ὅλον ἡγνευκέναι.—*Demosth.* in ex-trema *Aristocratia*.

I have observed elsewhere, that in the gymnastic games of this feast, a herald proclaimed, that the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated physician Hippocrates, in gratitude for the signal services which he had rendered the state during the pestilence.

In this festival, the people of Athens put themselves, and the whole republic, under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their city, and implored of her all kinds of prosperity. From the battle of Marathon, in these public acts of worship, express mention was made of the Plateæans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

FEASTS OF BACCHUS.

THE worship of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where several feasts had been established in honour of that god; two particularly more remarkable than all the rest, called the great and the less feasts of Bacchus. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were celebrated in the open field about autumn. They were named *Lenæa*, from a Greek word that signifies a wine-press.* The great feasts were commonly called *Dionysia*, from one of the names of that god,† and were solemnized in the spring, within the city.

In each of these feasts the public were entertained with games, shows, and dramatic representations, which were attended with a vast concourse of people, and exceeding magnificence, as will be seen hereafter: at the same time the poets disputed the prize of poetry, submitting to the judgment of arbitrators, expressly chosen, their pieces, whether tragic or comic, which were then represented before the people.

These feasts continued many days. Those who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to feign of the god Bacchus. They covered themselves with the skins of wild beasts, carried a thyrsus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy leaves twisted round it.

They had drums, horns, pipes, and other instruments proper to make a great noise; and wore upon their heads wreaths of ivy and vine-branches, and of other trees sacred to Bacchus. Some represented *Silenus*, some *Pan*, others the *Satyrs*, all dressed in a suitable masquerade. Many of them were mounted on asses; others dragged goats along, for sacrifices.‡ Men and women, ridiculously transformed in this manner, appeared night and day in public, and imitating drunkenness, and dancing with the most indecent postures, ran in throngs about the mountains and forests, screaming and howling furiously; the women especially seemed more outrageous than the men, and, quite out of their senses, in their furious transports,§ invoked the god whose feast they celebrated with loud cries; εὐοῖ Βάκχῃ, Ὁρ ᾧ Ἰάκχῃ, Ὁρ Ἰεθεακχῃ, Ὁρ Ἰὼ Βάκχῃ.

This troop of Bacchanalians was followed by the virgins of the noblest families in the city, who were called *κυνήφοροι*, from carrying baskets on their heads covered with vine and ivy leaves.

To these ceremonies others were added, obscene to the last excess, and worthy of the god who could be honoured in such a manner. The spectators gave into the prevailing humour, and were seized with the same frantic spirit. Nothing was seen but dancing, drunkenness, debauchery, and all that the most abandoned licentiousness could conceive of gross and abominable. And this an entire people, reputed the wisest of all Greece, not only suffered, but admired and practised. I say an entire people; for Plato, speaking of the Bacchanals, says in direct terms, that he had seen the whole city of Athens drunk at once.||

Livy informs us, that this licentiousness of the Bacchanalians having secretly crept into Rome, the most horrid disorders were committed there under the cover of the night; besides which, all persons, who were initiated into these impure and abominable mysteries, were obliged, under the most horrid imprecations, to keep them inviolably secret. The senate, being apprised of the affair, put a stop to those sacrilegious feasts by the most severe penalties; and first banished the practisers of them from Rome, and afterwards from Italy.¶ These examples inform us, how

* *Ληνῶς.*

† *Dionysius.*

‡ Goats were sacrificed, because they spoiled the vines.

§ From this fury of the Bacchanalians, these feasts were distinguished by the name of *Orgia*, Ὁργῆ *ira*, furor.

|| Πάσαν ἰθασάμην τὴν πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διονυσια μεθύσαν.—*Liv. l. de Leg. p. 637.*

¶ *Liv. l. xxxix. n. 8, 18.*

far a mistaken sense of religion, that covers the greatest crimes with the sacred name of the Divinity, is capable of misleading the mind of man.*

THE FEASTS OF ELEUSIS.

THERE is nothing in all the pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feast of Ceres Eleusina. The ceremonies of this festival were called, by way of eminence, the Mysteries, from being, according to Pausanias, as much above all others as the gods are above men. Their origin and institution are attributed to Ceres herself, who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleusis, a small town of Attica, in search of her daughters Proserpine, whom Pluto had carried away, and finding the country afflicted with a famine, invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which she rewarded the inhabitants. She not only taught them the use of corn, but instructed them in the principles of probity, charity, civility, and humanity; from whence her mysteries were called *ἑσμοφόρια* and *Initia*. To these first happy lessons, fabulous antiquity ascribed the courtesy, politeness, and urbanity, so remarkable among the Athenians.†

These mysteries were divided into the less and the greater, of which the former served as a preparation for the latter. The less was solemnized in the month Anthesterion, which answers to our November: the great in the month Boedromion, or August. Only Athenians were admitted to these mysteries; but of them each sex, age, and condition, had right to be received. All strangers were absolutely excluded, so that Hercules, Castor, and Pollux, were obliged to be adopted as Athenians, in order to their admission; which however extended only to the lesser mysteries. I shall consider principally the great, which were celebrated at Eleusis.

Those who demanded to be initiated into them, were obliged, before their reception, to purify themselves in the lesser mysteries, by bathing in the river Ilissus, by saying certain prayers, offering sacrifices, and, above all, by living in strict continence during an interval of time prescribed them. That time was employed in instructing them in the principles and elements of the sacred doctrine of the great mysteries.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and to inspire the greater reverence and terror, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things passed upon this occasion. Visions were seen, and voices heard of an extraordinary kind. A sudden splendour dispelled the darkness of the place, and disappearing immediately, added new horrors to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes, heightened the terror and amazement; while the person admitted, stupified, and sweating through fear, heard trembling, the mysterious volumes read to him, if in such a condition he was capable of hearing at all. These nocturnal rites were attended with many disorders, which the severe law of silence, imposed on the person initiated, prevented from coming to light, as St. Gregory Nazianzen observes.‡ What cannot superstition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated! The president in this ceremony was called hierophantes. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not permitted to marry. The first who served in this function, and whom Ceres herself instructed, was Eumolpus; from whom his successors were called Eumolpides. He had three colleagues; one who carried a torch;§ another a herald, whose office was to pronounce certain mysterious words;|| and a third to attend at the altar.

Besides these officers one of the principal magistrates of the city was appointed, to take care that all the ceremonies of this feast were exactly observed. He was called the king, and was one of the nine Archons.¶ His business was to offer prayers and sacrifices. The people gave him four assistants, ** one chosen from the family of the Eumolpides, a second from that of the Ceryces, and the two last from two other

* Nihil in speciem fallacius est quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen prætenditur sceleribus.—Liv xxxix. n. 16.

† Multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperisse, atque in vitam hominum attulisse; tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vitæ exculsi ad humanitatum et mitigati sumus, initiæque ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitæ cognovimus.—Cic. l. ii. de Leg. n. 36.

‡ Teque Ceres, et Libera, quarum sacra, sicut opiniones hominum ac religiones ferunt, longe maximis atque oculissimis ceremoniis continentur: a quibus initia vitæ atque victus, legum, morum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis exempla hominibus, et civitatibus data ac dispersata esse dicuntur.—Id. Cic. in Verr. de Supplic. n. 186.

§ Οἶδεν Ἐλεῦσιν ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ τῶν περικαρμένων καὶ σιωπῆς ἔστων ἄξιόν ἐπὶ τῶν.—Orat. de Sacr. Lumin.

Δαδύχης.

|| Κηρύξ.

¶ Βασίλευς.

** Ἐπικληρίαι.

families. He had, besides, ten other ministers to assist him in the discharge of his duty, and particularly in offering sacrifices, from whence they derive their name.*

The Athenians initiated their children of both sexes very early into these mysteries, and would have thought it criminal to let them die, without such an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the goddess to whose service they devoted themselves, and was the means of a more perfect and certain happiness in the other world: while, on the contrary, such as had not been initiated, besides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed, after their descent to the shades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth, and excrement. †Diogenes the Cynic, believed nothing of the matter, and when his friends endeavoured to persuade him to avoid such a misfortune, by being initiated before his death—"What," said he, "shall Agesilaus and Epaminondas lie among mud and dung, while the vilest Athenians, because they have been initiated, possess the most distinguished places in the regions of the blessed?" Socrates was not more credulous; he would not be initiated into these mysteries, which was perhaps one cause of rendering his religion suspected.

Without this qualification, none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres; and Livy informs us of two Acarnanians, who, having followed the crowd into it upon one of the feast-days, although out of mistake and with no ill design, were both put to death without mercy.‡ It was also a capital crime to divulge the secrets and mysteries of this feast. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proscribed, and had a reward set upon his head. He intended to have made the secret cost the poet Æschylus his life, for speaking too freely of it in some of his tragedies. The disgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the same cause. Whoever had violated the secret was avoided as a wretch accursed and excommunicated.§ Pausanias, in several passages, wherein he mentions the temple of Eleusis, and the ceremonies practised there, stops short, and declares he cannot proceed, because he had been forbidden by a dream or vision.||

This feast, the most celebrated of profane antiquity, was of nine days continuance. It began on the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After some previous ceremonies and sacrifices on the first three days, upon the fourth in the evening began the procession of *the Basket*; which was laid upon an open chariot slowly drawn by six oxen, and followed by great numbers of the Athenian women.¶ They all carried mysterious baskets in their hands, filled with several things which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil of purple. This ceremony represented the basket into which Proserpine put the flowers she was gathering when Pluto seized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called the day of *the Torches*; because at night the men and women ran about with them, in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of Mount Ætna, wandered about from place to place in search of her daughter.

The sixth was the most famous day of all. It was called *Iacchus*, the name of Bacchus, son of Jupiter and Ceres, whose statue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The procession began at Cerameicus, and passing through the principal parts of the city, continued to Eleusis. The way leading to it was called *the sacred way*, and lay across a bridge over the river Cephissus. This procession was very numerous, and generally consisted of thirty thousand persons.

The temple of Eleusis, where it ended, was large enough to contain the whole multitude; and Strabo says, its extent was equal to that of the theatres, which every body knows were capable of holding a much greater number of people.** The whole way resounded with the sound of trumpets, clarions, and other musical instruments. Hymns were sung in honour of the goddesses, accompanied with dancing and other

* Τεγοπδοιοι.

† Diogen. Laert. l. vi. p. 389.

‡ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

§ Est et fideli tuta silentio
Merces. Vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcana, sub iisdem
Sit Trabibus, fragilemque mœcum
Solvat phaselum.

Hor. Od. 2. lib. iii.

Safe is the silent tongue; which none can blame:
The faithful secret merit fame,
Beneath one roof ne'er let him rest with me,
Who Ceres' mysteries reveals,
In one frail bark ne'er let us put to sea,
Nor tempt the jarring winds with spreading sails.

|| Lib. i. p. 25, & 71.

¶ Tardaque Eleusina: matris volventia plaustra.
Virg. Georg. lib. i. ver. 163.

The Eleusinian mother's mystic car.
Slow rolling—

** Her. l. viii. c. 65.

Strabo, l. ix. 395.

extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The rout before mentioned, through the sacred way and over the Cephissus, was the usual way; but after the Lacedæmonians, in the Peloponnesian war, had fortified Decelia, the Athenians were obliged to make their procession by sea, till Alcibiades re-established the ancient custom.

The seventh day was solemnized by games, and the gymnastic combats, in which the victor was rewarded with a measure of barley; without doubt, because it was at Eleusis the goddess first taught the method of raising that grain, and the use of it. The two following days were employed in some particular ceremonies, neither important nor remarkable.

During this festival, it was prohibited, under very great penalties, to arrest any person whatsoever, in order to their being imprisoned, or to present any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebrated every fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years; and no history observes that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great.* The Athenians, who were then upon the point of celebrating the great mysteries, were so much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not resolve, in so general an affliction, to solemnize a festival which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing.† It was continued down till the time of the Christian emperors: and Valentinian would have abolished it, if Prætextatus, the proconsul of Greece, had not represented, in the most lively and affecting terms, the universal sorrow which the abrogation of that feast would occasion among the people; upon which it was suffered to subsist. It is supposed to have been finally suppressed by Theodosius the Great; as were all the rest of the pagan solemnities.

OF AUGURIES, ORACLES, &c.

Nothing is more frequently mentioned in ancient history, than oracles, auguries, and divinations. No war was made, or colony settled; nothing of consequence was undertaken, either public or private, without the gods being first consulted. This was a custom universally established among the Egyptian, Assyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already observed, of its being derived from ancient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worship of the true God. It is not indeed to be questioned, but that God before the deluge did manifest his will to mankind in different methods, as he has since done to his people; sometimes in his own person, and *visa voce*, sometimes by the ministry of angels, or of prophets inspired by himself, and at other times by apparitions or in dreams. When the descendants of Noah dispersed themselves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every where retained though altered and corrupted by the darkness and ignorance of idolatry. None of the ancients have insisted more upon the necessity of consulting the gods on all occasions by augurs and oracles, than Xenophon, and he founds that necessity, as I have more than once observed elsewhere, upon a principle deduced from the most refined reason and discernment. He represents, in several places, that man of himself is very frequently ignorant of what is advantageous or pernicious to him; that far from being capable of penetrating the future, the present itself escapes him: so narrow and short sighted is he, in all his views, that the slightest obstacle can frustrate his greatest designs; that the Divinity alone, to whom all ages are present, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him; that no other being has power to facilitate the success of his enterprise; and that it is reasonable to believe he will guide and protect those who adore him with the most sincere affection, who invoke him at all times with the greatest confidence and fidelity, and consult him with most sincerity and resignation.

OF AUGURIES.

WHAT a reproach it is to human reason, that so luminous a principle should have given birth to the absurd reasonings and wretched notions in favour of the science of augurs and soothsayers, and been the occasion of espousing with blind devotion the most ridiculous puerilities; should have made the most important affairs of state depend upon a bird's happening to sing upon the right or left hand; upon the greediness of chickens in pecking their grain; the inspection of the entrails of beasts; the liver's being entire and in good condition, which according to them, did sometimes entirely disappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever subsisted! To these superstitious observances may be added, accidental rencounters, words spoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad presages; forebodings, prodigies,

* Plut. in Vit. Alex. p. 671.

† Zozim. Hist. l. iv.

monsters, eclipses; comets, every extraordinary phenomenon, every unforeseen accident, with an infinity of chimeras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that so many great men, illustrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philosophers, have actually given into such absurd imaginations? Plutarch in particular, so estimable in other respects, is to be pitied for his servile observance of the senseless customs of the pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, signs, and prodigies. He tells us somewhere, that he abstained a great while from eating eggs, upon account of a dream, with which he has not thought fit to make us farther acquainted.*

The wisest of the pagans did not want a just sense of the art of divination, and often spoke of it to each other, and even in public with the utmost contempt, and in a manner sufficiently expressive of its ridicule. The grave censor Cato was of opinion, that one soothsayer could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the simplicity of Prusias, whom he had advised to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inspection of the entrails of a victim. "What," said he, "have you more confidence in the liver of a beast, than in so old and experienced a captain as I am?" Marcellus who had been five times consul, and was auger, said, that he had discovered a method of not being put to a stand by the sinister flight of birds, which was, to keep himself close shut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himself upon augury without ambiguity or reserve. Nobody was more capable of speaking pertinently upon it than himself (as M. Morin observes in his dissertation upon the same subject.) As he was adopted into the college of augurs, he had made himself acquainted with the most concealed of their secrets, and had all possible opportunity of informing himself fully in their science. That he did so, sufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon divination, in which it may be said he has exhausted the subject. In his second, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had espoused the cause of the augurs, he disputes and defeats his false reasonings with a force, and at the same time with so refined and delicate a railery, as leaves us nothing to wish; and he demonstrates by proofs that rise upon each other in their force, the falsity, contrariety, and impossibility of that art.† But what is very surprising, in the midst of all his arguments, he takes occasion to blame the generals and magistrates, who on important conjunctures, hath contemned the prognostics; and maintains, that the use of them, as great an abuse as it was in his own opinion, ought nevertheless to be respected, out of regard to religion, and the prejudice of the people.

All that I have hitherto said, tends to prove, that paganism was divided into two sects, almost equally enemies of religion: the one by their superstitious and blind regard for the augurs, and the other by their irreligious contempt and derision of them.

The principle of the first, founded on one side upon the ignorance and weakness of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the prescience of the Divinity, and his almighty providence, was true; but the consequence deduced from it, in regard to the augurs, false and absurd. They ought to have proved that it was certain the Divinity had established these external signs, to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himself to a punctual conformity to them upon all occasions; but they had nothing of this kind in their system. Augury and soothsaying, therefore, were the effect and invention of the ignorance, rashness, curiosity, and blind passions of man, who presumed to interrogate God, and would oblige him to give answers upon every idle imagination and unjust enterprise.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing advanced by the science of the augurs, did not fail, however, to observe their trivial ceremonies, out of policy, for the better subjecting the minds of the people to themselves; and to reconcile them to their own purposes by the assistance of superstition: but by their contempt for auguries, and the entire conviction of their falsity, they were led into a disbelief of the Divine Providence, and to despise religion itself; conceiving it inseparable from the numerous absurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and consequently unworthy a man of sense.

But the one and the other behaved in this manner, because, having mistaken the Creator, and abused the light of nature which might have taught them to know and to

* Sympos. lib. ii. Quest. 3. p. 636.

† *Fr abut multis in rebus antiquitas; quam vel usu jam, vel doctrina, vel vetustate immutatam videmus. Refructur autem et ad opinionem vulgi, et ad magnas utilitates resp. mos. religio, disciplina, jus augurum, collegii sacrorum. Nec v. ro non omni a ipplioio bigni P. Claudius, L. Junius consules, qui contra auspicia navigarunt. parvulum enim fuit religio, nec patrus in is tam contumaciter repudiandus.—Divin. l. ii. n. 70, 71.*

adore him, they were deservedly abandoned to their own darkness and absurd opinions; and if we had not been enlightened by the true religion, even at this day we might have given ourselves up to the same superstitions.

OF ORACLES.

No country was ever richer in, or more productive of oracles than Greece. I shall confine myself to those which were the most noted.

The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Molossians, was much celebrated; where Jupiter gave answers, either by vocal oaks, or doves, which had also their language, or by resounding basins of brass, or by the mouths of priests and priestesses.*

The oracle of Trophonias in Bœtia, though he was a mere hero, was in great reputation.† After many preliminary ceremonies, as washing in the river, offering sacrifices, drinking a water called Lethe, from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave, by small ladders, through a very narrow passage. At the bottom was another little cavern, of which the entrance was also very small. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain composition of honey in each hand, which they were indispensably obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no sooner done, than they perceived themselves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the same manner. Some saw, others heard wonders. From thence they returned quite stupified and out of their senses, and were placed in the chair of Mnemosync, goddess of memory; not without great need of her assistance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had seen and heard, admitting they had seen or heard any thing at all. Pausanias, who had consulted that oracle himself, and gone through all these ceremonies, has left a most ample description of it, to which Plutarch adds some particular circumstances, which I omit, to avoid a tedious prolixity.‡

The temple and oracle of the Branchidæ,§ in the neighbourhood of Miletus, so called from Branchus, the son of Apollo, was very ancient, and in great esteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Asia. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, burnt this temple, after the priests had delivered its treasures to him. That prince, in return, granted them an establishment in the remotest part of Asia, to secure them against the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Milesians re-established that temple, with a magnificence, which, according to Strabo, surpassed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly destroyed the city where the priests Branchidæ had settled, of which their descendants were at that time in actual possession, punishing in the children the sacrilegious perfidy of their fathers.

Tacitus relates something very singular; though not very probable, of the oracles of Claros, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor, near Colophon. "Germanicus," says he, "went to consult Apollo at Claros. It is not a woman who gives the answers there, as at Delphos, but a man chosen out of certain families, and almost always of Miletus. It suffices to let him know the number and names of those who come to consult him. After which he retires into a cave, and having drank of the waters of a spring within it, he delivers answers in verse upon what the persons have in their thoughts, though he is often ignorant, and knows nothing of composing in measure. It is said, that he foretold to Germanicus his sudden death, but in dark and ambiguous terms, according to the custom of oracles."||

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the most famous of them all. It is obvious that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphos. He was worshipped there under the name of the Pythian, a title derived from the serpent Python, which he had killed, or from a Greek word that signifies to *inquire*, *πυθισσιαι*, because people came thither to consult him. From thence the Delphic priestess was called Pythia, and the games there celebrated, the Pythian games.

Delphos was an ancient city of Phocis in Achaia. It stood upon the declivity, and about the middle of the mountain Parnassus, built upon a small extent of even ground, and surrounded with precipices, which fortified it without the help of art. Diodorus says, that there was a cavity upon Parnassus, from whence an exhalation rose, which

* Certain instruments were fastened to the tops of oaks, which being shaken by the wind, or by some other means, gave a confused sound. Servius observes that the same word in the Thesalian language signifies *dove* and *prophetess* which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that spoke. It was easy to make those brazen basins sound by some secret means, and to give what signification they pleased to a confused and inarticulate noise.

† Pausan. l. ix. p. 902, 604.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 157. Strab. l. xiv. p. 634.

§ Plut. de Gen. Socr. p. 590.

|| Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 54.

made the goats dance and skip about, and intoxicated the brain* A sheppard having approached it out of a desire to know the cause of so extraordinary an effect, was immediately seized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which, without doubt, he did not understand himself; but which, however, foretold futurity. Others made the same experiment, and it was soon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have something divine in it. A priestess was appointed for the reception of its effects, and a tripod placed upon the vent, called by the Latins Cortina, perhaps from the skin that covered it.† From thence she gave her oracles. The city of Delphos rose insensibly round about this cave, where a temple was erected, which at length became very magnificent. The reputation of this oracle almost effaced, or at least very much exceeded, that of all others.

At first a single Pythia sufficed to answer those who came to consult the oracle, not yet amounting to any great number: but in process of time, when it grew into universal repute, a second was appointed to mount the tripod alternately with the first, and a third chosen to succeed in case of death or disease. There were other assistants besides these to attend the Pythia in the sanctuary, of whom the most considerable were called prophets;‡ it was their business to take care of the sacrifices, and to inspect the victims. To these the demands of the inquirers were delivered, either by word of mouth, or in writing, and they returned the answers, as we shall see in the sequel.

We must not confound the Pythia with the Sibyl of Delphos. The ancients represent the latter as a woman that roved from country to country, uttering her predictions. She was at the same time the Sibyl of Delphos, Erythræ, Babylon, Cumæ, and many other places, from her having resided in them all.

The Pythia could not prophesy till she was intoxicated by the exhalation from the sanctuary. This miraculous vapour had not that effect at all times, and upon all occasions. The god was not always in the inspiring humour. At first he imparted himself only once a year, but at length he was prevailed upon to visit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon some it was not permitted to consult the oracle. These unfortunate days occasioned an oracle's being given to Alexander the Great, worthy of remark. He went to Delphos to consult the god, at a time when the priestess pretended it was forbidden to ask him any questions, and would not enter the temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into it, when she cried out, *Ah my son, you are not to be resisted!* or, *my son you are invincible!*§ Upon which words, he declared he would have no other oracle, and was contented with what he had received.

The Pythia, before she ascended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by sacrifices, purifications, a fast of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel, that stood before the gate of the temple, which shook also to its very foundations.

As soon as the divine vapour,|| like a penetrating fire, had diffused itself through the entrails of the priestess, her hair stood upright upon her head, her looks grew wild and furious, she foamed at the mouth, a sudden and violent trembling seized her whole body, with all the symptoms of distraction and frenzy.¶ She uttered at intervals some words almost inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected. After she had been a certain time upon the tripod, she was re-conducted to her cell, where she generally continued many days to recover from her fatigue; and as Lucan says, a sudden death was often either the reward or punishment of her enthusiasm.**

“Numinis aut pœna est mors inmaturo recepti,
Aut pretium.”

* Lib. xiv. p. 427, 423.

† Corium.

‡ Προφῆται.

§ Ἀνύποπτος εἶναι ὦ πῆξι.

|| Cui talia fanti

Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comitæ mansere comæ; sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans: afflata est numine quando
Janii propiore dei.

Virg. Æn. l. vi. v. 46—51.

¶ Among the various marks which God has given us in the Scriptures to distinguish his oracles from those of the devil, the fury or madness, attributed by Virgil to the Pythia, “et rabie fera corda tument,” is one. It is I, says God, that show the falsehood of the diviner's predictions, and give to such as divine the motions of fury and madness; or, according to Isa. xlv. 25. “that frustrateth the tokens of the liar, and maketh diviners mad.” Instead of which, the prophets of the true God constantly give the divine answers in an equal and calm tone of voice, and with a noble tranquillity of behaviour. Another distinguishing mark is, the demons giving their oracles in secret places, by-ways, and in the obscurity of caves; whereas God gave his in open day, and before all the world: “I have not spoken in secret, in a dark place of the earth,” Isa. xlv. 19. “I have not spoken in secret from the beginning,” Isa. xlvi. 16. So that God did not permit the devil to imitate his oracles, without imposing such conditions upon him, as might distinguish between the true and false inspiration.

** Lib. v.

The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verses, which were often bad enough, and gave occasion to say, it was very surprising that Apollo, who presided over the choir of the muses, should inspire his prophetess no better. But Plutarch informs us, that the god did not compose the verses of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her soul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words she uttered in the heat of her enthusiasm, having neither method nor connexion, and coming only by starts, to use that expression,* from the bottom of her stomach, or rather from her belly, were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verse. These Apollo left to their own genius and natural talents; as we may suppose he did the Pythia, when she composed verses, which, though not often, happened sometimes. The substance of the oracle was inspired by Apollo, the manner of expressing it was the priestess's own; the oracles were, however, often given in prose.

The general characteristics of oracles were ambiguity, obscurity, and convertibility, to use that expression, so that one answer would agree with several various, and sometimes directly opposite events.† By the help of this artifice, the demons, who of themselves are not capable of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amused the credulity of the pagan world. When Cræsus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he consulted the oracle of Delphos upon the success of that war, and was answered, that by passing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire, his own, or that of his enemies? He was to guess that; but whatever the event might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As much may be said upon the same god's answer to Pyrrhus:

Aio te, *Æacida*, Romanos vincere posse.

I repeat it in Latin, because the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, or the Romans Pyrrhus, will not subsist in a translation. Under the cover of such ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

It must, however, be confessed, that sometimes the answer of the oracle was clear and circumstantial. I have related in the history of Cræsus, the stratagem he made use of to assure himself of the veracity of the oracle, which was to demand of it, by his ambassador, what he was doing at a certain time prefixed. The oracle of Delphos replied, that he was causing a tortoise and a lamb to be dressed in a vessel of brass, which was really so.‡ The emperor Trajan made a similar trial of the god at Heliopolis, by sending him a letter sealed up, to which he demanded an answer.§ The oracle made no other return, than to command a blank paper, well folded and sealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was struck with amazement to see an answer so correspondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had written nothing. The wonderful facility with which demons can transfer themselves almost in an instant from place to place, made it not impossible for them to give the two related answers, and seem to foretell in one country what they had seen in another; this is Tertullian's opinion.||

Admitting it to be true, that some oracles have been followed precisely by the events foretold, we may believe, that God, to punish the blind and sacrilegious credulity of the pagans, has sometimes permitted demons to have a knowledge of things to come, and to foretell them distinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehension, is frequently attested in the holy Scriptures.

It has been questioned, whether the oracles, mentioned in profane history, should be ascribed to the operations of demons, or only to the malignity and imposture of men. Vandale, a Dutch physician, has maintained the latter; and Monsieur Fontenelle, when a young man, adopted that opinion, in the persuasion, to use his own words, that it was indifferent, as to the truth of Christianity, whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of spirits, or a series of impostures. Father Baltus, the Jesuit, professor of the holy Scriptures in the university of Stratsburg, has refuted them both in a very

* *Εγγαστριμυθος.*

† Quod si aliquis dixerit multa ab idolis esse prædicta; hoc sciendum, quod semper mendacium junxerint veritati, et sic sententias temperarint, ut, seu boni seu mali quid accidisset, utrumque possit intelligi. Hieronym. in cap. xlii. Isaie. He cites the two examples of Cræsus and Pyrrhus.

‡ Macrob. l. i. Saturnal. c. xxiii.

§ One method of consulting the oracle was by sealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the god unopened. ¶ Omnis spiritus ales. Hoc et angeli et dæmones. Igitur momento ubique sunt: totus orbis illis locus unus est: quid ubi geratur tam facile sciunt, quam enuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur. Cæteram testudinem decoqui enim carnis Pythius eo modo renuntiavit, quo supra diximus. Momento apud Lydiam fuerat.—Tutul. in Apolog.

solid treatise, wherein he demonstrates invincibly, with the unanimous authority of the fathers, that demons were the real agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and success; the rashness and presumption of the anabaptist physician, who, calling in question the capacity and discernment of the holy doctors, absurdly endeavours to efface the high idea which all true believers have of those great leaders of the church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is so great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of ancient tradition. Now if that was ever certain and uniform in any thing, it is so in this point; for all the fathers of the church, and ecclesiastical writers of every age, maintain and attest, that the devil was the author of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not prevent our believing, that the priests and priestesses were frequently guilty of fraud and imposture in the answers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies? In Grecian history we have seen more than once the Delphic priestess suffer herself to be corrupted by presents. It was from that motive she persuaded the Lacedæmonians to assist the people of Athens in the expulsion of the thirty tyrants; that she caused Demaratus to be divested of the royal dignity, to make way for Cleomenes; and dressed up an oracle to support the imposture of Lysander, when he endeavoured to change the succession to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe, that Themistocles, who well knew the importance of acting against the Persians by sea, inspired the god with the answer he gave, *to defend themselves with walls of wood.** Demosthenes, convinced that the oracles were frequently suggested by passion or interest, and suspecting, with reason, that Philip had instructed them to speak in his favour, boldly declared that the Pythia *philippized*, and bade the Athenians and Thebans remember, that Pericles and Epaminondas, instead of listening to, and amusing themselves with, the frivolous answers of the oracle, those idle bugbears of the base and cowardly, consulted only reason in the choice and execution of their measures.

The same father Baltus examines, with equal success, the cessation of oracles, a second point in the dispute. Mr. Vandale, to oppose with some advantage a truth so glorious to Jesus Christ, the subverter of idolatry, has falsified the sense of the fathers, by making them say, *that oracles ceased precisely at the moment of Christ's birth.* The learned apologist for the fathers shows, that all they allege is, that oracles did not cease till after our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his gospel; not on a sudden, but in proportion as his salutary doctrines became known to mankind, and gained ground in the world. This unanimous opinion of the fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the pagans, who agree with them as to the time when the oracles ceased.

What an honour to the Christian religion was this silence imposed upon the oracles by the victory of Jesus Christ! Every Christian had this power. Tertullian, in one of his apologies, challenges the pagans to make the experiment, and consents that a Christian should be put to death, if he did not oblige these givers of oracles to confess themselves devils.† Lactantius informs us, that every Christian could silence them by the sign of the cross.‡ And all the world knows, that when Julian the Apostate was at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, to consult Apollo, the god, notwithstanding all the sacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his speech to answer those who inquired the cause of his silence, that they must ascribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Those were the bodies of Christian martyrs, among which was that of St. Babylas.

This triumph of the Christian religion, ought to give us a due sense of our obligations to Jesus Christ, and, at the same time, of the darkness to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming. We have seen among the Carthaginians, fathers and mothers more cruel than wild beasts, inhumanly giving up their children, and annually depopulating their cities, by destroying the most florid of their youth, in obedience to the bloody dictates of their oracles and false gods.§ The victims were chosen without any regard to rank, sex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured

* Plut. in Demosth. p. 854.

† Tertull. in Apolog.

‡ Lib. de Vera Sapient. c. xxvii.

§ Tam barbaros, tam immanes fuisse homines, ut parricidium suum, id est tetrum atque execrabile humano generi facinus, sacrificium vocarent. Cum teneras atque innocentes animas, quæ maximæ est ætas parentibus dulcior, sine ullo respectu pietatis extinguerunt, immanitatemque omnium bestiarum, quæ tamen fœtus suos amant, feritate superarent. O demeritam insanabilem! Quid illis isti dii amplius facere possent, si essent iratissimi, quam faciunt propitii? Cum suos cultores parricidii inquinant, orbitatibus mactant, humanis sensibus spoliant.—Lactant. l. i. c. 21.

with the name of sacrifices, and designed so make the gods propitious. "What greater evil," cries Lactantius, "could they inflict in their most violent displeasure, than to deprive their adorers of all sense of humanity, to make them cut the throats of their own children, and pollute their sacrilegious hands with such execrable parricides!"

A thousand frauds and impostures, openly detected at Delphos, and every where else, had not opened men's eyes, nor in the least diminished the credit of the oracles, which subsisted upwards of two thousand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the minds of the greatest men, the most profound philosophers, the most powerful princes, and generally among the most civilized nations, and such as valued themselves most upon their wisdom and policy. The estimation they were in may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphos, and immense riches amassed in it, through the superstitious credulity of nations and monarchs.

The temple of Delphos having been burnt about the fifty-eighth Olympiad, the Amphycions, those celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themselves the care of rebuilding it.* They agreed with an architect for 300 talents, which amounts to 900,000 livres.† The cities of Greece were to furnish that sum. The inhabitants of Delphos were taxed a fourth part of it, and collected contributions in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that purpose. Amasis, at that time king of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed considerable sums towards it. The Alcæonidæ, a potent family of Athens, were charged with the conduct of the building, and made it more magnificent, by considerable additions of their own, than had been proposed in the model.

Gyges, King of Lydia, and Cræsus, one of his successors, enriched the temple of Delphos with an incredible number of presents. Many other princes, cities, and private persons, by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it, tripods, vessels, tables, shields, crowns, chariots, and statues of gold and silver of all sizes, equally infinite in number and value. The presents of gold, which Cræsus alone made to this temple, amounted, according to Herodotus,‡ to upwards of 254 talents, that is, about 762,000 French livres;|| and perhaps those of silver to as much. Most of these presents were existing in the time of Herodotus. Diodorus Siculus,§ adding those of other princes to them, makes their amount ten thousand talents, or thirty millions of livres.¶

Among the statues of gold, consecrated by Cræsus in the temple of Delphos, was placed that of a female baker;†† the occasion of which was this; Alyattus, Cræsus's father, having married a second wife, by whom he had children, she laid a plan to get rid of her son-in-law, that the crown might descend to her own issue. For this purpose, she engaged the female baker to put poison into a loaf that was to be served at the young prince's table. The woman who was struck with horror at the crime, in which she ought to have had no part at all, gave Cræsus notice of it. The poisoned loaf was served to the queen's own children, and their death secured the crown to the lawful successor. When he ascended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactress, he erected a statue to her in the temple of Delphos. But may we conclude that a person of so mean a condition could deserve so great an honour? Plutarch answers in the affirmative; and with a much better title, he says, than many of the so much vaunted conquerors and heroes, who have acquired their fame only by murder and devastation.

It is not surprising, that such immense riches should tempt the avarice of mankind, and expose Delphos to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more ancient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavoured to seize upon the spoils of this temple. Above a hundred years after, the Phœceans, near neighbours of Delphos, plundered it at several times. The same rich booty was the sole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece, under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphos, if we may believe historians, sometimes defended this temple by surprising prodigies; and at others, either from impotence or confusion, suffered himself to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, so famous throughout the universe, a visit, and found in it five hundred brass statues of illustrious men and gods to his liking, which had been consecrated to Apollo, (those of gold and silver having undoubtedly disappeared upon his approach,) he ordered them to be taken down and, shipping them on board his vessels, carried them with him so Rome.

Those who would be more particularly informed concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphos, may consult some dissertations upon this subject printed in

* Herod. l. ii. c. 180. & l. v. c. 62.

† About §197,260.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 50. 51.

|| About §140,970.

§ Diod. l. xvi. p. 453.

¶ About §5,772,000.

†† Plut. de Pyth. Orac. p. 401.

the memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*,* of which I have made good use, according to my custom.

OF THE GAMES AND COMBATS.

GAMES and combats made a part of the religion, and had a share in almost all the festivals of the ancients; and for that reason, it is proper to treat of them in this place. Whether we consider their origin, or the design of their institution, we shall not be surprised at their being so much practised in the best governed states.

Hercules, Theseus, Castor, and Pollux, and the greatest heroes of antiquity, were not only the institutors or restorers of them, but thought it glorious to share in the exercise of them; and meritorious to succeed therein. The subduers of monsters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no disgrace to them to aspire to the victories in these combats; nor that the new wreaths, with which their brows were encircled on the solemnization of these games, took any lustre from those they had before acquired. Hence the most famous poets made these combats the subject of their verses; the beauty of whose poetry, while it immortalized themselves, seemed to promise an eternity of fame to those whose victories it so divinely celebrated. Hence arose that uncommon ardour which animated all Greece to imitate the ancient heroes, and, like them, to signalize themselves in the public combats.

A reason more solid, which results from the nature of these combats, and of the people who used them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced these exercises, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger sort for the profession of arms, to confirm their health, to render them stronger and more robust, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in close fight, in which, the use of fire-arms being then unknown, the strength of body generally decided the victory. These athletic exercises supplied the place of those in use among our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horse, &c.; but they did not confine themselves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a shape and face; they were for joining strength to the charms of person.

It is true, these exercises, so illustrious by their founders, and so useful in the ends at first proposed from them, introduced public masters, who taught them to young persons, and, practising them with success, made public show and ostentation of their skill. This sort of men applied themselves solely to the practice of this art, and, carrying it to an excess, they formed it into a kind of science, by the addition of rules and refinements, often challenging each other out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profession of people, who, without any other employment of merit, exhibited themselves as a sight for the diversion of the public. Our dancing-masters are not unlike them in this respect, whose natural and original designation was to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good address; but now we see them mount the stage, and perform ballets in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, skipping, and making a variety of strange unnatural motions. We shall see, in the sequel, what opinion the ancients had of their professed combinations and wrestling masters.

There were four kinds of games solemnized in Greece. The *Olympic*, so called from Olympia, otherwise Pisa, a town of Elis in Peloponnesus, near which they were celebrated after the expiration of every four years, in honour of Jupiter Olympius. The *Pythic*, sacred to Apollo Pythius,† so called from the serpent Python killed by him; they were celebrated at Delphos every four years. The *Nemæan*, which took their name from Nemæa a city and forest of Peloponnesus, and were either instituted or restored by Hercules, after he had slain the lion of the Namæan forest. They were solemnized every two years. And lastly, the *Isthmian*, celebrated upon the isthmus of Corinth, every four years, in honour of Neptune. Theseus was the restorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth.‡ That persons might be present at these public sports with greater quiet and security, there was a general suspension of arms, and cessation of hostilities, throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In these games, which were solemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourse of spectators from all parts, a simple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympic games it was composed of wild olive, in the

* Vol. III.

† Several reasons are given for this name.

‡ Paus. l. ii. p. 38.

Pythic, of lauret; in the Nemæan, of green parsley;* and in the Isthmian, of the same herb dried. The institutors of these games implied from thence, that only honour, and not mean and sordid interest ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accustomed to act solely from so glorious a principle?† We have seen in the Persians war that Tigranes, one of the most considerable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games described, cried out with astonishment, addressing himself to Mardonius who commanded in chief, *Heavens! against what men are you leading us? insensille to interest, they combat only for glory!*‡ Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an effect of abject fear, abounds with sense and judgment.

It was from the same principle, the Romans, while they bestowed upon other occasions, crowns of gold of great value, persisted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who had saved the life of a citizen. “O manners, worthy of eternal remembrance!” cried Pliny, in relating this laudable custom; “O grandeur, truly Roman, that would assign no other reward but honour, for the preservation of a citizen! a service, indeed, above all reward; thereby sufficiently evincing their opinion, that it was criminal to save a man’s life from the motive of lucre and interest!”§ *O mores æternos, que tanta opera honore solo donaverient; et cum reliquas coronas auro commendarent, salutem civis in pretio esse noluerint, clara professine servari quidem hominem nefas esse lucri causa!*

Among all the Grecian games, the Olympic held undeniable the first rank, and that for three reasons: they were sacred to Jupiter, the greatest of the gods; instituted by Hercules, the first of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidst a greater concourse of spectators, attracted from all parts, than any of the rest.

If Pausanias may be believed, women were prohibited to be present at them upon pain of death; and during their continuance, it was ordained, that no woman should approach the place where the games were celebrated, or passed on that side of the river Alpheus. One only was so bold as to violate this law, and slipped in disguise among the combatants. She was tried for the offence, and would have suffered for it, according to the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her son, who had all been victors in the Olympic games, had not pardoned her offence and saved her life.||

This law was perfectly conformable to the Grecian manners, among whom the ladies were very reserved, seldom appeared in public, had separate apartments, called *Gynæcea*, and never ate at table with the men when strangers were present. It was certainly inconsistent with decency to admit them at some of the games, as those of wrestling, and the Pancratiun, in which the combatants fought naked.

The same Pausanias tells us in another place, that the priestess of Ceres had an honourable seat in these games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being present at them.¶ For my part, I cannot conceive the reason of such inconsistency, which indeed seems incredible.

The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in these games. They looked upon it as the perfection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to desire any thing beyond it. Cicero assures us, that with them it was no less honourable than the consular dignity in its original splendour with the ancient Romans.** And in another place he says, that to conquer at Olympia was almost, in the estimation of the Grecians, more great and glorious, than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome.†† Horace speaks in still stronger terms upon this kind of victory. He is not afraid to say that *it exalts the victor above human nature; they were no longer men but gods.*‡‡

We shall see hereafter what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the most affecting was to date the year with his name. Nothing could more effectually enliven their endeavours; and make them regardless of expenses, than the assurance of immortalizing their names, which, for the future, would be annexed to

* Apium.

† Herod. l. viii. c. 26.

‡ Παπαὶ Μαρδόνιος, κίονους ἐπ’ ἀνδρας ἡγχαγες μαχησομένους, ἡμίας, οἱ ἔ περὶ χρονον. των τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιόντων, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς.

§ Plin. l. xvi. c. 4.

|| Pausan. l. v. p. 297.

¶ Pausan. l. vi. p. 382.

** Olympiorum victoria, Græcis consulatus ille antiquus videbatur.—Tuseul. Quest. lib. ii. n. 41.

†† Olympionicum caseapud Græcis prope majus fuit et gloriosius, quam Romæ triumphasse.—Pro Flacco, numi. xxxi.

‡‡ —————Palmaque nobilis

Ferrarum dominos evchit ad deos.

Hor. Od. i. lib. 1.

Sive quos Elic domum reducit

Palma celestes.

Her. Od. ii. lib. 4

the calendar, and in the front of all laws made in the same year with the victory. To this motive may be added, the joy of knowing, that their praises would be celebrated by the most famous poets, and share in the entertainment of the most illustrious assemblies; for these odes were sung in every house, and had a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory?

I shall confine myself upon this head to the Olympic games, which continued five days; and shall describe, in as brief a manner as possible, the several kinds of combats of which they were composed. M. Burette has treated this subject in several dissertations, printed in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*; wherein purity, perspicuity, and elegance of style, are united with profound erudition. I make no scruple in appropriating to my use the riches of my brethren; and in what I have already said upon the Olympic games, have made very free with the late Abbé Massignieu's remarks upon the odes of Pindar.

The combats which had the greatest share in the solemnity of the public games, were boxing, wrestling, the pancratiū, the discus or quoit, and racing. To these may be added the exercises of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus or wheel; but as these were neither important, nor of any great reputation, I shall content myself with having only mentioned them in this place. For the better methodizing the particulars of these games and exercises, it will be necessary to begin with an account.

OF THE ATHLETÆ, OR COMBATANTS.

THE term *athletæ* is derived from the Greek word ἀθλος, which signifies labour, combat. This name was given to those who exercised themselves with design to dispute the prizes in the public games. The art by which they formed themselves for these encounters, was called *gymnastic*, from the *athletæ* practising naked.

Those who were designed for this profession, frequented, from their most tender age, the *Gymnasia* or *Palæstræ*, which were a kind of academies, maintained for that purpose, at the public expense. In these places, such young people were under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to train them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and severe. At first they had no other nourishment than dried figs, nuts, soft cheese, and a gross heavy sort of bread called *μυζα*. They were absolutely forbidden the use of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expresses thus:

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam
 Multa tulit fecitque puer; sudavit et alsit,
 Abstulit venere et vino.
 Who in the Olympic race the prize would gain,
 Has borne from early youth fatigue and pain;
 Excess of heat and cold has often try'd,
 Love's softness banish'd and the glass denied.*

St. Paul, by an allusion to the *athletæ*, exhorts the Corinthians, near whose city the Isthmian games were celebrated, to a sober and penitent life. *Those who strive*, says he, *for the mastery, are temperate in all things: now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, we an incorruptible.* Tertullian uses the same thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a comparison from what the hopes of victory made the *athletæ* endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercises they were obliged to undergo; the continual denial and constraint in which they passed the best years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they imposed upon themselves of all that was most affecting and grateful to their passions.† It is true; the *athletæ* did not always observe so severe a regimen, but at length substituted in its stead a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The *athletæ*, before their exercises, were rubbed with oils and ointments, to make their bodies more supple and vigorous. At first they made use of a belt, with an apron or scarf fastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by this covering's falling off, that accident was the occasion of sacrificing modesty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the future. The *athletæ* were only naked in some exercises, as wrest-

* Art. Poet. v. 412.

† Nempe enim et *athletæ* segregantur ad strictiorem disciplinam, ut robori ædificando vacent; continentur a luxuria, a cibis latoribus, a potu jucundioribus; coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur. — Tertul. ad Martyr.

ling, boxing, the pancratiun, and the foot-race. They practised a kind of noviciate in the Gymnasia for ten months, to accomplish themselves in the several exercises by assiduous application; and this they did in the presence of such as curiosity or idleness conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympic games drew nigh, the athletæ who were to appear in them, were kept to double exercise.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required. As to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was also necessary that their manners should be unexceptionable, and their condition free. No foreigner was admitted to combat in the Olympic games; and when Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, presented himself to dispute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, opposed his reception as a Macedonian, and consequently a barbarian and a stranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him, till he had proved in due form, his family originally descended from the Argives.

The persons who presided in the games, called *Agonothetæ*, *Athlothetæ*, and *Hellænodicæ*, registered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games, a herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiously observe the several laws prescribed in each kind of combat, and to do nothing contrary to the established orders and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and excessive violence were absolutely prohibited; and the maxim so generally received elsewhere that it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was banished from these combats.* The address of a combatant expert in all the niceties of his art, who knows how to shift and ward dexterously, to put the change upon his adversary with art and subtlety, and to improve the least advantages, must not be confounded here with the cowardly and knavish cunning of one, who, without regard to the laws prescribed, employs the most unfair means to vanquish his competitor. Those who disputed the prize in the several kinds of combats, drew lots for their precedency in them.

It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats in which they exercised themselves.

OF WRESTLING.

WRESTLING is one of the most ancient exercises of which we have any knowledge, having been practised in the time of the patriarchs, as the wrestling of the angel with Jacob proves. Jacob supported the angel's attack so vigorously, that the latter, perceiving that he could not throw so rough a wrestler, was induced to make him lame, by touching the sinew of his thigh, which immediately shrunk up.†

Wrestling among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practised at first with simplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the strength of the muscles, having more share in it, than address and skill. Theseus was the first that reduced it to method, and refined it with the rules of art. He was also the first who established the public schools called *Palæstræ*, where the young people had masters to instruct them in it.

The wrestlers before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oils, which added to the strength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, by making the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the *Palæstræ*, sometimes by throwing a fine sand upon each other, kept for that purpose in the *Xystæ*, or porticoes of the Gymnasia.

Thus prepared, the wrestlers began their combat. They were matched two against two, and sometimes several couples contended at the same time. In this combat, the whole aim and design of the wrestlers was to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both strength and art were employed to this purpose: they seized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body; locking their limbs into each other's, seizing by the neck, throttling, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all sides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twisting one another's necks. The most considerable advantage in the wrestler's art, was to make himself master of his adversary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate consequence. From whence Plautus says, in his *Pseudolus*, speaking of wine, *He is a dangerous wrest-*

* *Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirit?*

† Gen. xxxii. 24.

ler, he presently takes one by the heels.* The Greek terms ὑποκελίσειν and περιερίσειν, and the Latin word *supplantare*, seem to imply, that one of these arts consisted in stooping down to seize the antagonist under the soles of his feet, and in raising them up to give him a fall.

In this manner the *athletæ* wrestled standing, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wrestler who was down drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confess himself vanquished. There was a third sort of wrestling called *Ἀζροχίσεισμός*, from the *athletæ*'s using only their hands in it, without taking hold of the body as in the other kinds; and this exercise served as a prelude to the greater combat. It consisted intermingling their fingers and in squeezing them with all their force; in pushing one another, by joining the palms of their hands together; in twisting their fingers, wrists, and other joints of the arm, without the assistance of any other member; and the victory was his who obliged his opponent to ask quarter.

The combatants were to fight three times successively, and to throw their antagonists at least twice before the prize could be adjudged to them.

Homer describes the wrestling of Ajax and Ulysses; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and Statius, in his *Thebaid*, that of Tydeus and Agylleus.†

The wrestlers of greatest reputation among the Greeks, were Milo of Crotona, whose history I have related elsewhere at large, and Polydamas. The latter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon Mount Olympus, in imitation of Hercules, whom he proposed to himself as a model in this action. Another time, having seized a bull by one of his hinder legs, the beast could not get loose without leaving his hoof in his hands. He could hold a chariot behind, while the coachman whipped his horses in vain to make them go forward. Darius Nothus, king of Persia, hearing of his prodigious strength, was desirous of seeing him, and invited him to Susa. Three soldiers of that prince's guard, and of that band which the Persians call *immortal*, esteemed the most warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him. Our champion fought and killed them all three.

OF BOXING, OR THE CESTUS.

BOXING is a combat at blows with the fist, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fists with a kind of offensive arms, called *cestus*, and their heads with a sort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The *cestus* was a kind of gauntlet or glove, made of straps of leather, and plated with brass, lead or iron. Their use was to strengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the *athletæ* came immediately to the most violent blows, and began their charge in the most furious manner. Sometimes whole hours passed in harassing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extension of their arms, rendering each other's blows ineffectual, and endeavouring in that manner of defence to keep off their adversary. But when they fought with the utmost fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were most careful to defend, by either avoiding or parrying the blows made at them. When a combatant came to throw himself with all his force and vigour upon another, they had a surprising address in avoiding the attack, by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the imprudent adversary down, and deprived him of the victory,

However fierce the combatants were against each other, their being exhausted by the length of the combat would frequently reduce them to the necessity of making a truce, upon which the battle was suspended for some minutes, that were employed in recovering from their fatigue, and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed; after which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his arms through weakness, or by swooning away, explained that he could no longer support the pain or fatigue, and desired quarter; which was confessing himself vanquished.

Boxing was one of the most rude and dangerous of the gymnastic combats: because, besides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives.

* Captat pedes primum, luctator dolosus est.

† *Diad.* l. xliii. v. 703, &c. *Ovid. Metam.* l. ix, v. 31, &c. *Phars.* l. iv. v. 612. *Stat.* l. vi. v. 647.

They sometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the sand; though that seldom happened, except the vanquished person persisted in not acknowledging his defeat: yet it was common for them to quit the fight with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know them afterwards: carrying away with them the sad marks of their vigorous resistance, such as bruises and contusions in the face, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, several descriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus; in Theocritus, of Pollux and Amycus; in Appollonius, Rhodius, the same battle of Pollux and Amycus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus; and in Statius, and Valerius Flaccus, of several other combatants.*

OF THE PANCRATIUM.

THE pancratium was so called from the Greek words,† which signify that the whole force of the body was necessary for succeeding in it. It united boxing and wrestling in the same fight, borrowing from one its manner of struggling and flinging, and from the other, the art of dealing blows, and of avoiding them with success. In wrestling it was not permitted to strike with the hand, nor in boxing to seize each other in the manner of wrestlers; but in the pancratium, it was not only allowed to make use of all the grips and artifices of wrestling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagonist.

This combat was the most rough and dangerous. A pancratist in the Olympic games (called Arrichion, or Arrachion,) perceiving himself almost suffocated by his adversary, who had got fast hold of him by the throat, at the same time that he held him by the foot, broke one of his enemy's toes, the extreme anguish of which obliged him to ask quarter at the very instant Arrichion, himself expired. The agonothetæ crowned Arrichion, though dead, and proclaimed him victor. Philostratus has left us a very lively description of a painting, which represented this combat.

OF THE DISCUS, OR QUOIT.

THE discus was a kind of quoit of a round form, made sometimes of wood, but more frequently of stone, lead, or other metal, as iron or brass. Those who used this exercise were called discoboli, that is, flingers of the discus. The epithet *καταμύδιος*, which signifies *borne upon the shoulders*, given to this instrument by Homer, sufficiently shows, that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the shoulders were necessary for the support of such a burden any length of time.

The intent of this exercise, as of almost all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make men more capable of supporting the weight and use of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry such loads as appear excessive in these days, either of provisions, fascines, pallasades, or in scaling the walls, when, to equal the height of them, several of the besiegers mounted upon the shoulders of each other.

The athletæ; in hurling the discus, put themselves into the posture best adapted to add force to their cast. They advanced one foot, upon which, leaning the whole weight of their bodies, they poised the discus in their hands, and then whirling it round several times almost horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with the joint strength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a share in the vigour of the discharge. He that threw the discus farthest was the victor.

The most famous painters and sculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to represent naturally the attitudes of the discoboli, have left posterity many master-pieces in their several arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a statue of that kind, which had been finished with infinite care and application by the celebrated Myron: *What can be more finished*, says he, *or express more happily the muscular distortions of the body in the exercise of the discus, than the Discobolus of Myron?*‡

OF THE PENTATHLUM.

THE Greeks gave this name to an exercise composed of five others. It is the common opinion, that those five exercises were wrestling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the discus. It is believed that this sort of combat was decided in one day, and sometimes the same morning; and that the prize, which was single, could not be given but to the victor in all those exercises.

* Dioscor. Idyl. xxii. Argonaut. lib. ii. Æncid. l. v. Thebaid. l. vii. Argonaut. l. iv.

† *ἰδὲν κατέμαρτος*.

‡ Quid tam distortum et elaboratum, quam est ille Discobolus Myronis. — Quintil. lib. ii. cap

The exercise of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the first consisted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin, at a certain distance, contributed to the forming of a soldier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in throwing the spear and dart.

OF RACES.

Of all the exercises which the *athletæ* cultivated with so much pains and industry, to enable them to appear in the public games, running was in the highest estimation, and held the foremost rank. The Olympic games generally opened with races, and were solemnized at first with no other exercise.

The place where the *Athletæ* exercised themselves in running, was generally called the *stadium* by the Greeks; as was that wherein they disputed in earnest for the prize. As the lists or course for these games was at first but one stadium in length, it took its name from its measure, and was called the stadium,* whether precisely of that extent, or of a much greater. Under that denomination was included, not only the space in which the *athletæ* ran, but also that which contained the spectators of the gymnastic games. The place where the *athletæ* contended was called *scamma*, from its lying lower than the rest of the stadium, on each side of which, and at its extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrace, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated. The most remarkable parts of the stadium were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the course, from whence the competitors started, was marked at first only by a line drawn on the sand, from side to side of the stadium. To that at length was substituted a kind of barrier, which was only a cord strained tight in the front of the horses or men that were to run. It was sometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this barrier was the signal for the racers to start.

The middle of the stadium was remarkable only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors set up there. St. Chrysostom draws a fine comparison from this custom. *As the judges, says he, in the races and other games, expose in the midst of the stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they are to receive; in like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midst of the course, which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them.*†

At the extremity of the stadium was a goal where the foot races ended; but in those of the chariots and horses they were to run several times round it, without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race by regaining the other extremity of the lists, from whence they started.

There were three kinds of races: the chariot, the horse, and the foot-race. I shall begin with the last, as the most simple, natural, and ancient.

I. OF THE FOOT-RACE.

THE runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. While they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable and in a right temper.‡ They kept themselves breathing by small leaps, and making short excursions, which were a kind of trial of their speed and agility. Upon the signal being given, they flew towards the goal, with a rapidity scarce to be followed by the eye, which was solely to decide the victory; for the ago-

*The stadium was a land-measure among the Greeks, and was, according to Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 149, six hundred feet in extent. Pliny says, lib. ii. c. 23, that it was six hundred and twenty-five. Those two authors perhaps agree, considering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot, besides which, the length of the stadium varies, according to the difference of times and places.

† Hom. lv. in Matth. c. 16.

‡ *Tunc rite eitas*

Explorant, acuntque gradus, variasque per artes

Instimulant docto languentia membra tumultu.

Poplite nunc flexo sidant, nunc lubrica forti

Pectora collidunt plausu; nunc ignea tollunt

Crura, brevemque fugam nec opino sine reponunt.

Stat. Theb. lib. vi. v. 587, &c.

They try, they rouse their speed, with various arts;

Their languid limbs they prompt to act their parts.

Now with bent hams, amidst the practis'd crowd,

They sit; now strain their lungs, and shout aloud;

Now a short flight with fiery steps they trace,

And with a sudden stop abridge the mimic race.

nistic laws prohibited, under the penalty of infamy, the attaining it under any foul method.

In the simple race, the extent of the stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor; that is, he who came in first. In the race called *Διαυλος*, the competitors ran twice that length; that is, after having arrived at the goal, they returned to the barrier. To these may be added a third sort, called *Δολιχός*, which was the longest of all, as its name implies, and was composed of several *diauli*. Sometimes it consisted of twenty-four stadia backward and forward, turning twelve times around the goal.

There were runners in ancient times, as well among the Greeks as Romans, who were much celebrated for their swiftness. *Pliny tells us, that it was thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty stadia,† between Athens and Lacedæmon, in the space of two days, till Anystis, of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, went twelve hundred stadia‡ in one day, from Sicyon to Elis. These runners were denominated *ἡμερόδρομοις*, as we find in that passage of Herodotus|| which mentions Phidippides. In the consulate of Fonteius and Vipsanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old ran seventy-five thousand paces§ between noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners, who ran one hundred and sixty thousand paces¶ in the circus. Our wonder at such prodigious speed will increase, continues he,** if we reflect, that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Drusus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in less than four-and-twenty hours, though the distance was but two hundred thousand paces,†† and he changed his carriage three times,‡‡ and went with the utmost diligence.

II. OF THE HORSE-RACES.

THE race of a single horse with a rider was less celebrated by the ancients, yet it had its favourers among the most considerable persons, and even kings themselves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar, in his first ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero, king of Syracuse, to whom he gives the title of *Κέρης*, that is, *victor in the horse-race*; which name was given to the horses carrying only a single rider, *Κέρητες*. Sometimes the rider led another horse by the bridle, and then the horses were called *desultorii*, and their riders *desultores*; because, after a number of turns in the stadium, they changed horses, by dexterously vaulting from one to the other. A surprising address was necessary upon this occasion, especially in an age unacquainted with the use of stirrups, and when the horses had no saddles, which made the leap still more difficult. Among the African troops there were also cavalry called *desultores*, who vaulted from one horse to another, as occasion required, and these were generally Numidians.|||

III. OF THE CHARIOT-RACES.

THIS kind of race was the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the ancients, and that from whence most honour redounded to the victors; which is not to be wondered at, if we consider whence it arose. It is plain that it was derived from the constant custom of princes, heroes, and great men, of fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an infinity of examples of this kind. This being admitted as a custom, it is natural to suppose it very agreeable to these heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as possible in driving, as their success depended, in a very great measure, upon the address of their drivers. It was anciently, therefore, only to persons of the first consideration, that this office was confided. Hence arose a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of necessity to practice it very much, in order to succeed. The high rank of the persons who made use of chariots, ennobled, as it always happens, an exercise peculiar to them. The other exercises were adapted to private soldiers and horsemen, as wrestling, running, and the single horse-race; but the use of chariots in the field was always reserved to princes and generals of armies.

Hence it was, that all those who presented themselves in the Olympic games to dispute the prize in the chariot-races, were persons considerable either for their

* Plin. l. vii. c. 20.

§ Thirty leagues.

† Fifty-seven leagues.

¶ More than 53 leagues.

‡ Sixty leagues.

** Val. Max. l. v. c. 5.

|| Herod. l. vi. c. 106.

†† Sixty-seven leagues.

‡‡ He had only a guide and one officer with him.

||| Nec omnes Numidæ in dextro locati cornu, sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam, in recentem equum ex fesso armatis, transultare nos erat, tanta velocitatē ipsis, tanque docile equorum genus est.—Liv. lib. xxiii.

riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themselves eagerly aspired to this glory, from the belief that the title of victor in these games, was scarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympic palm added new dignity to the splendours of a throne. Pindar's odes inform us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuse, were of that opinion. Dionysius, who reigned there long after them, carried the same ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had these victories stamped upon his coins, and seemed as much gratified with them, as with those obtained against the enemies of his state. All the world knows the answer of Alexander the Great on this subject. When his friends asked him, whether he would dispute the prize of the races in these games? *Yes*, said he, *if kings were to be my antagonists*.* Which shows that he would not have disdained these contests, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horses abreast; *bigæ*, *quadrigæ*. Sometimes mules supplied the place of horses, and then the chariot was called ἰπὺνυ. Pindar, in the fifth ode of his first book, celebrates one Psaumis, who had obtained a triple victory; one by a chariot drawn by four horses, τὴδελίππων; another by one drawn by mules, ἰπὺνυ; and the third by a single horse, κείλητι, which the title of the ode expresses.

These chariots, upon a signal given, started together from a place called *Carceres*. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumstance to the victory; for as they were to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the left was nearer than those on the right, which in consequence had a greater compass to take. It appears from several passages in Pindar, and especially from one in Sophocles, which I shall cite very soon, that they ran twelve times round the stadium. He that came in first the twelfth round was victor. The chief art consisted in taking the best ground at the turning of the boundary; for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of dashing the chariot to pieces; and if he kept too wide of it, his nearest antagonist might pass inside of him, and get foremost.

It is obvious that these chariot-races could not be run without some danger; for as the motion of the wheels was very rapid, and grazed against the boundary in turning, the least error in driving would have broke the chariot in pieces, and might have dangerously wounded the charioteer†. An example of which we find in the *Electra* of Sophocles, who gives an admirable description of a chariot-race run by ten competitors. The false Orestes, at the twelfth and last round, having only one antagonist, the rest having been thrown out, was so unfortunate as to break one of his wheels against the boundary, and falling out of his seat entangled in the reins, the horses dragged him violently forward along with them, and tore him to pieces; but this very seldom happened. To avoid such danger, Nestor gave the following directions to his son Antilochus, who was going to dispute the prize in the chariot-races. "My son," says he, "drive your horses as near as possible to the goal; for which reason, always inclining your body over your chariot, get the left of your competitors, and encouraging the horse on the right, give him the rein, while the near horse, hard held, turns the boundary so close to it, that the nave of the wheel seems to graze upon it; but have a care of running against the stone, lest you wound your horses, and dash the chariot in pieces."‡

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his opinion, of much importance in regard to the places of those who contended for the prize in the chariot-race. They all started, indeed, from the same line, and at the same time, and so far had no advantage of each other; but he whose lot gave him the first place, being nearest the boundary at the end of the career, and having but a small compass to describe in turning about it, had less way to make than the second, third, fourth, &c., especially when the chariots were drawn by four horses, which took up a greater space between the first and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in coming round. This advantage twelve times together, as it must happen, admitting the stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave such a superiority to the first, as seemed to assure him infallibly of the victory against all his competitors. To me it seems, that the fleetness of the horses, joined with the address of the driver, might countervail this odds, either by getting before the first, or by taking his place, if not in the first, at least, in some of the subsequent rounds; for it is not to be supposed, that in the pro-

* Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

† *Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.*

‡ The goal shunn'd by the burning wheels.

‡ Hom. *Iliad*. l. xxiii. v. 334, &c.

Horat. *Od.* i. lib. i.

gress of the race, the antagonists always continue in the same order in which they started. They often changed places in a short interval of time, and in that variety and vicissitude consisted all the diversion of the spectators.

It was not required that those who aspired to the victory should enter the lists, and drive their chariots in person. Their being spectators of the games, or even sending their horses thither, was sufficient; but in either case, it was previously necessary to register the names of the persons for whom the horses were to run, either in the chariot or single horse races.

At the time that the city of Potidæa surrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the first, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the second, that he had carried the prize of the horse-race in the Olympic games; and the third, that the queen was delivered of a son. Plutarch seems to insinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of these circumstances.*

Hiero sent horses to Olympia, to run for the prize, and caused a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occasion Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavillion, who had refused his aid against the common enemy, and to hinder his horses from running with the rest. It does not appear that any regard was had to this remonstrance; for we find by one of Pindar's odes, composed in honor of Hiero, that he won the prize in the equestrian races.†

No one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the public games of Greece so far as Alcibiades, in which he distinguished himself in the most splendid manner, by the great number of horses and chariots which he kept only for the races. There never was either private person or king, that sent, as he did, seven chariots at once to the Olympic games, wherein he carried the first, second, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him.‡ The famous poet Euripides celebrated these victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preserved a fragment in *Vit. Alcib.* The victor, after having made a sumptuous feast to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feast to the innumerable multitude of the spectators at the games. It is not easy to comprehend how the wealth of a private person should suffice for so enormous an expense; but Antisthenes, the scholar of Socrates, who relates what he saw, informs us, that many cities of the allies, in emulation with each other, supplied Alcibiades with all things necessary for the support of such incredible magnificence; equipages, horses, tents, sacrifices, the most exquisite provisions, the most delicate wines; in a word, all that was necessary to the support of his table or train. The passage is remarkable; for the same author assures us, that this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in all his military expeditions and journeys by land or sea. "Wherever," says he, "Alcibiades travelled, he made use of four of the allied cities as his servants. Ephesus furnished him with tents, as magnificent as those of the Persians; Chios took care to provide for his horses; Cyzicum supplied him with sacrifices, and provisions for his table; and Lesbos gave him wine, with all the other necessaries for his house."

I must not omit in speaking of the Olympic games, that the ladies were admitted to dispute the prize in them as well as the men; which many of them obtained. Cynisca, sister of Agesilaus, king of Sparta, first opened this new path of glory to her sex, and was proclaimed conqueror in the race of chariots with four horses.|| This victory, which till then had no example, did not fail of being celebrated with all possible splendour.§ A magnificent monument was erected in Sparta in honour of Cynisca; and the Lacedæmonians, though otherwise very little sensible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to transmit this new triumph to posterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inscription in verse.¶ She herself dedicated a chariot of brass, drawn by four horses, in the temple of Delphos, in which the charioteer was also represented; a certain proof that she did not drive it herself.** In process of time, the picture of Cynisca, drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many inscriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.††

* Plut. in Alex. p. 665.

† Plut. in Themist. p. 124.

‡ Plut. in Alcibiad. p. 196.

|| Pausan. l. iii. p. 172.

§ Pag. 233.

¶ Pag. 172.

** Id. l. v. p. 309.

†† Pausan. l. vi. p. 344.

OF THE HONOURS AND REWARDS GRANTED TO THE VICTORS.

THESE honours and rewards were of several kinds. The acclamations of the spectators in honour of the victors, were only a prelude to the rewards designed them. These rewards were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Those crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hand; which custom, according to Plutarch, arose, perhaps, from the nature of the palm-tree, which displays new vigour the more endeavours are used to crush or bend it, and is a symbol of the champion's courage and resistance in the attainment of the prize.* As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.

When the victor had received the crown and palm, a herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the stadium, and proclaimed aloud the name and country of the successful champion, who passed in that kind of review before the people, while they redoubled their acclamations and applauses at the sight of him.

When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horses. He made his entry, not through the gates, but through a breach purposely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the procession.

The athletic triumph almost always concluded with feasts made for the victors, their relations and friends, either at the expense of the public, or by particular persons, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the spectators. Alcibiades, after having sacrificed to the Olympian Jupiter, which was always the first care of the victor, treated the whole assembly.† Leophron did the same, as Athenæus reports; who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the same games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with flesh or fish, he caused an ox to be made of a paste, composed of myrrh, incense, and all sorts of spices, pieces of which were given to every person present.‡

One of the most honourable privileges granted to the athletic victors, was the right of precedence at the public games. At Sparta it was a custom for the king to take them with him in military expeditions, to fight near his person, and to be his guard; which, with reason, was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in which advantage was united with honour, was that of being maintained for the rest of their lives at the expense of their country.¶ That this charge might not become too expensive to the state, Solon reduced the pension of a victor in the Olympic games to five hundred drachms;§ in the Isthmian to a hundred;¶ and in the rest in proportion. The victor and his country considered this pension less as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and distinction. They were also exempted from all civil offices and employments.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the first cares of the magistrates, who presided in them, was to inscribe, in the public register, the name and country of the *athletæ* who had carried the prizes, and to annex the species of combat in which they had been victorious. The chariot-race had the preference over all other games. From whence the historians, who date occurrences by the Olympiads, as Thucydides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, almost always express the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praises of the victorious *athletæ* were, among the Greeks, one of the principal subjects of the lyric poetry. We find that all the odes of the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games, in which the combatants signalized themselves whose victories those poems celebrate. The poet, indeed, frequently enriches his matter, by calling in to the champion's assistance, incapable alone of inspiring all the enthusiasm necessary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and princes, who have any relation to the subject, and to support the flights of imagination, to which he abandons himself. Before Pindar, the poet Simonides practised the same manner of writing, intermingling the praises of the gods and heroes, with those of the champions whose victories he sang. It is related, upon this head, that one of the victors in boxing, called Scopas, having agreed with Simonides for a

* Sympos. l. viii. quest. 4. † Plut. in Alcib. p. 196. ‡ Lib. i. p. 3. § Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.
 ¶ About 47 dollars. 196. ¶ About 9 dollars.

poem upon his victory, the poet, according to custom, after having given the highest praises to the champion, expatiated in a long digression, to the honour of Castor and Pollux.* Scopas, satisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him, however, only the third part of the sum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyndarides, whom he had celebrated so well. And in fact he was well paid by them, if we may believe the sequel: for, at the feast given by the champion, while the guests were at table, a servant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men, covered with dust and sweat, were at the door, and desired to speak with him in all haste. He had scarce set his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and crushed the champion with all his guests to death.

Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, especially in the Olympic games, in the very place where they had been crowned, and sometimes in that of their birth also; which was commonly done at the expense of their country. Among the statues which adorned Olympia, were those of several children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympic games. They did not only raise such monuments to the champions, but to the very horses to whose swiftness they were indebted for the agonistic crown; and Pausanias mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare called Aura, whose history is worth repeating. Phidolas, her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the same manner as if he had been upon her back. She outstripped all the rest, and upon the sound of the trumpets, she redoubled her vigour and courage, turned round the goal; and, as if she had been sensible that she had gained the victory, presented herself before the judges of the games. The Eleans declared Phidolas victor, with permission to erect a monument to himself, and the mare that had served him so well.†

THE DIFFERENT TASTE OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, IN REGARD TO PUBLIC SHOWS.

BEFORE I make an end of these remarks upon the combats and games, so much in estimation among the Greeks, I beg the reader's permission to make a reflection which may serve to explain the difference of character between the Greeks and the Romans with regard to this subject.

The most common entertainment of the latter, at which the fair sex, by nature tender and compassionate, were present in throngs, was the combats of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions; in which the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effusion of human blood, supplied the grateful spectacle for a whole people, who feasted their cruel eyes with the savage pleasures of seeing men murder one another in cool blood; and in the times of the persecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whose age and weakness are apt to excite compassion in the hardest hearts.

In Greece, these combats were absolutely unknown, and were only introduced into some cities, after their subjection to the Roman people. The Athenians, however, whose distinguishing characteristics were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city;‡ and when it was proposed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, *First throw down*, cried out an Athenian§ from the midst of the assembly, *the altar erected above a thousand years ago by our ancestors to Mercy*.

It must be allowed in this respect, that the conduct and wisdom of the Greeks was infinitely superior to that of the Romans. I speak of the wisdom of pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of sense to be sufficiently amused and entertained with the pleasures of the understanding, could be delighted only with sensible objects, both nations were studious to divert them with games and shows, and such external contrivances as were proper to affect the senses. In the institution of which, each evinced and followed its peculiar genius and disposition.

The Romans, educated in war, and accustomed to battles, retained notwithstanding the politeness upon which they piqued themselves, something of their ancient ferocity; and hence it was, that the effusion of blood, and the murders exhibited in their public shows, far from inspiring them with horror, formed a grateful entertainment to them.

* Cic. Orat. l. ii. n. 352, 353. Phæd. l. ii. Fab. 24. Quintil. l. xi. c. 2.

† Lib. vi. p. 366.

‡ Lucian. in Vit. Demonact. p. 1014.

§ It was Demonax, a celebrated philosopher, whose disciple Lucian had been. He flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The insolent pomp of triumphs flowed from the same source, and argued no less inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was necessary to prove, that eight or ten thousand men at least had been killed in battle. The spoils, which were carried with so much ostentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of worthy families had been reduced to the utmost misery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free persons a few days before, and were often distinguishable for honour, merit, and virtue. The representation of the towns that had been taken in the war, explained that they had sacked, plundered, and burnt the most opulent cities, and either destroyed, or enslaved their inhabitants. In fine, nothing was more inhuman than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to insult their misfortunes and humiliation in that public manner.

The triumphal arches, erected during the reign of the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from a haughty fierceness of disposition, and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortalizing the shame and sorrow of subjected nations.*

The joy of the Greeks after a victory was far more modest. They erected trophies indeed, but of wood, a substance which time would soon consume; and these it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reasons for this is admirable. After time had destroyed and obliterated the marks of dissension and enmity that had divided the people, it would have been the excess of odious and barbarous animosity to have thought of re-establishing them, and to have perpetuated the remembrance of ancient quarrels, which could not be buried too soon in silence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of stone and brass since substituted for those of wood, reflect no honour upon those who introduced the custom.†

I am pleased with the grief depicted on Agesilaus's countenance, after a considerable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to say, of Greeks, were left upon the field, and to hear him utter with sighs and groans, these words, so full of moderation and humanity: "Oh! unhappy Greece, to deprive thyself of so many brave citizens, and to destroy those who had been sufficient to conquer all the barbarians.‡"

The same spirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the public shows of the Greeks. Their festivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in those feasts tended to delight, friendship, and harmony; and in that consisted one of the greatest advantages which resulted to Greece from the solemnization of these games. The republics, separated by distance of country and diversity of interests, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time in the same place, and in the midst of rejoicing and festivity, allied more strictly with one another, stimulated each other against the barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediations of some neutral state in alliance with them. The same language, manners, sacrifices, exercises, and worship, all conspired to unite the several little states of Greece into one great and formidable nation, and to preserve among them the same disposition, the same principles, the same zeal for their liberty, and the same fondness for the arts and sciences.

OF THE PRIZES OF WIT, AND THE SHOWS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF THE THEATRE.

I HAVE reserved for the conclusion of this head another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the strength, activity, and address of the body, and may be called with reason the combat of the mind, wherein the orators, historians, and poets, made trial of their capacities, and submitted their productions to the censure and judgment of the public. The emulation in this sort of dispute was most lively and ardent, as the victory in question might justly be deemed to be infinitely superior to all the others, because it affects the man more nearly, is founded on his personal and internal qualities, and decides the merit of his wit and capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aspire at with the utmost vivacity and passion, and of which we are least of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the same time, a most sensible pleasure, for writers who are generally fond of fame and applause, to have known how to unite in their favour the suffrages of so numerous and select an assembly as that of the Olympic

* Plut. in Quest. Rom. p. 273.

† Οτι τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διαφορᾶς ἀμειβομένου αὐτοὺς ἀνκλημθάνειν καὶ καινοποιεῖν ἐπιφθόνου ἴσσι καὶ φιλαπαιχθῆμον.

‡ Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 211.

games, in which were present all the finest geniuses of Greece, and all the best judges of the excellency of a work. This theatre was equally open to history, eloquence, and poetry.

Herodotus read his history at the Olympic games to all Greece, assembled at them, and was heard with such applause, that the names of the nine Muses were given to the nine books which compose his work, and the people cried out wherever he passed, *That is he who has written our history, and celebrated our glorious successes against the barbarians, so excellently.**

All who had been present at the games, afterwards made every part of Greece resound with the name and glory of this illustrious historian.

Lucian, who writes the fact I have related; adds, that after the example of Herodotus, many of the sophists and rhetoricians went to Olympia, to read the harangues of their composing; finding that to be the shortest and most certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time.

Plutarch observes, that Lysias, the famous Athenian orator, contemporary with Herodotus, pronounced a speech in the Olympic games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionysius the Tyrant, as upon the greatest action they had ever done.†

We may judge of the passion of the poets to signalize themselves in these solemn games, from that of Dionysius himself.‡ That prince, who had the foolish vanity to believe himself the most excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in the Greek *ῥαψωδιστῆς*, (*rhapsodists*), to read several pieces of his composing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verses of the royal poet, the strong and harmonious voices of the readers occasioned a profound silence, and they were heard at first with the greatest attention, which continually decreased as they went on, and turned at last into downright horse-laughes and hooting, so miserable did the verses appear. He comforted himself for this disgrace by a victory he gained some time after in the feast of Bacchus, at Athens, at which he caused a tragedy of his composition to be represented.§

The disputes of the poets in the Olympic games were nothing, in comparison with the ardour and emulation that prevailed at Athens; which is what remains to be said upon this subject, and therefore I shall conclude with it; taking occasion to give my readers, at the same time, a short view of the shows and representations of the theatre of the ancients. Those who would be more fully informed on this subject, will find it treated at large in a work, lately made public by the reverend Father Brumoi, the Jesuit; a work which abounds with profound knowledge and erudition, and with reflections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems of which it treats. I shall make considerable use of that work, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

EXTRAORDINARY PASSION OF THE ATHENIANS FOR THE ENTERTAINMENTS OF THE STAGE.—EMULATION OF THE POETS IN DISPUTING THE PRIZES OF THOSE REPRESENTATIONS.—A SHORT IDEA OF POETRY.

No people ever expressed so much ardour and eagerness for the entertainments of the theatre, as the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. The reason is obvious; no people ever demonstrated such extent of genius, nor carried so far the love of eloquence and poesy, taste for the sciences, justness of sentiment, correctness of ear, and delicacy in all the refinements of language. A poor woman who sold herbs at Athens, discovered Theophrastus to be a stranger, by a single word which he affectedly made use of in expressing himself.¶ The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of every nation expresses itself in the people's manner of passing their time, and in their pleasures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were to amuse themselves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatic pieces that were acted by public authority several times a year, especially at the feasts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets disputed for the prize. The former used to present four of their pieces at a time, except Sophocles, who did not think fit to continue so laborious an exercise, and confined himself to one performance when he disputed the prize.

* Lucian. in Herod. p. 622.

† Plut. de Vit. Orat. p. 836.

‡ Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.

§ Ibid. l. xv. p. 334.

¶ *Atica anus Theophrastum, hominem aliqui disertissimum, annotata unus affectatione verbi, hospitem dixit.*—Quint. l. viii. c. 1.

The state appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragic or comic pieces, before they were represented in the festivals. They were acted before them in the presence of the people, but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their suffrages, and that performance which had the most voices was declared victorious, received the crown as such, and was represented with all possible pomp at the expense of the republic. This did not, however, exclude such pieces as were only in the second or third class. The best had not always the preference; for what times have been exempt from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? Ælian is very angry with the judges, who in one of these disputes, gave only the second place to Euripides. He accuses them of judging either without capacity, or of suffering themselves to be bribed.* It is easy to conceive the warmth and emulation which these disputes and public rewards excited among the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection to which Greece carried scenic performances.

The dramatic poem introduces the persons themselves, speaking and acting upon the stage: in the epic, on the contrary, the poet only relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine descriptions of events, in which illustrious persons, and whole nations are interested; and hence the epic poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing those persons themselves, with being confidants of their most secret sentiments, and auditors and spectators of their resolutions, enterprises, and the happy or unhappy events attending them. To read and see an action are quite different things. We are infinitely more moved with what is acted, than with what we merely read. Our eyes, as well as our minds, are addressed at the same time. The spectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation so nearly approaching life, mistakes the picture for the original, and thinks the object real. This gave birth to dramatic poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To these may be added the satyric poem, which derives its name from the satyrs, rural gods, who were always the chief characters in it, and not from *satire*, a kind of abusive poetry, which has no resemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The satyric poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but something between both, participating of the character of each. The poets who disputed the prize, generally added one of these pieces to their tragedies, to allay the gravity and solemnity of the one, with the mirth and pleasantry of the other. There is but one example of this ancient poem come down to us, which is the Cyclops of Euripides.

I shall confine myself upon this head to tragedy and comedy, both which had their origin among the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. These two poems, which were for a long time comprised under the general name of tragedy, received there, by degrees, such improvements, as at length raised them to the highest perfection.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF TRAGEDY.—POETS WHO EXCELLED IN IT AT ATHENS;
ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, AND EURIPIDES.

THERE had been many tragic and comic poets before Thespis; but as they had made no alteration in the original rude form of this poem, and as Thespis was the first that made any improvement in it, he was generally esteemed its inventor.—Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of buffoon tales in the comic style, intermixed with the singing of a chorus in praise of Bacchus; for it is to the feasts of that god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes its birth.

La tragédie, informe et grossière en naissant,
N'étoit qu'un simple chœur, où chacun en dansant,
Et du dieu des raisins entonnant les louanges,
S'efforçoit d'attirer de fertiles vendanges.
Là, le vin et la joie éveillant les esprits.
Du plus habile chanteur un bouc étoit le prix.†

Formless and gross did tragedy arise,
A simple chorus, rather mad than wise;
For fruitful vintages the dancing throng
Roar'd to the god of grapes a drunken song;
Wild mirth and wine sustain'd the frantic note,
And the best singer had the prize—a goat.

* Ælian. l. ii. c. 8.

† Boileau Art. Poet. Chant. iii.

Thespis made several alterations in it, which Horace describes after Aristotle, in his Art of Poetry. The first was to carry his actors about in a cart, whereas before, they used to sing in the streets, wherever chance led them. Another was, to have their faces smeared over with wine-lees, instead of acting without disguise, as at first.* He also introduced a character among the chorus, who, to give the actors time to rest themselves and to take breath, repeated the adventures of some illustrious person; which recital at length gave place to the subjects of tragedy.

Thespis fut le premier, qui barbouillé de lie,
Promena par les bourgs cette heureuse folie,
Et d'acteurs mal ornés chargeant un tombereau,
Amusa les passans d'un spectacle nouveau.†

First Thespis, smear'd with lees, and void of art,
The grateful folly vented from a cart;
And as his tawdry actors drove about,
The sight was new and charmed the gaping rout.

Thespis lived in the time of Solon.‡ That wise legislator, upon seeing his pieces performed, expressed his dislike, by striking his staff against the ground; apprehending that these poetical fictions, and idle stories, from mere theatrical representations, would soon become matters of importance, and have too great a share in all public and private affairs.

It is not so easy to invent, as to improve the inventions of others. The alterations Thespis made in tragedy, gave room for Æschylus to make new and more considerable ones of his own. He was born at Athens in the first year of the sixteenth Olympiad.§ He took upon him the profession of arms, at a time when the Athenians reckoned almost as many heroes as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, where he did his duty. But his disposition called him elsewhere, and put him upon entering into another course, where no less glory was to be acquired, and where he was soon without any competitors.|| As a superior genius, he took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy anew; of which he has, in consequence, been always acknowledged the inventor and father. Father Brumoi, in a dissertation which abounds with wit and good sense, explains the manner in which Æschylus conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epic poems. That poet himself used to say, that his works were only copies in relievo of Homer's draughts, in the Iliad and Odyssey.

Tragedy, therefore, took a new form under him. He gave masks to his actors, adorned them with robes and trains, and made them wear buskins. Instead of a cart, he created a theatre of moderate extent, and entirely changed their style; which, from being merry and burlesque, as at first, became majestic and serious.¶

Eschyle dans le cœur jetta les personages;
D'un masque plus honnête habilla les visages;
Sur les ais d'un théâtre en public exhausse
Fit paroître l'acteur d'un brodequin chaussé.¶

From Æschylus the chorus learnt new grace;
He veil'd with decent masks the actor's face,
Taught him in buskins first to tread the stage,
And rais'd a theatre to please the age.

But that was only the external part or body of tragedy. Its soul, which was the

* *Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
Dicitur. et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
Qui canerent agerentque, peruncti fœcibus ora.*

Hor. de Art. Poet.

When Thespis first expos'd the tragic muse,
Rude were the actors, and a cart the scene;
Where ghastly faces, smear'd with lees of wine,
Frighted the children, and amused the crowd.

Roscom. Art of Poet.

† Boileau Art. Poet. Chant. iii.

§ A. M. 3464. Ant. J. C. 540.

‡ A. M. 3440. Ant. J. C. 564. Plut. in Solon. p. 95.

¶ A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.

¶ *Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnamque loqui, nitique cothurno.*

Hor. de Art. Poet.

This Æschylus (with indignation) saw,
And built a stage, found out a decent dress,
Brought vizards in (a civiler disguise.)
And taught men how to speak, and how to act.

Roscom. Art of Poet.

** Boileau Art. Poet.

most important and essential addition of Æschylus, consisted in the vivacity and spirit of the action, sustained by the dialogue of the persons of the drama introduced by him; in the artful working up of the stronger passions, especially of terror and pity, that, by alternately afflicting and agitating the soul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleasure and delight from that very trouble and emotion; in the choice of a subject, great, noble, interesting, and contained within the true bounds by the unity of time, place, and action; in fine, it is the conduct and disposition of the whole piece, which by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connexion of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the spectator in suspense till the catastrophe, and then restores him his tranquillity, and dismisses him with satisfaction.

The chorus had been established before Æschylus, as it composed alone, or next to alone, what was then called tragedy. He did not, therefore, exclude it, but, on the contrary, thought fit to incorporate it, to sing as chorus between the acts. Thus it supplied the interval of resting, and was a kind of person of the drama, employed either in giving useful counsels and salutary instructions, in espousing the part of innocence and virtue, in being the depository of secrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or in sustaining all those characters at the same time, according to Horace.* The coryphæus, or principal person of the chorus, spoke for the rest.

In one of Æschylus's pieces, called the Eumenides, the poet represents Orestes at the bottom of the stage, surrounded by the furies, laid asleep by Apollo. Their figure must have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that upon their waking, and appearing tumultuously on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, some women miscarried with the surprise, and several children died with the fright. The chorus at that time consisted of fifty actors. After this accident it was reduced to fifteen, by an express law, and at length to twelve.

I have observed that one of the alterations made by Æschylus in tragedy, was the mask worn by the actors. These dramatic masks had no resemblance to ours, which only cover the face, but were a kind of case for the whole head, and which, besides the features, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments used by women in their head dresses. They are treated of at large in a dissertation of M. Boindin's, inserted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.†

I could never comprehend, as I have observed elsewhere,‡ in speaking of pronunciation, how masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the ancients; for certainly they could not be used, without considerably flattening the spirit of the action, which is principally expressed in the countenance, the seat and mirror of what passes in the soul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according to its being put in motion by different passions, sometimes covers the face with a sudden and modest blush, sometimes enflames it with the heat of rage and fury, sometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others, diffuses a calm and amiable serenity over it? All these affections are strongly imagined and distinguished in the lineaments of the face. The mask deprives the features of this energy of language, and of that life and soul by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the heart. I do not wonder, therefore, at Cicero's remark upon the action of Roscius. "Our ancestors,"

* Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile
Defendat; neu quid medios intercinat actus,
Quod non proposito conducat, et hæreat apte.
Ille bonis faveatque, et concilietur amicis,
Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes.
Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis: ille salubrem
Justitiam, legesque, et apertis otia portis.
Ille tegat commissa, deosque precetur et oret,
Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.

Hor. de Art. Poet.

The chorus should supply what action wants,
And hath a generous and manly part;
Bridles wild rage, loves rigid honesty,
And strict observance of impartial laws,
Sobriety, security and peace;
And begs the gods to turn blind fortune's wheel,
To raise the wretched, and pull down the proud;
But nothing must be sung between the acts,
But what some way conduces to the plot.

Roscom. Art of Poetry.

† Vol. IV.

‡ Manner of Teaching, &c. Vol. IV.

says he, "were better judges than we are. They could not wholly approve even of Roscius himself, while he performed in a mask."*

Æschylus was in the sole possession of the glory of the stage, with almost every voice in his favour, when a young rival made his appearance to dispute the palm with him. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonus, a town in Attica, in the second year of the 71st Olympiad. His father was a blacksmith, or one that kept people of that trade to work for him. His first essay was a masterpiece. When, upon the occasion of Cymon having found the bones of Theseus, and their being brought to Athens, a dispute between the tragic poets was appointed, Sophocles entered the lists with Æschylus, and carried the prize against him. The ancient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all lost by failing of the last, and withdrew in disgust into Sicily to king Hierô, the protector and patron of all the learned in disgrace at Athens. He died there soon after, in a very singular manner, if we may believe Suidas. As he lay asleep in the fields, with his head bare, an eagle taking his bald crown for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at least seventy tragedies, composed by him, only seven are now extant.

Nor have those of Sophocles escaped the injury of time, better, though one hundred and seventeen in number, and according to some, one hundred and thirty. He retained to extreme old age, all the force and vigour of his genius, as appears from a circumstance in his history, his children, unworthy of so great a father, under pretence that he had lost his senses, summoned him before the judges, in order to obtain a decree that his estate might be taken from him and put into their hands. He made no other defence than to read a tragedy he was at that time composing, called *Œdipus*, at Colonus, with which the judges were so charmed that he carried his cause unanimously: and his children, detested by the whole assembly, got nothing by their suit, but the shame and infamy due to such flagrant ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some say he expired repeating his *Antigone*, for want of power to recover his breath, after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end. Others, that he died of joy upon his being declared victor, contrary to his expectations. The figure of a hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of bee, which had been given him from the sweetness of his verses; whence, it is probable, the notion was derived, of the bees having settled upon his lips when in his cradle. He died in his ninetieth year the fourth of the ninety-third Olympiad,† after having survived Euripides six years, who was not so old as himself.

The latter was born in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad,‡ at Salamis, whither his father Menesarchus and his mother Clito had retired, when Xerxes was preparing for his great expedition against Greece. He applied himself at first to philosophy, and among others, had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his master. But the danger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philosophical tenets, inclined him to the study of poetry. He discovered in himself a genius for the drama, unknown to him at first; and employed it with such success, that he entered the lists with the greatest masters, of whom we have been speaking. His works sufficiently denote his profound application to philosophy.§ They abound with excellent maxims of morality; and it is in that view, Socrates in his time, and Cicero long after him, set so high a value upon Euripides.||

One cannot sufficiently admire the extreme delicacy expressed by the Athenian audience on certain occasions, and their solicitude to preserve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and justice. It is surprising to observe the warmth with which they unanimously reprov'd whatever seemed inconsistent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithstanding his having the best founded excuse, giving such sentiments only to persons notoriously vicious, and actuated by the most unjust passions.

Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyric upon riches, which concluded with this thought: *Riches are the supreme good of the human race, and with reason excite the admiration of the gods and men.* The whole theatre cried out against these expressions, and he would have been banished directly, if he had not desired the sentence to be respited till the conclusion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches perished miserably.

* Quo melius nostri illi senes, qui personatum, ne Roscium quidem, magnopere laudabant.—Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 221. † A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405. ‡ A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480.

§ Sententiis densus, et id iis quæ a sapientibus sunt, pene ipsis est par.—Quintil. lib. x. c. l.

|| Cui (Euripidi) quantum credas nescio; ego certe singula testimonia puto.—Æpist. viii. l. 14. ad Famil.

He was in danger of incurring serious inconveniences from an answer he puts into the mouth of Hippolytus. Phrædra's nurse represented to him, that he had engaged himself under an inviolable oath to keep her secret. *My tongue, it is true pronounced that oath, replied he, but my heart gave no consent to it.* This frivolous distinction appeared to the whole people, as an express contempt of religion and the sanctity of an oath, that tended to banish all sincerity and good faith from society and the commerce of life.

Another maxim advanced by Eteocles in a tragedy called the Phœnicians, and which Cæsar has always in his mouth, is no less pernicious. *If justice may be violated at all, it is when a throne is in question; in other respects let it be duly revered.** It is highly criminal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, says Cicero, to make an exception in that very point, wherein such violation is the highest crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and speaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjust conduct by a false maxim; and it is not strange, that Cæsar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjust, should lay great stress upon the sentiments of a prince whom he so much resembled. But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his falling upon the poet himself, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced so pernicious a principle upon the stage.

Lycurgus, the orator, who lived in the time of Phillip and Alexander the Great, to reanimate the spirit of the tragic poets, caused three statues of brass to be erected in the name of the people to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be transcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preserved among the public archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to represent them on the stage.

The reader expects, no doubt, after what has been said relating to the three poets who invented, improved and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I should discourse upon the peculiar excellencies of their style and character. For that I must refer to Father Brumoi, who will do it much better than it is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epic poet, that is to say, Homer, pointed out the way for the tragic poets, and having demonstrated, by reflections drawn from human nature, upon what principles, and by what degrees, this happy imitation was conducted to its end, he goes on to describe the three poets above-mentioned, in the most lively and shining colours.

Tragedy took at first, from Æschylus its inventor, a much more lofty style than the Iliad; that is, the *magnum loqui* mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æschylus, who was its author, was too pompous, and carried the tragic style too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but something more. His pompous, swelling, gigantic diction, resembles rather the beating of drums and the shouts of battle, than the noble harmony and silver sound of the trumpet. The elevation and grandeur of his genius would not permit him to speak the language of other men, so that his muse seemed rather to walk on stilts, than in the buskins of his own invention.

Sophocles understood much better the true excellence of the dramatic style: he therefore copies Homer more closely, and blends in his diction that honeyed sweetness, from whence he was denominated *the bee*, with a gravity that gives his tragedy the modest air of a matron, compelled to appear in public with dignity, as Horace expresses it.

The style of Euripides, though noble, is less removed from the familiar, and he seems to have affected rather the pathetic and the elegant, than the nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, says M. Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himself a path entirely new and unknown to the ancients, seems like an eagle towering in the clouds; from the sublimity, force, unbroken progress, and rapidity of his flight; and as Racine, in copying the ancients, in a manner entirely his own, imitates the swan, that sometimes floats upon the air, sometimes rises, then falls again with an elegance of motion, and a grace peculiar to herself; so Æschylus; Sophocles, and Euripides, have each of them a particular and characteristic method. The first, as the inventor and

* Ipse autem socer (Cæsar) in ore semper Græcos versus Euripidis de Phœnissis habebat, quos dicam ut poterò, incondite fortasse, sed tamen ut res possit intelligi:

Nam, si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia

Violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Capitalis Eteocles, vel potius Euripides, qui id unum, quod omnium secleratissimi mum fuerat, exceperit.—
 Offic. l. iii. n. 32.

father of tragedy; is like a torrent rolling impetuously over rocks, forests, and precipices; the second resembles a canal, which flows gently through delicious gardens;* and the third, a river, that does not follow its course in a continual line, but loves to turn and wind its silver wave through flowery meads and rural scenes.

This is the character M. Brumoi gives of the three poets to whom the Athenian stage was indebted for its perfection in tragedy. Æschylus drew it out of its original chaos and confusion, and made it appear in some degree of lustre; but it still retained the rude unfinished air of things in their beginning, which are generally defective in point of art or method.† Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The style of the first, as has been observed, is more noble and majestic; of the latter more tender and pathetic; each perfect in its way. In this diversity of character, it is difficult to decide which is most excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day, in regard to the two poets of our own nation, whose tragedies have made our stage illustrious, and not inferior to that of Athens.‡

I have observed, that tenderness and pathos distinguish the compositions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Pheræ, the most cruel of tyrants, gave a striking proof. That barbarous man, upon seeing the Troades of Euripides acted, found himself so moved with it, that he quitted the theatre before the conclusion of the play, professing that he was ashamed to be seen in tears for the distress of Hecuba and Andromache, when he had never shown the least compassion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered such numbers.

When I speak of tenderness and pathos, I would not be understood to mean a passion that softens the heart into effeminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almost solely confined to our stage though rejected by the ancients, and condemned by the nations around us of greatest reputation for their genius, and taste in science and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the passions among the ancients, were terror and pity.§ And indeed, as we naturally determine every thing from its relation to ourselves, or our particular interest, when we see persons of exalted rank or virtue sinking under great evils, the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all sides invested, seizes upon us, and, from a secret impulse of self-love, we find ourselves sensibly affected with the distresses of others: besides which, the sharing a common nature with the rest of our species, makes us sensible to whatever befalls them.|| Upon a close and attentive inquiry into those two passions, they will be found the most deeply inherent, active, extensive, and general affections of the soul; including all orders of men, great and small, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the ancients, accustomed to consult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, conceived terror and compassion to be the soul of tragedy; and for this reason, that those affections ought to prevail in it. The passion of love was in no estimation among them, and had seldom any share in their dramatic pieces; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be supported without it.

It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this passion, which has always been deemed a weakness and a blemish in the greatest characters, got such footing upon our stage. Corneille who was the first who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the rest have followed, found the whole nation enamoured to madness with the perusal of romances, and little disposed to admire any thing not resembling them. From the desire of pleasing his audience, who were at the same time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the same manner as they had been accustomed to be affected; and by introducing love in his scenes, to bring them the nearer to the predominant taste of the age for romance. From the same source arose that multiplicity of incidents, episodes, and adventures, with which our tragic pieces are crowded and obscured, so contrary to probability, which will not admit such a number of extraordinary and surprising events in the short space of four and twenty hours; so contrary to the simplicity of ancient tragedy, and so adapt-

* I know not whether the idea of a canal, that flows gently through delicious gardens, may properly describe the character of Sophocles, which is peculiarly distinguished by nobleness, grandeur, and elevations. That of an impetuous and rapid stream, whose waves, from the violence of their motion, are loud, and to be heard afar off, seems to me a more suitable image of that poet.

† Tragedias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit: sublimis, et gravis, et grandiloquus sæpe usque ad vitium; sed rudis in perisique et incompositus.—Quintil.

‡ Corneille and Racine. § Τοσοῦς Κῶσι ἔλασος. || Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto. Ter.

ed to conceal, in the assemblage of so many different objects, the sterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvelous, than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the iambic to the heroic verse in their tragedies; not only because the first has a kind of dignity better adapted to the stage, but while it approaches nearer to prose, retains sufficiently the air of poetry to please the ear; and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in representations, where other persons are supposed to speak and act. Monsieur Dacier makes a very just reflection on this subject. He says, that it is the misfortune of our tragedy to have almost no other verse than what it has in common with epic poetry, elegy, pastoral, satire, and comedy; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of versification.

This inconvenience is highly obvious in the French tragedy; which necessarily loses sight of nature and probability, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to express themselves in a pompous strain in their familiar conversation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. The giving utterance to the most impetuous passions in a uniform cadence, and by hemistichs and rhymes, would undoubtedly be tedious and offensive to the ear, if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expression, the spirit of the sentiments, and, perhaps, more than all, the resistless force of custom, had not in a manner subjected our reason, and spread a veil before our judgement.

It was not chance, therefore which suggested to the Greeks the use of iambics in their tragedy. Nature itself seems to have dictated that kind of verse to them. Instructed by the same unerring guide, they made choice of a different versification for the chorus, better adapted to the motions of a dance, and the variations of the song; because it was necessary for poetry to shine out in all its lustre; while the mere conversation between the real actors was suspended. The chorus was an establishment of the representation, and a relaxation to the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and numbers to support it, when united with music and dancing.

OF THE ANCIENT, MIDDLE, AND NEW COMEDY.

WHILE tragedy was thus rising in perfection at Athens, comedy, the second species of dramatic poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent of both. We are sensibly affected with the dangers, distresses, misfortunes, and, in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illustrious persons; and this gave birth to tragedy. We are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and defects of our equals, which supply us with occasions of laughing and being merry at the expense of others. Hence originated comedy, which is properly an image of private life. Its design is to expose defects and vice upon the stage, and by ridiculing them, to make them contemptible; and consequently to instruct by diverting. Ridicule, therefore, (or to express the same word by another, pleasantry,) ought to prevail in comedy.

This species of entertainment took, at different times, three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influence of the government; which occasioned various alterations in it.

The ancient comedy, so called by Horace, and which he dates after the time of Æschylus, retained something of its original rudeness, and the liberty it had been used to take of coarse jesting and reviling spectators, from the cart of Thespius.* Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learnt to be more reserved. It represented real transactions, with the names, habits, gestures, and likeness in masks, of whomsoever it thought fit to sacrifice to the public diversion. In a state where it was held good policy to unmask whatever carried the air of ambition, singularity or knavery, comedy assumed the privilege to harangue, reform, and advise the people, upon the most important occasions and interests. No one was spared in a city of so much liberty, or rather license, as Athens was at that time. Generals, magistrates, government, the very gods, were abandoned to the poet's satirical vein; and all was well received, provided the comedy was diverting, and the Attic salt not wanting.

In one of these comedies, not only the priest of Jupiter determines to quit his service, because no more sacrifices are offered to the god; but Mercury himself comes in a starving condition, to seek his fortune among mankind, and offers to serve as a porter, sutler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper; in short in any capacity, rather than to return to

* *Successit vetus his Comœdia non sine multa
Laudè.* Hor. in Art. Poet.

heaven.* In another,† the same gods, reduced to the extremity of famine, from the birds having built a city in the air, where by their provisions are cut off, and the smoke of incense and sacrifices prevented from ascending to heaven, depute three ambassadors in the name of Jupiter to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds, upon such conditions as they shall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famished gods are received, is a kitchen well stored with excellent game of all sorts. Here Hercules, deeply smitten with the smell of roast meat, which he apprehends to be more exquisite and nutritious than that of incense, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the spit and assist the cook upon occasions. The other pieces of Aristophanes abound with strokes still more satirical and severe upon the principal divinities.

I am not much surprised at the poet's insulting the gods, and treating them with the utmost contempt, from whom he had nothing to fear; but I cannot help wondering at his having brought the most illustrious and powerful persons of Athens upon the stage, and that he presumed to attack the government itself, without any manner of respect or reserve.

Cleon, having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition against Sphacteria, was looked upon by the people as the greatest captain of that age. Aristophanes, to set that bad man in a true light, was the son of a currier, and a currier himself, and whose rise was owing solely to his temerity and imprudence, was so bold as to make him the subject of a comedy,‡ without being awed by his power and influence: but he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himself, and appeared, for the first time upon the stage, in that character; not one of the comedians daring to represent him, or to expose himself to the resentment of so formidable an enemy. His face was smeared over with wine-lees; because no workman could be found that would venture to make a mask resembling Cleon, as was usual when persons were brought upon the stage. In this piece he reproaches him with embezzling the public treasures, with a violent passion for bribes and presents, with craft in seducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the share his colleague had in it.

In the *Acharnians*, he accuses Lamachus of having been made general rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleness; at the same time that he, and many others, whom he covertly designates convert to their own use the rewards due only to valour and real services. He reproaches the republic with their preferences of the younger cities to the elder in the government of the state, and the command of their armies. He tells them plainly, that when peace shall be concluded neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, nor many other such knaves, all mentioned by name, shall have any share in the public affairs; they being always ready to accuse their fellow citizens of crimes, and to enrich themselves by such informations.

In his comedy called the *Wasps*, imitated by Racine, in his *Plaideurs*, he exposes the mad passion of the people for prosecutions and trials at law, and the enormous injustice frequently committed in passing sentence and giving judgment.

The poet, concerned to see the republic obstinately bent upon the unhappy expedition to Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a thorough disgust for so ruinous a war, and to inspire them with the desire of a peace, as much the interest of the victors as the vanquished, after a war of several years' duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of involving all Greece in ruin.§

None of Aristophanes's pieces explains better his boldness, in speaking upon the most delicate affairs of the state in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called *Lysistrata*. One of the principal magistrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is supposed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace. She relates how, during the war, the women inquiring of their husbands the result of their counsels, and whether they had not resolved to make peace with Sparta, received no answers but imperious looks, and orders to mind their own affairs; that, however, they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government was declined; that they took the liberty to remonstrate mildly to their husbands upon the rashness of their counsels; but that their humble representations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them; that, in fine, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were no longer any men in the state, nor heads for the administration of affairs, their patience being quite exhausted, the women had thought it proper and advisable to take the government upon themselves, and preserve

* Plutus.

† The Birds.

‡ The Knights.

§ The Peace.

Greece, whether it would or not, from the folly and madness of its resolves. "For her part, she declares, that she has taken possession of the city and treasury, in order," says she, "to prevent Pisander and his confederates, the four hundred administrators, from exciting troubles according to their custom, and from robbing the public as usual." (Was ever any thing so bold?)—She goes on to prove, that the women only are capable of retrieving affairs, by this burlesque argument, that, admitting things to be in such a state of perplexity and confusion, the sex, accustomed to untangling their threads, were the only persons to set them right again, as being best qualified with the necessary address, patience, and moderation. The Athenian politics are thus made inferior to those of the women, who are only represented in a ridiculous light, in derision of their husbands as administrators of the government.

These extracts from Aristophanes, taken almost word for word from Father Brumoi, seemed to me very proper to give a right insight into that poet's character, and the genius of the ancient comedy, which was, as we see, a satire of the most poignant and severe kind, that had assumed to itself an independency in respect to persons, and to which nothing was sacred. It was no wonder that Cicero condemns so licentious and uncurbed a liberty. It might, he says, have been tolerable, had it only attacked bad citizens, and seditious orators, who endeavoured to raise commotions in the state, such as Cleon, Cleophon, and Hyperbolus; but when Pericles, who for many years had governed the commonwealth both in war and peace with equal wisdom and authority, (he might have added, and a Socrates, declared by Apollo the wisest of mankind,) is brought upon the stage to be laughed at by the public, it is as if our Plautus, or Nævius had attacked the Scipios, or Cæcilius had dared to revile Marcus Cato in his writings.*

That liberty is still more offensive to us, who are born in, and live under, a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licentiousness. But without intending to justify the conduct of Aristophanes, which is certainly inexcusable, I think, to judge properly of it, it would be necessary to lay aside the prejudices of nations, and times, and to imagine we live in those remote ages in a state purely democratical. We must not fancy Aristophanes to have been a person of little consequence in his republic, as the comic writers generally are in our days. The king of Persia had a very different idea of him. It is a known story, that in an audience of the Greek ambassadors, his first inquiry was after a certain comic poet (meaning Aristophanes,) that put all Greece in motion, and gave such effectual counsels against him.† Aristophanes did that upon the stage, which Demosthenes, did afterwards in the public assemblies. The poet's reproaches were no less animated than the orator's. In his comedies he uttered the same sentiments as he had a right to deliver from the public rostrum. They were addressed to the same people, upon the same occasions of the state, the same means of success, and the same obstacles to their measures. In Athens the whole people were the sovereign, and each of them had an equal share in the supreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of discoursing upon it themselves, and of hearing the sentiments of others. The public affairs were the business of every individual; in which they were desirous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themselves on every occasion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to decide upon their own, as well as upon the destiny of their allies or enemies. Hence arose the liberty taken by the comic poets, of discussing the affairs of the state in their performances. The people were so far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which those writers treated the principal persons of the state, that they conceived their liberty, in some measure to consist in it.

Three poets particularly excelled in the ancient comedy: Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes.‡ The last is the only one of them whose pieces have come down to us entire, and out of the great number of those, eleven are all that remain. He

* *Quem illa non attingit, vel potius quem non vexavit? Esto populares homines, improbos, in remp, seditiosos, Cleonem, Cleophontem; Hyperbolum lasit: patiamur—Sed Periclem, cum jam sue civitati maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi et belli profuisset, violari versibus, et eos agi in scena, non plus deuit, quam si Plautus noster voluisset, aut Nævius P. et Cn. Scipionii, aut Cæcilius M. Catoni maledicere.—Ex. fragm. Cic. de Rep. lib. iv.*

† Aristoph. in *Acharn.*

‡ Eupolis' atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poete,
Atque alii, quorum Comœdia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus aut fur,
Quod nocellus foret, aut avarus, aut alioqui
Famosus; multa cum libertate notabant.

flourished in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was contemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he survived. During the Peloponnesian war, he made his greatest figure; less as a writer to amuse the people with his comedies, than as a censor of the government, retained to reform the state, and to be almost the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happiness of expression, or, in a word, that Attic salt and spirit, to which the Roman language could never attain, and for which Aristophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors.* His particular excellence was raillery. None ever touched what was ridiculous in the characters whom he wished to expose with such success, or knew better how to convey it in all its force to others. But it would be necessary to have lived in his times to judge with taste of his works. The subtle salt and spirit of the ancient raillery, according to M. Brumoi, is evaporated through length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and insipid to us; though the sharpest part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two considerable defects are justly imputed to this poet, which very much obscure, if not entirely efface his glory. These are, low buffoonery and gross obscenity; which defects have been excused to no purpose, from the character of his audience; the bulk of which generally consisted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom however it was as necessary to please as the learned and the rich. The depravity of taste in the lower order of people, which once banished Cratinus and his company, because his scenes were not grossly comic enough for them, is no excuse for Aristophanes, as Menander could find out the art of changing that grovelling taste, by introducing a species of comedy, not altogether so modest as Plutarch seems to insinuate, yet much less licentious than any before his time.

The gross obscenities with which all Aristophanes's comedies abound, have no excuse; they only denote an excessive libertinism in the spectators, and depravity in the poet. Had his works been remarkable for the utmost wit, which however is not the case, the privilege of laughing himself, or of making others laugh, would have been too dearly purchased at the expense of decency and good manners.† And in this case it may well be said, that it were better to have no wit all, than to make so ill a use of it.‡ M. Brumoi is very much to be commended for having taken care, in giving a general idea of Aristophanes's writings, to throw a veil over those parts of them that might have given offence to modesty. Though such behaviour be the indispensable rule of religion, it is not always observed by those who pique themselves most on their erudition, and sometimes prefer the title of scholar to that of Christian.

The old comedy subsisted till Lysander's time, who, upon having made himself master of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The satirical liberty of the theatre was offensive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a stop to it. The reason of this alteration is evident, and confirms the reflection made before, upon the privilege of the poets to criticise with impunity the persons at the head of the state. The whole authority of Athens was then invested in tyrants. The democracy was abolished. The people had no longer any share in the government. They were no more the prince; their sovereignty had expired. The right of giving their opinions and suffrages upon affairs of state was at an end; nor dared they, either in their own persons or by the poets, presume to censure the sentiments or conduct of their masters. The calling persons by their names upon the stage was prohibited; but the poetical ill nature soon found the secret of eluding the intention of the law, and of making itself amends for the restraint which was imposed upon it by the necessity of using

With Aristophanes' satiric rage,
When ancient comedy amus'd the age,
Or Eupolis', or Cratinus' wit,
And others that all-licens'd poem writ;
None, worthy to be shown, escap'd the scene,
No public knave, or thief of lofty men;
The loose adulterer was drawn forth to sight;
The secret murderer trembling lurk'd the night;
Vice play'd itself and each ambitious spark,
All boldly branded with the poet's mark.

* Antiqua comœdia sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam prope sola retinet.—Quintil.

† Nimum risus pretium est, si Probitatisimpendio constat.—Quintil. lib. vi. c. iii.

‡ Non pejus duxerim tardi ingenii esse quam mali.—Quintil. lib. i. c. 3.

feigned names. It then applied itself to discover the ridiculous in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the malice of the poets, and the malice of the audience, in a more refined manner; the one had the delicate pleasure of putting the spectators upon guessing their meaning, and the other of not being mistaken in their suppositions, and of affixing the right name to the characters represented. Such was the comedy since called the *middle comedy*, of which there are some instances in Aristophanes.

It continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having entirely assured himself of the empire of Greece, by the defeat of the Thebans, caused a check to be put upon the license of the poets, which increased daily. From thence the *new comedy* took its birth, which was only an imitation of private life, and brought nothing upon the stage but feigned names and fictitious adventures.

Chacun peint avec art dans ce nouveau miroir,
S'y vit avec plaisir, ou crut ne s'y pas voir.
L'avare des premiers rit du tableau fidele
D'un avare souvent tracé sur son modele,
Et mille fois un fat, finement exprimé
Meconnut le portrait sur lui-meme formé.*

In this new glass, while each himself survey'd,
He sat with pleasure, though himself was play'd.
The miser grinn'd while avarice was drawn,
Nor thought the faithful likeness was his own;
His own dear self no imag'd fool could find,
But saw a thousand other fops design'd.

This may properly be called fine comedy, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty plays, according to Suidas, composed by him, all of which Terence is said to have translated, there remain only a few fragments. The merit of the originals may be known by the excellence of their copy. Quintillian, in speaking of Menander, is not afraid to say, that with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obscured, or rather obliterated the fame of all other writers in the same way.† He observes in another passage, that his own times were not so just to his merit as they ought to have been, which has been the fate of many others; but that he was sufficiently compensated by the favourable opinion of posterity.‡ And indeed Philemon, a common poet who flourished in the same age, though older than Menander, was preferred before him.

THE THEATRE OF THE ANCIENTS DESCRIBED.

I HAVE already observed, that Æschylus was the first founder of a fixed and durable theatre, adorned with suitable decorations. It was at first, as well as the amphitheatres, composed of wooden planks, the seats of which rose one above another; but those breaking down, by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, excessively enamoured with dramatic representation, were induced by that accident to erect those superb structures, which were imitated afterwards with so much splendour by the Roman magnificence. What I shall say of them, has almost as much relation to the Roman as the Athenian theatre; and is extracted entirely from M. Boindin's learned dissertation upon the theatre of the ancients, who has treated the subject in its fullest extent.§

The theatre of the ancients was divided into three principal parts; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The division for the actors was called in general the scene, or stage; that for the spectators was particularly termed the theatre, which must have been of vast extent,|| as at Athens it was capable of containing above thirty thousand persons; and the orchestra, which among the Greeks was the place assigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the senators and vestal virgins.

The theatre was of a semicircular form on one side, and square on the other. The space contained within the semicircle was allotted to the spectators, and had seats placed one above another to the top of the building. The square part, in the front

* Baileau Art. Poet. Chant. iii.

† Atque ille quidem omnibus ejusdem operis auctoribus abstulit nomen, et fulgore quodam suæ claritatis tenebras obduxit.—Quintil. lib. x. c. 1.

‡ Quidam, sicut Menander, justiora posterorum, quam suæ ætatis, judicia sunt consecuti.—Quintil. lib. iii. c. 6.

§ Memoirs of the Academy of Inscript. &c. vol. 1. p. 136, &c.

|| Strab. lib. ix. p. 395. Herod. lib. viii. c. 65.

of it, was appropriated to the actors; and in the interval, between both, was the orchestra.

The great theatres had three rows of porticoes, raised one upon another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the same time three different stories for the seats. From the highest of these porticoes the women saw the representation, covered from the weather. The rest of the theatre was uncovered, and all the business of the stage was performed in the open air.

Each of these stories consisted of nine rows of seats, including the landing-place, which divided them from each other, and served as a passage from side to side. But as this landing-place and passage took up the space of two benches, there were only seven to sit upon, and consequently in each story there were seven rows of seats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth; so that the spectators had room to sit with their legs extended, and without being incumbered by those of the people above them, no foot boards being provided for them.

Each of these stories of benches was divided in two different manners; in their height by the landing-places, called by the Romans *præincliones*, and in their circumferences by several stair cases, peculiar to each story, which, intersecting them in right lines, tending towards the centre of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the ranges of seats between them, from whence they were called *cunei*.

Behind these stories of seats were covered galleries, through which the people thronged into the theatre by great square openings, contrived for that purpose in the walls next the seats. Those openings were called *vomitoria*, from the multitude of the people crowding through them into their places.

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to supply that defect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more distinct and articulate. For that purpose they invented a kind of large vessels of copper, which were disposed under the seats of the theatre in such a manner, as made all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinctness.

The orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called the orchestra, from a Greek word that signifies to dance.* It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations.

The second was named *θυμέλη*, from its being square, in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was generally placed.

And in the third, the Greeks generally disposed their symphony or band of music. They called it *ὑποσκήριον*, from its being situated at the bottom of the principal part of the theatre, which they stiled the scene.

I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called the scene; which was also subdivided into three different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called the scene, and gave name to this division. It occupied the whole front of the building from side to side, and was the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts, when any thing in the representation made it necessary.

The second, called by the Greeks indifferently *προσκήριον*, and *λογείον*, and by the Romans *proscenium*, and *pulpitum*, was a large open space in front of the scene, in which the actors performed their parts, and which, by the help of the decorations, represented either the public place or forum, a common street or the country; but the place so represented was always in the open air.

The third division was a part reserved behind the scenes, and called by the Greeks *παρασκήριον*. Here the actors dressed themselves, and the decorations were locked up. In the same place were also kept the machines of which the ancients had abundance in their theatres.

As only the porticoes and the building of the scene were roofed, it was necessary to draw sails, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to screen

* Ορχήστρα.

the audience from the heat of the sun. But, as this contrivance did not prevent the heat occasioned by the perspiration and breath of so numerous an assembly, the ancients took care to allay it by a kind of rain, conveying the water for that use above the porticoes, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of small pores, concealed in the statues with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuse a grateful coolness all around, but the most fragrant exhalations along with it; for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the representations were interrupted by storms, the spectators retired into the porticoes behind the seats of the theatre.

The passion of the Athenians for representations of this kind, is inconceivable. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their understanding, all shared in the satisfaction. Nothing gave them so sensible a pleasure in dramatic performances, either tragic or comic, as the strokes which were aimed at the affairs of the public, whether pure chance occasioned the application, or the address of the poets, who knew how to reconcile the most remote subjects with the transactions of the republic. They entered by that means into the interests of the people, took occasion to soothe their passions, authorize their pretensions, justify and sometimes condemn their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, instruct them in their duty, in certain nice conjunctures; the effect of which was, that they often not only acquired the applauses of the spectators, but credit and influence in the public affairs and councils; hence the theatre became so grateful, and so much the concern of the people. It was in this manner, according to some authors, that Euripides artfully adapted his tragedy of Palamedes* with the sentence passed against Socrates, and explained, by an illustrious example of antiquity, the innocence of a philosopher, oppressed by a vile malignity supported against him by power and faction.

Accident was often the occasion of sudden and unforeseen applications, which, from their appiteness were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verse of Æschylus in praise of Amphiarus,

—————'Tis his desire
Not to appear, but be the great and good.

the whole audience rose up, and unanimously applied it to Aristides.† The same thing happened to Philopœmen at the Nemæen games. At the instant he entered the theatre, these verses were singing upon the stage,

—————He comes, to whom we owe
Our liberty, the noblest good below.

All the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen,‡ and with clapping of hands, and acclamations of joy; expressed their veneration for the hero.

In the same manner, at Rome during the banishment of Cicero,§ when some verses of Accius,|| which reproached the Greeks with their ingratitude in suffering the banishment of Telamon, were repeated by Æsop, the best actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole assembly.

Upon another, though very different occasion, the Roman people applied to Pompey the Great, some verses to this effect:

'Tis our unhappiness has made thee great:¶

and then addressing the people,

The time shall come when you shall late deplore
So great a power confided to such hands;

the spectators obliged the actor to repeat these verses several times.

FONDNESS FOR THEATRICAL REPRESENTATIONS, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF THE DECLINE, DEGENERACY AND CORRUPTION OF THE ATHENIAN STATE.

WHEN we compare the happy times of Greece, in which Europe and Asia resounded with nothing but the fame of the Athenian victories, with the latter ages, when the power of Philip and Alexander the Great had in a manner subjected it, we shall be surprised at the strange alteration in the affairs of that republic. But what is most material is the investigation of the causes and progress of this declension;

* It is not certain whether this piece was prior or posterior to the death of Socrates.

† Plut. in Aristid. p. 320. ‡ Plut. in Philopœm. p. 362. § Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. n. 120, 123.

|| O ingratici Argivi, inanes Graii, immemores beneficii.

¶ Exulare sivistis, sivistis pelli, vulsum patimini.

§ Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. Epist. 19. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 2.

and these M. de Turreil has discussed in an admirable manner, in the elegant preface to his translation of Demosthenes's orations.

There were no longer at Athens any traces of that manly and vigorous policy equally capable of planning good, and retrieving bad success. Instead of that, there remained only an inconsistent loftiness, apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more those Athenians, who, when menaced by a deluge of barbarians, demolished their houses to build ships with the timber, and whose women stoned the abject wretch to death, that proposed to appease the grand monarch by tribute or homage. The love of ease and pleasure had almost extinguished that of glory, liberty, and independence.

Pericles, that great man, so absolute that those who envied him treated him as a second Pisistratus, was the first author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the design of conciliating the favour of the people, he ordained, that upon such days as games or sacrifices were celebrated, a certain number of oboli should be distributed among them; and that, in the assemblies in which affairs of state were to be discussed, every individual should receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of being present. Thus the members of the republic were seen, for the first time, to sell their care in the administration of the government, and to rank among servile employments the most noble functions of the sovereign power.

It was not difficult to foresee where so excessive an abuse would end; and to remedy it, it was proposed to establish a fund for the support of the war, and to make it capital to advise upon any account whatsoever, the application of it to other uses; but notwithstanding, the abuse always subsisted. At first it seemed tolerable, while the citizen, who was supported at the public expense, endeavoured to deserve its liberality, by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to serve in his turn, and whoever failed was treated as a deserter, without distinction; but at length the number of transgressors carried it against the law, and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People, accustomed to the delightful abode of a city, where feasts and games ran in a perpetual circle, conceived an invincible repugnance for labour and fatigue, which they looked upon as unworthy of freeborn men.

It was therefore necessary to find amusement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an active, useless life. Hence arose principally their passion, or rather frenzy, for public shows. The death of Epaminondas, which seemed to promise them the greatest advantage, gave the final stroke to their ruin and destruction. "Their courage," says Justin,* "did not survive that illustrious Theban. Free from a rival, who kept their emulation alive, they sunk into a lethargic sloth and effeminacy. The funds for armaments by land and sea, were soon lavished upon games and feasts. The pay of the seaman and soldier was distributed to the idle citizen, enervated by soft and luxurious habits of life. The representation of the theatre were preferred to the exercise of the camp. Valour and military knowledge were entirely disregarded. Great captains were in no estimation, while good poets and excellent comedians engrossed universal applause."

Extravagance of this kind makes it easy to comprehend in what multitudes the people thronged to dramatic performances. As no expense was spared in embellishing them, exorbitant sums were sunk in the service of the theatre. "If," says Plutarch,† "an accurate calculation were to be made, what each representation of the dramatic pieces cost the Athenians, it would appear, that their expenses in playing the Bacchanalians, the Phœnicians, Œdipus, Antigone, Medea, and Electra, (tragedies written either by Sophocles or Euripides,) were greater than those which had been employed against the Barbarians, in defence of the liberty, and for the preservation of Greece.‡" This gave a Spartan just reason to exclaim, on seeing an estimate of the enormous sums laid out in these efforts of the tragic poets, and the extraordinary pains taken by the magistrates who presided in them, "That a people must be void of sense, to apply themselves in so warm and serious a manner to things so frivolous. For," added he, "games should be only games; and nothing is more unreasonable than to purchase a short and trivial amusement at so great a price. Pleasures of this kind agree only with public rejoicings and seasons of festivity, and were designed to divert people at their leisure hours, but should by no means interfere with the affairs of the public, nor the necessary expenses of the government."

* Justin. l. vi. c. 2.

† Plut. de Glor. Athen. p. 349.

‡ Plut. Sympos. lib. vii. p. 710.

“After all,” says Plutarch, in a passage which I have already cited, “of what utility have these tragedies been to Athens, though so much boasted by the people, and admired by the rest of the world? We find, that the prudence of Themistocles inclosed the city with strong walls; that the fine taste and magnificence of Pericles improved and adorned it; that the noble fortitude of Miltiades preserved its liberty; and that the moderate conduct of Cimon acquired it the empire and government of all Greece.” If the wise and learned poetry of Euripides, the sublime diction of Sophocles, the lofty buskin of Æschylus, have obtained equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I am willing, (he adds,) that “dramatic pieces should be placed in competition with trophies of victory, the poetic theatre with the field of battle, and the compositions of the poets with the great exploits of the generals.” But what a comparison would this be? On the one side would be seen a few writers, crowned with wreaths of ivy, and dragging a goat or an ox after them, the rewards and victims assigned them for excelling in tragic poetry; on the other, a train of illustrious captains, surrounded with colonies which they founded, the cities which they captured, and the nations which they subjected. It is not to perpetuate the victories of Æschylus and Sophocles, but in remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Salamis, Eurymedon, and many others, that so many feasts are celebrated every month with such pomp by the Grecians.

The conclusion which is hence drawn by Plutarch, in which we ought to join him, is, that it was the highest imprudence in the Athenians thus to prefer pleasure to duty, the passion for the theatre to the love of their country,* trivial representations to application to public business, and to consume in useless expenses and dramatic entertainments, the funds intended for the support of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obscure and inconsiderable, well knew how to take advantage of the Athenian indolence and effeminacy;† and Philip, instructed by the Greeks themselves, among whom he had for several years applied himself successfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a master, and subjected it to the yoke, as we shall see in the sequel.

I am now to open an entirely new scene to the reader’s view, not unworthy his curiosity and attention. We shall see two states of no great consideration, Media and Persia, extend themselves far and wide, under the conduct of Cyrus, like a torrent or a conflagration, and with amazing rapidity, conquer and subdue many provinces and kingdoms. We shall see that vast empire setting the nations under its dominion in motion, the Persians, Medes, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and many others, and falling, with all the forces of Asia and the East, upon a country of very small extent, and destitute of all foreign assistance—I mean Greece. When, on the one hand, we behold so many nations united together, such preparations for war, made for several years, with so much diligence; innumerable armies by sea and land, and such fleets as the sea could hardly contain; and, on the other hand, two weak cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, abandoned by all their allies, and left almost entirely to themselves, have we not reason to believe, that these two little cities are going to be utterly destroyed and swallowed up by so formidable an enemy; and that no vestiges of them will be left remaining? And yet we shall find that they prove victorious, and, by their invincible courage, and the several battles they gained, both by sea and land, will make the Persian empire lay aside all thoughts of ever again turning their arms against Greece.

The history of the war between the Persians and the Greeks will illustrate the truth of this maxim, that it is not the number, but the valour of the troops, and the conduct of the generals, on which depends the success of military expeditions. The reader will admire the surprising courage and intrepidity of the great men at the head of the Grecian affairs, whom neither all the world in motion against them could deject, nor the greatest misfortunes disconcert; who undertook, with a handful of men, to make head against innumerable armies; who, notwithstanding such a prodigious inequality in forces, durst hope for success; who even compelled victory to declare on the side of merit and virtue, and taught all succeeding generations what infinite resources and expedients are to be found in prudence, valour, and experience; in a zeal for liberty

* Ἀμχετάνυσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μεγάλα, τὴν σπαδὴν εἰς τὴν παιδείαν καταναλίσκοντες, τῷ ἑστίῳ μεγάλων ἀποτίλλων δαπάνας καὶ στρατευμάτων ἐξόδια καταχορηγούντες εἰς τὸ Σέατρον.

† Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter omnia Græcarum sordidum et obscurum antea Macædonum nomen emergeret; et Philippus, obses triennio Thebis habitus, Epaminonda et Pelopida virtutibus eruditus, regnum Macedonia Græciæ et Asiæ et cervicibus, velut jugum servitutis, imponeret.—Just. l. vi. c. 9.

and our country, in the love of our duty, and in all the sentiments of noble and generous souls.

This war of the Persians against the Grecians will be followed by another among the latter themselves, but of a very different kind from the former. In the latter, there will scarce be any actions, but what in appearance are of little consequence, and seemingly unworthy of a reader's curiosity, who is fond of great events; in this he will meet with little besides private quarrels between certain cities, or some small commonwealths; some inconsiderable sieges, (excepting that of Syracuse, one of the most important related in ancient history,) though several of these sieges were of considerable duration; some battles between armies, where the numbers were small, and but little blood shed. What is it, then, that has rendered these wars so famous in history? Sallust informs us in these words; "The actions of the Athenians doubtless were great, and yet I believe they were somewhat less than fame reports them. But because Athens abounded in noble writers, the acts of that republic are celebrated throughout the whole world as the most glorious; and the gallantry of those heroes who performed them, has had the good fortune to be thought as transcendant as the eloquence of those who have described them."*

Sallust, though jealous enough of the glory the Romans had acquired by a series of distinguished actions, with which their history abounds; yet he does justice in this passage to the Grecians, by acknowledging, that their exploits were truly great and illustrious, though somewhat inferior, in his opinion, to their fame. What is, then, this foreign and borrowed lustre, which the Athenian actions have derived from the eloquence of their historians? It is, that the whole universe agrees in looking upon them as the greatest and most glorious that ever were performed. *Per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur.* All nations, seduced and enchanted as it were with the beauties of the Greek authors, think the exploits of that people superior to any other thing that was ever done by any other nation. This, according to Sallust, is the advantage the Athenians have derived from the Greek authors, who have thus excellently described their actions; and very unhappy it is for us, that our history, for want of the like assistance, has left a thousand bright actions and fine sayings unrecorded, which would have been put in the strongest light by the ancient writers, and would have done great honour to our country.

But, however this may be, it must be confessed, that we are not always to judge of the value of an action, or the merit of the persons who shared in it, by the importance of the event. It is rather in such little sieges and engagements as we find recorded in the history of the Peloponnesian war, that the conduct and abilities of a general are truly conspicuous. Accordingly it is observed, that it was chiefly at the head of small armies, and in countries of no great extent, that our best generals of the last age displayed their great capacity, and showed themselves not inferior to the most celebrated captains of antiquity. In actions of this sort, chance has no share, and does not cover any oversights that are committed. Every thing is conducted and carried on by the prudence of the general. He is truly the soul of the army, which neither acts nor moves but by his direction. He sees every thing, and is present every where. Nothing escapes his vigilance and attention. Orders are seasonably given and seasonably executed. Finesse, stratagems, false marches, real or feigned attacks, encampments, decampments, in a word, every thing, depends upon him alone.

On this account, the reading of the Greek historians, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, is of infinite service to young officers; because those historians, who were also excellent commanders, enter into all the particulars of the military art, and lead the readers, as it were by the hand, through all the sieges and battles they describe; showing them, by the example of the greatest generals of antiquity, and by a kind of anticipated experience, in what manner war is to be carried on.

Nor is it only with regard to military exploits, that the Grecian history affords us such excellent models. We shall there find celebrated legislators, able politicians, magistrates born for government, men who have excelled in all arts and sciences, philosophers that carried their inquiries as far as possible in those early ages, and who have left us such maxims of morality as might put many Christians to the blush.

If the virtues of those who are celebrated in history may serve us for models in the

* Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego existimo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuerunt; verum aliquanto minoris, tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, quæ fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum cum verbis potuere extollere præclara ingenia.—Sallust. in Bell. Catilin.

conduct of our lives, their vices and failings, on the other hand, are no less proper to caution and instruct us; and the strict regard which a historian is obliged to pay to truth, will not allow him to dissemble the latter, through fear of eclipsing the lustre of the former. Nor does what I here advance contradict the rule laid down by Plutarch, on the same subject, in his preface to the life of Cimon.* He requires that the illustrious actions of great men be represented in their full light: but as to the faults, which may sometimes escape them through passion or surprise, or into which they may be drawn by the necessity of affairs,† considering them rather as a certain degree of perfection wanting to their virtue, than as vices or crimes that proceed from any corruption of the heart; such imperfections as these, he would have the historian, out of compassion to the weakness of human nature, which produces nothing entirely perfect, content himself with touching very lightly; in the same manner as an able painter, when he has a fine face to draw, in which he finds some little blemish or defect, does neither entirely suppress it, nor think himself obliged to represent it with a strict exactness; because the one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would destroy the likeness. The very comparison Plutarch uses, shows that he speaks only of slight and excusable faults. But as to actions of injustice, violence, and brutality, they ought not to be concealed or disguised on any account; nor can we suppose that the same privilege should be allowed in history as in painting, which invented the profile to represent the side-face of a prince who had lost an eye, and by that means ingeniously concealed so disagreeable a deformity.‡ History, the most essential rule of which is sincerity, will by no means admit of such indulgences, as indeed would deprive it of its greatest advantage.

Shame, reproach, infamy, hatred, and the execrations of the public, which are the inseparable attendants on criminal and brutal actions, are no less proper to excite a horror for vice, than the glory, which perpetually attends good actions, is to inspire us with the love of virtue. And these, according to Tacitus, are the two ends which every historian ought to propose to himself, by making a judicious choice of what is most extraordinary both in good and evil, in order to occasion that public homage to be paid to virtue, which is justly due to it; and to create the greater abhorrence for vice, on account of the eternal infamy that attends it.§

The history which I am writing furnishes but too many examples of the latter sort. With respect to the Persians, it will appear by what is said of their kings, that those princes whose power has no other bounds than those of their will, often abandon themselves to all their passions; that nothing is more difficult than to resist the delusions of a man's own greatness, and the flatteries of those that surround him; that the liberty of gratifying all one's desires, and of doing evil with impunity, is a dangerous situation; that the best dispositions can hardly withstand such a temptation; that even after having begun their career favourably, they are insensibly corrupted by softness and effeminacy, by pride, and their aversion to sincere counsels; and that it rarely happens they are wise enough to consider that, when they find themselves exalted above all laws and restraints, they stand then most in need of moderation and wisdom, both in regard to themselves and others; and that in such a situation they ought to be doubly wise, and doubly strong, in order to set bounds within, by their reason, to a power that has none without.

With respect to the Grecians, the Peloponnesian war will show the miserable effects of their intestine divisions, and the fatal excesses into which they were led by their thirst of dominion, scenes of injustice, ingratitude, and perfidy, together with the open violation of treaties, or mean artifices and unworthy tricks to elude their execution. It will show how scandalously the Lacedæmonians and Athenians debased themselves to the barbarians, in order to beg aids of money from them; how shamefully the great deliverers of Greece renounced the glory of all their past labours and exploits, by stooping and making their court to certain haughty and insolent satraps, and by going successively, with a kind of emulation, to implore the protection of the common enemy, whom they had so often conquered; and in what manner they employed the succours they obtained from them, in oppressing their ancient allies, and extending their own territories by unjust and violent methods.

* In Cim. p. 479, 480.

† Ελλείματα μόνον ἕκτις τις ἢ κακίας περιερούματα.

‡ Habet in pictura speciem tota facies. Apelles tamen imaginem Antigoni lateret tantum altero ostendit, ut amissi oculi deformitas lateret.—Quintil. l. ii. c. 13.

§ Exequisientias haud institui, nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore; quod praecipuum munus animatum reor, ne virtutes silantur, utque pravus dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus nit.—Tacit. Annal. l. iii. 65.

On both sides, and sometimes in the same person, we shall find a surprising mixture of good and bad, of virtues and vices, of glorious actions and mean sentiments; and sometimes, perhaps, we shall be ready to ask ourselves, whether these can be the same persons and the same people, of whom such different things are related; and whether it be possible that such a bright and shining light, and such thick clouds of smoke and darkness, can proceed from the same source?

The Persian history includes the space of one hundred and seventeen years, during the reigns of six kings of Persia; Darius, the first of the name, the son of Hystaspes; Xerxes, the first Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus; Xerxes, the second; Sogdianus; (the two last reigned but a short time;) and Darius the second, commonly called Darius Nothus. This history begins at the year of the world 3483, and extends to the year 3600. As this whole period naturally divides itself into two parts, I shall also divide it into two distinct books.

The first part, which consists of ninety years, extends from the beginning of the reign of Darius the first to the forty-second year of Artaxerxes, the same year in which the Peloponnesian war began; that is, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3573. This part chiefly contains the different enterprises and expeditions of the Persians against Greece, which never produced more great men or greater events, nor ever displayed more conspicuous or more solid virtues. Here will be seen the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, Plataea, Mycale, Eurymedon, &c. Here the most eminent commanders of Greece signalized their courage; Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Pausanias, Pericles, Thucydides, &c.

To enable the reader the more easily to recollect what passed within this space of time among the Jews, and also among the Romans, the history of both which nations is entirely foreign to that of the Persians and Greeks, I shall here set down in few words the principal epochs relating to them.

EPOCHS OF THE JEWISH HISTORY.

THE people of God were at this time returned from their Babylonish captivity to Jerusalem, under the conduct of Zorobabel. Usher is of opinion, that the history of Esther ought to be placed in the reign of Darius. The Israelites, under the shadow of this prince's protection, and animated by the warm exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, did at last finish the building of the temple, which had been interrupted for many years by the cabals of their enemies. Artaxerxes was no less favourable to the Jews than Darius; he first of all sent Ezra to Jerusalem, who restored the public worship, and the observation of the law; then Nehemiah, who caused walls to be built round the city, and fortified it against the attacks of their neighbours, who were jealous of its reviving greatness. It is thought that Malachi, the last of the prophets, was contemporary with Nehemiah, or that he prophesied not long after him.

This interval of the sacred history extends from the reign of Darius I. to the beginning of the reign of Darius Nothus; that is to say, from the year of the world 3485 to the year 3581. After which the Scripture is entirely silent, till the time of the Maccabees.

EPOCHS OF THE ROMAN HISTORY.

THE first year of Darius I. was the 233d of the building of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was then on the throne, and about ten years afterwards was expelled, when the consular government was substituted for that of the kings. In the succeeding part of this period, happened the war against Porsenna; the creation of the tribunes of the people; Coriolanus's retreat among the Volsci, and the war that ensued thereupon; the wars of the Romans against the Latins, the Veientes, the Volsci, and other neighbouring nations; the death of Virginia under the Decemvirate; the disputes between the people and senate about marriages and the consulship, which occasioned the creating of military tribunes instead of consuls. This period of time terminates in the 323d year from the foundation of Rome.

The second part, which consists of twenty-seven years, extends from the forty-third year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the Death of Darius Nothus; that is from the year of the world 3573 to the year 3600. It contains the first nineteen years of the Peloponnesian war, which continued twenty-seven, of which Greece and Sicily were the seat, and wherein the Greeks, who had before triumphed over the barbarians, turned their armies against each other. Among the Athenians, Pericles, Nicias, and Al-

cibiades; among the Lacedæmonians, Brasidas, Gylippus, and Lysander, eminently distinguished themselves.

Rome continued to be agitated by different disputes between the senate and people. Towards the end of this period, and about the 350 year of Rome, the Romans formed the siege of Veji, which lasted ten years.

I have already observed, that eighty years after the taking of Troy,* the Heraclidæ, that is the descendants of Hercules, returned into the Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of Lacedæmon, where two of them, who were brothers, Euristhenes and Procles, son of Aristodemus, reigned jointly together.† Herodotus observes, that these two brothers were during their whole lives at variance, and that almost all their descendants inherited the like disposition of mutual hatred and antipathy; so true it is, that the sovereign power will admit of no partnership, and that two kings will always be too many for one kingdom! However, after the death of these two, the descendants of both still continued to sway the sceptre jointly; and what is very remarkable, these two branches subsisted for near nine hundred years, from the return of the Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus to the death of Cleomenes, and supplied Sparta with kings without interruption, and that generally in a regular succession from father to son, especially in the elder branch of the family.

THE ORIGIN AND CONDITION OF THE ELOTÆ, OR HELOTS.

WHEN the Lacedæmonians first began to settle in Peloponnesus, they met with great opposition from the inhabitants of the country, whom they were obliged to subdue one after another, by force of arms, or receive into their alliance on easy and equitable terms, with the imposition of a small tribute. Strabo speaks of a city, called Elos, not far from Sparta, which, after having submitted to the yoke, as others had done, revolted openly, and refused to pay the tribute.‡ Agis, the son of Euristhenes, newly settled on the throne, was sensible of the dangerous tendency of this first revolt and therefore immediately marched with an army against them, together with Sous, his colleague. They laid siege to the city, which, after a pretty long resistance, was forced to surrender at discretion. This prince thought it proper to make such an example of them as should intimidate all their neighbours and deter them from the like attempts, and yet not alienate their minds by too cruel a treatment; for which reason he put none to death. He spared the lives of all the inhabitants, but at the same time deprived them of their liberty; and reduced them all to a state of slavery. From thenceforward they were employed in all mean and servile offices, and treated with extreme rigour. These were the people who were called Elotæ or Helots. The number of them exceedingly increased in process of time, the Lacedæmonians giving undoubtedly the same name to all the people whom they reduced to the same condition of servitude. As they themselves were averse to labour, and entirely addicted to war, they left the cultivation of their lands to these slaves, assigning every one of them a certain portion of ground, the produce of which they were obliged to carry every year to their respective masters, who endeavoured, by all sorts of ill usage to make their yoke more grievous and insupportable. This was certainly very bad policy, and could only tend to breed a vast number of dangerous enemies in the very heart of the state, who were always ready to take arms and revolt on every occasion. The Romans acted more prudently in this respect; for they incorporated the conquered nations into their state, by admitting them to the freedom of their city, and thereby converted them from enemies into brethren and fellow citizens.

LYCURGUS, THE LACEDÆMONIAN LAWGIVER.

EURYTION, or Eurypon, as he is named by others, succeeded Soüs. In order to gain the affections of the people, and render his government agreeable, he thought fit to recede, in some points, from the absolute power exercised by the kings, his predecessors; this rendered his name so dear to his subjects, that all his descendants were from him called Eurytionidæ.§ But this relaxation gave birth to horrible confusion and an unbounded licentiousness in Sparta, which for a long time occasioned infinite mischiefs. The people became so insolent, that nothing could restrain them. If Eurytion's successors attempted to recover their authority by force, they became odious; and, if through complaisance or weakness, they chose to dissemble, their mildness served only to render them contemptible; so that order was in a manner abolished,

* A. M. 2900. Ant. J. C. 1104. † Lib. 6. c. 52. ‡ Lib. viii. p. 365. § Plut. in Lycurg. p. 40. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 40. ¶ Herod. l. i. c. 82.

and the laws no longer regarded. These confusions hastened the death of Lycurgus's father, whose name was Eunomus, and who was killed in an insurrection. Polydectes, his eldest son and successor, dying soon after without children, every body expected Lycurgus would have been king. And indeed he was so in effect, as long as the pregnancy of his brother's wife was uncertain; but as soon as that was manifest, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her child, in case it proved a son; and from that moment he took upon himself the administration of the government, as guardian to his unborn nephew, under the title of *prodicos*, which was the name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of their kings. When the child was born, Lycurgus, took him up in his arms, and cried out to the company that were present, *behold, my lords of Sparta, this new-born child is your king*: and at the same time he put the infant in the king's seat, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy the people expressed upon occasion of his birth. The reader will find in the first volume of this history, all that relates to the history of Lycurgus, the reformation he made, and the excellent laws he established in Sparta. Agesilaus was at this time king in the elder branch of the family.

WAR BETWEEN THE ARGIVES AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.*

SOME time after this, in the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, on account of a little country, called Thyrea, that lay upon the confines of the two states, and to which each of them pretended a right. When the two armies were ready to engage, it was agreed on both sides, in order to spare the effusion of blood, that the quarrel should be decided by three hundred of the bravest men on both sides; and that the land in question should become the property of the victorious party. To leave the combatants more room to engage, the two armies retired to some distance. Those generous champions, then, who had all the courage of two mighty armies, boldly advanced towards each other, and fought with so much resolution and fury, that the whole number, except three men, two on the Argives, and one on that of the Lacedæmonians, lay dead upon the spot, and only the night parted them. The two Argives looking upon themselves as the conquerors, made what haste they could to Argos to carry the news: the single Lacedæmonian, Othryades by name, instead of retiring, stripped the dead bodies of the Argives, and carrying their arms into the Lacedæmonian camp, continued in his post. The next day, the two armies returned to the field of battle. Both sides laid equal claim to the victory; the Argives, because they had more of their champions left alive than the enemy had; the Lacedæmonians, because the two Argives that remained alive had fled; whereas their single soldier had remained master of the field of battle, and had carried off the spoils of the enemy; in short, they could not determine the dispute without coming to another engagement. Here fortune declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, and the little territory of Thyrea was the prize of their victory. But Othryades, not being able to bear the thought of surviving his brave companions, or of enduring the sight of Sparta after their death, killed himself on the same field of battle where they had fought, resolving to have one fate and tomb with them.

WARS BETWEEN THE MESSENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS.

THERE were no less than three several wars between the Messenians and the Lacedæmonians, all of them very fierce and bloody. Messenia was a country in Peloponnesus, not far westward from Sparta; it was of considerable strength, and was governed by its own kings.

THE FIRST MESSENIAN WAR.

THE first Messenian war lasted twenty years, and broke out in the second year of the ninth Olympiad.† The Lacedæmonians pretended to have received several considerable injuries from the Messenians, and among others, that of having had their daughters ravished by the inhabitants of Messenia, when they went according to custom, to a temple that stood on the borders of the two nations; as also that of the murder of Telecles, their king, which was a consequence of the former outrage. Probably a desire of extending their dominion, and of seizing a territory which lay so convenient for them, might be the true cause of the war. But, be that as it will, the war broke out in the reign of Polydorus and Theopompus, kings of Sparta, at the time when the office of archon at Athens was still decennial.

* Herod. l. i. c. 82.

† A. M. 3261. Ant. J. C. 743. Pausan. l. iv. p. 216—242. Justin. l. iii. 4.

Euphaes, the thirteenth descendant from Hercules, was then king of Messenia.* He gave the command of his army to Cleonnis. The Lacedæmonians opened the campaign with the siege of Ampeha, an inconsiderable city, which, however, they thought, would be a very convenient depot for arms. The town was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. This first blow served only to animate the Messenians, by showing them what they were to expect from the enemy, if they did not defend themselves with vigour. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, bound themselves by an oath, not to lay down their arms, or return to Sparta, till they had made themselves masters of all the cities and lands belonging to the Messenians, so much did they rely upon their strength and valour.

Two battles were fought, wherein the loss was nearly equal on both sides. But after the second, the Messenians suffered extremely through the want of provisions, which occasioned a great desertion in their troops, and at last brought pestilence among them†.

Hereupon they consulted the oracle at Delphos, which directed them, in order to appease the wrath of the gods, to offer up a virgin of the royal blood in sacrifice. Aristomenes, who was of the race of the Epytides, offered his own daughter. The Messenians then considering, that if they left garrisons in all their towns, they should extremely weaken their army, resolved to abandon them all except Ithoma, a little place situated at the top of a hill of the same name, about which they encamped and fortified themselves. In this situation were seven years spent, during which nothing passed but slight skirmishes on both sides, the Lacedæmonians not daring, in all that time, to force the enemy to a battle.

Indeed, they almost despaired of being able to reduce them; nor was there any thing but the obligation of the oath, by which they had bound themselves, that made them continue so burdensome a war. What gave them the greatest uneasiness, was their apprehension lest their absence and distance from their wives for so many years, and which might still continue many more, should destroy their families at home, and leave Sparta destitute of citizens.‡ To prevent this misfortune, they sent home such of their soldiers as were come to the army since the fore-mentioned oath had been taken, and made no scruple of prostituting their wives to their embraces. The children that sprung from these unlawful connexions, were called *Partheniæ*, a name given to them to denote the infamy of their birth. As soon as they were grown up, not being able to endure such an opprobrious distinction, they banished themselves from Sparta with one consent, and under the conduct of Phalanthus,§ went and settled at Tarentum in Italy, after driving out the ancient inhabitants.

At last, in the eighth year of the war, which was the thirteenth of Euphaes's reign, a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Ithoma.|| Euphaes pierced through the battalions of Theopompus with too much heat and precipitation for a king. He there received a multitude of wounds, several of which were mortal. He fell, and seemed to have expired. Whereupon wonderful efforts of courage were exerted on both sides; by the one, to carry off the king; by the other, to save him. Cleonnis killed eight Spartans, who were dragging him along, and spoiled them of their arms, which he committed to the custody of some of his soldiers. He himself received several wounds, all in the fore-part of his body, which was a certain proof that he had never turned his back upon his enemies. Aristomenes, fighting on the same occasion, and for the same end, killed five Lacedæmonians, whose spoils he likewise carried off, without receiving any wound. In short, the king was saved and carried off by the Messenians; and all mangled and bloody as he was, he expressed great joy that they had not been worsted. Aristomenes, after the battle was over, met Cleonnis, who, by reason of his wounds, could neither walk by himself, nor with the assistance of those that lent him their hands. He therefore took him upon his shoulders without quitting his arms, and carried him to the camp.

As soon as they had applied the first dressing to the wounds of the king of Messenia and of his officers, there arose a new contention among the Messenians, that was pursued with as much warineth as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the consequence of the other. The affair in question was the adjudging the prize of glory to him that had signalized his valour most in the late engagement. For it was a custom among them, publicly to proclaim after a battle the name of the man

* Pausan. l. iv. p. 225—226.

† Ibid. 227—234.

‡ Diod. l. xv. p. 378.

§ Et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalanto.

Hor. Od. vi. l. 2.

|| Pausan. l. iv. p. 234, 235. Diog. in Frag.

that had shown the greatest courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the officers and soldiers, to inspire them with resolution and intrepidity, and to stifle the natural apprehension of death and danger. Two illustrious champions entered the lists on this occasion, namely, Cleonnis and Aristomenes.

The king, notwithstanding his weak condition, being attended with the principal officers of his army, presided in the council, where this important dispute was to be decided. Each competitor pleaded his own cause. Cleonnis began and founded his pretensions upon the great number of the enemies he had slain, and upon the multitude of wounds he had received in the action, which were so many undoubted testimonies of the courage with which he had faced both death and danger; whereas the condition in which Aristomenes came out of the engagement, without hurt and without wound, seemed to show that he had been very careful of his own person, or at most, could only prove that he had been more fortunate, but not more brave or courageous than himself. And as to his having carried the king on his shoulders into the camp, that action indeed might serve to prove the strength of his body, but nothing farther; and the thing in dispute at this time, says he, is not strength, but valour.

The only thing Aristomenes was reproached for, was his not being wounded; therefore he confined himself to that point, and answered in the following manner: "I am," says he, "called fortunate, because I have escaped from the battle without wounds. If that were owing to my cowardice, I should deserve another epithet than that of fortunate; and instead of being admitted to dispute the prize, ought to undergo the rigour of the laws that punish cowards. But what is objected to me as a crime, is in truth my greatest glory. For, if my enemies, astonished at my valour, durst not venture to attack or oppose me, it is no small degree of merit, that I made them fear me; or if while they engaged me, I had at the same time strength to cut them in pieces, and skill to guard against their attacks, I must then have been at once both valiant and prudent. For whoever, in the midst of an engagement, can expose himself to danger with caution and security, shows that he excels at the same time both in the virtues of the mind and the body. As for courage, no man living can reproach Cleonnis with any want of it; but; for his honour's sake, I am sorry that he should appear to want gratitude."

After the conclusion of these harangues, the question was put to the vote. The whole army was in suspense, and impatiently waited for the decision. No dispute could be so warm and interesting as this. It is not a competition for gold or silver, but solely for honour. The proper reward of virtue is pure disinterested glory. Here the judges are unsuspected. The actions of the competitors still speak for them. It is the king himself, surrounded with his officers, who presides and adjudges. A whole army are the witnesses. The field of battle is a tribunal without partiality and cabal. In short, all the votes concurred in favour of Aristomenes, and adjudged him the prize.

Euphaes, the king, died not many days after the decision of this affair.* He had reigned thirteen years, and during all that time had been engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians. As he died without children, he left the Messenians at liberty to choose his successor. Cleonnis and Damis were candidates in opposition to Aristomenes; but he was elected king in preference to them. When he was on the throne, he did not scruple to confer on his two rivals the principal offices of the state. All strongly attached to the public good, even more than to their own glory; competitors, but not enemies, these great men were actuated by a zeal for their country, and were neither friends nor adversaries to one another, but for its preservation.

In this relation, I have followed the opinion of the late Monsieur Boivin, the elder, and have made use of his learned dissertation upon a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which the world was little acquainted with. He supposes, and proves in it, that the king spoken of in that fragment, is Euphaes, and that Aristomenes is the same that Pausanias called Aristodemus, according to the custom of the ancients, who are called by two different names.†

Aristomenes, otherwise called Aristodemus, reigned near seven years, and was equally esteemed and beloved by his subjects. The war still continued all this time.‡ Towards the end of his reign he beat the Lacedæmonians, took their king Theopompus, and, in honour of Jupiter and Ithoma, sacrificed three hundred of them, among

* Pausan. l. iv. p. 235; 241.

† Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, Vol. II. p. 84—113.

‡ Clem. Alex. in protrep. p. 20. Euseb. l. iv. c. 16.

whom the king was the principal victim. Shortly after, Aristodemus sacrificed himself upon the tomb of his daughter, in conformity to the answer of an oracle. Damis was his successor, but without taking upon him the title of king.

After his death, the Messenians had never any success in their affairs, but found themselves in a very wretched and hopeless condition.* Being reduced to the last extremity, and utterly destitute of provisions, they abandoned Ithoma, and fled to such of their allies as were nearest to them. The city was immediately razed, and all the people that remained submitted. They were made to engage, by oath, never to forsake the party of the Lacedæmonians, and never to revolt from them; a very useless precaution, only proper to make them add the guilt of perjury to their rebellion. Their new masters imposed no tribute upon them, but contented themselves with obliging them to bring to the Spartan market, one half of the corn they should reap every harvest. It was likewise stipulated, that the Messenians, both men and women, should attend in mourning, the funerals of the kings, the chief citizens of Sparta; which the Lacedæmonians probably looked upon as a mark of dependence, and as a kind of homage paid to their nation. Thus ended the first Messenian war, after having lasted twenty years.†

THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

THE lenity with which the Lacedæmonians treated the Messenians at first, was of no long duration.‡ When once they found the whole country had submitted, and thought the people incapable of giving them any further trouble, they returned to their natural character of insolence and haughtiness, that often degenerated into cruelty, and sometimes even into ferocity. Instead of treating the vanquished with kindness, as friends and allies, and endeavouring by gentle methods to win those whom they had subdued by force, they seemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their yoke, and making them feel the whole weight of subjection. They laid heavy taxes upon them, delivered them up to the avarice of the collectors of those taxes, gave no ear to their complaints, rendered them no justice, treated them like vile slaves, and committed the most heinous outrages against them.

Man, who is born for liberty, can never reconcile himself to servitude; the most gentle slavery exasperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected, then, from so cruel a one as that under which the Messenians groaned? After having endured it with great uneasiness near forty years, they resolved to throw off the yoke, and to recover their ancient liberty.§ This was in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad;|| the office of archon at Athens was then made annual; and Anaxander and Anaxidamus reigned at Sparta.

The Messenians' first care was, to strengthen themselves with the alliance of the neighbouring nations. These they found well inclined to enter into their views, as very agreeable to their own interests. For it was not without jealousy and apprehension, that they saw so powerful a city rising up in the midst of them, which manifestly seemed to aim at extending her dominion over all the rest. The people, therefore, of Elis, the Argives and Sicyonians, declared for the Messenians. But before their forces were joined, a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians. Aristomenes,¶ the second of that name, was at the head of the latter. He was a commander of intrepid courage, and of great abilities in war. The Lacedæmonians were beaten in this engagement. Aristomenes, to give the enemy at first an advantageous opinion of his bravery, knowing what influence it has on the success of future enterprises, boldly ventured to enter into Sparta by night, and upon the gate of the temple of Minerva, who was surnamed Chalcicæcos, to hang up a shield, on which was an inscription, signifying that it was a present offered by Aristomenes to the goddess, out of the spoils of the Lacedæmonians.

This bravado did, in reality, astonish the Lacedæmonians. But they were still more alarmed at the formidable league that was formed against them. The Delphic oracle, which they consulted, in order to know by what means they should be successful in this war, directed them to send to Athens for a commander, and to submit

* Pausan. l. iv. 241, 242.

† A. M. 3281. Ant. J. C. 723.

‡ Pausan. l. iv. p. 242—261. Justin. l. iii. c. 5.

§ Cum per complures annos gravia servitutis verbera, plerumque ac vincula, cæteraque captivitatis male perpessi essent, post longam pœnarum patientiam bellum instaurant.—Justin. l. iii. c. 5.

|| A. M. 3320. Ant. J. C. 684.

¶ According to several historians, there was another Aristomenes in the first Messenian war.—Diod. l. xv. p. 372.

to his counsel and conduct. This was a very mortifying step to so haughty a city as Sparta. But the fear of incurring the god's displeasure by a direct disobedience, prevailed over all other considerations. They sent an embassy, therefore, to the Athenians. The people of Athens were somewhat perplexed at this request. On the one hand, they were not sorry to see the Lacedæmonians at war with their neighbours, and were far from desiring to furnish them with a good general; on the other, they were afraid also of disobeying the god. To extricate themselves out of this difficulty, they offered the Lacedæmonians a person called Tyrtæus. He was a poet by profession, and had something original in the turn of his mind, and disagreeable in his person, for he was lame. Notwithstanding these defects, the Lacedæmonians received him as a general sent them by heaven itself. Their successes did not at first answer their expectation, for they lost three battles successively.

The kings of Sparta, discouraged by so many disappointments, and out of all hopes of better success for the future, were absolutely bent upon returning to Sparta, and marching home again with their forces. Tyrtæus opposed this design very warmly, and at length brought them over to his opinion. He addressed the troops, and repeated to them some verses he had made on the occasion, and on which he had bestowed great pains and application. He first endeavoured to comfort them for their past losses, which he imputed to no fault of theirs, but only to ill fortune, or to fate, which no human wisdom can surmount. He then represented to them, what a shame it would be for Spartans to fly from an enemy, and how glorious it would be for them rather to perish sword in hand fighting for their country, if it was so decreed by fate. Then, as if all danger was vanished, and the gods fully satisfied and appeased with their late calamities, were entirely turned to their side, he set victory before their eyes as present and certain, and as if she herself was inviting them to battle. All the ancient authors who have made any mention of the style and character of Tyrtæus's poetry,* observe that it was full of a certain fire, ardour, and enthusiasm, that animated the minds of men, that exalted them above themselves, that inspired them with something generous and martial, that extinguished all fear and apprehension of danger or death, and made them wholly intent upon the preservation of their country and their own glory.†

Tyrtæus's verses had really this effect on the soldiers upon this occasion. They desired with one voice to march against the enemy. Being wholly indifferent as to their lives, they had no thoughts but to secure to themselves the honour of a burial. To this end they all tied bands round their right arms, on which were inscribed their own and their fathers' names, that if they chanced to be killed in the battle, and to have their faces so altered through time or accidents, as not to be distinguishable, it might certainly be known who each of them was by these marks. Soldiers determined to die are very valiant. This appeared in the battle that ensued. It was very bloody, the victory being a long time disputed on both sides; but at last the Messenians gave way. When Tyrtæus went afterwards to Sparta, he was received with the greatest marks of distinction, and incorporated into the body of citizens.

The gaining of this battle did not put an end to the war, which had already lasted three years. Aristomenes, having assembled the remains of his army, retired to the top of a mountain of difficult access, which was called Ira. The conquerors attempted to carry the place by assault; but that brave prince defended himself there for the space of eleven years, and performed the most extraordinary actions of bravery. He was at last obliged to quit it only by surprise and treachery, after having defended it like a lion. Such of the Messenians as fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians on this occasion, were reduced to the condition of the Helots, or slaves. The rest, seeing their country ruined, went and settled at Zancle, a city in Sicily, which afterwards took its name from this people, and was called Messina; the same place called at this day Messina. Aristomenes, after having conducted one of his daughters to Rhodes, whom he had given in marriage to the tyrant of that place, thought of passing on to Sardis, and to remain with Ardys, king of the Lydians, or to Ecbatana, with Phraortes, king of the Medes; but death prevented the execution of all his designs.

The second Messinian war was of fourteen years' duration, and ended the first year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad.*

* Plat. l. i. de Legib. p. 629. Plut. in Agid. et Cleom. p. 805.

† Tyrtæusque mare's animos in martia bella

Veribus exauit.

Hor. in Art. Poet.

* A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670.

There was a third war between these people and the Lacedæmonians, which began both at the time, and on the occasion, of a great earthquake that happened at Sparta. We shall speak of this war in its place.

The history, of which it remains for me to treat in this work, is that of the successors of Alexander, and comprehends the space of two hundred and ninety-three years; from the death of that monarch, and the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, in Egypt, to the death of Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a Roman province, under the emperor Augustus.

This history will present to our view a series of all the crimes which usually arise from inordinate ambition; scenes of jealousy and perfidious conduct, treason, ingratitude, and crying abuses of sovereign power, cruelty, impiety, an utter oblivion of the natural sentiments of probity and honour, with the violation of all laws human and divine, will rise before us. We shall behold nothing but fatal dissensions, destructive wars, and dreadful revolutions. Men originally friends, brought up together, and natives of the same country, companions in the same dangers, and instruments in the accomplishment of the same exploits and victories, will conspire to tear in pieces the empire they had all concurred to form at the expense of their blood. We shall see the captains of Alexander sacrifice the mother, the wives, the brother, the sisters of that prince, to their ambition; and without sparing even those to whom they either owed or gave life. We shall no longer behold those glorious times of Greece, that were once so productive of great men, and great examples; or if we should happen to discover some traces and remains of them, they will only resemble the gleams of lightning that shoot along in a rapid track, and are only remarkable from the profound darkness that precedes and follows them.

I acknowledge myself to be sufficiently sensible how much a writer is to be pitied, who is obliged to represent human nature in such colours and lineaments as dishonour her, and which cannot fail of inspiring disgust and a secret affliction in the minds of those who are made spectators of such a picture. History loses whatever is most interesting and most capable of conveying pleasure and instruction, when she can only produce those effects, by inspiring the mind with horror for criminal actions, and by a representation of the calamities which usually succeed them, and are to be considered as their just punishment. It is difficult to engage the attention of a reader for any considerable time, on objects which only raise his indignation; and it would be affronting him, to seem desirous of dissuading him from the excess of inordinate passions of which he conceives himself incapable.

How is it possible to diffuse any interest through a narration, which has nothing to offer but a uniform series of vices and great crimes, and which makes it necessary to enter into a particular detail of the actions and characters of men, born for the calamity of the human race, and whose very names should not be transmitted to posterity? It may be even thought dangerous to familiarize the minds of the generality of mankind to uninterrupted scenes of too successful iniquity; and to be particular in describing the unjust success which waited on those illustrious criminals, the long duration of whose prosperity being frequently attended with the privileges and rewards of virtue, may be thought an imputation on Providence by persons of weak understandings.

This history, which seems likely to prove very disagreeable from the reasons I have just mentioned, will become more so from the obscurity and confusion in which the several transactions will be involved, and which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. Ten or twelve of Alexander's captains were engaged in a course of hostilities against each other, for the partition of his empire after his death, and to secure themselves some portion, greater or less, of that vast body. Sometimes feigned friends, sometimes declared enemies, they are continually forming different parties and leagues, which are to subsist no longer than is consistent with the interest of each individual. Macedonia changed its masters five or six times in a very short space; by what means then can order and perspicuity be preserved, in a prodigious variety of events that are perpetually crossing and breaking in upon each other?

Besides which, I am no longer supported by any ancient authors capable of conducting me through this darkness and confusion. Diodorus will entirely abandon me, after having been my guide for some time; and no other historian will appear to take his place. No proper series of affairs will remain; the several events are not to be disposed into any regular connexion with each other; nor will it be possible to point

out, either the motives to the resolutions formed, or the proper character of the principal actors in this scene of obscurity. I think myself happy when Polybius, or Plutarch, lend me their assistance. In my account of Alexander's successors, whose transactions are perhaps the most complicated and perplexed part of ancient history, Usher, Prideaux, and Vaillant, will be my usual guides; and, on many occasions, I shall only transcribe from Prideaux; but with all these aids, I shall not promise to throw so much light on this history as I could desire.

After a war of more than twenty years, the number of the principal competitors was reduced to four: Ptolemy, Cassander, Seleucus, and Lysimachus: the empire of Alexander was divided into four fixed kingdoms, agreeably to the prediction of Daniel, by a solemn treaty concluded between the parties. Three of these kingdoms, Egypt, Macedonia, Syria or Asia, will have a regular succession of monarchs, sufficiently clear and distinct; but the fourth, which comprehended Thrace, with part of the Lesser Asia, and some neighbouring provinces, will suffer a number of variations.

As the kingdom of Egypt was subject to the fewest changes, because Ptolemy, who was established there as a governor at the death of Alexander, retained the possession of it ever after, and left it to his posterity, we shall therefore consider this prince as the basis of our chronology, and our several epochs shall be fixed from him.

The third volume contains the events for the space of one hundred and twenty years, under the first four kings of Egypt, viz. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who reigned thirty-eight years; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned forty; Ptolemy Euergetes, who reigned twenty-five; and Ptolemy Philopator, whose reign continued seventeen.

In order to throw some light upon the history contained therein, I shall, in the first place, give the principal events of it in a chronological abridgment.

Introductory to which, I must desire the reader to accompany me in some reflections, which have not escaped Monsieur Bossuet, with relation to Alexander. This prince, who was the most renowned and illustrious conqueror in all history, was the last monarch of his race. Macedonia, his ancient kingdom, which his ancestors had governed for so many ages, was invaded from all quarters as a vacant succession; and after it had long been a prey to the strongest, it was at last transferred to another family. If Alexander had continued peaceably in Macedonia, the grandeur of his empire would not have excited the ambition of his captains, and he might have transmitted the sceptre of his progenitors to his own descendants; but, as he had not prescribed any bounds to his power, he was instrumental in the destruction of his house; and we shall behold the extermination of his family, without the least remaining traces of them in history. His conquests occasioned a vast effusion of blood, and furnished his captains with a pretext for murdering one another. These were the effects that flowed from the boasted bravery of Alexander, or rather from that brutality, which, under the glittering names of ambition and glory, spread and carried desolation, fire and sword through whole provinces without the least provocation, and shed the blood of multitudes who had never injured him.

We are not to imagine, however, that providencè abandoned these events to chance, but, as it was then preparing all things for the approaching appearance of the Messiah, it was vigilant to unite all the nations that were to be first enlightened with the gospel, by the use of one and the same language, which was that of Greece: and the same Providence rendered it necessary for them to learn this foreign tongue, by subjecting them to such masters as spoke no other. The Deity, therefore by the agency of this language, which became more common and universal than any other, facilitated the preaching of the apostles, and rendered it more uniform.

The partition of the empire of Alexander the Great among the generals of that prince, immediately after his death, did not subsist for any length of time, and hardly took place, if we except Egypt, where Ptolemy had first established himself, and on the throne of which he always maintained himself, without acknowledging any superior.

This partition was not fully regulated and fixed, till after the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia,* wherein Antigones and his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, were defeated, and the former lost his life. The empire of Alexander was then divided into four kingdoms by a solemn treaty, as had been foretold by Daniel. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœlosyria, and Palestine. Cassander, the son of Antipater, obtained Macedonia and Greece. Lysimachus acquired Thrace, Bithynia, and some other

provinces on the other side of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; and Seleucus had Syria, and all that part of Asia Major which extended to the other side of the Euphrates and as far as the river Indus.

Of these four kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria subsisted almost without any interruption, in the same families, and through a long succession of princes. The kingdom of Macedonia had several masters of different families successively. That of Thrace was at last divided into several branches, and no longer constituted one entire body, by which means all traces of regular succession ceased to subsist.

1. THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

THE kingdom of Egypt had fourteen monarchs, including Cleopatra, after whose death those dominions became a province of the Roman empire. All these princes had the common name of Ptolemy, but each of them was likewise distinguished by a surname. They had also the appellation of Lagides, from Lagus, the father of that Ptolemy who reigned the first in Egypt. The histories of six of these kings will be found in the third and fourth volume of this work, and I shall give their names a place here, with the duration of their reigns, the first of which commenced immediately upon the death of Alexander the Great.

Ptolemy Soter. He reigned thirty-eight years and some months.*

Ptolemy Philadelphus. He reigned forty years, including the two years of his reign in the lifetime of his father.†

Ptolemy Euergetes, twenty-five years.‡

Ptolemy Philopator, seventeen.§

Ptolemy Epiphanes, twenty-four.||

Ptolemy Philometer, thirty-four.¶

II. THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA.

THE kingdom of Syria had twenty-seven kings; which makes it evident, their reigns were often very short; and, indeed, several of these princes waded to the throne through the blood of their predecessors.

They are usually called Seleucides, from Seleucus, who reigned the first in Syria. History reckons up six kings of this name, and thirteen who are called by that of Antiochus; but they are all distinguished by different surnames. Others of them assumed different names, and the last was called Antiochus XIII. with the surnames of Epiphanes, Asiaticus, and Commagenus. In his reign, Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, after it had been governed by kings for the space of two hundred and fifty years according to Eusebius.

The kings of Syria, the transactions of whose reigns are contained in the third and fourth volumes, are eight in number.

Seleucus Nicator. He reigned twenty years.**

Antiochus Soter, nineteen.††

Antiochus Theos, fifteen.‡‡

Seleucus Callinicus, twenty.§§

Seleucus Ceraunus, three.||||

Antiochus the Great; thirty-six.¶¶

Seleucus Philopator, twelve.*†

Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus Philopator, eleven.*‡

III. THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA.

MACEDONIA frequently changed its masters, after the solemn partition had been made between the four princes.*§ Cassander died three or four years after that partition, and left three sons: Philip, the eldest, died shortly after his father. The other two contended for the crown without enjoying it, both dying soon after without issue.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus, and Lysimachus, made themselves masters of all, or the greatest part of Macedonia; sometimes in conjunction, and at other times separately.*||

After the death of Lysimachus, Seleucus possessed himself of Macedonia, but did not long enjoy it.*¶

Ptolemy Ceraunus, having slain the preceding prince, seized the kingdom and pos-

* A. M. 3718. † 3758. § 3783. ¶ 3800. ¶ 3824. ** 3704. †† 3724. ‡‡ 3743.
 ‡ 3758. § 3778. ¶ 3781. ** 3817. *† 3829. *§ 3707. *|| 3710. *¶ 3723.

essed it alone but a very short time, having lost his life in a battle with the Gauls, who had made an irruption into that country.*

Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, reigned but a short time in Macedonia.†

Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, obtained the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, and transmitted those dominions to his descendants, after he had reigned thirty-four years.‡

He was succeeded by his son Demetrius,§ who reigned ten years, and then died, leaving a son named Philip, who was but two years old.

Antigonus Dason reigned twelve years in the quality of guardian to the young prince.||

Philip, after the death of Antigonus, ascended the throne, at the age of fourteen years, and reigned something more than forty.¶

His son Perseus succeeded him, and reigned about eleven years.** He was defeated and taken prisoner by Paulus Emilius; and Macedonia, in consequence of that victory, was added to the provinces of the Roman empire.

IV. THE KINGDOM OF THRACE AND BITHYNIA, &c.

THIS fourth kingdom, composed of several separate provinces, very remote from one another, had not any succession of princes, and did not long subsist in its first condition; Lysimachus, who first obtained it, having been killed in a battle, after a reign of twenty years, and all his family being exterminated by assassinations, his dominions were dismembered, and no longer constituted one kingdom.

Besides the provinces which were divided among the captains of Alexander, there were others which had been either formed before, or were then erected into different and independent Grecian states, whose power greatly increased in process of time.

KINGS OF BITHYNIA.

WHILE Alexander was extending his conquests in the East, Zypethes had laid the foundation of the kingdom of Bithynia.†† It is not certain who this Zypethes was, unless we may conjecture with Pausanius, that he was a Thracian.‡‡ His successors, however, are better known.

Nicomedes I.§§ This prince invited the Gauls to assist him against his brother, with whom he was engaged in a war.

Prusias I.

Prusias II. surnamed the Hunter, in whose court Hannibal took refuge, and assisted him with his counsels in his war against Eumenes II. king of Pergamus.|||

Nicomedes II. was killed by his son Socrates.

Nicomedes III. was assisted by the Romans in his wars with Mithridates, and bequeathed to them at his death the kingdom of Bithynia, as a testimony of his gratitude to them; by which means these territories became a Roman province.

KINGS OF PERGAMUS.

THIS kingdom at first comprehended only one of the smallest provinces of Mysia, on the coast of the Ægean sea, over against the island of Lesbos.

It was founded by Philaterra,¶¶ a eunuch, who had been a servant to Docimus, a commander of the troops of Antigonus. Lysimachus confided to him the treasures he had deposited in the castle of the city of Pergamus, and he became master both of these and the city after the death of that prince. He governed this little sovereignty for the space of twenty years, and then left it to Eumenes his nephew.

Eumenes I. enlarged his principality, by the addition of several cities, which he took from the kings of Syria, having defeated Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, in a battle.*† He reigned twelve years.

He was succeeded by Attalus I. his cousin-german, who assumed the title of king, after he had conquered the Galatians;*‡ and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation. He assisted the Romans in their war with Philip, and died after a reign of forty-three years. He left four sons.

His successor was Eumenes II.*§ his eldest son, who founded the famous library of Pergamus. He reigned thirty-nine years, and left the crown to his brother Attalus, in the quality of guardian to one of his sons, whom he had by Stratonice, the sister

* A. M. 3724. † 3726. ‡ 3728. § 3762. || 3772. ¶ 3784.
 ** A. M. 3824. †† A. M. 3686. ‡‡ Pausan. l. v. p. 310. §§ A. M. 3726. ¶¶ A. M. 3820.
 ¶¶ A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. *† A. M. 3741, Ant. J. C. 263. *‡ A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241.
 *§ A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197.

of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. The Romans enlarged his dominions considerably, after the victory he obtained over Antiochus the Great.

Attalus II.* espoused Stratonice his brother's widow, and took extraordinary care of his nephew, to whom he left the crown after he had worn it twenty-one years.

Attalus III.† surnamed Philometer, distinguished himself by his barbarous and extravagant conduct. He died after he had reigned five years, and bequeathed his riches and dominions to the Romans.

Aristonicus,‡ who claimed the succession, endeavoured to defend his pretensions against the Romans; but the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced, after a war of four years, into a Roman province.

KINGS OF PONTUS.

THE kingdom of Pontus in Asia Minor was anciently dismembered from the monarchy of Persia, by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in favour of Artabazus, who is said, by some historians, to have been the son of one of those Persian lords who conspired against the magi.§

Pontus is a region of Asia Minor, and is situated partly along the coast of the Euxine sea (*Pontus Euxinus*,) from which it derives its name. It extends from the river Halys, as far as Colchis. Several princes reigned in that country since Artabazus.

The sixth monarch was Mithridates I.|| who is properly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus, and his name was assumed by the generality of his successors.

He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes,¶ who had governed Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, who reigned twenty-six years.

His successor was Mithridates II** Antigones suspecting, in consequence of a dream, that he favoured Cassander, had determined to destroy him, but he eluded the danger by flight. This prince was called Κτιστής, or *The Founder*, and reigned thirty-five years.

Mithridates III. succeeded him, added Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, and reigned thirty-six years.††

After the reigns of two other kings, Mithridates, the great grandfather of Mithridates the Great, ascended the throne, and espoused the daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, the king of Syria, by whom he had Laodice, who was married to Antiochus the Great.

He was succeeded by his son Pharnaces,‡‡ who had some disagreement with the kings of Pergamus. He made himself master of Sinope, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Pontus.

After him reigned Mithridates V. surnamed Euergetes, the first who was called the friend of the Romans, because he had assisted them against the Carthaginians in the third Punic war.

He was succeeded by his son Mithridates VI. surnamed Eupator.§§ This is the great Mithridates, who sustained so long a war with the Romans, and reigned sixty-six years.

KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.

STRABO informs us, that Cappadocia was divided into two satrapies, or governments, under the Persians, as it also was under the Macedonians. The maritime part of Cappadocia formed the kingdom of Pontus; the other tracts constituted Cappadocia, properly so called, or the Cappadocia Major, which extends along Mount Taurus, and to a great distance beyond it.|||

When Alexander's captains divided the provinces of his empire among themselves, Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes.¶¶ Perdicas attacked and defeated him, after which he caused him to be slain.

His son Ariarathes re-entered the kingdom of his father, some time after this event, and established himself so effectually, that he left it to his posterity.

The generality of his successors assumed the same name, and will have their place in the series of this history.

* A. M. 3345. Ant. J. C. 159.

† A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 514.

‡ A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

§ A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

¶ A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138.

|| A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 404.

†† A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302.

‡‡ Strab. l. xii. p. 534.

§ A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133.

¶ A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363.

|| A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 125.

¶¶ A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322.

Cappadocia, after the death of Archelaus, the last of its kings, became a province of the Roman empire, as the rest of Asia also did, much about the same time.

KINGS OF ARMENIA.

ARMENIA, a vast country of Asia, extending on each side of the Euphrates, was conquered by the Persians; after which it was transferred, with the rest of the empire, to the Macedonians, and at last fell to the share of the Romans. It was governed for a great length of time by its own kings, the most considerable of whom was Tigranes, who espoused the daughter of the great Mithridates king of Pontus, and was also engaged in a long war with the Romans. The kingdom supported itself many years, between the Roman and Parthian empires, sometimes depending on the one, and sometimes on the other, till at last the Romans became its masters.

KINGS OF EPIRUS.

EPIRUS is a province of Greece, separated from Thessaly and Macedonia by Mount Pindus. The most powerful people of this country were the Molossians.

The kings of Epirus pretended to derive their descent from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, who established himself in that country, and called themselves Æacides, from Æacus the grandfather of Achilles.

The genealogy of the latter kings, who were the only sovereigns of this country, of whom any accounts remain, is variously related by authors, and consequently must be doubtful and obscure.*

Arymbas ascended the throne, after a long succession of kings; and as he was then very young, the states of Epirus, who were sensible that the welfare of the people depended on the proper education of their princes, sent him to Athens, which was the residence and centre of all the arts and sciences, in order to cultivate, in that excellent school, such knowledge as was necessary to form the mind of a king. He there learned the art of reigning, and as he surpassed all his ancestors in ability and knowledge, he was in consequence infinitely more esteemed and beloved by his people than they had been.† When he returned from Athens, he made laws, established a senate and a magistracy, and regulated the form of the government.

Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias had espoused Philip king of Macedon, attained an equal share in the regal government with Arymbas, his elder brother, by the credit of his son-in-law. After the death of Arymbas, Æacides, his son, ought to have been his successor; but Philip had still sufficient influence to procure his expulsion from the kingdom by the Molossians, who established Alexander the son of Neoptolemus sole monarch of Epirus.

Alexander espoused Cleopatra the daughter of Philip, and marched with an army into Italy, where he lost his life in the country of the Brutians.

Æacides then ascended the throne, and reigned without any associate in Epirus. He espoused Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, by whom he had two daughters, Deidamia, and Troias, and one son, the celebrated Pyrrhus.

As he was marching to the assistance of Olympias, his troops mutinied against him, condemned him to exile, and slaughtered most of his friends. Pyrrhus, who was then an infant, happily escaped this massacre.

Neoptolemus, a prince of the blood, but whose particular extraction is little known, was placed on the throne by the people of Epirus.

Pyrrhus, being recalled by his subjects at the age of twelve years, first shared the sovereignty with Neoptolemus, but having afterwards divested him of his dignity, he reigned alone.

This history will treat of the various adventures of this prince. He died in the city of Argos, in an attempt to make himself master of it.‡

Helenus his son reigned after him for some time in Epirus, which was afterwards united to the Roman empire.

TYRANTS OF HERACLEA.

HERACLEA is a city of Pontus, anciently founded by the Bœotians, who sent a colony into that country by the order of an oracle.

When the Athenians having conquered the Persians, had imposed a tribute on the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, for the fitting out and support of a fleet, intended for

* Diod. l. xvi. p. 465. Justin. l. viii. c. 6. Plut. in Pyrrho.

† Quanto doctior majoribus, tanto et gratior populo fuit.—Justin. l. xvii. c. 3.

‡ A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271.

the defence of the common liberty, the inhabitants of Heraclea, in consequence of their attachment to the Persians, were the only people who refused to acquiesce in so just a contribution.* Lamachus was therefore sent against them, and he ravaged their territories; but a violent tempest having destroyed his whole fleet, he beheld himself abandoned to the mercy of that people, whose natural ferocity might well have been increased by the severe treatment they had lately received. But they had recourse to no other vengeance but benefactions; they furnished him with troops and provisions for his return, and were willing to consider the depredations which had been committed in their country as advantageous to them, if they acquired the friendship of the Athenians at that price.†

Some time after this event,‡ the populace of Heraclea excited a violent commotion against the rich citizens and senators who having implored assistance to no effect, first from Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards from Epaminondas, the Theban, were necessitated to recal Clearchus, a senator, to their defence, whom themselves had banished; but his exile had neither improved his morals, nor rendered him a better citizen than he was before. He therefore made the troubles in which he found the city involved, subservient to his design of subjecting it to his own power. With this view he openly declared for the people, caused himself to be invested with the highest office in the magistracy, and assumed a sovereign authority in a short time. Being thus become a professed tyrant, there were no kinds of violence to which he had not recourse against the rich and the senators, to satiate his avarice and cruelty. He proposed for his model Dionysius the tyrant, who had established his power over the Syracusans at the same time.

After a hard and inhuman servitude of twelve years, two young citizens, who were Plato's disciples, and had been instructed in his maxims, formed a conspiracy against Clearchus, and slew him; but though they delivered their country from the tyrant, the tyranny still subsisted.

Timotheus, the son of Clearchus, assumed his place, and pursued the same conduct for the space of fifteen years.§

He was succeeded by his brother Dionysius,|| who was in danger of being dispossessed of his authority by Perdiccas; but as this last was soon destroyed, Dionysius contracted a friendship with Antigonus, whom he assisted against Ptolemy in the Cyprian war

He espoused Amastris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxiathres, the brother of Darius. This alliance inspired him with so much courage, that he assumed the title of king, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of several places which he seized on the confines of Heraclea.

He died two or three years before the battle of Ipsus, after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving two sons and a daughter under the tutelage and regency of Amastris.¶

This princess was rendered happy in her administration by the affection Antigonus entertained for her. She founded a city, and called it by her name; after which she transplanted thither the inhabitants of three other cities, and espoused Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus.**

KINGS OF SYRACUSE.

HIERO,†† and his son Hieronymus, reigned at Syracuse; the first fifty-four years, the second but one year.

Syracuse recovered its liberty by the death of the last, but continued in the interest of the Carthaginians, which Hieronymus had caused it to espouse.‡‡ His conduct obliged Marcellus to form the siege of that city, which he took the following year.§§ I shall enlarge upon the history of these two kings in another place.

OTHER KINGS.

SEVERAL kings likewise reigned in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as also in Thrace, Cyrene in Africa, Paphlagonia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and a variety of other places; but their history is very uncertain, and their successions have but little regularity.

* Justin. l. xvi. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xv. p. 390.

† Heraclienses honestiorem beneficii, quam ultionis occasionem rati, instructos com meatibus auxiliisque dimittent: bene agrorum suorum populationem impensam existimantes, si, quos hostes habuerant, amicos reddissent.—Justin.

‡ A. M. 3640. Ant. J. C. 364.

§ A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352. Diod. l. xv. p. 435.

|| A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337. Diod. l. xvi. p. 478.

¶ A. M. 3706. Ant. J. C. 304.

** Diod. l. xx. p. 833.

†† A. M. 3735. Ant. J. C. 269.

‡‡ A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.

§§ A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213.

These circumstances are very different with respect to the kingdom of the Parthians, who formed themselves, as we shall see in the sequel, into such a powerful monarchy, as became formidable even to the Roman empire. That of the Bactrians also took its rise about the same period; I shall treat of each in their proper places.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

EDITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL GREEK AUTHORS CITED IN THIS WORK.

HERODOTUS.—Francof. An. 1608.

THUCYDIDES.—Apud Henricum Stephanum, An. 1588.

XENOPHON.—Lutetiæ Parisiorum, apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum, An. 1625.

POLYBIUS.—Parisiis, An. 1609.

DIODORUS SICULUS.—Hanoviæ, Typis Wechelianis, An. 1604.

PLUTARCHUS.—Lutetiæ Parisiorum, apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum, An. 1624.

STRABO.—Lutetiæ Parisiorum Typis Regiis, An. 1620

ATHENÆUS.—Lugduni An. 1612.

PAUSANIAS.—Hanoviæ, Typis Wechelianis, An. 1613.

APPIANUS ALEXANDER.—Apud Henric. Stephan. An. 1592.

PLATO.—EX nova Joannis Serrani interpretatione. Apud Henricum Stephanum, An; 1578.

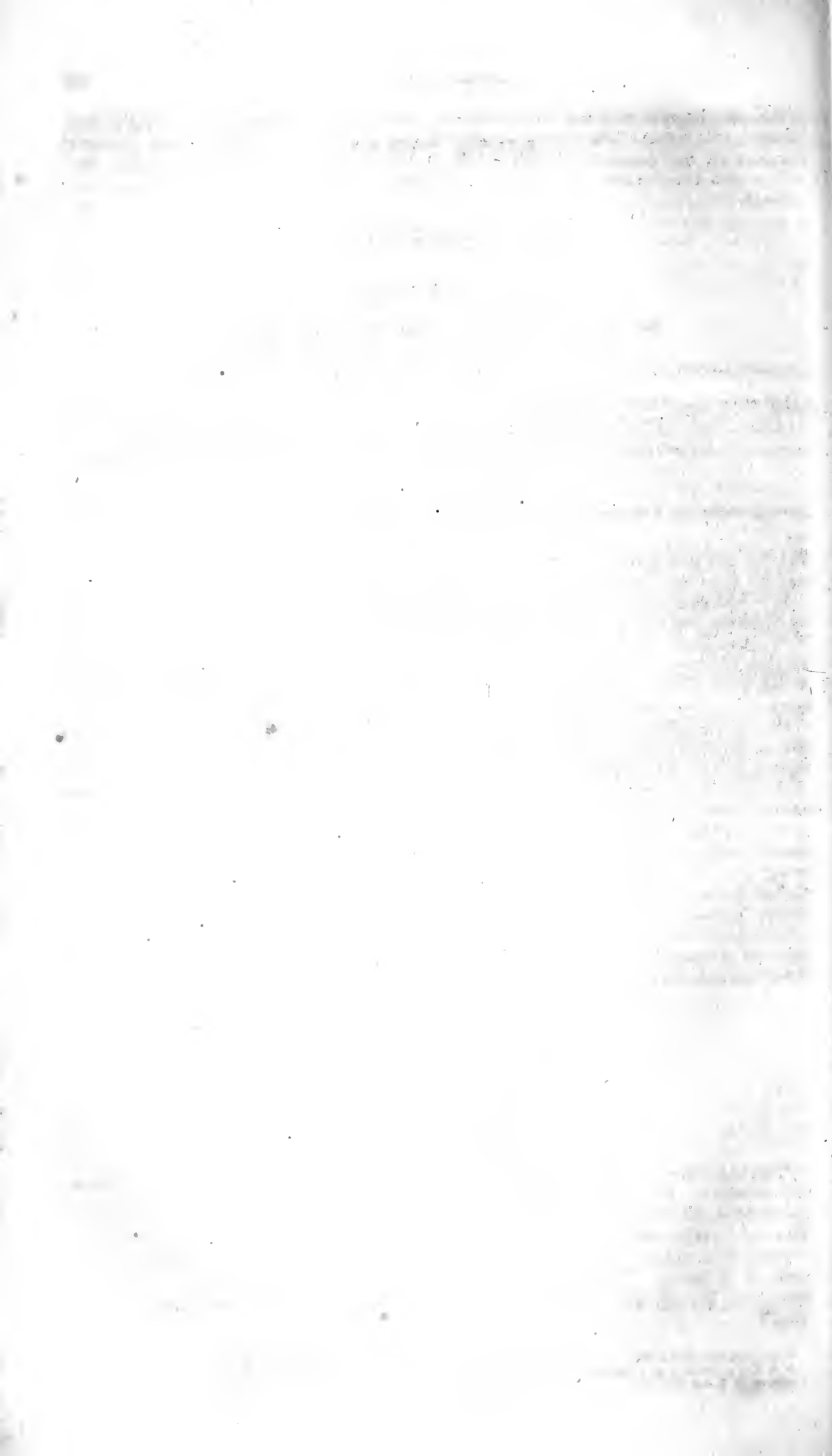
ARISTOTELES.—Lutetiæ Parisiorum, apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum, An. 1619.

ISOGRATES.—Apud Paulum Stephanum, An. 1604.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS.—Apud Henricum Stephanum, An. 1594.

DEMOSTHENES.—Francof. An. 1604.

ARRIANUS.—Ludgd, Batav. An. 1704.



BOOK FIRST.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY

OF

THE EGYPTIANS.

PLAN.

I shall divide what I have to say upon the Egyptians into three parts. The first contains a concise description of the different parts of Egypt, and of what is most remarkable in it; in the second, I treat of the customs, laws, and religion of the Egyptians; and in the third, I give the history of their kings.

PART FIRST.

DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHATEVER IS MOST CURIOUS AND REMARKABLE IN THAT COUNTRY.

EGYPT comprehended anciently, within the limits of no very great extent, a prodigious number of cities, and an incredible number of inhabitants.*

It is bounded on the east by the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez, on the south by Ethiopia, on the west by Libya, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from south to north, through the whole country, about two hundred leagues in length. This country is enclosed on each side with a ridge of mountains, which very often leave, between the foot of the hills and the river Nile, a tract of ground of not above half a day's journey in length,† and sometimes less.

On the west side, the plain grows wider in some places, and extends to twenty-five or thirty leagues. The greatest breadth of Egypt is from Alexandria to Damietta, being about fifty leagues.

Ancient Egypt may be divided into three principal parts: Upper Egypt, otherwise called Thebais, which was the most southern part; Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, so called from the seven Nomi, or districts it contained; Lower Egypt, which included what the Greeks call Delta, and all the country as far as the Red Sea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or Mount Casius. Under Sesostris, all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-six governments or Nomi; ten in Thebais, ten in Delta, and sixteen in the country between both.‡

The cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia, and, in the days of Augustus, were the boundaries of the Roman empire; *Claustra olim Romani imperii*, Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 61.

CHAPTER I.

THEBAIS.

THEBES; from whence Thebais had its name, might vie with the noblest cities in the universe. Its hundred gates, celebrated by Homer, are universally known,§ and acquired it the surname of Hecatonpylos, to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. Its population was proportionate to its extent;|| and, according to history, it could send out at once two hundred chariots, and ten thousand fighting men, at each of its gates. The Greeks and Romans have celebrated its magnificence and grandeur, though they saw it only in its ruins; so august were the remains of this city.¶

* It is related, that under Amasis, there were twenty thousand inhabited cities in Egypt.—Herod. l. ii. c. 177.

† A day's journey is 24 eastern, or 33 English miles and a quarter.

‡ Hom. Il. l. ver. 381.

§ Strab. l. xvii. p. 816.

¶ Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

In the Thebaid, now called Said, have been discovered temples and palaces, which are still almost entire, adorned with innumerable columns and statues.* One palace especially is admired, the remains of which seem to have existed purely to eclipse the glory of the most pompous edifices. Four walks, extending farther than the eye can see, and bounded on each side with sphinxes, composed of materials as rare and extraordinary as their size is remarkable, serve as avenues to four porticoes, whose height is amazing to behold. And even they who have given us the description of this wonderful edifice, had not time to go round it, and are not sure that they saw above half; however, what they had a sight of was astonishing. A hall, which to all appearance stood in the middle of this stately palace, was supported by a hundred and twenty pillars, six fathoms round, of a proportionable height, and intermixed with obelisks, which so many ages have not been able to demolish. Painting had displayed all her art and magnificence in this edifice. The colours themselves, which soonest feel the injury of time, still remain amid the ruins of this wonderful structure, and preserve their beauty and lustre; so happily could the Egyptians imprint a character of immortality on all their works. Strabo, who was on the spot, describes a temple he saw in Egypt, very much resembling that of which I have been speaking.†

The same author,‡ describing the curiosities of Thebais, speaks of a very famous statue of Memnon, the remains of which he had seen. It is said that this statue, when the beams of the rising sun first shone upon it in the morning, uttered an articulate sound.|| And indeed Strabo himself was an ear-witness of this; but then he doubts whether the sound came from the statue.

CHAPTER II.

MIDDLE EGYPT, OR HEPTANOMIS.

MEMPHIS was the capital of this part of Egypt. In this city were to be seen many stately temples, especially that of the god Apis, who was honoured here in a particular manner. I shall speak of it hereafter, as well as of the pyramids, which stood in the neighbourhood of this place, and rendered it so famous. Memphis was situated on the west side of the Nile.

Grand Cairo, which seems to have succeeded Memphis, was built on the other side of that river.§ The castle of Cairo is one of the greatest curiosities in Egypt. It stands on a hill, without the city; has a rock for its foundation, and is surrounded with walls of a vast height and solidity. You go up to the castle by a way hewn out of the rock, and which is so easy of ascent, that loaded horses and camels get up without difficulty. The greatest rarity in this castle is Joseph's well, so called, either because the Egyptians are pleased with ascribing what is most remarkable among them to that great man, or because there is really such a tradition in the country. This is a proof, at least, that the work in question is very ancient; and it is certainly worthy the magnificence of the most powerful kings of Egypt. This well has, as it were, two stories, cut out of the solid rock to a prodigious depth. The descent to the reservoir of water, between the two wells, is by a stair-case seven or eight feet broad, consisting of two hundred and twenty steps, and so contrived, that the oxen employed to throw up the water, go down with all imaginable ease, the descent being scarcely perceptible. The well is supplied from a spring, which is almost the only one in the whole country. The oxen are continually turning a wheel with a rope, to which a number of buckets are fastened. The water thus drawn from the first and lowermost well is conveyed, by a little canal, into a reservoir, which forms the second well, from whence it is drawn to the top, in the same manner, and then conveyed by pipes to all parts of the castle. As this well is supposed by the inhabitants of the country to be of great antiquity, and has indeed much of the antique manner of the Egyptians, I thought it might deserve a place among the curiosities of ancient Egypt.

Strabo speaks of a similar engine, which, by wheels and pulleys, threw up the water of the Nile to the top of a very high hill; with this difference, that instead of oxen, a hundred and fifty slaves were employed to turn these wheels.¶

* Thevenot's Travels.

† Lib. xvii. p. 805.

‡ P. 816.

§ Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum, præcipua fuerit Memnonis saxa effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est vocalem sonum reddens, &c.—Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 61.

¶ Thevenot.

¶ Lib. xvii. p. 807.

The part of Egypt of which we now speak is famous for several rarities, each of which deserves a particular examination. I shall mention only the principal, such as the obelisks, the pyramids, the labyrinth, the lake of Mœris, and the Nile.

SECT. I. THE OBELISKS.

EGYPT seemed to place its chief glory in raising monuments for posterity. Its obelisks formed at this day, on account of their beauty as well as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power, despairing to equal the Egyptians, thought it honour enough to borrow the monuments of their kings.

An obelisk is a quadrangular, taper, high spire or pyramid, raised perpendicularly, and terminating in a point, to serve as an ornament to some open square; and is very often covered with inscriptions or hieroglyphics, that is, with mystical characters or symbols used by the Egyptians to conceal and disguise their sacred things, and the mysteries of their theology.

Sesostris erected in the city of Heliopolis two obelisks of extreme hard stone, brought from the quarries of Syene, at the extremity of Egypt.* They were each one hundred and twenty cubits high, that is, thirty fathoms, or one hundred and eighty feet.† The emperor Augustus, having made Egypt a province of the empire, caused these two obelisks to be transported to Rome, one of which was afterwards broken to pieces. He dared not venture upon a third, which was of a monstrous size.‡ It was made in the reign of Ramises; it is said that twenty thousand men were employed in the cutting of it. Constantius, more daring than Augustus, caused it to be removed to Rome. Two of these obelisks are still to be seen there, as well as another a hundred cubits, or twenty-five fathoms high, and eight cubits, or two fathoms in diameter, Caius Cæsar had it brought from Egypt, in a ship of so odd a form, that, according to Pliny, the like had never been seen.§

Every part of Egypt abounded with this kind of obelisks; they were for the most part cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, where some are now to be seen half finished. But the most wonderful circumstance is, that the ancient Egyptians should have had the art and contrivance to dig, even in the very quarry, a canal, through which the water of the Nile ran in the time of its inundation; from whence they afterwards raised up the columns, obelisks, and statues, on rafts|| proportioned to their weight, in order to convey them into Lower Egypt. And as the country was intersected every where with canals, there were few places to which those huge bodies might not be carried with ease, although their weight would have broken every other kind of engine.

SEC. II.—THE PYRAMIDS.

A PYRAMID is a solid or hollow body, having a large, and generally a square base, and terminating in a point.¶

There were three pyramids in Egypt more famous than the rest, one whereof was justly ranked among the seven wonders of the world; they did not stand very far from the city of Memphis.** I shall take notice here only of the largest of the three. This pyramid, like the rest, was built on a rock, having a square base, cut on the outside as so many steps, and decreasing gradually, quite to the summit. It was built with stones of a prodigious size, the least of which were thirty feet, wrought with wonderful art, and covered with hieroglyphics. According to several ancient authors, each side was eight hundred feet broad, and as many high. The summit of the pyramid, which to those who viewed it from below seemed a point, was a fine platform, composed of ten or twelve massy stones, with each side of that platform sixteen or eighteen feet long.

M. de Chazelles, of the Academy of Sciences, who went purposely to the spot in 1693, gives us the following dimensions:

The side of the square base	- - - - -	110 fathoms.
The fronts are equilateral triangles, and therefore	} 12,100 square	fathoms.
the superficies of the base is		
The perpendicular height	- - - - -	77½ fathoms.
The solid contents	- - - - -	313,590 cubical fathoms.

* Diod. lib. i. p. 37.

† It is proper to observe, once for all, that an Egyptian cubit, according to Mr. Greaves, was one foot nine inches and about three-fourths of our measure.

‡ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8, 9.

§ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 9.

|| Rafts are pieces of flat timber put together, to carry goods on rivers.

¶ Herod. l. ii. c. 124, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 39—41. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 12. ** Vide Diod. Sic.

A hundred thousand men were constantly employed about this work, and were relieved every three months by the same number. Ten complete years were spent in hewing out the stones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and in conveying them to Egypt; and twenty years more in building this immense edifice, the inside of which contained numberless rooms and apartments. There were expressed on the pyramid, in Egyptian characters, the sums it cost only for garlic, leeks, onions, and other vegetables, for the workmen; and the whole amounted to sixteen hundred talents of silver, that is, four millions five hundred thousand French livres;* from whence it was easy to conjecture what a vast sum the whole expense must have amounted to.

Such were the famous Egyptian pyramids, which by their figure, as well as size, have triumphed over the injuries of time and the barbarians. But what efforts soever men may make, their nothingness will always appear. These pyramids were tombs; and there is still to be seen, in the middle of the largest, an empty sarcophagus, cut out of one entire stone, about three feet deep and broad, and a little above six feet long.† Thus, all this bustle, all this expense, and all the labours of so many thousand men, ended in procuring for a prince, in this vast and almost boundless pile of building, a little vault six feet in length. Besides, the kings who built these pyramids, had it not in their power to be buried in them, and so did not enjoy the sepulchre they had built. The public hatred which they incurred, by reason of their unheard-of cruelties to their subjects, in laying such heavy tasks upon them, occasioned their being interred in some obscure place, to prevent their bodies from being exposed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

This last circumstance,‡ which historians have taken particular notice of, teaches us what judgment we ought to pass on these edifices, so much boasted of by the ancients. It is but just to remark and esteem the noble genius which the Egyptians had for architecture; a genius that prompted them from the earliest times, and before they could have any models to imitate, to aim in all things at the grand and magnificent; and to be intent on real beauties, without deviating in the least from a noble simplicity, in which the highest perfection of the art consists. But what idea ought we to form of those princes, who consider as something grand, the raising by a multitude of hands, and by the help of money, immense structures, with the sole view of rendering their names immortal; and who did not scruple to destroy thousands of their subjects to satisfy their vain glory? They differed very much from the Romans, who sought to immortalize themselves by works of a magnificent kind, but, at the same time, of public utility.

Pliny gives us, in a few words, a just idea of these pyramids, when he calls them a foolish and useless ostentation of the wealth of the Egyptian kings; *Regum pecunie otiosa ac stulta ostentatio*. And adds, that by a just punishment, their memory is buried in oblivion; the historians not agreeing among themselves about the names of those who first raised those vain monuments. *Inter eos non constat a quibus factæ sint, justissima casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.*§ In a word, according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the industry of the architects of those pyramids is no less valuable and praiseworthy than the design of the Egyptian kings contemptible and ridiculous.

But what we should most admire in these ancient monuments, is, the true and standing evidence they give of the skill of the Egyptians in astronomy; that is, in a science which seems incapable of being brought to perfection, but by a long series of years, and a great number of observations. M. de Chazelles, when he measured the great pyramid in question, found that the four sides of it were turned exactly to the four quarters of the world; and consequently showed the true meridian of that place. Now, as so exact a situation was in all probability purposely pitched upon by those who piled up this huge mass of stones, above three thousand years ago; it follows, that during so long a space of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that respect, or, which amounts to the same thing, in the poles of the earth or the meridians. This is M. de Fontenelle's remark, in his eulogy of M. de Chazelles.

SECT. III.—THE LABYRINTH.

WHAT has been said, concerning the judgment we ought to form of the pyramids, may also be applied to the labyrinth, which Herodotus, who saw it, assures us

* About 8333,000.

† Strabo mentions this sarcophagus, lib. xvii. p. 808.

‡ Diod. lib. i. p. 40.

§ Lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

was still more surprising than the pyramids.* It was built at the southern extremity of the lake of Mæris, whereof mention will be made presently, near the town of Crocodiles, the same with Arsinoë. It was not so much one single palace, as a magnificent pile composed of twelve palaces, regularly disposed, which had a communication with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms, interspersed with terraces, were ranged round twelve halls, and discovered no outlet to such as went to see them. There was the like number of buildings under ground. These subterraneous structures were designed for the burying-place of the kings, and also, (who can speak this without confusion, and without deploring the blindness of man!) for keeping the sacred crocodile which a nation, so wise in other respects, worshipped as gods.

In order to visit the rooms and halls of the labyrinth, it was necessary, as the reader will naturally suppose, for people to take the same precaution as Ariadne made Theseus use, when he was obliged to go and fight the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete. Virgil describes it in this manner:

Ut quondam Creta fertur labyrinthus in alta
 Parietibus textum cæcis iter ancipitemque
 Mille viis habuisse dolum, quæ signa sequendi
 Falleret indepresnus et irremediabilis error†
 Hic labor ille domus, et inextricabilis error.
 Dædalus, ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,
 Cæca regens filo vestigia.‡

And as the Cretan labyrinth of old,
 With wand'ring ways, and many a winding fold,
 Involv'd the weary feet without redress,
 In a round error, which deny'd recess:
 Not far from thence he grav'd the wondrous maze;
 A thousand doors, a thousand winding ways.

SECT. IV.—THE LAKE OF MÆRIS.

THE noblest and most wonderful of all the structures or works, of the kings of Egypt, was the lake of Mæris; accordingly, Herodotus considers it as vastly superior to the pyramids and labyrinth.§ As Egypt was more or less fruitful in proportion to the inundations of the Nile; and as in these floods, the too great or too little rise of the waters was equally fatal to the lands; king Mæris, to prevent these two inconveniences, and correct, as far as lay in his power, the irregularities of the Nile, thought proper to call art to the assistance of nature; and so caused the lake to be dug, which afterwards went by his name. This lake was in circumference about three thousand six hundred stadia, that is, about one hundred and eighty French leagues, and three hundred feet deep.|| Two pyramids, on each of which was placed a colossal statue, seated, on a throne, raised their heads to the height of three hundred feet, in the midst of the lake, while their foundations took up the same space under the water; a proof that they were erected before the cavity was filled, and a demonstration that a lake of such vast extent was the work of man's hands, in one prince's reign. This is what several historians have related concerning the lake Mæris, on the testimony of the inhabitants of the country. And M. Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux, in his discourse on Universal History, relates the whole as fact. For my part, I will confess that I do not see the least probability in it. Is it possible to conceive, that a lake of a hundred and eighty leagues in circumference, could have been dug in the reign of one prince? In what manner, and where could the earth taken from it be conveyed? What should prompt the Egyptians to lose the surface of so much land? By what arts could they fill this vast tract with the superfluous waters of the Nile? Many other objections might be made. In my opinion, therefore, we ought to follow Pomponius Mela, an ancient geographer; especially as his account is confirmed by several modern travellers. According to that author, this lake is about twenty thousand paces, that is, seven or eight French leagues in circumference. *Mæris aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia passuum in circuitu patens.*¶

This lake had a communication with the Nile, by a great canal more than four

* Herod. l. ii. c. 148. Diod. l. i. p. 42. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 13. Strab. l. xvii. p. 811.

† Æneid. l. v. 588, &c.

‡ Æneid. l. v. vi. 27, &c.

§ Herod. l. ii. c. 140. Strab. l. xvii. p. 787. Diod. l. i. p. 47. Plin. l. v. c. 9. Pomp. Mela, l. i.

|| Vide Herod. and Diod. Pliny agrees almost with them.

¶ Mela, l. i.

leagues long,* and fifty feet broad. Great sluices either opened or shut the canal and lake, as occasion required.

The charge of opening or shutting them amounted to fifty talents, that is, fifty thousand French crowns.† The fishing of this lake brought to the monarch immense sums; but its chief use related to the overflowing of the Nile. When it arose too high, and was like to be attended with fatal consequences, the sluices were opened, and the waters, having a free passage into the lake, covered the lands no longer than was necessary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the inundation was too low, and threatened a famine, a sufficient quantity of water, by the help of drains, was let out of the lake, to water the lands. In this manner, the irregularities of the Nile were corrected; and Strabo remarks, that, in his time, under Petronius, a governor of Egypt, when the inundation of the Nile was twelve cubits, a very great plenty ensued; and even when it rose but to eight cubits, the dearth was scarce felt in the country; doubtless, because the waters of the lake made up for those of the inundation, by the help of canals and drains.

SECT. V.—THE INUNDATIONS OF THE NILE.

THE Nile is the greatest wonder of Egypt. As it seldom rains there, this river, which waters the whole country by its regular inundations, supplies that defect, by bringing, as a yearly tribute, the rains of other countries; which made a poet say ingeniously, *The Egyptian pastures, how great soever the drought may be, never implore Jupiter for rain.*

“Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres,
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi.”‡

To multiply so beneficent a river, Egypt was cut into numberless canals, of a length and breadth proportioned to the different situations and wants of the lands. The Nile brought fertility every where with its salutary streams; united cities one with another, and the Mediterranean with the Red Sea; maintained trade at home and abroad, and fortified the kingdom against the enemy; so that it was at once the nourisher and protector of Egypt. The fields were delivered up to it; but the cities, that were raised with immense labour, and stood like islands in the midst of the waters, looked down with joy on the plains which were overflowed, and at the same time enriched, by the Nile.

This is a general idea of the nature and effects of this river, so famous among the ancients. But a wonder so astonishing in itself, and which has been the object of the curiosity and admiration of the learned in all ages, seems to require a more particular description, in which I shall be as concise as possible.

I. THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

THE ancients placed the sources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon (as they are commonly called,) in the 10th degree of south latitude. But our modern travellers have discovered that they lie in the 12th degree of north latitude: and by that means they cut off about four or five hundred leagues of the course which the ancients gave that river. It rises at the foot of a great mountain in the kingdom of Gojam in Abyssinia, from two springs, or eyes, to speak in the language of the country, the same word in Arabic signifying eye and fountain. These springs are thirty paces from one another, each as large as one of our wells or a coach wheel. The Nile is increased with many rivulets which run into it; and after passing through Ethiopia in a very winding course, flows at last into Egypt.

II. THE CATARACTS OF THE NILE.

THIS name is given to some parts of the Nile, where the water falls down from the steep rocks.§ This river, which at first glided smoothly along the vast deserts

* Eighty-five stadia.

† § 55,000.

‡ Seneca (Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.) ascribes these verses to Ovid, but they are Tibullus's.

§ Excipiunt eum (Nilem) cataracte, nobilis insigni spectaculo locus.—Illic excitatis primùm aquis, quas sine tumultu leni alveo duxerat, violentus et torrens per malignos transitus prosilit, dissimilis sibi—tandemque eluctatus obstantia, in vastam altitudinem subito destitutus cadit, cum ingenti circumjacentium regionum strepitu; quem perferre gens ibi à Persis collocata non potuit, obtusis assiduo fragore auribus, et ob hoc sedibus ad quietiora translatis. Inter miracula fluminis incredibilem incolarum audaciam accepi. Bini parvula navigia ascendunt, quorum alter navem regit, alter exhaurit. Deinde multum inter rapidam insaniam Nili et reciprocos fluctus volutati, tandem tenuissimos canales tenent, per quos angusta rupium effugiunt; et cum toto flumine effusi navigium ruens manu temperant, magnoque spectantium metu in caput nixi, cum jam adploraveris mersosque atque obrutos tantâ mole credideris, longè ab eo in quem ceciderant loco navigant, tormenti modo missi. Neq. mergit cadens unda, sed planis aquis tradit.—Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

of Ethiopia, before it enters Egypt, passes by the cataracts. Then growing on a sudden, contrary to its nature, raging and violent in those places where it is pent up and restrained; after having at last broke through all obstacles in its way, it precipitates itself from the top of some rocks to the bottom, with so loud a noise that it is heard three leagues off.

The inhabitants of the country, accustomed by long practice to this sport, exhibit here a spectacle to travellers that is more terrifying than diverting. Two of them go into a little boat; the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water. After having long sustained the violence of the raging waves, by managing their little boat very dexterously, they suffer themselves to be carried away with the impetuous torrent as swift as an arrow. The affrighted spectator imagines they are going to be swallowed up in the precipice down which they fall; when the Nile, restored to its natural course, discovers them again, at a considerable distance, on its smooth and calm waters. This is Seneca's account, which is confirmed by our modern travellers.

III. CAUSES OF THE INUNDATIONS OF THE NILE.

THE ancients have invented many subtle reasons for the Nile's great increase, as may be seen in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Seneca.* But it is now no longer a matter of dispute, it being almost universally allowed, that the inundations of the Nile are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, from whence this river flows. These rains swell it to such a degree, that Ethiopia first, and then Egypt, are overflowed; and that which at first was but a large river, rises like a sea, and overspreads the whole country.

Strabo observes, that the ancients only guessed that the inundations of the Nile were owing to the rains which fall in great abundance in Ethiopia: but adds, that several travellers have since been eye-witnesses of it;† Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was very curious in all things relating to the arts and sciences, having sent thither able persons, purposely to examine this matter, and to ascertain the cause of so uncommon and remarkable an effect.

IV. THE TIME AND CONTINUANCE OF THE INUNDATIONS.

HERODOTUS,‡ and after him Diodorus Siculus, and several other authors, declare that the Nile begins to flow in Egypt at the summer solstice, that is, about the end of June, and continues to rise till the end of September, and then decreases gradually during the months of October and November; and after which it returns to its channel, and resumes its wonted course. This account agrees very nearly with the relations of all the moderns, and is founded in reality on the natural cause of the inundation, viz. the rains which fall in Ethiopia. Now, according to the constant testimony of those who have been on the spot, these rains begin to fall in the month of April, and continue, during five months, till the end of August and beginning of September. The Nile's increase in Egypt must consequently begin three weeks or a month after the rains have begun to fall in Abyssinia; and, accordingly, travellers observe, that the Nile begins to rise in the month of May, but so slowly at the first, that it probably does not yet overflow its banks. The inundation happens not till about the end of June, and lasts the three following months, according to Herodotus.

I must point out to such as consult the originals, a contradiction in this place between Herodotus and Diodorus on one side; and between Strabo, Pliny, and Solinus, on the other. These last shorten very much the continuance of the inundation; and suppose the Nile to retire from the lands in three months, or a hundred days. And what adds to the difficulty is, that Pliny seems to ground his opinion on the testimony of Herodotus: *In totum autem revocatur Nilus intra ripas in libra, ut tradit Herodotus, centesimo die.* I leave to the learned the reconciling of this contradiction.

V. THE HEIGHT OF THE INUNDATION.

THE just height of the inundation, according to Pliny, is sixteen cubits.§ When it rises but twelve or thirteen, a famine is threatened; and when it exceeds sixteen, there is danger. It must be remembered, that a cubit is a foot and a half. The

* Herod. l. ii. c. 19—27. Diod. l. i. p. 35—39. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 1. et 2.

† Lib. xvii. p. 789.

‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 19. Diod. l. i. p. 32.

§ Justum incrementum est cubitorum xvi. Minores aquæ non omnia rigant: ampliores detinent, tardies recedendo. Hæ serendia tempora absumunt solo madente: illæ non dant sitiente. Utrumque reputat provincia. In duodecim cubitis famem sentit, in tredecim etiamnum esurit: quatuordecim cubita hilaritatem afferunt, quindecim securitatem, sexdecim delicias.—Plin. l. v. c. 9.

emperor Julian takes notice, in a letter to Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt, that the height of the Nile's overflowing was fifteen cubits, the 20th of September, in 362.* The ancients do not agree entirely with one another, nor with the moderns, with regard to the height of the inundation; but the difference is not very considerable, and may proceed, 1. from the disparity between the ancient and modern measures, which it is hard to estimate on a fixed and certain foot; 2. from the carelessness of the observers and historians; 3. from the real difference of the Nile's increase, which was not so great the nearer it approached the sea.

As the riches of Egypt depended on the inundation of the Nile, all the circumstances and different degrees of its increase were carefully considered; and by a long series of regular observations, made during many years, the inundation itself discovered what kind of harvest the ensuing year was likely to produce.† The kings had placed at Memphis a measure on which these different increases were marked: and from thence notice was given to all the rest of Egypt, the inhabitants which knew, by that means, beforehand, what they might fear or promise themselves from the harvest. Strabo speaks of a well on the banks of the Nile, near the town of Syene, made for that purpose.‡

The same custom is observed to this day at Grand Cairo. In the court of a mosque there stands a pillar, on which are marked the degrees of the Nile's increase, and common criers every day proclaim in all parts of the city, how high it is risen. The tribute paid to the grand signior for the lands, is regulated by the inundation. The day on which it rises to a certain height, is kept as a grand festival, and solemnized with fire-works, feasting, and all the demonstrations of public rejoicing; and in the remotest ages, the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with an universal joy throughout all Egypt, that being the fountain of its happiness.

The heathens ascribed the inundation of the Nile to their god Serapis; and the pillar on which was marked the increase, was preserved religiously in the temple of that idol.§ The emperor Constantine having ordered it to be removed into the church of Alexandria, the Egyptians spread a report, that the Nile would rise no more by reason of the wrath of Serapis; but the river overflowed and increased as usual the following years. Julian, the apostate, a zealous protector of idolatry, caused this pillar to be replaced in the same temple, out of which it was again removed by the command of Theodosius.

VI. THE CANALS OF THE NILE, AND SPIRAL PUMPS.

DIVINE Providence, in giving so beneficent a river to Egypt, did not thereby intend that the inhabitants of it should be idle, and enjoy so great a blessing, without taking any pains. One may naturally suppose, that as the Nile could not of itself cover the whole country, great labour was to be used to facilitate the overflowing of the lands; and numberless canals cut, in order to convey the waters to all parts. The villages, which stood very thick on the banks of the Nile, on eminences, had each their canals, which were opened at proper times, to let the water into the country. The more distant villages had theirs also, even to the extremities of the kingdom. Thus the waters were successively conveyed to the most remote places. Persons are not permitted to cut the trenches to receive the waters, till the river is at a certain height, nor to open them altogether; because otherwise some lands would be too much overflowed, and others not covered enough. They begin with opening them in Upper, and afterwards in Lower Egypt, according to the rules prescribed in a roll or book, in which all the measures are exactly set down. By this means the water is husbanded with such care, that it spreads itself over all the lands. The countries overflowed by the Nile are so extensive, and lie so low, and the number of canals is so great, that of all the waters which flow into Egypt during the months of June, July, and August, it is believed that not a tenth part of them reaches the sea.

But as, notwithstanding all these canals, there are abundance of high lands which cannot receive the benefit of the Nile's overflowing; this want is supplied by spiral pumps, which are turned with oxen, in order to bring the water into pipes, which convey it to these lands. Diodorus speaks of a similar engine, called *Cochlea Ægyptia*, invented by Archimedes, in his travels into Egypt.||

VII. THE FERTILITY CAUSED BY THE NILE.

THERE is no country in the world where the soil is more fruitful than in Egypt; which is owing entirely to the Nile. For whereas other rivers, when they overflow

* Jul. epist. 50. † Diod. l. i. p. 33. ‡ Lib. xvii. p. 817: § Socrate. l. i. c. 18. Sozom. l. v. c. 3.
|| Lib. i. p. 30. et. lib. v. p. 313.

lands, wash away and exhaust their vivific moisture; the Nile, on the contrary, by the excellent slime it brings along with it, fattens and enriches them in such a manner, as sufficiently compensates for what the foregoing harvest had impaired.* The husbandman, in this country, never tires himself with holding the plough, or breaking the clods of earth. As soon as the Nile retires, he has nothing to do but to turn up the earth, and temper it with a little sand, in order to lessen its rankness; after which he sows it with great ease, and at little or no expense. Two months after, it is covered with all sorts of corn and pulse. The Egyptians sow in October and November, according as the waters recede, and their harvest is in March and April.

The same land bears, in one year three and four different kinds of crops. Lettuces and cucumbers are sown first: then corn; and, after harvest, several sorts of pulse, which are peculiar to Egypt. As the sun is extremely hot in this country, and rains fall very seldom in it, it is natural to suppose, that the earth would soon be parched, and the corn and pulse burnt up by so scorching a heat, were it not for the canals and reservoirs with which Egypt abounds; and which, by the drains from thence, amply supply wherewith to water and refresh the fields and gardens.

The Nile contributes no less to the nourishment of cattle, which is another source of wealth to Egypt. The Egyptians begin to turn them out to grass in November, and they graze till the end of March. Words could never express how rich their pastures are, and how fat the flocks and herds (which, by reason of the mildness of the air, are out night and day) grow in a very little time. During the inundation of the Nile they are fed with hay and cut straw, barley and beans, which are their common food.

A man cannot, says Corneille le Bruyn in his Travels,† help observing the admirable providence of God to this country, who sends at a fixed season such great quantities of rain in Ethiopia, in order to water Egypt, where a shower of rain scarce ever falls; and who by that means causes the driest and most sandy soil to become the richest and most fruitful country in the universe.

Another thing to be observed here is, that as the inhabitants say, in the beginning of June, and the four following months, the north-east winds blow constantly, in order to keep back the waters, which would otherwise flow too fast; and to hinder them from discharging themselves into the sea, the entrance to which these winds bar up, as it were, from them. The ancients have not omitted this circumstance.

The same Providence, whose ways are wonderful and infinitely various, displayed itself after a quite different manner in Palestine, in rendering it exceedingly fruitful; not by rains, which fell during the course of the year, as is usual in other places; nor by a peculiar inundation like that of the Nile in Egypt; but by sending fixed rains at two seasons, when his people were obedient to him, to make them more sensible of their continual dependence upon him.‡ God himself commands them, by his servant Moses, to make this reflection.§ *The land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowest thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.* After this, God promises to give his people, so long as they shall continue obedient to him, *the former and the latter rain*: the first in autumn, to bring up the corn; and the second in the spring and summer, to make it grow and ripen.

VIII.—THE DIFFERENT PROSPECTS EXHIBITED BY THE NILE.

THERE cannot be a finer sight than Egypt at two seasons of the year.|| For if a man ascends some mountain, or one of the largest pyramids of Grand Cairo, in the months of July and August, he beholds a vast sea, in which numberless towns and villages appear, with several causeys leading from place to place; the whole interspersed with groves and fruit trees, whose tops only are visible, all which forms a delightful prospect. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmost distance the eye can discover, the most beautiful horizon that can be imagined. On the contrary, in winter, that is to say, in the months of January and February, the whole country is like one continued scene of beautiful meadows, whose

* Cùm cæteri amnes abluant terras et eviscerent, Nilus adeo nihil exedit nec abradit, ut contra adjiciat vires.—Ita juvat agros duabus ex causis, et quòd inundat, et quòd oblimat.—Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

† Vol. ii.

‡ Multiformis sapientia, Eph. liii. 10.

§ Deut. xi. 10—13:

|| Illa facies pulcherrima, est cùm jam se in agros Nilus ingessit. Latent campi, opertæque sunt valles: oppida insularum modo extant. Nullum in Mediterraneis, nisi per navigia, commercium est; majorque est lætitia in gentibus, quo minus terrarum suarum vident.—Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

verdure enamelled with flowers, charms the eye. The spectator beholds, on every side, flocks and herds dispersed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of blossoms on the orange, lemon, and other trees; and is so pure, that a wholesomer or more agreeable is not found in the world; so that nature, being then dead as it were in all other climates, seems to be alive only for so delightful an abode.

IX.—THE CANAL FORMED BY THE NILE, BY WHICH A COMMUNICATION IS MADE BETWEEN THE TWO SEAS.

THE canal,* by which a communication was made between the Red Sea and Mediterranean, ought to have a place here, as it was not one of the least advantages which the Nile procured to Egypt. Sesostris, or, according to others, Psammeticus, first projected the design, and began this work. Necho, successor to the last prince, laid out immense sums upon it, and employed a prodigious number of men. It is said, that above six score thousand Egyptians perished in the undertaking. He gave it over, terrified by an oracle, which told him that he would thereby open a door for barbarians, (for by this name they called all foreigners,) to enter Egypt. The work was continued by Darius, the first of that name; but he also desisted from it, on his being told, that as the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt, it would drown the whole country. But it was at last finished under the Ptolemies, who, by the help of sluices, opened or shut the canal as there was occasion. It began not far from the Delta, near the town of Bubastus. It was a hundred cubits, that is, twenty-five fathoms broad, so that two vessels might pass with ease; it had depth enough to carry the largest ships, and was above a thousand stadia, that is, above fifty leagues long. This canal was of great service to Egypt. But it is now almost filled up, and there are scarce any remains of it to be seen.

CHAPTER III.

LOWER EGYPT.

I AM now to speak of Lower Egypt. Its shape, which resembles a triangle, or delta Δ , gave occasion to its bearing the latter name, which is that of one of the Greek letters. Lower Egypt forms a kind of island; it begins at a place where the Nile is divided into two large canals, through which it empties itself into the Mediterranean; the mouth on the right hand is called the Pelusian, and the other the Canopic, from the two cities in their neighbourhood, Pelusium and Canopus, now called Damietta and Rosetta. Between these two large branches, there are five others of less note. The island is the best cultivated, the most fruitful, and the richest part of Egypt. Its chief cities, very anciently, were Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, Naucratis, Sais, Tanis, Canopus, Pelusium; and, in later times, Alexandria, Nicopolis, &c. It was in the country of Tanis that the Israelites dwelt.

There was at Sais a temple dedicated to Minerva,† who is supposed to be the same as Isis, with the following inscription: *I am whatever hath been, and is, and shall be; and no mortal hath drawn aside my veil.*

Heliopolis,‡ that is, the city of the sun, was so called from a magnificent temple there dedicated to that planet. Herodotus, and other authors after him, relate some particulars concerning the phœnix and this temple, which, if true, would indeed be very wonderful. Of this kind of birds, if we may believe the ancients, there is never but one at a time in the world. He is brought forth in Arabia, lives five or six hundred years, and is of the size of an eagle. His head is adorned with a shining and most beautiful crest; the feathers of his neck are of a gold colour, and the rest of a purple; his tail is white, intermixed with red, and his eyes sparkling like stars. When he is old, and finds his end approaching, he builds a nest with wood and aromatic spices, and then dies. Of his bones and marrow a worm is produced, out of which another phœnix is formed. His first care is to solemnize his parent's obsequies, for which purpose he makes up a ball in the shape of an egg, with abundance of perfumes of myrrh, as heavy as he can carry, which he often essays beforehand;

* Herod. l. ii. c. 153. Strab. l. xvii. p. 804. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Diod. l. i. p. 29.

† Plutar. de Isid. p. 354.

‡ Strab. l. xvii. p. 805. Herod. l. ii. c. 73. Plin. l. x. c. 2. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 28.

then he makes a hole in it, where he deposits his parent's body, and closes it carefully with myrrh and other perfumes. After this he takes up the precious load on his shoulders, and flying to the altar of the sun, in the city of Heliopolis, he there burns it.

Herodotus and Tacitus dispute the truth of some of the circumstances of this account, but seem to suppose it true in general. Pliny, on the contrary, in the very beginning of his account of it, insinuates plainly enough, that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and this is the opinion of all modern authors.

This ancient tradition, though grounded on an evident falsehood, hath yet introduced into almost all languages, the custom of giving the name of phoenix to whatever is singular or uncommon in its kind: *Rara avis in terris*,* says Juvenal, speaking of the difficulty of finding an accomplished woman in all respects. And Seneca observes the same of a good man.†

What is reported of swans, viz. that they never sing but in their expiring moments, and that then they warble very melodiously, is likewise grounded merely on a vulgar error; and yet it is used, not only by the poets, but also by the orators, and even the philosophers. *O mutis quoque piscibus donatura cygni, si libeat, sonum*,‡ says Horace to Melpomene. Cicero compares the excellent discourse which Crassus made in the senate, a few days before his death, to the melodious singing of a dying swan. *Illa tanquam cynea fuit divini hominis vox et oratio*. De Orat. l. iii. n. 6. And Socrates used to say, that good men ought to imitate swans who perceiving by a secret instinct, and sort of divination, what advantage there is in death, die singing and with joy. *Providentes quid in morte boni sit, cum cantu et voluptate moriuntur*. Tusc. Qu. l. i. n. 73. I thought this short digression might be of service to youth; and return now to my subject.

It was in Heliopolis, that an ox, under the name of Mnevis, was worshipped as a god.§ Cambyses, king of Persia, exercised his sacrilegious rage on this city; burning the temples, demolishing the palaces, and destroying the most precious monuments of antiquity in it. There are still to be seen some obelisks which escaped his fury; and others were brought from thence to Rome, to which city they are an ornament even at this day.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, from whom it had its name, vied almost in magnificence with the ancient cities in Egypt. It stands four days journey from Cairo, and was formerly the chief mart of all the eastern trade. The merchandize|| was unloaded at Portus Muris,¶ a town on the western coast of the Red Sea; from whence it was brought upon camels to a town of Thebais, called Copht, and conveyed down the Nile to Alexandria, whither merchants resorted from all parts.

It is well known, that the East-India trade has at all times enriched those who carried it on. This was the chief source of the vast treasures that Solomon amassed, and which enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jerusalem. David, by conquering Idumæa, became master of Elath and Esiongeber,** two towns situated on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. From these two ports, Solomon sent fleets to Ophir and Tarshish,†† which always brought back immense riches.‡‡ This traffic, after having been enjoyed some time by the Syrians, who regained Idumæa, passed from them into the hands of the Tyrians. These got all their merchandise conveyed by the way of Rhinoculura, a sea-port town, lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine, to Tyre, from whence they distributed them all over the western world. Hereby the Tyrians enriched themselves exceedingly, under the Persian empire, by the favour and protection of whose monarchs they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies had made themselves masters of Egypt, they soon drew all this trade into their kingdom, by building Berenice and other ports on the western side of the Red Sea, belonging to Egypt; and fixed their chief mart at Alexandria, which thereby rose to be the city of the greatest trade in the world.§§ There it continued for many centuries after; and all the traffic, which the western

* Sat. vi.

† Vir bonus tam cito nec fieri potest, nec intelligi—tanquam phoenix, semel anno quingentesimo nascitur.—Ep. 40.

‡ Od. iii. l. iv.

§ Strab. l. xvii. p. 805.

|| Strab. l. xvi. p. 781.

¶ Or, Myos Hormos.

** 2 Sam. viii. 14.

†† 1 Kings. ix. 26.

‡‡ He got in one voyage 450 talents of gold, 2 Chron. viii. 18, which amounts to fourteen millions three hundred and eighty-six thousand and six hundred dollars.—Prid. Connect. vol. I. ad. ann. 740, note.

§§ Strab. l. xvi. p. 481.

parts of the world from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red Sea and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was discovered, a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to these parts by the Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time were masters of this trade; but now it is in a manner engrossed by the English and Dutch. This short account of the East-India trade, from Solomon's time to the present age, is extracted from Dr. Prideaux,*

For the convenience of trade, there was built near Alexandria, in an island called Pharos, a tower which bore the same name.† At the top of this tower was kept a fire, to light such ships as sailed by night near those dangerous coasts which were full of sands and shelves; from whence all other towers designed for the same use have been called, as Pharo di Messina, &c. The famous architect Sostratus built it by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who expended eight hundred talents upon it.‡ It was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. Some, through a mistake, have commended that prince, for permitting the architect to put his name in the inscription which was fixed on the tower instead of his own.§ It was very short and plain, according to the manner of the ancients. *Sostratus Cnidius Dexiphani F. Diis Servatoribus, pro navigantibus: i. e.* Sostratus, the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the protecting deities, for the use of sea-faring people. But certainly Ptolemy must have very much undervalued that kind of immortality which princes are generally very fond of, to suffer that his name should not be so much as mentioned in the inscription of an edifice so capable of immortalizing him. What we read in Lucian concerning this matter, deprives Ptolemy of a modesty, which indeed would be very ill placed here. This author informs us that Sostratus, to engross the whole glory of that noble structure to himself, caused the inscription with his own name to be carved in the marble, which he afterwards covered with lime, and thereupon put the king's name. The lime soon mouldered away: and by that means, instead of procuring the architect the honour with which he had flattered himself, served only to discover to future ages his mean fraud and ridiculous vanity.||

Riches failed not to bring into this city, as they usually do in all places, luxury and licentiousness; so that the Alexandrian voluptuousness became a proverb.¶ In this city arts and sciences were also industriously cultivated; witness that stately edifice, surnamed the Museum, where the literati used to meet, and were maintained at the public expense: and the famous library, which was augmented considerably by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and which, by the munificence of the kings, his successors, at last contained seven hundred thousand volumes. In Cæsar's wars with the Alexandrians,** part of this library, situate in the Bruchion,†† which consisted of four hundred thousand volumes, was unhappily consumed by fire.

PART SECOND.

OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

EGYPT was ever considered by all the ancients as the most renowned school for wisdom and politics, and the source from whence most arts and sciences were derived. This kingdom bestowed its noblest labours and finest arts on the improvement of mankind; and Greece was so sensible of this, that its most illustrious men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, even its great legislators, Lycurgus and Solon, with many more whom it is needless to mention, travelled into Egypt to complete their studies, and draw from that fountain whatever was most rare and valuable in every kind of learning. God himself has given this kingdom a glorious testimony. When praising Moses, he says of him, that *He was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*‡‡

To give some idea of the manners and customs of Egypt, I shall confine myself principally to these particulars: its kings and government; priests and religion; soldiers and war; sciences, arts, and trades.

* Part I. l. i. p. 9.

† Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12.

‡ Eight hundred thousand crowns, or almost eight hundred and eleven thousand dollars.

§ *Magno animo Ptolemæi regis, quod in ea permiserit Sostrati Cnidii architecti structuræ nomen inscribi.*—Plin. de Scribend. Hist. p. 706.

¶ *Ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis.*—Quintil.

** Plut. in Cæs. p. 731. Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. ix.

†† A quarter or division of the city of Alexandria.

‡‡ Acts vii. 22.

The reader must not be surprised, if he sometimes finds, in the customs I take notice of, a kind of contradiction. This circumstance is owing, either to the difference of countries and nations which did not always follow the same usages, or to the different way of thinking of the historians whom I copy.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE KINGS AND GOVERNMENT.

THE Egyptians were the first people who rightly understood the rules of government. A nation so grave and serious, immediately perceived, that the true end of politics is to make life easy, and a people happy.

The kingdom was hereditary; but, according to Diodorus, the Egyptian princes conducted themselves in a different manner from what is usually seen in other monarchies, where the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions but his own arbitrary will and pleasure.* But here, kings were under greater restraint than their subjects. They had some particular ones, digested by a former monarch, that composed part of those books which the Egyptians called sacred. Thus, every thing being settled by ancient custom, they never sought to live in a different way from their ancestors.

No slave nor foreigner was admitted into the immediate service of the prince; such a post was too important to be entrusted to any persons, except those who were the most distinguished by their birth, and had received the most excellent education; to the end that, as they had the liberty of approaching the king's person day and night, he might, from men so qualified, hear nothing which was unbecoming the royal majesty; or have any sentiments instilled into him, but such as were of a noble and generous kind. For, adds Diodorus, it is very rarely seen, that kings fly out into any vicious excess unless those who approach them approve their irregularities, or serve as instruments to their passions.

The kings of Egypt freely permitted, not only the quality and proportion of their eatables and liquids to be prescribed them, (a thing customary in Egypt, the inhabitants of which were all sober, and whose air inspired frugality;) but even that all their hours, and almost every action, should be under the regulation of the laws.

In the morning, at day-break, when the head is clearest, and the thoughts most unperplexed, they read the several letters they received, to form a more just and distinct idea of the affairs which were to come under their consideration that day.

As soon as they were dressed, they went to the daily sacrifice performed in the temple; where, surrounded with their whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they assisted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high priest, in which he asked of the gods health and all other blessings for the king, because he governed his people with clemency and justice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and standard of his actions. The high-priest entered into a long detail of his royal virtues; observing that he was religious to the gods, affable to men, moderate, just, magnanimous, sincere; an enemy to falsehood, liberal, master of his passions, punishing crimes with the utmost lenity, but boundless in rewarding merit. He never spoke of the faults which kings might be guilty of, but supposed at the same time, that they never committed any, except by surprise or ignorance; and loaded with imprecations such of their ministers as gave them ill counsel, and suppressed or disguised the truth. Such were the methods of conveying instruction to their kings. It was thought that reproaches would only sour their tempers; and that the most effectual method to inspire them with virtue, would be to point out to them their duty in praises conformable to the sense of the laws, and pronounced in a solemn manner before the gods. After the prayers and sacrifice were ended, the counsels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the sacred books, in order that he might govern his dominions according to their maxims, and maintain the laws which had made his predecessors and their subjects so happy.

I have already observed, that the quantity as well as quality of both eatables and liquids were prescribed by the laws to the king; his table was covered with nothing

* *Diod. l. i. p. 63, &c.*

but the most common food, because eating in Egypt was designed not to please the palate, but to satisfy the cravings of nature. One would have concluded, (observes the historian,) that these rules had been laid down by some able physician, who was attentive only to the health of the prince, rather than by a legislator. The same simplicity was seen in all other things; and we read in Plutarch, of a temple in Thebes, which had one of its pillars inscribed with imprecations against that king who first introduced profusion and luxury into Egypt.*

The principal duty of kings, and their most essential function, is the administering of justice to their subjects. Accordingly, the kings of Egypt cultivated more immediately this duty; convinced that on this depended not only the ease and comfort of individuals, but the happiness of the state; which would be a herd of robbers, rather than a kingdom, should the weak be unprotected, and the powerful enabled by their riches and influence, to commit crimes with impunity.

Thirty judges were selected out of the principal cities, to form a body for dispensing justice through the whole kingdom. The prince, in filling these vacancies, chose such as were most renowned for their honesty, and put at their head him who was most distinguished for his knowledge and love of the laws, and was had in the most universal esteem. By his bounty, they had revenues assigned them, to the end that, being freed from domestic cares, they might devote their whole time to the execution of the laws. Thus, honourably maintained by the generosity of the prince, they administered gratuitously to the people, that justice to which they have a natural right, and which ought to be equally open to all; and, in some sense, to the poor more than the rich, because the latter find a support within themselves; whereas the very condition of the former exposes them more to injuries, and therefore calls louder for the protection of the laws. To guard against surprise, affairs were transacted by writing in the assemblies of these judges. That false eloquence was dreaded, which dazzles the mind, and moves the passions. Truth could not be expressed with too much plainness, as it was to have the only sway in judgments; because in that alone the rich and poor, the powerful and weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and security. The president of this senate wore a collar of gold set with precious stones, at which hung a figure represented blind, this being called the emblem of truth. When the president put this collar on, it was understood as a signal to enter upon business. He touched the party with it who was to gain his cause, and this was the form of passing sentence.

The most excellent circumstance in the laws of the Egyptians, was, that every individual, from his infancy, was nurtured in the strictest observance of them. A new custom in Egypt was a kind of miracle.† All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactness with which little matters were adhered to, preserved those of more importance; consequently no nation ever preserved their laws and customs longer than the Egyptians.

Wilful murder was punished with death, whatever might be the condition of the murdered person, whether he was free-born or otherwise.‡ In this the humanity and equity of the Egyptians was superior to that of the Romans, who gave the master an absolute power as to life and death over his slave. The emperor Adrian, indeed, abolished this law, from an opinion, that an abuse of this nature ought to be reformed, let its antiquity or authority be ever so great.

Perjury was also punished with death, because that crime attacks both the gods, whose majesty is trampled upon by invoking their name to a false oath, and men, by breaking the strongest tie of human society, viz: sincerity and honesty.§

The false accuser was condemned to undergo the punishment which the person accused was to suffer, had the accusation been proved.||

He who had neglected or refused to save a man's life when attacked, was punished as rigorously as the assassin; but if the unfortunate person could not be succoured, the offender was at least to be impeached, and penalties were decreed for any neglect of this kind.¶ Thus the subjects were a guard and protection to one another; and the whole body of the community united against the designs of the bad.

No man was allowed to be useless to the state; but every man was obliged to enter his name and place of abode in a public register, that remained in the hands of the

* De Isid. et Osir. p. 354.

† Plut. in Tim. p. 656.

‡ Diod. l. i. p. 70:

§ Page 69:

|| Idem.

¶ Diod. l. i. p. 69.

magistrate, and to state his profession, and means of support.* If he gave a false account of himself, he was immediately put to death.

To prevent the borrowing of money, the parent of sloth, frauds, and chicanery, king Asychus made a very judicious law.† The wisest and best regulated states, as Athens and Rome, ever found insuperable difficulties, in contriving a just medium to restrain, on the one hand, the cruelty of the creditor in the exaction of his loan; and, on the other, the knavery of the debtor, who refused or neglected to pay his debts. Now, Egypt took a wise course on this occasion; and without doing an injury to the personal liberty of its inhabitants, or ruining their families, pursued the debtor with incessant fears of infamy in case he were dishonest. No man was permitted to borrow money without pawning to the creditor the body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with great care; and kept reverentially in his house, (as will be observed in the sequel,) and therefore might easily be moved from one place to another. But it was equally impious and infamous not to redeem soon so precious a pledge; and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honour paid to the dead.‡

Diodorus remarks an error committed by some of the Grecian legislators.§ They forbid, for instance, the taking away (to satisfy debts) the horses, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry employed by peasants; judging it inhuman to reduce, by this security, these poor men to an impossibility of discharging their debts, and getting their bread: but at the same time they permitted the creditor to imprison the peasants themselves, who alone were capable of using these implements; which exposed them to the same inconveniences, and at the same time deprived the government of persons who belong, and are necessary to it; who labour for the public emolument, and over whose person no private man has any right.

Polygamy was allowed in Egypt, except to priests, who could marry but one woman.|| Whatever was the condition of the woman, whether she was free or a slave, her children were deemed free and legitimate.

One custom that was practised in Egypt, shows the profound darkness into which such nations as were most celebrated for their wisdom have been plunged; and this is the marriage of brothers with their sisters, which was not only authorized by the laws, but even, in some measure, was a part of their religion, from the example and practice of such of their gods as had been the most anciently and universally adored in Egypt, that is, Osiris and Isis.¶

A very great respect was there paid to old age. The young were obliged to rise up for the old, and on every occasion to resign to them the most honourable seat. The Spartans borrowed this law from the Egyptians.**

The virtue in the highest esteem among the Egyptians, was gratitude. The glory which has been given them of being the most grateful of all men, shows that they were the best formed of any nation for social life. Benefits are the band of concord, both public and private. He who acknowledges favours, loves to do good to others; and in banishing ingratitude, the pleasure of doing good remains so pure and engaging, that it is impossible for a man to be insensible to it: but no kind of gratitude gave the Egyptians a more pleasing satisfaction, than that which was paid to their kings. Princes, while living, were by them honoured as so many visible representations of the Deity; and after their death were mourned as the fathers of their country. These sentiments of respect and tenderness, proceeded from a strong persuasion, that the Divinity himself had placed them upon the throne, as he distinguished them so greatly from all other mortals; and that kings bore the most noble characteristics of the Supreme Being, as the power and will of doing good to others are united in their persons.

* Idem.

† Herod. l. ii. c. 136.

‡ This law put the whole sepulchre of the debtor into the power of the creditor, who removed to his own house the body of the father: the debtor refusing to discharge his obligation, was to be deprived of burial, either in his father's sepulchre or any other; and while he lived, he was not permitted to bury any person descended from him.

Μηδὲ αὐτῶ ἐκείνῃ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι τῆσθι κρησσαι—μητ' ἄλλον μηδένα τὸν ἐκείνῃ ἀπογενόμενον θαλάσσι.—Herod.

§ Diod. l. i. p. 71.

|| Diod. l. i. p. 72.

¶ Idem. p. 22.

** Herod. l. ii. c. 20.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING PRIESTS AND RELIGION OF THE EGYPTIANS.

PRIESTS, in Egypt, held the second rank to kings. They had great privileges and revenues; their lands were exempted from all imposts; of which some traces are seen in Genesis, where it is said, *Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.**

The prince usually honoured them with a large share in his confidence and government, because they, of all his subjects, had received the best education, had acquired the greatest knowledge, and were most strongly attached to the king's person and the good of the public. They were at the same time the depositaries of religion and of the sciences; and to this circumstance was owing the great respect which was paid them by the natives as well as foreigners, by whom they were alike consulted upon the most sacred things relating to the mysteries of religion, and the most profound subjects in the several sciences.

The Egyptians pretend to be the first institutors of festivals and processions in honour of the gods. One festival was celebrated in the city of Bubastus, whither persons resorted from all parts of Egypt, and upwards of seventy thousand, besides children, were seen at it. Another, surnamed the Feast of the Lights, was solemnized at Sais. All persons, throughout Egypt, who did not go to Sais, were obliged to illuminate the windows.†

Different animals were sacrificed in different countries; but one common and general ceremony was observed in all sacrifices, *viz*; the laying of hands upon the head of the victim, loading it at the same time with imprecations, and praying the gods to divert upon that victim, all the calamities which might threaten Egypt.‡

It is to Egypt that Pythagoras owed his favourite doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls. The Egyptians believed, that at the death of men, their souls transmigrated into other human bodies; and that, if they had been vicious, they were imprisoned in the bodies of unclean or ill conditioned beasts, to expiate in them their past transgressions: and that after a revolution of some centuries, they again animated other human bodies.§

The priests had the possession of the sacred books, which contained, at large, the principles of government, as well as the mysteries of divine worship. Both were commonly involved in symbols and enigmas, which under these veils made truth more venerable, and excited more strongly the curiosity of men.|| The figure of Harpocrates, in the Egyptian sanctuaries, with his finger upon his mouth, seemed to intimate, that mysteries were there inclosed, the knowledge of which, was revealed but to very few. The sphinxes, placed at the entrance of all temples, implied the same. It is very well known, that pyramids, obelisks, pillars, statues, in a word, all public monuments, were usually adorned with hieroglyphics, that is, with symbolical writings; whether these were characters unknown to the vulgar, or figures of animals, under which was couched a hidden and parabolical meaning. Thus, by a hare was signified a lively and piercing attention, because this creature has a very delicate sense of hearing.¶ The statue of a judge without hands, and with eyes fixed upon the ground, symbolized the duties of those who were to exercise the judiciary functions.**

It would require a volume to treat fully of the religion of the Egyptians. But I shall confine myself to two articles, which form the principal part of it; and these are, the worship of the different deities, and the ceremonies relating to funerals.

SECT. I.—THE WORSHIP OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.

NEVER were any people more superstitious than the Egyptians. They had a great number of gods, of different orders and degrees, which I shall omit, because they belong more to fable than to history. Among the rest, two were universally adored in that country, and these were Osiris and Isis, which are thought to be the sun and moon; and, indeed, the worship of those planets gave rise to idolatry.

* Gen. xvii. 26.

† Herod. l. ii. c. 60.

‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 39.

§ Diod. l. i. p. 30.

|| Plut. de Isid. et. Osir. p. 354.

¶ Plut. Sympos. l. iv. p. 670.

** Id. de. Isid. p. 365.

Besides these gods, the Egyptians worshipped a great number of beasts; as the ox, the dog, the wolf, the hawk, the crocodile, the ibis,* the cat, &c. Many of these beasts were the objects of the superstition only of some particular cities; and while one people worshipped one species of animals as gods, their neighbours had the same animal gods in abomination. This was the source of the continual wars which were carried on between one city and another; and this was owing to the false policy of one of their kings, who to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conspiring against the state, endeavoured to amuse them, by engaging them in religious contests. I call this a false and mistaken policy, because it directly thwarts the true spirit of government, the aim of which is, to unite all its members in the strictest ties, and to make all its strength consist in the perfect harmony of its several parts.

Every nation had a great zeal for their gods. "Among us," says Cicero, "it is very common to see temples robbed, and statues carried off; but it was never known, that any person in Egypt ever abused a crocodile, an ibis, or cat, for its inhabitants would have suffered the most extreme torments, rather than be guilty of such sacrilege."† It was death for any person to kill one of these animals voluntarily; and even a punishment was decreed against him who should have killed an ibis, or a cat, with or without design.‡ Diodorus relates an incident, to which he himself was an eye-witness, during his stay in Egypt. A Roman having inadvertently, and without design, killed a cat, the exasperated populace ran to his house, and neither the authority of the king, who immediately detached a body of his guards, nor the terror of the Roman name, could rescue the unfortunate criminal.§ And such was the reverence which the Egyptians had for these animals, that in an extreme famine they chose to eat one another, rather than feed upon their imagined deities.

Of all these animals, the bull Apis, called Epaphus by the Greeks, was the most famous.|| Magnificent temples were erected to him; extraordinary honours were paid him, while he lived, and still greater after his death. Egypt went then into a general mourning. His obsequies were solemnized with such pomp as is hardly credible. In the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the bull Apis dying of old age,¶ the funeral pomp, besides the ordinary expenses, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand French crowns.** After the least honours had been paid to the deceased god, the next care was to provide him a successor, and all Egypt was sought through for that purpose. He was known by certain signs, which distinguished him from all other animals of that species; upon his forehead was to be a white spot, in form of a crescent; on his back, the figure of an eagle; upon his tongue, that of a beetle. As soon as he was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was heard, in all parts of Egypt, but festivals and rejoicings. The new god was brought to Memphis to take possession of his dignity, and there installed with a great number of ceremonies. The reader will find hereafter, that Cambyses, at his return from his unfortunate expedition against Ethiopia, finding all the Egyptians in transports of joy for the discovery of their new god Apis, and imagining that this was intended as an insult upon his misfortunes, killed, in the first impulse of his fury, the young bull, who by that means had but a short enjoyment of his divinity.

It is plain, that the golden calf, set up near Mount Sinai by the Israelites, was owing to their abode in Egypt, and an imitation of the god Apis; as well as those which were afterwards set up by Jeroboam, who had resided a considerable time in Egypt, in the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel.

The Egyptians, not contented with offering incense to animals, carried their folly to such an excess, as to ascribe a divinity to the pulse and roots of their gardens. For this they are ingeniously reproached by the satirist.

Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,
 What monster gods her frantic sons have fram'd?
 Here Ibis gorged with well-grown serpents, there
 The Crocodile commands religious fear:
 Where Memnon's statue magic strains inspire
 With vocal sounds that emulate the lyre;
 And Thebes, such, Fate, are thy disastrous turns,
 Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns;
 A monkey-god, prodigious to be told!
 Strikes the beholder's eye with burnish'd gold:

* Or the Egyptian stock.

† De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 82.

Tus. Quæst. l. v. n. 78.

‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 65.

§ Diød. l. i. p. 74, 75.

|| Herod. l. iii. c. 27, &c. Diød. l. i. p. 76.

¶ Plin. l. viii. c. 46.

¶ Pliny affirms, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain term of years, and was drowned in the priest's well.—Nom est fas cum certos vitæ excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte enecat. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 46.

To godship here blue Triton's scaly herd,
 The river progeny is there preferr'd:
 Through tow'ns Diana's power neglected lie
 Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise.
 And should you leeks or onions eat, no time
 Would expiate the sacrilegious crime.
 Religious nations sure, and blest abodes,
 Where every orchard is o'er-run with gods!*

It is astonishing to see a nation which boasted its superiority above all others with regard to wisdom and learning, thus blindly abandoned itself to the most gross and ridiculous superstitions. Indeed, to read of animals, and vile insects, honoured with religious worship, placed in temples, and maintained with great care at an extravagant expense;† to read, that those who murdered them were punished with death; and that these animals were embalmed, and solemnly deposited in tombs assigned them by the public; to hear that this extravagance was carried to such lengths, as that leeks and onions were acknowledged as deities, were invoked in necessity, and depended upon for succour and protection; are absurdities which we, at this distance of time, can scarcely believe; and yet they have the evidence of all antiquity. You enter, says Lucian,‡ into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and silver. You there look attentively for a god, and are cheated with a stork, an ape, or a cat; a just emblem, adds that author, of too many palaces, the masters of which are far from being the brightest ornaments of them.

Several reasons are given for the worship paid to animals by the Egyptians.§

The first is drawn from fabulous history. It is pretended that the gods, in a rebellion made against them by men, fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves under the form of different animals; and that this gave birth to the worship which was afterwards paid to those animals.

The second is taken from the benefit which these several animals procure to mankind:|| oxen by their labour; sheep by their wool and milk; dogs by their service in hunting and guarding houses, whence the god Anubis was represented with a dog's head; the Ibis, a bird very much resembling a stork, was worshipped, because he put to flight the winged serpents, with which Egypt would otherwise have been grievously infested; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, that is, living alike upon land and water, of a surprising strength and size,¶ was worshipped, because he defended Egypt from the incursions of the wild Arabs; the Ichneumon was adored, because he prevented the too great increase of crocodiles, which might have proved destructive to Egypt. Now, the little animal in question does this service to the country two ways. First, it watches the time when the crocodile is absent, and breaks his eggs, but does not eat them. Secondly, when he sleeps upon the banks of the Nile, which he always does with his mouth open, this small animal, which lies concealed in the mud, leaps at once into his mouth; gets down to his entrails, which he gnaws; then piercing his belly, the skin of which is very tender, he escapes with safety; and thus, by his address and subtlety, returns victorious over so terrible an enemy.

Philosophers, not satisfied with reasons, which were too trifling to account for such strange absurdities as dishonoured the heathen system, and at which themselves secretly blushed, have, since the establishment of Christianity, supposed a third reason for the worship which the Egyptians paid to animals; and declared that it was not offered to the animals themselves, but to the gods of whom they are symbols. Plutarch, in his treatise,** where he examines professedly the pretensions of Isis and Osiris, the two most famous deities of the Egyptians, says as follows: "Philosophers

* Quasi necit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
 Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
 Pars hæc: illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.
 Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cereopitheci,
 Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,
 Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
 Illic cæruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
 Oppida tot: canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
 Porrum et cepe nefas violare, ac frangere morsu.
 O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
 Numina!
 Juven. Satir. xv.

† Diodorus affirms that in his time, the expense amounted to no less than one hundred thousand crowns, or
 £110,000.—Lib. i. p. 76

‡ Diad. l. i. p. 77, &c.

‡ Imag.

|| Ipsi qui irridentur Ægyptii, nullam belluam nisi ob aliquam utilitatem quam ex ea caperent, consecraverunt.—Cic. lib. i. De Natura Deor. n. 101.

¶ Which, according to Herodotus, is more than 17 cubits in length, l. ii. c. 68.

** Page 382.

honour the image of God wherever they find it, even in inanimate beings, and consequently more in those which have life. We are therefore to approve, not the worshippers of these animals, but those who, by their means, ascend to the Deity; they are to be considered as so many mirrors, which nature holds forth, and in which the Supreme Being displays himself in a wonderful manner; or, as so many instruments, which he makes use of to manifest outwardly, his incomprehensible wisdom. Should men, therefore, for the embellishing of statues, amass together all the gold and precious stones in the world, the worship must not be referred to the statues, for the Deity does not exist in colours artfully disposed, nor in frail matter destitute of sense and motion. Plutarch says in the same treatise,* that as the sun and moon, heaven and earth, and the sea, are common to all men, but have different names according to the difference of nations and languages; in like manner, though there is but one Deity and one Providence, which governs the universe, and which has several subaltern ministers under it, men give to the Deity, which is the same, different names; and pay it different honours, according to the laws and customs of every country."

But were these reflections, which offer the most rational vindication possible of idolatrous worship, sufficient to cover the absurdity of it? Could it be called a raising of the divine attributes in a suitable manner, to direct the worshipper to admire and seek for the image of them in beasts of the most vile and contemptible kinds, as crocodiles, serpents, and cats? Was not this rather degrading and debasing the Deity, of whom, even the most stupid, usually entertain a much greater and more august idea?

And even these philosophers were not always so just, as to ascend from sensible beings to their invisible Author. The Scriptures tell us, that these pretended sages deserved, on account of their pride and ingratitude, to be *given over to a reprobate mind; and while they professed themselves wise, to become fools, for having changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.*† To show what man is when left to himself, God permitted that very nation which had carried human wisdom to its greatest height, to be the theatre in which the most ridiculous and absurd idolatry was acted. And, on the other side, to display the almighty power of his grace, he converted the frightful deserts of Egypt into a terrestrial paradise, by peopling them, in the time appointed by his providence, with numberless multitudes of illustrious hermits, whose fervent piety and rigorous penance have done so much honour to the Christian religion. I cannot forbear giving here a famous instance of it; and I hope the reader will excuse this kind of digression.

The great wonder of Lower Egypt, says Abbé Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History, was the city of Oxyrinchus, peopled with monks, both within and without, so that they were more numerous than its other inhabitants.‡ The public edifices, and idol temples, had been converted into monasteries, and these likewise were more in number than the private houses. The monks lodged even over the gates; and in the towers. The people had twelve churches to assemble in, exclusive of the oratories belonging to the monasteries. There were twenty thousand virgins and ten thousand monks in this city, every part of which echoed night and day with the praises of God. By order of the magistrates, sentinels were posted at the gates, to take notice of all strangers and poor who came into the city; and the inhabitants vied with each other who should first receive them, in order to have an opportunity of exercising their hospitality towards them.

SEC. II.—THE CÉREMONIES OF THE EGYPTIAN FUNERALS.

I SHALL now give a concise account of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The honours which have been paid in all ages and nations to the bodies of the dead, and the religious care taken to provide sepulchres for them, seem to insinuate an universal persuasion, that bodies were lodged in sepulchres merely as a deposit or trust.

We have already observed, in our mention of the pyramids, with what magnificence sepulchres were built in Egypt, for, besides that they were erected as so many sacred monuments, destined to transmit to future times the memory of great princes, they were likewise considered as the mansions where the body was to remain during a long succession of ages; whereas, common houses were called inns, in which men

* Page 377, et 378.

† Rom. i. v. 22, 25.

‡ Tom. v. p. 25, 26.

were to abide only as travellers, and that during the course of a life which was too short to engage their affections.*

When any person in a family died, all the kindred and friends quitted their usual habits, and put on mourning; and abstained from baths, wine, and dainties of every kind. This mourning continued from forty to seventy days, probably according to the quality of the person.

Bodies were embalmed three different ways.† The most magnificent was bestowed on persons of distinguished rank, and the expense amounted to a talent of silver, or three thousand French livres.‡

Many hands were employed in this ceremony.§ Some drew the brain through the nostrils, by an instrument made for that purpose. Others emptied the bowels and intestines, by cutting a hole in the side, with an Ethiopian stone that was as sharp as a razor; after which the cavities were filled with perfumes and various odoriferous drugs. As this evacuation, (which was necessarily attended with some dissections,) seemed in some measure cruel and inhuman, the persons employed fled as soon as the operation was over, and were pursued with stones by the spectators. But those who embalmed the body were honourably treated. They filled it with myrrh, cinnamon, and all sorts of spices. After a certain time, the body was swathed in lawn fillets, which were glued together with a kind of very thin gum, and then crusted over with the most exquisite perfumes. By this means, it is said, that the entire figure of the body, the very lineaments of the face, and the hair on the lids and eye-brows, were preserved in their natural perfection. The body thus embalmed, was delivered to the relations, who shut it up in a kind of open chest, fitted exactly to the size of the corpse; then they placed it upright against the wall, either in sepulchres, if they had any, or in their houses. These embalmed bodies are now what we call mummies, which are still brought from Egypt, and are found in the cabinets of the curious. This shows the care which the Egyptians took of their dead. Their gratitude to their deceased relations was immortal. Children, by seeing the bodies of their ancestors thus preserved, recalled to mind those virtues for which the public had honoured them, and were excited to a love of those laws which such excellent persons had left for their security. We find that part of these ceremonies were performed in the funeral honours paid to Joseph in Egypt.

I have said that the public recognised the virtues of deceased persons, because that, before they could be admitted into the sacred asylum of the tomb, they underwent a solemn trial. And this circumstance in the Egyptian funerals, is one of the most remarkable to be found in ancient history.

It was a consolation, among the heathens, to a dying man, to leave a good name behind him, imagining that this is the only human blessing of which death cannot deprive us. But the Egyptians would not suffer praises to be bestowed indiscriminately on all deceased persons. This honour was to be obtained only from the public voice. The assembly of the judges met on the other side of a lake, which they crossed in a boat. He who sat at the helm was called Charon, in the Egyptian language; and this first gave the hint to Orpheus, who had been in Egypt, and after him to the other Greeks, to invent the fiction of Charon's boat. As soon as a man was dead, he was brought to his trial. The public accuser was heard. If he proved that the deceased had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of burial. The people admired the power of the laws, which extended even beyond the grave; and every one, struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonour on his own memory, and his family. But if the deceased person was not convicted of any crime, he was interred in an honourable manner.

A still more astonishing circumstance in this public inquest upon the dead, was, that the throne itself was no protection from it. Kings were spared during their lives, because the public peace was concerned in this forbearance; but their quality did not exempt them from the judgment passed upon the dead, and even some of them were deprived of sepulture. This custom was imitated by the Israelites. We see in Scripture, that bad kings were not interred in the monuments of their ancestors. This practice suggested to princes, that if their majesty placed them out of the reach of men's judgment while they were alive, they would at last be liable to it, when death should reduce them to a level with their subjects.

When, therefore, a favourable judgment was pronounced on a deceased person, the

* Diod. l. i. p. 47.

† Herod. l. ii. c. 85, &c.

‡ About 8610.

§ Diod. l. i. p. 81.

next thing was to proceed to the ceremonies of interment. In his panegyric, no mention was made of his birth, because every Egyptian was deemed noble. No praises were considered as just or true, but such as related to the personal merit of the deceased. He was applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more advanced age, for having cultivated piety towards the gods, justice towards men, gentleness, modesty, moderation, and all other virtues which constitute the good man. Then all the people shouted, and bestowed the highest eulogies on the deceased, as one who would be received for ever into the society of the virtuous in Pluto's kingdom.

To conclude this article of the ceremonies of funerals, it may not be amiss to observe to young pupils, the different manners in which the bodies of the dead were treated by the ancients. Some, as we observed of the Egyptians, exposed them to view after they had been embalmed, and thus preserved them to after ages. Others, as the Romans, burnt them on a funeral pile; and others, again, laid them in the earth.

The care to preserve bodies without lodging them in tombs, appears injurious to human nature in general, and to those persons in particular for whom this respect is designed; because it exposes too visibly their wretched state and deformity, since, whatever care may be taken, spectators see nothing but the melancholy and frightful remains of what they once were. The custom of burning dead bodies has something in it cruel and barbarous, in distroying so hastily the remains of persons once dear to us. That of interment is certainly the most ancient and religious. It restores to the earth what had been taken from it; and prepares our belief of a second restitution of our bodies, from that dust of which they were at first formed.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS AND WAR.

THE profession of arms was in great repute among the Egyptians. After the sacerdotal families, the most illustrious, as with us, were those devoted to a military life. They were not only distinguished by honours, but by ample liberalities. Every soldier was allowed twelve arouræ, that is, a piece of arable land, very nearly answering to a half French acre,* exempt from all tax or tribute. Besides this privilege, each soldier received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of flesh, and a quart of wine.† This allowance was sufficient to support part of their family. Such an indulgence made them more affectionate to the person of their prince, and the interests of their country, and more resolute in the defence of both; and, as Diodorus observes, it was thought inconsistent with good policy, and even common sense, to commit the defence of a country to men who had no interest in its preservation.‡

Four hundred thousand soldiers, were kept in continual pay, all natives of Egypt, and trained up in the exactest discipline.§ They were inured to the fatigues of war, by a severe and rigorous education. There is an art of forming the body as well as the mind. This art, lost by our sloth, was well known to the ancients, and especially to the Egyptians. Foot, horse, and chariot races, were performed in Egypt with wonderful agility, and the world could not show better horsemen than the Egyptians. The Scriptures in several places speaks advantageously of their cavalry.||

Military laws were easily preserved in Egypt, because sons received them from their fathers; the profession of war, as all others, being transmitted from father to son. Those who fled in battle, or discovered any signs of cowardice, were only distinguished by some particular mark of ignominy; it being thought more advisable to restrain them by motives of honour, than by the terrors of punishment.

But notwithstanding this, I will not pretend to say that the Egyptians were a war-like people.¶ It is of little advantage to have regular and well-paid troops; to have armies exercised in peace, and employed only in mock-fights; it is war alone, and real combats, which form the soldier. Egypt loved peace, because it loved justice,

* Twelve arouræ. An Egyptian aroura was 10,000 square cubits; equal to three roods, two perches, 55 1-4th square feet of our measure.

† The Greek is οἴνου τῆσσεως, ἀρυσήρας, which some have made to signify a determinate quantity of wine, or any other liquid; others, regarding the etymology of the word, ἀρυστήρ, have translated it by *haustum*, a bucket, as Lucretius, lib. v. l. 51; others, by *haustus*, a draught or sup. Herodotus says this allowance was given only to the two thousand guards who attended annually on the kings.—Lib. ii. c. 168.

‡ Lib. i. p. 37

§ Herod. i. ii. c. 164, 168.

|| Cant. i. 8. Isa. xxxvi. 9.

¶ Diod. p. 76.

and maintained soldiers only for its security. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had no ambitious dreams of conquest. The Egyptians extended their reputation in a very different manner, by sending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them laws and politeness. They triumphed by the wisdom of their counsels, and the superiority of their knowledge; and this empire of the mind appeared more noble and glorious to them, than that which is achieved by arms and conquest. But, nevertheless, Egypt has given birth to illustrious conquerors, as will be observed hereafter, when we come to treat of its kings.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THEIR ARTS AND SCIENCES.

THE Egyptians had an inventive genius, and turned it to profitable speculations. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and left it scarcely ignorant of any thing which could contribute to accomplish the mind, or procure ease and happiness. The discoverers of any useful invention received, both living and dead, rewards worthy of their profitable labours. It is this which consecrated the books of their two Mercuries, and stamped them with a divine authority. The first libraries were in Egypt; and the titles they bore, inspired an eager desire to enter them, and dive into the secrets they contained. They were called the "Remedy for the Diseases of the Soul,"* and that very justly, because the soul was there cured of ignorance, the most dangerous, and the parent of all other maladies.

As their country was level and the air of it always serene and unclouded, they were among the first who observed the courses of the planets. These observations led them to regulate the year, from the course of the sun; for as Diodorus observes, their year, from the most remote antiquity, was composed of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours.† To adjust the property of their lands, which were every year covered by the overflowing of the Nile, they were obliged to have recourse to surveys; and this first taught them geometry. They were great observers of nature, which in a climate so serene, and under so intense a sun, was vigorous and fruitful.

By this study and application, they invented or improved the science of physic. The sick were not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the physician. He was obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the observations of old and experienced practitioners, and written in the sacred books. While these rules were observed, the physician was not answerable for the success; otherwise a miscarriage cost him his life. This law checked, indeed, the temerity of empirics; but then it might prevent new discoveries, and keep the art from attaining to its just perfection. Every physician, if Herodotus may be credited,‡ confined his practice to the cure of one disease only; one was for the eyes, another for the teeth, and so on.

What we have said of the pyramids, the labyrinth, and that infinite number, of obelisks, temples, and palaces, whose precious remains still strike us with admiration, and in which were displayed the magnificence of the princes who raised them, the skill of the workmen, the riches of the ornaments diffused over every part of them, and the just proportion and beautiful symmetry of the parts in which their greatest beauty consisted, seemed to vie with each other; works, in many of which the liveliness of the colours remains to this day, in spite of the rude hand of time, which commonly deadens or destroys them: all this, I say, shows the perfection to which architecture, painting, sculpture, and other arts, had arrived in Egypt.

The Egyptians entertained but a mean opinion of that sort of exercise, which did not contribute to invigorate the body, or improve health;§ and of music,|| which they considered as a useless and dangerous diversion, and only fit to enervate the mind.

* *Ψυχῆς ἰατρειῶν.*

† It will not seem surprising that the Egyptians, who were the most ancient observers of the celestial motions; should have arrived to this knowledge, when it is considered, that the lunar year, made use of by the Greeks and Romans, though it appears so inconvenient and irregular, supposed nevertheless a knowledge of the solar year, such as Diodorus Siculus ascribes to the Egyptians. It will appear at first sight, by calculating their intercalations, that those who first divided the year in this manner were not ignorant, that to three hundred and sixty-five days, some hours were to be added, to keep pace with the sun. Their only error lay in the supposition, that only six hours were wanting; whereas an addition of almost eleven minutes more was requisite.

‡ Lib. ii. c. 84.

§ Diod. l. i. p. 73.

|| *Τὸ δὲ μουσικὸν νομίζουσιν ὃ μόνον ἀχρηστὸν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλαβερὸν, ὡς ἐν ἐκθλόνοισι τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς.*

CHAPTER V.

OF THEIR HUSBANDMEN, SHEPHERDS, AND ARTIFICERS.

HUSBANDMEN, shepherds, and artificers, formed the three classes of lower life in Egypt, but were nevertheless had in very great esteem, particularly husbandmen and shepherds. The body politic requires a superiority and subordination of its several members; for as in the natural body, the eye may be said to hold the first rank, yet its lustre does not dart contempt upon the feet, the hands, or even on those parts which are less honourable; in like manner, among the Egyptians, the priests, soldiers, and scholars, were distinguished by particular honours; but all professions, to the meanest, had their share in the public esteem, because the despising of any man, whose labours, however mean, were useful to the state, was thought a crime.

A better reason than the foregoing, might have inspired them at the first with these sentiments of equity and moderation, which they so long preserved. As they all descended from Cham,* their common father, the memory of their still recent origin occurring to the minds of all in those first ages, established among them a kind of equality, and stamped, in their opinion, a nobility on every person derived from the common stock. Indeed, the difference of conditions, and the contempt with which persons of the lowest rank are treated, are owing merely to the distance from the common root; which makes us forget, that the meanest plebeian when his descent is traced back to the source, is equally noble with those of the most elevated rank and title.

Be that as it will, no profession in Egypt was considered as grovelling or sordid. By this means arts were raised to their highest perfection. The honour which cherished them, mixed with every thought and care for their improvement. Every man had his way of life assigned him by the laws, and it was perpetuated from father to son. Two professions at one time, or a change of that which a man was born to, were never allowed. By this means, men became more able and expert in employments which they had always exercised from their infancy; and every man adding his own experience to that of his ancestors, was more capable of attaining perfection in his particular art. Besides, this wholesome institution, which had been established anciently throughout Egypt, extinguished all irregular ambition; and taught every man to sit down contented with his condition, without aspiring to one more elevated, from interest, vain glory, or levity.

From this source flowed numberless inventions for the improvement of all the arts, and for rendering life more commodious, and trade more easy. I could not believe that Diodorus was in earnest in what he relates concerning the Egyptian industry, *viz.* that this people had found out a way, by an artificial fecundity, to hatch eggs without the sitting of the hen;† but all modern travellers declare it to be a fact, which certainly is worthy our curiosity and is said to be practised in some places of Europe. Their relations inform us, that the Egyptians stow eggs in ovens, which are heated to such a temperature, and with such just proportion to the natural warmth of the hen, that the chickens produced from these means are as strong as those which are hatched the natural way. The season of the year proper for this operation is, from the end of December to the end of April; the heat in Egypt being too violent in the other months. During these four months, upwards of three hundred thousand eggs are laid in these ovens, which, though they are not all successful, nevertheless produce vast numbers of fowls at an easy rate. The art lies in giving the ovens a due degree of heat which must not exceed a fixed proportion. About ten days are bestowed in heating these ovens, and very near as much time in hatching the eggs. It is very entertaining, say these travellers, to observe the hatching of the chickens, some of which show at first nothing but their heads, others but half their bodies, and others again come quite out of the egg; these last, the moment they are hatched, make their way over the unhatched eggs and form a diverting spectacle. Corneille le Bruyn, in his Travels‡, has collected the observations of other travellers on this subject. Pliny likewise mentions it; but it appears from him, that the Egyptians, anciently, employed warm dung, not ovens, to hatch eggs.§

I have said, that husbandmen particularly, and those who took care of flocks, were in great esteem in Egypt, some parts of it excepted, where the latter were not suf-

* Dioid. l. i. p. 67, 68.

† Or Ham.

‡ Dioid. l. i. p. 67.

§ Lib. x. c. 54.

ferred.* It was, indeed, to these two professions that Egypt owed its riches and plenty. It is astonishing to reflect what advantages the Egyptians, by their art and labour, drew from a country of no great extent, but whose soil was made wonderfully fruitful by the inundations of the Nile, and the laborious industry of the inhabitants.

It will be always so with every kingdom, whose governors direct all their actions to the public welfare. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, will be an inexhaustible fund of wealth in all countries, where, as in Egypt, these profitable callings are supported and encouraged by maxims of state policy. And we may consider it as a misfortune, that they are at present fallen into so general a disesteem; though it is from them that the most elevated ranks, as we esteem them, are furnished not only with the necessaries, but even the luxuries of life. "For," says Abbé Fleury, in his admirable work 'Of the Manners of the Israelites, where the subject I am upon is thoroughly examined, "it is the peasant who feeds the citizen, the magistrate, the gentleman, the ecclesiastic; and whatever artifice or craft may be used to convert money into commodities, and these back again into money, yet all must ultimately be owned to be received from the products of the earth, and the animals that it sustains and nourishes. Nevertheless, when we compare men's different stations of life together, we give the lowest place to the husbandman; and with many people a wealthy citizen, enervated with sloth, useless to the public, and void of all merit, has the preference, merely because he has more money, and lives a more easy and delightful life.

"But let us imagine to ourselves a country were so great a difference is not made between the several conditions; where the life of a nobleman is not made to consist in idleness and doing nothing, but in a careful preservation of his liberty, that is, in a due subjection to the laws and the constitution; by a man's subsisting upon his estate without dependence on any one, and being contented to enjoy a little with liberty, rather than a great deal at the price of mean and base compliances: a country, where sloth, effeminacy, and the ignorance of things necessary for life are held in just contempt, and where pleasure is less valued than health and bodily strength: in such a country, it will be much more for a man's reputation to plough, and keep flocks, than to waste all his hours in sauntering from place to place, in gaming, and expensive diversions." But we need not have recourse to Plato's commonwealth for instances of men who have led these useful lives. It was thus that the greatest part of mankind lived during near four thousand years; and that not only the Israelites, but the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, that is to say, nations the most civilized, and most renowned for arms and wisdom. They all inculcate the regard which ought to be paid to agriculture and the breeding of cattle; one of which, (without saying any thing of hemp and flax, so necessary for our clothing,) supplies us, by corn, fruit, and pulse, with not only a plentiful but a delicious nourishment; and the other, besides its supply of exquisite meats to cover our tables, almost alone gives life to manufactures and trade, by the skins and stuffs it furnishes.

Princes are commonly desirous, and their interest certainly requires it, that the peasant, who, in a literal sense, sustain the heat and burden of the day, and pays so great a portion of the natural taxes, should meet with favour and encouragement. But the kind and good intentions of princes are too often defeated by the insatiable and merciless avarice of those who are appointed to collect their revenues. History has transmitted to us a fine saying of Tiberius on this head. A prefect of Egypt, having augmented the annual tribute of the province, and doubtless with the view of making his court to the emperor, remitted to him a sum much larger than customary; † that prince, who in the beginning of his reign thought, or at least spoke justly, answered, *That it was his design not to flay, but to shear his sheep.* ‡

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE FERTILITY OF EGYPT,

Under this head I shall treat only of some plants peculiar to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn which it produced.

* Swineherds, in particular, had a general ill-name throughout Egypt, as they had the care of so impure an animal. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 47, tells us, that they were not permitted to enter the Egyptian temples, nor would any man give them his daughter in marriage.

† Diod. l. lviii. p. 608. ‡ *Καίρισθαί μόν τὰ πρόβατα ἕλλα' οὐκ ἀποχόρευσθαι βούλομαι.*—Diod. l. lviii.

PAPYRUS. This is a plant, from the root of which shoot out a great many triangular stalks, to the height of six or seven cubits. The ancients wrote at first upon palm leaves; next, on the inside of the bark of trees, from whence the word *liber*, or book, is derived; after that, upon tables covered over with wax, on which the characters were impressed with an instrument called stylus, sharp-pointed at one end to write with, and flat at the other to efface what had been written;* which gave occasion to the following expression of Horace:

Sæpe stylum veritas, iterum quæ digna legi sint
Scripturus. Sat. lib. i. x. ver. 72.

Oft turn your style, if you desire to write
Things that will bear a second reading.

The meaning of which is, that a good performance is not to be expected without many erasures and corrections. At last the use of paper† was introduced, and this was made of the bark of papyrus, divided into thin flakes or leaves, which were very proper for writing; and this papyrus was likewise called byblus.

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere byblos
Noverat. Lucan.

Memphis as yet knew not to form in leaves
The wat'ry Byblus.

Pliny calls it a wonderful invention, so useful to life, that it preserves the memory of great actions, and immortalizes those who achieved them. † Varro ascribes this invention to Alexander the Great, when he built Alexandria; but he had only the merit of making paper more common, for the invention was of much greater antiquity. The same Pliny adds, that Eumenes, king of Pergamus, substituted parchment instead of paper; in emulation of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose library he was ambitious to excel by this invention, which had the advantage over paper. Parchment is the skin of a sheep dressed and made fit to write upon. It was called Pergamenum from Pergamus, whose kings had the honour of the invention. All the ancient manuscripts are either upon parchment or vellum, which is calf-skin, and a great deal finer than the common parchment. It is very curious to see white fine paper, wrought out of filthy rags picked up in the street. The plant papyrus was useful likewise for sails, tackling, clothes, coverlets, &c.‡

LINUM. Flax is a plant whose bark, full of fibres or strings, is useful in making fine linen. The method of making this linen in Egypt was wonderful and carried to such perfection, that the threads which were drawn out of them, were almost too small for the observation of the sharpest eye. Priests were always habited in linen, and never in woollen; and not only the priests, but all persons of distinction, generally wore linen clothes. This flax formed a considerable branch of the Egyptian trade, and great quantities of it were exported into foreign countries. The manufacture of flax employed a great number of hands in Egypt, especially of the women, as appears from that passage in Isaiah, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of so terrible a kind, that it should interrupt every kind of labour. *Moreover, they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net work, shall be confounded.*|| We likewise find in Scripture, that one effect of the plague of hail, called down by Moses upon Egypt, ¶ was the destruction of all the flax which was then balled. This storm was in March.

Byssus. This was another kind of flax extremely fine and small, which often received a purple dye.** It was very dear; and none but rich and wealthy persons could afford to wear it. Pliny, who gives the first place to the asbeston or asbestinum, *i. e.* the incombustible flax, places the byssus in the next rank; and says, that it served as an ornament to the ladies.†† It appears from the Holy Scriptures, that it was chiefly from Egypt cloth made from this fine flax was brought. *Fine linen with brodered work from Egypt.*‡‡

* Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

† The papyrus was divided into thin flakes, into which it naturally parted, which being laid on a table, and moistened with the glutinous waters of the Nile, were afterwards pressed together, and dried in the sun.

‡ Postea promiscuè patuit usus rei, qua constat immortalitas hominum—Chartæ usu maximè humanitas constat in memoria.

§ Plin. l. xix. c. 1.

|| Isa. xix. 9.

¶ Exod. ix. 31.

** Plin. l. xix. c. 1.

†† Proximus byssino mulierum maxime deliciis genito: inventum jam est etiam (*scilicet Lînum*) quod ignibus non absumetur; vivum id vocant, ardentisque in focus convivorium ex eo vidimus mappas, sordibus exustis splendentes igni magis quam possent aquis.—*i. e.* A flax is now found out, which is proof against the violence of fire; it is called living flax, and we have seen table-napkins of it glowing in the fires of our dining-rooms, and receiving a lustre and a cleanness from flames, which no water could have given it.

‡‡ Ezek. xxvii. 7.

I take no notice of the lotus or lote-tree, a common plant, and in great request with the Egyptians, of whose berries, in former times, they made bread. There was another lotus in Africa, which gave its name to the eotophagi or lotus eaters; because they lived upon the fruit of this tree, which had so delicious a taste, if Homer may be credited, that it made the eaters of it forget all the sweets of their native country,* as Ulysses found to his cost on his return from Troy.

In general, it may be said, that the Egyptian pulse and fruit were excellent; and might as Pliny observes, have sufficed singly for the nourishment of the inhabitants, such was their excellent quality, and so great their plenty.† And, indeed, working men lived then almost upon nothing else, as appears from those who were employed in building the pyramids.

Besides these rural riches, the Nile, from its fish, and the fatness it gave to the soil for the feeding of cattle, furnished the tables of the Egyptians with the most exquisite fish of every kind, and the most succulent flesh. This it was which made the Isarelites so deeply regret the loss of Egypt, when they found themselves in the wilderness: *Who, say they, in a plaintive, and at the same time, seditious tone shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the flesh which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers and melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic.‡ We sat by the flesh pots, and we did eat bread to the full.§*

But the great and matchless wealth of Egypt arose from its corn, which, even in an almost universal famine, enabled it to support all the neighbouring nations, as it particularly did under Joseph's administration. In later ages it was the resource and most certain granary of Rome and Constantinople. It is a well-known story how a calumny raised against St. Athanasius, viz. of his having menaced Constantinople, that for the future no more corn should be imported to it from Alexandria, incensed the emperor Constantine against that holy bishop, because he knew that his capital city could not subsist without the corn which was brought to it from Egypt. The same reason induced all the emperors of Rome to take so great a care of Egypt, which they considered as the nursing mother of the world's metropolis.

Nevertheless, the same river which enabled this province to subsist the two most populous cities in the world, sometimes reduced even Egypt itself to the most terrible famine; and it is astonishing that Joseph's wise foresight, which in fruitful years, had made provision for seasons of sterility, should not have taught these so much boasted politicians, a like care against the changes and inconstancy of the Nile. Pliny in his panegyric upon Trajan, paints with wonderful strength, the extremity to which that country was reduced by a famine, under that prince's reign, and his generous relief of it. The reader will not be displeased to read here an extract of it, in which a greater regard will be had to Pliny's thoughts, than to his expressions.

The Egyptians, says Pliny, who gloried that they needed neither rain nor sun to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently contest the prize of plenty with the most fruitful countries of the world, were condemned to unexpected drought and a fatal sterility; from the greatest part of their territories being deserted and left unwatered by the Nile, whose inundation is the source and sure standard of their abundance. They then implored that assistance from their prince, which they used to expect only from their river.|| The delay of their relief was no longer than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagined, that this misfortune had befallen them only to distinguish with greater lustre the generosity and goodness of Cæsar. It was an ancient and general opinion, that our city could not subsist without provisions drawn from Egypt.¶ This vain and proud nation boasted, that though it was conquered, it nevertheless fed its conquerors; that, by means of its river, either abundance or scarcity were entirely at its disposal. But we have now returned to the Nile his own harvests, and given him back the provisions he sent us. Let the Egyptians be then convinced by their own experience, that they are not necessary to us, and are only our vassals. Let them

* Τῶν δ' ὅστις λωτοῦ φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπον,
Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πλέον ἤβλεν, οὐδ' ἐνέσθαι.
Μὴ πῶ τις λωτοῦ φαγῶν, νίστοιο λάβηται.

Odiss. ix. ver. 94. 95.
ver. 102.

† Ægyptus frugum quidem fertilissima, sed ut prope sola iis carere possit, tenta est ciborum ex herbis abundantia.—Plin. l. xxi. c. 15.

‡ Numb. xi. 4, 5.

§ Exod. xvi. 3

|| Inundatione, id est, ubertate regio fraudata, sic opem Cæsaris invocavit, ut solet ananem suum.
¶ Percrebuerat antiquitas urbem nostram nisi opibus Ægypti ali sustentarique non posse. Superbat ventosa et insolens natio, quod victorem quidem populum pasceret tamen, quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset. Refudimus Nilo suas copias. Recepit frumenta quæ miserat, deportatasque messes recexit.

know that their ships do not so much bring us the provision we stand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us. And let them never forget, that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. This most fruitful province had been ruined, had it not worn the Roman chains. The Egyptians, in their sovereign, found a deliverer, and a father. Astonished at the sight of their granaries, filled without any labour of their own, they were at a loss to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people, though at such a distance from us, yet so speedily stopped, served only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The Nile may, in other times, have diffused more plenty on Egypt, but never more glory upon us.* May Heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience, and the prince's generosity, restore back to Egypt its ancient fertility!

Pliny's reproach to the Egyptians, for their vain and foolish pride, with regard to the inundations of the Nile, points out one of their most peculiar characteristics, and recalls to my mind a fine passage of Ezekiel, where God thus speaks to Pharaoh, one of their kings; *Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself.*† God perceived an insupportable pride in the heart of this prince, a sense of security and confidence in the inundations of the Nile, independent entirely of the influences of Heaven; as though the happy effect of this inundation had been owing to nothing but his own care and labour, or those of his predecessors: *the river is mine, and I have made it.*

Before I conclude this second part, which treats of the manners of the Egyptians, I think it incumbent on me to direct the attention of my readers to different passages scattered in the history of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses, which confirm and illustrate part of what we meet with in profane authors upon this subject. They will there observe the perfect polity which reigned in Egypt, both in the court and the rest of the kingdom; the vigilance of the prince, who was informed of all transactions, had a regular council, a chosen number of ministers, armies ever well maintained and disciplined, and of every order of soldiery; horse, foot, armed chariots; intendants in all the provinces; overseers or guardians of the public granaries; wise and exact dispensers of the corn lodged in them; a court composed of great officers of the crown, a captain of his guards, a chief cup-bearer, a master of his pantry, in a word, all things that compose a prince's household, and constitute a magnificent court. But above all these, the readers will admire the fear in which the threatenings of God were held, the inspector of all actions, and the judge of kings themselves; and the horror the Egyptians had for adultery, which was acknowledged to be a crime of so heinous a nature, that it alone was capable of bringing destruction on a nation.‡

PART THIRD.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

No part of ancient history is more obscure or uncertain than that of the first kings of Egypt. This proud nation, fondly conceited of its antiquity and nobility, thought it glorious to lose itself in an abyss of infinite ages, as though it seemed to carry its pretensions backward to eternity. According to its own historians, first gods, and afterwards demi-gods or heroes, governed it successively, through a series of more than twenty thousand years.§ But the absurdity of this vain and fabulous claim is easily discovered.

To gods and demi-gods, men succeeded as rulers or kings in Egypt, of whom Manetho has left us thirty dynasties or principalities. This Manetho was an Egyptian high-priest, and keeper of the sacred archives of Egypt, and had been instructed in the Grecian learning: he wrote a history of Egypt which he pretended to have extracted from the writings of Mercurius, and other ancient memoirs preserved in the archives of the Egyptian temples. He drew up this history under the reign, and at the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If his thirty dynasties are allowed to be successive, they make up a series of time, of more than five thousand three hundred years, to the

* Nilus Ægypto quidem sæpe, sed gloriæ nostræ nunquam largior fluxit.

† Gen. xii. 10—20.

‡ Diod. l. i. p. 61.

§ Ezek. xxix. 3. 9.

reign of Alexander the Great; but this is a manifest forgery. Besides, we find in Eratosthenes,* who was invited to Alexandria by Ptolemy Euergetes, a catalogue of thirty-eight kings of Thebes, all different from those of Manetho. The clearing up of these difficulties has put the learned to a great deal of trouble and labour. The most effectual way to reconcile such contradictions, is to suppose, with almost all the modern writers upon this subject, that the kings of these different dynasties did not reign successively after one another, but many of them at the same time, and in different countries of Egypt. There were in Egypt four principal dynasties, that of Thebes, of Thin, of Memphis, and of Tanis. I shall not here give my readers a list of the kings who have reigned in Egypt, most of whom are only known to us by their names. I shall only take notice of what seems to me most proper to give youth the necessary light into this part of history, for whose sake principally I engaged in this undertaking; and I shall confine myself chiefly to the memoirs left us by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus concerning the Egyptian kings, without even scrupulously preserving the exactness of succession, at least in the beginnings, which are very obscure; and without pretending to reconcile these two historians. Their design, especially that of Herodotus, was not to lay before us an exact series of the kings of Egypt, but only to point out those princes, whose history appeared to them most important and instructive. I shall follow the same plan, and hope to be forgiven, for not having involved either myself or my readers, in a labyrinth of almost inextricable difficulties, from which the most able can scarcely disengage themselves, when they pretend to follow the series of history, and reduce it to fixed and certain dates. The curious may consult the learned works, in which this subject is treated in all its extent.†

I am to premise, that Herodotus, upon the credit of the Egyptian priests whom he had consulted, gives us a great number of oracles, and singular incidents, all which, though he relates them as so many facts, the judicious reader will easily discover to be what they really are, I mean fictions.

The ancient history of Egypt comprehends 2158 years, and is naturally divided into three periods.

The first begins with the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy, by Menes or Misraïm, the son of Cham,‡ in the year of the world 1816; and ends with the destruction of that monarchy by Cambyses, king of Persia, in the year of the world 3479. This first period contains 1663 years.

The second period is intermixed with the Persian and Grecian history, and extends to the death of Alexander the Great, which happened in the year 3681, and consequently includes 202 years.

The third period is that in which a new monarchy was formed in Egypt by the Lagidæ, or Ptolemies, descendants from Lagus, to the death of Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt, in 3974; and this last comprehends 293 years.

I shall now treat only of the first period, reserving the two others for the eras to which they belong.

THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

MENES.§ Historians are unanimously agreed, that Menes was the first king of Egypt. It is pretended, and not without foundation, that he is the same with Misraïm, the son of Cham.

Cham was the second son of Noah. When the family of the latter, after the extravagant attempt of building the tower of Babel, dispersed themselves into different countries, Cham retired to Africa, and it doubtless was he who afterwards was worshipped as a god, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. He had four children, Chus,|| Misraïm, Phut, and Canaan. Chus settled in Ethiopia, Misraïm in Egypt, which generally is called in Scripture after his name, and by that of Cham his father;¶ Phut took possession of that part of Africa which lies westward of Egypt; and Canaan, of that country which afterwards bore his name. The Canaanites are certainly the same people who are called almost always Phœnicians by the Greeks, of which foreign name no reason can be given, any more than of the oblivion of the true one.

* A historian of Cyrene.

† Sir John Marsham's Canon. Chronic. Father Pezron; the Dissertations of F. Tournemine, Abbé Sevin, &c.

‡ Or, Ham.

§ A. M. 1816. Ant. J. C. 2188.

|| Or, Cush, Gen. x. 6.

¶ The traces of its old name, Mesraïm, remain to this day among the Arabians, who call it Mesre; by the testimony of Plutarch, it was called *Χημία*, Chemia, by an easy corruption of Chemia, and this for Cham or Ham.

I return to Misraim.* He is agreed to be the same with Menes, whom all historians declare to be the first king of Egypt, the institutor of the worship of the gods, and of the ceremonies of the sacrifices.

BUSIRIS, some ages after him, built the famous city of Thebes, and made it the seat of his empire. We have elsewhere taken notice of the wealth and magnificence of this city. This prince is not to be confounded with Busiris, so infamous for his cruelties.

OSYMANDYAS. Diodorus gives a very particular description of many magnificent edifices raised by this king; one of which was adorned with sculptures and paintings of exquisite beauty, representing his expedition against the Bactrians, a people of Asia, whom he had invaded with four hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse.† In another part of the edifice, was exhibited an assembly of the judges, whose president wore on his breast a picture of truth, with her eyes shut, and himself was surrounded with books; an emphatic emblem, denoting that judges ought to be perfectly versed in the laws, and impartial in the administration of them.

The king likewise was painted here, offering to the gods gold and silver, which he drew every year from the mines of Egypt, amounting to the sum of sixteen millions.‡

Not far from hence was seen a magnificent library, the oldest mentioned in history. Its title or inscription on the front was, *The office, or treasury, of remedies for the diseases of the soul.* Near it were statues, representing all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the king made suitable offerings; by which he seemed to be desirous of informing posterity that his life and reign had been distinguished by piety to the gods and justice to men.

His mausoleum discovered uncommon magnificence; it was encompassed with a circle of gold, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference; each of which showed the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and the rest of the planets. For so early as this king's reign, the Egyptians divided the year into twelve months, each consisting of thirty days; to which they added every year five days and six hours.§ The spectator did not know which to admire most in this stately monument, the richness of its materials, or the genius and industry of the artists and workmen.

UCHOREUS, one of the successors of Osymandyas, built the city of Memphis.|| This city was 150 furlongs, or more than seven leagues in circumference, and stood at the point of the Delta, in that part where the Nile divides itself into several branches or streams. Southward from the city, he raised a lofty mole. On the right and left he dug very deep moats to receive the river. These were faced with stone, and raised, near the city, by strong causeys; the whole designed to secure the city from the inundations of the Nile, and the incursions of the enemy. A city so advantageously situated, and so strongly fortified, that it was almost the key of the Nile, and by this means commanded the whole country, became soon the usual residence of the Egyptian kings. It kept possession of this honour, till it was forced to resign it to Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great.

MÆRIS. This king made the famous lake, which went by his name, and whereof mention has been already made.

Egypt had long been governed by its native princes, when strangers, called Shepherd-kings, (Hycsos in the Egyptian language,) from Arabia or Phœnicia, invaded and seized a great part of Lower Egypt, and Memphis itself; but Upper Egypt remained unconquered, and the kingdom of Thebes existed till the reign of Sesostris.¶ These foreign princes governed about two hundred and sixty years.

Under one of these princes called Pharaoh in Scripture, (a name common to all the kings of Egypt,) Abraham arrived there with his wife Sarah, who was exposed to great hazard, on account of her exquisite beauty, which reaching the prince's ear, she was by him taken from Abraham, upon the supposition that she was not a wife, but only his sister.**

THETHMOSIS, or Amosis, having expelled the Shepherd-kings, reigned in Lower Egypt.††

Long after his reign, Joseph was brought a slave into Egypt, by some Ishmaelish merchants; sold to Potiphar, and, by a series of wonderful events, enjoyed the supreme authority, by his being raised to the chief employment of the kingdom.‡‡ I

* Herod. l. ii. p. 99. Diod. l. i. p. 42.

† Three thousand two hundred myriads of minæ.

‡ Diod. p. 46. § A. M. 1920. Ant. J. C. 2084.

†† A. M. 2179. Ant. J. C. 1325.

† Diod. l. i. p. 44, 45.

§ See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, p. 30.

** A. M. 2084. Ant. J. C. 1920. Gen. xii. 10—20.

‡‡ A. M. 2276. Ant. J. C. 1728.

shall pass over his history, as it is so universally known; but must take notice of a remark of Justin, the epitomiser of Trogius Pompeius,* an excellent historian of the Augustan age, viz. that Joseph the youngest of Jacob's children, whom his brethren, through envy, had sold to foreign merchants, being endowed from heaven with the interpretation of dreams, and a knowledge of futurity, preserved by his uncommon prudence, Egypt from the famine with which it was menaced, and was extremely caressed by the king.

Jacob also went into Egypt with his whole family, which met with the kindest treatment from the Egyptians, whilst Joseph's important services were fresh in their memories.† But after his death, say the Scriptures, *there arose up a new king, which knew not Joseph.*‡

RAMESES-MIAMUN, according to Archbishop Usher, was the name of this king, who is called Pharaoh in Scripture.‖ He reigned sixty-six years, and oppressed the Israelites in a most grievous manner. *He set over them task-masters,¶ to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities,** Pithon and Raameses—and the Egyptians made the children of Israel serve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; all their service wherein they made them serve, was with rigour.* This king had two sons, Amenophis and Busiris.

AMENOPHIS, the eldest, succeeded him.†† He was the Pharaoh under whose reign the Israelites departed out of Egypt, and who was drowned in his passage through the Red Sea.

Father Tournemine makes Sesostris, of whom we shall speak immediately, the Pharaoh who raised the persecution against the Israelites, and oppressed them with the most painful toils.‡‡ This is exactly agreeable to the account given by Diodorus of this prince, who employed in his Egyptian works only foreigners; so that we may place the memorable event of the passage of the Red Sea, under his son Pheron;§§ and the characteristic of impiety ascribed to him by Herodotus, greatly strengthens the probability of this conjecture. The plan I have proposed to follow in this history, excuses me from entering into chronological discussions.

Diodorus,||| speaking of the Red Sea, has made one remark very worthy our observation: a tradition, says that historian, has been transmitted through the whole nation from father to son, for many ages, that once an extraordinary ebb dried the sea, so that its bottom was seen; and that a violent flow immediately after brought back the waters to their former channel. It is evident that the miraculous passage of Moses over the Red Sea is here hinted at: and I make this remark, purposely to admonish young students, not to slip over, in their perusal of authors, these precious remains of antiquity; especially when they bear, like this passage, any relation to religion.

Archbishop Usher says, that Amenophis left two sons, one called Sesothis, or Sesostris, and the other Arnais. The Greeks call him Belus, and his two sons, Egyptus and Danaus.

SESOSTRIS was not only one of the most powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greatest conquerors that antiquity boasts of.¶¶

His father, whether by inspiration, caprice, or, as the Egyptians say, by the authority of an oracle, formed a design of making his son a conqueror. This he set about after the Egyptian manner, that is, in a great and noble way. All the male children born in the same day with Sesostris, were, by the king's order, brought to court. Here they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the same care bestowed on Sesostris, with whom they were brought up. He could not possibly have given him more faithful ministers, nor officers who more zealously desired the success of his arms. The chief part of their education was, the inuring them from their infancy to a hard and laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of sustaining with ease the toils of war. They were never suffered to eat, till they had run, on foot or horseback, a considerable race. Hunting was their most common exercise.

* Lib. xxxvi. c. 2.

† Justin ascribes this gift of heaven to Joseph's skill in magical arts.—Cum magicas ibi artes (Egypto scil.) solerti ingenio percepisset, &c.

‡ A. M. 2298. Ant. J. C. 1706.

§ Exod. i. 8.

‖ A. M. 2427. Ant. J. C. 1577.

¶ Exod. i. 11, 13, 14.

** Heb. urbes the saurorum. LXX. urbes munitas. These cities were appointed to preserve, as in a store-house the corn, oil, and other products of Egypt.—Vatab.

†† A. M. 2494. Ant. J. C. 1510

‡‡ A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.

§§ This name bears a great resemblance to Pharaoh, so common to the Egyptian kings.

||| Lib. iii. p. 74.

¶¶ Herod. l. ii. cap. 102, 110. Diod. l. i. p. 48, 54.

Ælian remarks that Sesostris was taught by Mercury, who instructed him in politics, and arts of government.* This Mercury is he whom the Greeks called Trismegistus, *i. e.* thrice great. Egypt, his native country, owes to him the invention of almost every art. The two books, which go under his name, bear such evident characters of novelty, that the forgery is no longer doubted. There was another Mercury, who also was very famous among the Egyptians, for his rare knowledge; and of much greater antiquity than the former. Jambicus, a priest of Egypt, affirms, that it was customary with the Egyptians, to publish all new books or inventions under the name of Hermes, or Mercury.

When Sesostris was more advanced in years, his father sent him against the Arabians, in order that, by fighting with them, he might acquire military knowledge. Here the young prince learned to bear hunger and thirst, and subdued a nation which till then had never been conquered. The youth educated with him, attended him in all his campaigns,

Accustomed by this conquest to martial toils, he was next sent by his father to try his fortune westward. He invaded Libya, and subdued the greatest part of that vast continent.

SESOSTRIS.† In the course of this expedition, his father died, and left him capable of attempting the greatest enterprises. He formed no less a design than that of the conquest of the world. But before he left his kingdom, he had provided for his domestic security, in winning the hearts of his subjects by his generosity, justice, and a popular obliging behaviour. He was no less studious to gain the affection of his officers and soldiers, who were ever ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his service; persuaded that his enterprises would all be unsuccessful, unless his army should be attached to his person, by all the ties of esteem, affection and interest. He divided the country into thirty-six governments, called Nomi, and bestowed them on persons of merit, and the most approved fidelity.

In the mean time he made the requisite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of the greatest bravery and reputation, and these were taken chiefly from among the youths who had been educated with him. He had seventeen hundred of these officers, who were all capable of inspiring his troops with resolution, a love of discipline, and a zeal for the service of their prince. His army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, and twenty-four thousand horse, besides twenty-seven thousand armed chariots.

He began his expedition by invading Ethiopia, situated to the south of Egypt. He made it tributary, and obliged the nations of it to furnish him annually with a certain quantity of ebony, ivory, and gold.

He had fitted out a fleet of four-hundred sail, and ordering it to sail to the Red Sea, made himself master of the isles and cities lying on the coasts of that sea. He himself heading his land-army, over-ran and subdued Asia with amazing rapidity, and advanced farther into India than Hercules, Bacchus, and, in after times, Alexander himself had ever done; for he subdued the countries beyond the ganges, and advanced as far as the ocean. One may judge from hence, how unable the more neighbouring countries were to resist him. The Scythians, as far as the river Tanais, Armenia, and Cappadocia, were conquered. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchos, situated to the east of the Black Sea, where the Egyptian customs and manners have been ever since retained. Herodotus saw in Asia Minor, from one sea to the other, monuments of his victories. In several countries was read the following inscription, engraven on pillars: *Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms.* Such pillars are found, even in Thrace, and his empire extended from the Ganges to the Danube. In his expeditions, some nations bravely defended their liberties, and others yielded them up without making the least resistance. This disparity was denoted by him in hieroglyphical figures, on the monuments erected to perpetuate the remembrance of his victories, agreeably to the Egyptian practice.

The scarcity of provisions in Thrace stopped the progress of his conquests, and prevented his advancing farther in Europe. One remarkable circumstance is observed in this conqueror, who never once thought, as others had done, of preserving his acquisitions; but contenting himself with the glory of having subdued and despoiled so many nations, after having spread desolation through the world for nine years, he

* Τὸ νόημα τὰ ἰκμοσὶς θηναί.—Lib. x. ii. c. 4.

† A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.

confined himself almost within the ancient limits of Egypt, a few neighbouring provinces excepted; for we do not find any traces or footsteps of this new empire, either under himself or his successors.

He returned therefore, laden with the spoils of the vanquished nations; dragging after him a numberless multitude of captives, and covered with greater glory than his predecessors; that glory, I mean, which employs so many tongues and pens in its praise, which consists in invading a great number of provinces in a hostile way, and is often productive of numberless calamities. He rewarded his officers and soldiers with a truly royal magnificence, in proportion to their rank and merit. He made it both his pleasure and duty, to put the companions of his victory in such a condition as might enable them to enjoy, during the remainder of their days, a calm and easy repose, the just reward of their past toils.

With regard to himself, for ever careful of his own reputation, and still more of making his power advantageous to his subjects, he employed the repose which peace allowed him, in raising works that might contribute more to the enriching of Egypt, than the immortalizing of his name; works in which the art and industry of the workmen were more admired, than the immense sums which had been expended on them.

A hundred famous temples, raised as so many monuments of gratitude to the tutelary gods of all the cities, were the first, as well as the most illustrious testimonies of his victories; and he took care to publish in the inscriptions on them, that these mighty works had been completed without burdening any of his subjects. He made it his glory to be tender of them, and to employ only captives in these monuments of his conquests. The scriptures take notice of something like this, where they speak of the buildings of Solomon.* But he was especially studious of adorning and enriching the temple of Vulcan at Pelusium, in acknowledgment of that god's imaginary protection of him, when on his return from his expeditions, his brother had a design of destroying him in that city, with his wife and children, by setting fire to the apartment where he then lay.

His great work was the raising, in every part of Egypt, a considerable number of high banks or moles, on which new cities were built, in order that these might be a security for men and beasts, during the inundations of the Nile.

From Memphis, as far as the sea, he cut, on both sides of the river, a great number of canals, for the conveniency of trade, and the conveying of provisions, for the settling an easy correspondence between such cities as were most distant from one another. Besides the advantages of traffic, Egypt was, by these canals, made inaccessible to the cavalry of its enemies, which before had so often harassed it by repeated incursions.

He did still more: to secure Egypt from the inroads of its nearer neighbours, the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified all the eastern coast from Pelusium to Heliopolis, that is, for upward of seven leagues.†

Sesostris might have been considered as one of the most illustrious and most boasted heroes of antiquity had not the lustre of his warlike actions, as well as his pacific virtues, been tarnished by a thirst of glory, and a blind fondness for his own grandeur, which made him forget that he was a man. The kings and chiefs of the conquered nations came, at stated times, to do homage to their victor, and pay him the appointed tribute. On every other occasion, he treated them with some humanity and generosity. But when he went to the temple, or entered his capital, he caused these princes, four abreast, to be harnessed to his car, instead of horses; and valued himself upon his being thus drawn by the lords and sovereigns of other nations. What I am most surprised at is, that Diodorus should rank this foolish and inhuman vanity among the most shining actions of this prince.

Becoming blind in his old age, he despatched himself, after having reigned thirty-three years, and left his kingdom immensely rich.‡ His empire nevertheless did not reach beyond the fourth generation. But there still remained so late as the reign of Tiberius; magnificent monuments, which showed the extent of Egypt under Sesostris,§ and the immense tributes which were paid to it.¶

I now return to some facts which should have been mentioned before, as they occurred in this period; but were omitted, in order that I might not break the thread of the history and therefore will now barely mention them.

About the era in question, the Egyptians settled themselves in divers parts of the

* 2 Chron. viii. 9. "But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work."

† 150 stadia, About 18 miles English.

‡ Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

§ Tacit. Ann. l. ii.

¶ *Legebantur indicta gentibus tributa—haud minus magna quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana*

earth. The colony which Cecrops led out of Egypt, built twelve cities, or rather so many towns, of which he composed the kingdom of Athens.*

We observed, that the brother of Sesostris, called by the Greeks Danaus, had formed a design to murder him on his return to Egypt after his conquests. But being defeated in his horrid project, he was obliged to fly.† He thereupon retired to Peloponessus; where he seized upon the kingdom of Argos, which had been founded about four hundred years before by Inachus.

BUSIRIS, brother of Amenophis, so infamous among the ancients for his cruelties, exercised his tyranny at that time on the banks of the Nile, and barbarously cut the throats of all foreigners who landed in his country; this was probably during the absence of Sesostris.‡

About the same time, Cadmus brought from Syria, into Greece, the invention of letters.§ Some pretend, that these characters, or letters, were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himself was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians who ascribe to themselves the invention of every art, and boast of a greater antiquity than any other nation; ascribed to their Mercury the honour of inventing letters. Most of the learned agree, that Cadmus carried the Phœnician, or Syrian letters into Greece, and that those letters were the same as the Hebraic; the Hebrews who formed but a small nation, being comprehended under the general name of Syrians.|| Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on the Chronicon of Eusebius, proves that the Greek letters, and those of the Latin alphabet formed from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the same with the Samaritan; and were used by the Jews before the Babylonish captivity. Cadmus carried only sixteen letters into Greece, eight others being added afterwards.¶

I return to the history of the Egyptian kings, whom I shall hereafter rank in the same order with Herodotus.

PERON succeeded Sesostris in his kingdom, but not in his glory.** Herodotus relates but one action of his, which shows how greatly he had degenerated from the religious sentiments of his father.†† In an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, this prince, enraged at the devastation which was made by it, threw a javelin at the river, as if he intended thereby to chastise its insolence; but was himself immediately punished for his impiety, if the historian may be credited, with the loss of sight.

PROTEUS.‡‡ He was the son of Memphis, where, in Herodotus's time, his temple was still standing, in which was a chapel dedicated to Venus the Stranger.§§ It is conjectured that this Venus was Helen. For, in the reign of this monarch, Paris the Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had stolen, was driven by a storm into one of the mouths of the Nile, called the Canopic; and from thence was conducted to Proteus at Memphis, who reproached him in the strongest terms for his base perfidy and guilt, in stealing the wife of his host, and with her all the effects in his house. He added, that the only reason why he did not punish him with death (as his crime deserved) was, because the Egyptians were careful not to imbrue their hands in the blood of strangers: that he would keep Hellen, with all the riches that were brought with her, in order to testore them to their lawful owner: that as for himself (Paris,) he must either quit his dominions in three days, or expect to be treated as an enemy. The king's order was obeyed. Paris continued his voyage, and arrived at Troy, whither he was closely pursued by the Grecian army. The Greeks sum-

jubentur. — Incribed on pillars, were read the tributes imposed on vanquished nations, which were not inferior to those now paid to the Parthian and Roman powers.

* A. M. 2448.

† A. M. 2530.

‡ A. M. 2533.

§ A. M. 2549.

¶ The reader may consult on this subject two learned Dissertations of Abbé Renaudot, inserted in the Second volume of The History of the Academy of Inscriptions.

¶¶ The sixteen letters brought by Cadmus into Greece, are, α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ. Palamedes, at the siege of Troy, &c. upwards of two hundred and fifty years lower than Cadmus, added the four following, ς, θ, φ, χ; and Simonides, a long time after, invented the four others, namely, η, ω, ε, ψ.

** A. M. 2547. Ant. J. C. 1457.

†† Herod. l. ii. c. 111. Diod. l. i. p. 54.

‡‡ A. M. 2800. Ant. J. C. 1204. Herod. l. ii. c. 112, 120.

§§ I do not think myself obliged to enter here into a discussion which would be attended with very perplexing difficulties, should I pretend to reconcile the series, or succession of the kings, as given by Herodotus, with the opinion of Archbishop Usher. This last supposes, with a great many other learned men, that Sesostris is the son of that Egyptian king who was drowned in the Red Sea, whose reign must consequently have begun in the year of the world 2513, and continued to the year 2547, since it lasted 33 years. Should we allow 50 years to the reign of Pheron his son, there would still be an interval of above 200 years between Pheron and Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, succeeded immediately the first: since Proteus lived at the time of the siege of Troy, which according to Usher, was taken An. Mun. 2820. I know not whether his almost total silence on the Egyptian kings after Sesostris, was owing to his sense of this difficulty. I suppose a long interval to have occurred between Pheron and Proteus; accordingly Diodorus (lib. liv.) fills it up with a great many kings, and the same must be said of some of the following kings.

moned the Trojans to surrender Helen, and with her all the treasures of which her husband had been plundered. The Trojans answered, that neither Helen nor her treasures were in their city. And indeed, was it at all likely, says Herodotus, that Priam, who was so wise an old prince, should choose to see his children and country destroyed before his eyes, rather than give the Greeks the just and reasonable satisfaction they desired? But it was to no purpose for them to affirm with an oath, that Helen was not in their city; the Greeks, being firmly persuaded that they were trifled with, persisted obstinately in their unbelief. The Deity, continues the same historian, being resolved that the Trojans, by the total destruction of their city and empire, should teach the affrighted world this lesson, **THAT GREAT CRIMES ARE ATTENDED WITH EQUALLY GREAT AND SIGNAL PUNISHMENTS FROM THE OFFENDED GODS.*** Menelaus, in his return from Troy, called at the court of king Proteus, who restored him Helen with all her treasure. Herodotus proves from some passages in Homer, that the voyage of Paris to Egypt was not unknown to this poet.

RAHMPSINITUS. The treasury built by this king, who was richer than any of his predecessors, and his descent into hell, as they are related by Herodotus,† have so much the air of romance and fiction, that they deserve no mention here.

Till the reign of this king, there had been some shadow at least of justice and moderation in Egypt; but, in the two following reigns, violence and cruelty usurped their place.

CHEOPS and CEPHRENEUS.‡ These two princes, who were truly brothers by the similitude of their manners, seem to have strove which of them should distinguish himself most, by a barefaced impiety towards the gods, and a barbarous inhumanity to men. Cheops reigned fifty years, and his brother Cephrenus fifty-six years after him. They kept the temples shut during the whole time of their long reigns; and forbid the offerings of sacrifice under the severest penalties. On the other hand, they oppressed their subjects, by employing them in the most grievous and useless works; and sacrificed the lives of numberless multitudes of men, merely to gratify a senseless ambition, of immortalizing their names by edifices of an enormous magnitude and a boundless expense. It is remarkable, that those stately pyramids, which have so long been the admiration of the whole world, were the effects of the irreligion and merciless cruelty of those princes.

MYCERINUS.§ He was the son of a Cheops, but of a character opposite to that of his father. So far from walking in his steps, he detested his conduct, and pursued quite different measures. He again opened the temples of the gods, restored the sacrifices, did all that lay in his power to comfort his subjects, and make them forget their past miseries; and believed himself set over them for no other purpose than to exercise justice, and to make them taste all the blessings of an equitable and peaceful administration. He heard their complaints, dried their tears, eased their misery, and thought himself not so much the master, as the father of his people. This procured him the love of them all. Egypt resounded with his praise, and his name commanded veneration in all places.

One would naturally conclude, that so prudent and humane a conduct must have drawn down on Mycerinus the protection of the gods. But it happened far otherwise. His misfortunes began from the death of a darling and only daughter, in whom his whole felicity consisted. He ordered extraordinary honours to be paid to her memory, which were still continued in Herodotus's time. This historian informs us, that in the city of Sais, exquisite odours were burnt, in the day-time, at the tomb of this prince, and that it was illuminated with a lamp by night.

He was told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but seven years. And as he complained of this to the gods, and inquired the reason why so long and prosperous a reign had been granted to his father and uncle, who were equally cruel and impious, while his own, which he had endeavoured so carefully to render as equitable and mild as it was possible for him to do, should be so short and unhappy; he was answered, that these were the very causes of it, it being the will of the gods to oppress and afflict Egypt, during the space of 150 years, as a punishment for its crimes; and that his reign, which was appointed, like those of the preceding monarchs, to be of fifty years continuance, was shortened on account of his too great lenity. Mycerinus likewise built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimensions to that of his father.

* Ὅς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλας εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωραὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.

† Lib. ii. c. 121, 123.

‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 124, 128. Diod. l. i. p. 57.

§ Herod. l. ii. p. 139, 140.

ASYCHIS.* He enacted the law relating to loans, which forbids a son to borrow money, without giving the dead body of his father by way of security for it. The law added, that in case the son took no care to redeem his father's body by restoring the loan, both himself and his children should be deprived for ever of the rights of sepulture.

He valued himself for having surpassed all his predecessors, by building a pyramid of brick, more magnificent, if this king was to be credited, than any hitherto seen. The following inscription by its founder's order, was engraved upon it: **COMPARE ME NOT WITH PYRAMIDS BUILT OF STONE, WHICH I AS MUCH EXCEL AS JUPITER DOES ALL THE OTHER GODS.†**

If we suppose the six preceding reigns (the exact duration of some of which is not fixed by Herodotus) to have continued one hundred and seventy years, there will remain an interval of near three hundred years to the reign of Sabachus the Ethiopian. In this interval I shall place a few circumstances related in Holy Scripture.

PHARAOH, king of Egypt, gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, king of Israel; who received her in that part of Jerusalem called the city of David, till he had built her a palace.‡

SESACH, or Shishak, otherwise called Sesonchis.

It was to him that Jeroboam fled, to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him.§ He abode in Egypt till Solomon's death, and then returned to Jerusalem, when putting himself at the head of the rebels, he won from Rehoboam the son of Solomon, ten tribes, over whom he declared himself king.

This Sesach, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, marched against Jerusalem, because the Jews had transgressed against the Lord. He came with twelve hundred chariots of war and sixty thousand horse.|| He had brought numberless multitudes of people, who were all Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians.¶ He seized upon all the strongest cities of Judah, and advanced as far as Jerusalem. Then the king and the princes of Israel, having humbled themselves, and implored the protection of the God of Israel, he told them, by his prophet Shemaiah, that because they humbled themselves, he would not utterly destroy them, as they had deserved; but that they should be the servants of Sesach; in order that they might know the difference of *his service*, and the *service of the kingdoms of the country.*** Sesach retired from Jerusalem, after having plundered the treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house; he carried off every thing with him, and even also the three hundred shields of gold which Solomon had made.

ZERAH, king of Ethiopia, and doubtless of Egypt at the same time, made war upon Asa king of Judah.†† His army consisted of a million of men, and three hundred chariots of war. Asa marched against him, and drawing up his army in order of battle, in full reliance on the God whom he served, "Lord," says he, "it is nothing for thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power. Help us, O Lord our God, for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude; O Lord thou art our God, let not man prevail against thee." A prayer offered up with such strong faith was heard. God struck the Ethiopians with terror; they fled, and were irrecoverably defeated, being *destroyed before the Lord, and before his host.*

ANYSIS.‡‡ He was blind, and under his reign

SABACHUS, king of Ethiopia, being encouraged by an oracle, entered Egypt with a numerous army, and possessed himself of it. He reigned with great clemency and justice. Instead of putting to death such criminals as had been sentenced to die by the judges, he made them repair the causeys, on which the respective cities to which they belonged were situated. He built several magnificent temples, and among the rest, one in the city of Bubastus, of which Herodotus gives a long and elegant description. After a reign of fifty years, which was the time appointed by the oracle, he retired voluntarily to his old kingdom of Ethiopia, and left the throne of Egypt to

* Herod. l. ii. c. 136.

† The remainder of the inscription, as we find it in Herodotus, is, "For men, plunging long poles down to the bottom of the lake, drew bricks (πλινθους εἰςουσαι) out of the mud which stuck to them, and gave me this form."

‡ A. M. 2991. Ant. J. C. 1013. 1 Kings, iii. 1.

§ A. M. 3026. Ant. J. C. 978. 1 Kings, xi. 40. and chap. xii.

|| A. M. 3033. Ant. J. C. 971. 2 Chron. xii. 1—9.

¶ The English version of the Bible says, the Lubims, the Sukkims, and the Ethiopians.

** Or, of the kingdoms of the earth. †† A. M. 3063. Ant. J. C. 741. 2 Chron. xiv. 9—12.

‡‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 137. Diod. l. i. p. 50.

Anysis, who during this time had concealed himself in the fens. It is believed that this Sabachus was the same with So, whose aid was implored by Hosea king of Israel, against Salmanaser king of Assyria.*

SETHON. He reigned fourteen years.

He is the same with Sevechus, the son of Sabacon or Sual the Ethiopian, who reigned so long over Egypt.† This prince, so far from discharging the functions of a king, was ambitious of those of a priest; causing himself to be consecrated high-priest of Vulcan. Abandoning himself entirely to superstition, he neglected to defend his kingdom by force of arms; paying no regard to military men, from a firm persuasion that he should never have occasion for their assistance; he therefore was so far from endeavouring to gain their affections, that he deprived them of their privileges, and even dispossessed them of such lands as his predecessors had given them.

He was soon made sensible of their resentment, in a war that broke out suddenly, and from which he delivered himself solely by a miraculous protection, if Herodotus may be credited, who intermixes his account of this war with a great many fabulous particulars. Sennacherib, (so Herodotus calls this prince,) king of the Arabians and Assyrians, having entered Egypt with a numerous army, the Egyptian officers and soldiers refused to march against him. The high-priest Vulcan, being thus reduced to the greatest extremity, had recourse to his god, who bid him not to despond, but march courageously against the enemy with the few soldiers he could raise. Sethon obeyed. A small number of merchants, artificers, and others, who were the dregs of the populace, joined him; and with this handful of men he marched to Pelusium, where Sennacherib had pitched his camp. The night following a prodigious number of rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawing to pieces all their bow-strings and the thongs of their shields, rendered them incapable of making the least defence. Being disarmed in this manner, they were obliged to fly; and they retreated with the loss of a great part of their forces. Sethon, when he returned home, ordered a statue of himself to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his right hand a rat, and these words inscribed thereon: **LET THE MAN WHO BEHOLDS ME LEARN TO REVERENCE THE GODS.**‡

It is very obvious that this story, as related here from Herodotus, is an alteration of that which is told in the second book of Kings.§ We there see, that Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, having subdued all the neighbouring nations, and seized upon all the cities of Judah, resolved to besiege Hezekiah in Jerusalem, his capital city. The ministers of this holy king, in spite of this opposition and the remonstrances of the prophet Isaiah, who promised them, in God's name, a sure and certain protection, provided they would trust in him only, sent secretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for succour. Their armies, being united, marched to the relief of Jerusalem at the time appointed, and were met and vanquished by the Assyrians in a pitched battle. He pursued them into Egypt, and entirely laid waste the country. At his return from thence, the very night before he was to have given a general assault to Jerusalem, which then seemed lost to all hopes, the destroying angel made dreadful havoc in the camp of the Assyrians, destroyed a hundred fourscore and five thousand men by fire and sword, and proved evidently, that they had great reason to rely, as Hezekiah had done, on the promise of the God of Israel.

This is the real fact. But as it was no ways honourable to the Egyptians, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage, by disguising and corrupting the circumstances of it. Nevertheless, the account of this history, though so much defaced, ought yet to be highly valued, as coming from a historian of so great antiquity and authority as Herodotus.

The prophet Isaiah had foretold, at several times, that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted seemingly with much prudence, conducted with the greatest skill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united, in order to relieve the Jews, would not only be of no service to Jerusalem, but even destructive to Egypt itself, whose strongest cities would be taken; its territories plundered, and its inhabitants of all ages and sexes led into captivity. See the 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31st, &c. chapters of the second book of Kings. Archbishop Usher and dean Prideaux suppose that it was at this period that the ruin of the famous city No-

* A. M. 3279. Ant. J. C. 725. 2 Kings, xvii. 4.

† Έσ ἰκέ τις ἑπίτου, εὐσεβὲς ἕστω.

‡ A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719.

§ Chap. xvii.

Amon,* spoken of by the prophet Nahum, happened. That prophet says, that *she was carried away*—that *her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets*—that *the enemy cast lots for her honourable men, and that all her great men were bound in chains.*† He observes, that all these misfortunes befel that city, when Egypt and Ethiopia were her strength; which seems to refer clearly enough to the time of which we are here speaking, when Tharaca and Sethon had united their forces. However, this opinion is not without some difficulties, and is contradicted by some learned men. It is sufficient for me to have hinted it to the reader.

Till the reign of Sethon, the Egyptian priests computed three hundred and forty-one generations of men; which make eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, allowing three generations to a hundred years.‡ They counted the like number of priests and kings. The latter, whether gods or men, had succeeded one another without interruption, under the name of piromis, an Egyptian word signifying good and virtuous. The Egyptian priests showed Herodotus three hundred and forty-one wooden colossal statues of these piromis, all arranged in order in a great hall. Such was the folly of the Egyptians, to lose themselves, as it were, in a remote antiquity, to which no other people pretended.

THARACA.§ He it was who joined Sethon, with an Ethiopian army, to relieve Jerusalem. After the death of Sethon, who had sat fourteen years on the throne, Tharaca ascended it, and reigned eighteen years. He was the last Ethiopian king who reigned in Egypt.

After his death, the Egyptians not being able to agree about the succession, were two years in a state of anarchy, during which there were great disorders and confusions among them.

TWELVE KINGS.

At last, twelve of the principal noblemen, conspiring together, seized upon his kingdom, and divided it among themselves into so many parts.|| It was agreed by them, that each should govern his own district with equal power and authority, and that no one should attempt to invade or seize the dominions of another. They thought it necessary to make this agreement, and to bind it with the most dreadful oaths, to elude the prediction of an oracle, which had foretold, that he among them who should offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen bowl, should gain the sovereignty of Egypt. They reigned together fifteen years in the utmost harmony: and to leave a famous monument of their concord to posterity, they jointly, and at a common expense, built the famous labyrinth, which was a pile of buildings consisting of twelve large palaces, with as many edifices under ground as appeared above it. I have spoken elsewhere of this labyrinth.

One day, as the twelve kings were assisting at a solemn and periodical sacrifice offered in the temple of Vulcan, the priests, having presented each of them a golden bowl for the libation, one was wanting; when Psammetichus,¶ without any design, supplied the want of this bowl with his brazen helmet, for each wore one, and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident struck the rest of the kings, and recalled to their memory the prediction of the oracle above mentioned. They thought it therefore necessary to secure themselves from his attempts, and therefore with one consent banished him into the fenny parts of Egypt.

After Psammetichus had passed some years there, waiting a favourable opportunity to revenge himself for the affront which had been put upon him, a courier brought him advice, that brazen men were landed in Egypt. These were Grecian soldiers, Carians and Ionians, who had been cast upon the coasts of Egypt by a storm, and were completely covered with helmets, cuirasses, and other arms of brass. Psammetichus immediately called to mind the oracle, which had answered him, that he should be succoured by brazen men from the sea-coast. He did not doubt that the prediction was now fulfilled. He therefore made a league with these strangers; engaged them with great promises to stay with him; privately levied other forces, and put these Greeks at their head; when, giving battle to the eleven kings, he defeated them, and remained sole possessor of Egypt.

* The Vulgate calls that city Alexandria, to which the Hebrew gives the name of No-Amon; because Alexandria was afterwards built in the place where this stood. Dean Prideaux, after Bochart, thinks that it was Thebes, surnamed Diospolis. Indeed, the Egyptian Amon is the same with Jupiter. But Thebes is not the place where Alexandria was since built. Perhaps there was another city there, which was also called No-Amon.

† Chap. iii. 8. 10.

‡ Herod. l. ii. cap. 142.

§ A. M. 3299. Ant. J. C. 795. Afric. apud Syncel. p. 74.

¶ A. M. 3319.

Ant. J. C. 685. Herod. l. ii. cap. 147, 152. Diod. l. i. p. 59.

¶ He was one of the twelve.

PSAMMETICHUS. As this prince owed his preservation to the Ionians and Carians, he settled them in Egypt, from which all foreigners hitherto had been excluded; and, by assigning them sufficient lands and fixed revenues, he made them forget their native country.* By his order, Egyptian children were put under their care to learn the Greek tongue; and on this occasion, and by this means, the Egyptians began to have a correspondence with the Greeks; and from that era, the Egyptian history, which till then had been intermixed with pompous fables, by the artifice of the priests, begins, according to Herodotus, to speak with greater truth and certainty.

As soon as Psammetichus was settled on the throne, he engaged in a war against the king of Assyria, on account of the limits of the two empires. This war was of long continuance. Ever since Syria had been conquered by the Assyrians, Palestine, being the only country that separated the two kingdoms, was the subject of continual discord: as afterwards it was between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. They were perpetually contending for it, and it was alternately won by the stronger. Psammetichus, seeing himself the peaceable possessor of all Egypt, and having restored the ancient form of government,† thought it high time for him to look to his frontiers, and to secure them against the Assyrian, his neighbour, whose power increased daily. For this purpose he entered Palestine at the head of an army.

Perhaps we are to refer to the beginning of this war, an incident related by Diodorus;‡ that the Egyptians, provoked to see the Greeks posted on the right wing by the king himself in preference to them, quitted the service, being upwards of two hundred thousand men, and retired into Ethiopia, where they met with an advantageous settlement.

Be this as it will, Psammetichus entered Palestine, where his career was stopped by Azotus, one of the principal cities of the country, which gave him so much trouble, that he was forced to besiege it twenty-nine years before he could take it.§ This is the longest siege mentioned in ancient history.

This was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philistines. The Egyptians, having seized it some time before, had fortified it with such care, that it was their strongest bulwark on that side. Nor could Sennacherib enter Egypt, till he had first made himself master of this city, which was taken by Tartan, one of his generals. The Assyrians had possessed it hitherto; and it was not till after the long siege just now mentioned, that Egypt recovered it.||

In this period the Scythians, leaving the banks of the Palus Mæotis, made an inroad into Media, defeated Cyaxares, the king of that country, and laid waste all Upper Asia, of which they kept possession during twenty-eight years.¶ They pushed their conquests in Syria, even to the frontiers of Egypt; but Psammetichus marching out to meet them, prevailed so far, by his presents and entreaties, that they advanced no farther; and by that means delivered his kingdom from these dangerous enemies.

Till his reign the Egyptians had imagined themselves to be the most ancient nation upon earth.** Psammetichus was desirous to prove this himself, and he employed a very extraordinary experiment for this purpose. He commanded, if we may credit the relation, two children, newly born of poor parents, to be brought up in the country, in a hovel, to be kept continually shut. They were committed to the care of a shepherd, others say of nurses whose tongues were cut out, who was to feed them with the milk of goats, and was commanded not to suffer any person to enter this hut, nor himself to speak even a single word in the hearing of these children. At the expiration of two years, as the shepherd was one day coming into the hut, to feed these children, they both cried out, with hands extended towards their foster-father, *beckos, beckos*. The shepherd, surprised to hear a language that was quite new to him, but which they repeated frequently afterwards, sent advice of this to the king, who ordered the children to be brought before him, in order that he might be witness of the truth of what was told him; and accordingly both of them began in his presence to stammer out the sounds above mentioned. Nothing now was wanting but to inquire what nation it was that used this word, and it was found that the Phrygians called bread by this name. From this time they were allowed the honour of antiquity, or rather of priority, which the Egyptians themselves, notwithstanding

* A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670. Herod. l. ii. c. 153, 154.

† This revolution happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseh, king of Judah.

‡ Lib. l. p. 61.

§ Diod. c. 157.

|| Isa. xx. 1.

¶ Herod. l. i. c. 105.

** Herod. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

their jealousy of it, and the many ages they had possessed this glory, were obliged to resign to them. As goats were brought to these children, in order that they might feed upon their milk, and historians do not say that they were deaf, some are of opinion, that they might have learned the word *beck* or *bekkos*, by mimicking the cry of those creatures.

Psammetichus died in the 24th year of Josias king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Nechao.

NECHAO.* This prince is often called in Scripture, Pharaoh-Necho.†

He attempted to join the Nile to the Red sea, by cutting a canal from one to the other. They are separated at the distance of at least a thousand stadia.‡ After a hundred and twenty thousand workmen had lost their lives in this attempt, Necho was obliged to desist,—the oracle, which had been consulted by him, having answered, that this new canal would open a passage to the barbarians (for so the Egyptians called all other nations,) to invade Egypt.

Necho was more successful in another enterprise.§ Skilful Phœnician mariners, whom he had taken into his service, having sailed from the Red Sea, in order to discover the coast of Africa, went successfully round it; and the third year after their setting out, returned to Egypt through the Strait of Gibraltar. This was a very extraordinary voyage, in an age when the compass was not known. It was made twenty-one centuries before Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1497, found out the very same way to sail to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians had come from thence to the Mediterranean.

The Babylonians, and Medes having destroyed Nineveh, and with it the empire of the Assyrians, were thereby become so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours.|| Necho, alarmed at the danger, advanced to the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, in order to check their progress. Josiah, king of Judah, so famous for his uncommon piety, observing that he took his rout through Judea, resolved to oppose his passage. With this view he raised all the forces of his kingdom, and posted himself in the valley of Megiddo (a city on this side of Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, and called Magdolus by Herodotus.) Necho informed him by a herald, that his enterprise was not designed against him; that he had other enemies in view, and that he had undertaken this war in the name of God, who was with him; that for this reason he advised Josiah not to concern himself with this war for fear it otherwise should turn to his disadvantage. However, Josiah was not moved by these reasons; he was sensible that the bare march of so powerful an army through Judea would entirely ruin it. And besides, he feared that the victor, after the defeat of the Babylonians, would fall upon him and dispossess him of part of his dominions. He therefore marched to engage Necho; and was not only overthrown by him, but unfortunately received a wound, of which he died at Jerusalem, whither he had ordered himself to be carried.

Necho, animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Carchemish; a large city in that country, and securing to himself the possession of it by a strong garrison, returned to his own kingdom, after having been absent three months.

Being informed in his march homeward that Jehoaz had caused himself to be proclaimed king at Jerusalem, without first asking his consent, he commanded him to meet him at Riblah in Syria.¶ The unhappy prince was no sooner arrived there than he was put in chains by Necho's order, and sent prisoner to Egypt, where he died. From thence, pursuing his march, he came to Jerusalem, where he gave the sceptre to Eliakim (called by him Jehoiakim,) another of Josiah's sons, in the room of his brother; and imposed an annual tribute on the land, of a hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold.** This being done, he returned in triumph to Egypt.

Herodotus,†† mentioning this king's expedition, and the victory gained by him at Magdolus,‡‡ (as he calls it,) says that he afterwards took the city Cadytis, which he repre-

* He is called Necho in the English version of the Scriptures.

† A. M. 3388. Ant. J. C. 616. Herod. l. ii. c. 158.

‡ Allowing 625 feet, or 125 geometrical paces, to each stadium, the distance will be 118 English miles, and a little above one-third of a mile. Herodotus says, that this design was, afterwards put in execution by Darius the Persian. l. ii. c. 153.

§ Herod. l. iv. 42.

|| Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 6 2 Kings, xxiii. 29. 30. 2 Chron xxxv. 20—25.

¶ 2 Kings, xxiii. 33. 35. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1. 4.

** The Hebrew silver talent, according to Dr. Cumberland, is equivalent to L. 353: 11: 10½ so that 100 talents English money, make L. 35,359 7 6

The gold talent, according to the same, 5,075 15 7½

The amount of the whole tribute, L. 40,435 3 1½ About £179,332.

†† Lib. ii. c. 159.

‡‡ Megiddo.

sents as situated in the mountains of Palestine, and equal in extent to Sardis, the capital, at that time, not only of Lydia, but of all Asia Minor. This description can suit only Jerusalem, which was situated in the manner above described, and was then the only city in those parts that could be compared to Sardis. It appears besides, from Scripture, that Nechao, after his victory, made himself master of this capital of Judea; for he was there in person, when he gave the crown to Jehoiakim. The very name Cadytis, which in Hebrew, signifies the holy, points clearly to the city of Jerusalem, as is proved by the learned dean Prideaux.*

Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, observing that since the taking of Carchemish by Nechao, all Syria and Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him, and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march against the rebels in person, associated his son Nebuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, with him in the empire; and sent him at the head of an army into those countries.† This young prince vanquished the army of Nechao near the river Euphrates, recovered Carchemish, and reduced the revolted provinces to their allegiance, as Jeremiah had foretold.‡ Thus he dispossessed the Egyptians of all that belonged to them,§ from the little river|| of Egypt to the Euphrates, which comprehended all Syria and Palestine.

Nechao dying after he had reigned sixteen years, left the kingdom to his son.

PSAMMIS.¶ His reign was but of six years, duration, and history has left us nothing memorable concerning him; except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia.

It was to this prince that the Eleans sent a splendid embassy, after having instituted the Olympic games. They had established the whole with such care, and made such excellent regulations, that in their opinion, nothing seemed wanting to their perfection, and envy itself could not find any fault with them. However, they did not desire so much to have the opinion as to gain the approbation of the Egyptians, who were looked upon as the wisest and most judicious people in the world.** Accordingly the king assembled the sages of the nation, and after all things had been heard, which could be said in favour of this institution, the Eleans were asked, if the citizens and foreigners were admitted indifferently to these games; to which answer was made, that they were open to every one. To this the Egyptians replied, that the rules of justice would have been most strictly observed, had foreigners only been admitted to these combats; because it was very difficult for the judges in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow-citizens.

APRIES. In scripture he is called Pharaoh-Hophra; and, succeeding his father Psammis, and reigned twenty-five years.††

During the first years of his reign, he was as happy as any of his predecessors.‡‡ He carried his arms into Cyprus; besieged the city of Sidon by sea and land; took it, and made himself master of all Phœnicia and Palestine.

So rapid a success elated his heart to a prodigious degree, and, as Herodotus informs us, swelled him with so much pride and insatiation, that he boasted it was not in the power of the gods themselves to dethrone him; so great was the idea he had formed to himself of the firm establishment of his own power. It was with a view to these arrogant conceits, that Ezekiel put the vain and impious words following into his mouth: *My river is my own, and I have made it for myself.*§§ But the true God proved to him afterwards that he had a master, and that he was a mere man; and he had threatened him long before, by his prophets, with all the calamities he was resolved to bring upon him, in order to punish him for his pride.

Shortly after Hophra had ascended the throne, Zedekiah,||| king of Judah, sent an embassy, and concluded a mutual alliance with him; and the year following, breaking

* From the time that Solomon, by means of his temple, had made Jerusalem the common place of worship to all Israel, it was distinguished from the rest of the cities by the epithet holy, and in the Old Testament, was called *Air Hakkodesh*, i. e. the city of holiness, or the holy city. It bore this title upon the coins, and the shekel was inscribed Jerusalem Keduſha, i. e. Jerusalem the holy. At length Jerusalem, for brevity's sake, was omitted, and only Keduſha reserved. The Syriac being the prevailing language in Herodotus's time, Keduſha, by a change in that dialect of sh into th, was made Keduſtha; and Herodotus, giving it a Greek termination, it was written *Kadutyſ*, or Cadytis. Prideaux's Connexion of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. Part. I. p. 80, 81. 8vo. edit.

† A. M. 3397. Ant. J. C. 607.

‡ Jer. xlv. 2, &c.

§ 2 Kings, xxiv. 7.

|| A river Ægypti. This little river of Egypt, so often mentioned in Scripture, as the boundary of Palestine towards Egypt, was not the Nile, but a small river, which running through the desert that lay between those nations, was anciently the common boundary of both. So far, the land which had been promised to the posterity of Abraham, and divided among them by lot.

¶ A. M. 3404. Ant. J. C. 600. Herod. l. ii. c. 160.

** Herod. l. i. c. 160.

†† A. M. 3410. Ant. J. C. 594. Jer. xlv. 30.

‡‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 161. Diod. l. i. p. 62.

§§ Ezek. xxix. 3.

||| Ezek. xvii. 15.

the oath of fidelity which he had taken to the king of Babylon, he rebelled openly against him.

Notwithstanding God had so often forbid his people to have recourse to Egypt, or to put any confidence in the people of it, notwithstanding the repeated calamities in which they had been involved for their having relied on the Egyptians, they still thought this nation their most sure refuge in danger, and accordingly could not forbear applying to it. This they had already done in the reign of the holy king Hezekiah; and which gave occasion to God's message to his people, by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah:* "Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses and trust in chariots, because they are many; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord. The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, not spirit: when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall fall together." But neither the prophet nor the king were heard; and nothing but the most fatal experience could open their eyes, and make them see evidently the truth of God's threatenings.

The Jews behaved in the very same manner on this occasion. Zedekiah, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, resolved to conclude an alliance with the Egyptian monarch, who, puffed up with the success of his arms, and confident that nothing could resist his power, declared himself the protector of Israel, and promised to deliver it from the tyranny of Nebuchodonosor. But God, offended that a mortal had thus dared to intrude himself into his place, expressed his mind to another prophet, as follows: "Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and prophesy against him, and against all Egypt. Speak and say, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws." &c.† God, after comparing him to a reed, which breaks under the man who leans upon it, and wounds his hand, adds,‡ "Behold, I will bring a sword upon thee, and cut off man and beast out of thee: and the land of Egypt shall be desolate, and they shall know that I am the Lord; because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made it." The same prophet, in several succeeding chapters, continues to foretel the calamities with which Egypt was going to be overwhelmed.§

Zedekiah was far from giving credit to these predictions. When he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army, and saw Nebuchodonosor raise the siege of Jerusalem, he fancied that his deliverance was completed, and anticipated a triumph. His joy, however, was but of short duration, for the Egyptians, seeing the Chaldeans advancing, did not dare to encounter so numerous and well-disciplined an army. They therefore marched back into their own country, and left the unfortunate Zedekiah exposed to all the dangers of a war in which they themselves had involved him.|| Nebuchodonosor again sat down before Jerusalem, took and burnt it, as Jeremiah had prophesied.

Many years after, the chastisements with which God had threatened Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra) began to fall upon him:¶ for the Cyrenians, a Greek colony which had settled in Africa between Libya and Egypt, having seized upon, and divided among themselves a great part of the country belonging to the Libyans, forced these nations, who were thus dispossessed by violence, to throw themselves into the arms of this prince, and implore his protection. Immediately Apries sent a mighty army into Libya, to oppose the Cyrenian Greeks; but this army being entirely defeated and almost cut to pieces, the Egyptians imagined that Apries had sent it into Libya only to get it destroyed, and by that means to attain the power of governing his subjects without check or control. This reflection prompted the Egyptians to throw off the yoke which had been laid on them by their prince, whom they now considered as their enemy. Apries, hearing of the rebellion, despatched Amasis, one of his officers, to suppress it, and force the rebels to return to their allegiance; but the moment Amasis began to address them, they fixed a helmet upon his head, in token of the exalted dignity to which they intended to raise him, and proclaimed him king. Amasis, having accepted the crown, staid with the mutineers, and confirmed them in their rebellion.

Apries, more exasperated than ever at this news, sent Paterbemis, another of his great officers, and one of the principal lords of his court, to put Amasis under an arrest,

* Chap. xxxi. 1, 3. † Ezek. xxix. 2, 3, 4. ‡ Ezek. xxxix. 8, 9. § Chap. xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii.

¶ A. M. 3416. Ant. J. C. 588. Jer. xxxvii. 6, 7.

¶ A. M. 3430, Ant. J. C. 574. Herod. l. ii. c. 161, &c. Diod. l. i. 62.

and bring him before him; but Paterbemis, not being able to execute his commands, and bring away the rebel, as he was surrounded with the instruments of his treachery, was treated by Apries at his return, in the most ignominious and inhuman manner; for his nose and ears were cut off by the command of that prince, who never considered, that only his want of power had prevented his executing his commission. So barbarous an outrage, committed upon a person of such high distinction, exasperated the Egyptians so much, that the greatest part of them joined the rebels, and the insurrection became general. Apries was now forced to retire into Upper Egypt, where he supported himself some years, during which Amasis enjoyed the rest of his dominions.

The troubles which thus distracted Egypt, afforded Nebuchodonosor a favourable opportunity to invade that kingdom; and it was God himself who inspired him with the resolution. This prince, who was the instrument of God's wrath, (though he did not know himself to be so) against a people whom he had resolved to chastise, had just before taken Tyre, where himself and his army had laboured under incredible difficulties. To recompense their toils, God abandoned Egypt to their arms. It is wonderful to hear the Creator himself revealing his designs on this subject. There are few passages in Scripture more remarkable than this, or which gives a clearer idea of the supreme authority which God exercises over all the princes and kingdoms of the earth. "Son of man, (says the Almighty to his prophet Ezekiel,) Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus:* every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled:† yet had he no wages, nor his army, for the service he had served against it,‡ Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour, wherewith he served against it, because they wrought for me, saith the Lord God," Says another prophet:§ "he shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment, and he shall go forth from thence in peace." Thus shall he load himself with booty, and thus cover his own shoulders, and those of his fold, with all the spoils of Egypt. Noble expressions! which show the ease with which all the power and riches of a kingdom are carried away, when God appoints the revolution; and shift like a garment to a new owner, who has no more to do but to take it, and clothe himself with it.

The king of Babylon, taking advantage therefore of the intestine divisions which the rebellion of Amasis had occasioned in that kingdom, marched thither at the head of his army. He subdued Egypt from Migdol or Magdol, a town on the frontiers of the kingdom, as far as Syene, in the opposite extremity where it borders on Ethiopia. He made a horrible devastation wherever he came; killed a great number of the inhabitants, and made such dreadful havoc in the country, that the damage could not be repaired in forty years. Nebuchodonosor, having loaded his army with spoils and conquered the whole kingdom, came to an accommodation with Amasis; and leaving him as his viceroy there, returned to Babylon.

APRIES (Pharaoh-Hophra,)|| now leaving the place where he had concealed himself, advanced towards the sea-coast, probably on the side of Libya; and hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, he marched against Amasis, whom he fought near Memphis; but being overcome, Apries was taken prisoner, carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace.

The Almighty had given, by the mouth of his prophets, an astonishing relation of the several circumstances of this mighty event. It was he who had broken the power of Apries, which was once so formidable; and put the sword into the hand of Nebuchodonosor, in order that he might chastise and humble that haughty prince. "I am (said he) against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and will break his arms which were strong, but now are broken; and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.¶—But I will

*Ezek. xxix. 18, 19, 20.

† The baldness of the heads of the Babylonians was owing to the pressure of their helmets, and their peeled shoulders to their carrying baskets of earth, and large pieces of timber, to join Tyre to the continent. Baldness was itself a badge of slavery; and, joined to the peeled shoulders, shows that the conqueror's army sustained even the most servile labours in this memorable siege.

‡ For the better understanding of this passage, we are to know, that Nebuchodonosor sustained incredible hardships at the siege of Tyre; and that when the Tyrians saw themselves closely attacked, the nobles conveyed themselves, and their richest effects, on ship board, and retired into other islands. So that, when Nebuchodonosor took the city, he found nothing to recompense his losses, and the troubles he had undergone in this siege.—S. Hieron.

§ Jerem. xliiii. 12.

|| Herod. l. ii. c. 163, 169. Diod. l. i. p. 72.

¶ Ezek. xxx. 22.

strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and put my sword into his hand.*—And they shall know that I am the Lord.†

He enumerates the towns which were to fall a prey to the victors: Pathos,‡ Zoan, No, called in the Vulgate, Alexandria, Sin, Aven, Phibeseth, &c.§

He takes notice particularly of the unhappy end to which the captive king should come. “Thus saith the Lord, behold I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, the King of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life.”||

Lastly, he declares, that during forty years, the Egyptians shall be oppressed with every species of calamity, and be reduced to so deplorable a state, “that there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt.”¶ The event verified this prophecy. Soon after the expiration of these forty years, Egypt was made a province of the Persian empire, and has been governed ever since by foreigners. For, since the ruin of the Persian monarchy, it has been subject successively to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Mamelukes, and lastly, to the Turks who possess it at this day.

God was not less punctual in the accomplishment of his prophecies, with regard to such of his own people as had retired, contrary to his prohibition, into Egypt, after the taking of Jerusalem, and forced Jeremiah along with them.** The instant they had reached Egypt, and were arrived at Taphnis, or Tanis, the prophet, after having hid, in their presence, by God’s command, stones in a grotto, which was near the king’s palace; he declared to them, that Nabuchodonosor should soon arrive in Egypt, and that God would establish his throne in that very place; that this prince would lay waste the whole kingdom, and carry fire and sword into all places; that themselves should fall into the hand of these cruel enemies, when one part of them would be massacred, and the rest led captive to Babylon; that only a very small number should escape the common desolation, and be at last restored to their country. All these prophecies had their accomplishment in the appointed time.

AMASIS.†† After the death of Aprias, Amasis became peaceable possessor of Egypt, and reigned over it forty years. He was, according to Plato,‡‡ a native of the city of Sais.

As he was but of mean extraction, he met with no respect, and was contemned by his subjects in the beginning of his reign.§§ He was not insensible of this; but nevertheless thought his interest to subdue their tempers by an artful carriage, and to win their affection by gentleness and reason. He had a golden cistern, in which himself, and those persons who were admitted to his table, used to wash their feet; he melted it down, and had it cast into a statue, and then exposed the new god to public worship. The people hastened in crowds to pay their adoration to the statue. The king, having assembled the people, informed them of the vile uses to which this statue had once been put, which nevertheless was now the object of their religious prostrations: the application was easy, and had the desired success; the people thenceforward paid the king all the respect that is due to majesty.

He always used to devote the whole morning to public affairs, in order to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce sentence, and hold his councils:|||| the rest of the day was given to pleasure; and as Amasis, in hours of diversion, was extremely gay, and seemed to carry his mirth beyond due bounds, his courtiers took the liberty to represent to him the unsuitableness of such a behaviour; when he answered, that it was as impossible for the mind to be always serious and intent upon business, as for a bow to continue always bent.

It was this king who obliged the inhabitants of every town to enter their names in a book kept by the magistrates for that purpose, with their profession, and manner of living. Solon inserted this custom among his laws.

He built many magnificent temples, especially at Sais, the place of his birth. Herodotus admired especially a chapel there, formed of one single stone, and which was twenty-one cubits¶¶ in front, fourteen in depth, and eight in height; its dimensions within were not quite so large: it had been brought from Elephantina, and two thousand men were employed three years in conveying it along the Nile.

* Ezek. xxx. 25.

† Ezek. xxx. 25.

‡ Ezek. xxx. 14, 17.

§ I have given the names of these towns as they stand in our English version. In the margin are printed against Zoan, Tanis; against Sin, Pelusium, against Aven, Heliopolis; against Phibeseth, Pubastum, (Bubaste,) and by these last names they are mentioned in the original French of M. Rollin.

|| Jerem. xlv. 30.

¶ Ezek. xxx. 13.

** Jerem. xliii. xlv.

†† A. M. 3435. Ant. J. C. 569.

‡‡ In Tim.

§§ Herod. l. ii. c. 172.

¶¶ Herod. l. ii. p. 73.

¶¶ The cubit is one foot and almost ten inches.—Vide supra.

Amasis had a great esteem for the Greeks. He granted them large privileges; and permitted such of them as were desirous of settling in Egypt to live in the city of Naucratis, so famous for its harbour. When the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt, was debated on, and the expense was computed at three hundred talents.* Amasis furnished the Delphians with a very considerable sum towards discharging their quota, which was the fourth part of the whole charge.

He made an alliance with the Cyrenians and married a wife from among them.

He is the only king of Egypt who conquered the island of Cyprus, and made it tributary.

Under his reign, Pythagoras came into Egypt, being recommended to that monarch by the famous Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who had contracted a friendship with Amasis, and will be mentioned hereafter. Pythagoras, during his stay in Egypt, was initiated in all the mysteries of the country, and instructed by the priests in whatever was most abstruse and important in their religion. It was here he imbibed his doctrine of the metempsychois, or transmigration of souls.

In the expedition in which Cyrus conquered so great a part of the world, Egypt doubtless was subdued, like the rest of the provinces; and Xenophon positively declares this in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*, or institution of that prince.† Probably, after that the forty years of desolation, which had been foretold by the prophet, were expired, Egypt beginning gradually to recover itself, Amasis shook off the yoke, and recovered his liberty.

Accordingly we find, that one of the first cares of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, after he had ascended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt. On his arrival there, Amasis was just dead, and succeeded by his son Psammenitus.

PSAMMENITUS.‡ Cambyses, after having gained a battle, pursued the enemy to Memphis; besieged the city, and soon took it: however, he treated the king with clemency, granted him his life, and assigned him an honourable pension; but being informed that he was secretly concerting measures to reascend his throne, he put him to death. Psammenitus reigned but six months: all Egypt submitted immediately to the victor. The particulars of the history will be related more at large when I come to that of Cambyses.

Here ends the succession of the Egyptian kings. From this era the history of this nation, as was before observed, will be blended with that of the Persians and Greeks, till the death of Alexander. At that period, a new monarchy will arise in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy the son of Lagus which will continue to Cleopatra, that is, for about three hundred years. I shall treat each of these subjects in the several periods to which they belong.

* Or §258,075.

† Ἐπίβηκε δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνας τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καταβῆαι δὲ ἐπὶ Σάλατταν, καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων — p. 5. Edit. Hutchinsoni.

‡ A. M. 3479. Ant. J. C. 525.

BOOK SECOND.

THE HISTORY

OF

THE CARTHAGINIANS.

PLAN.

The following history of the Carthaginians is divided into two parts. In the first, is given a general idea of the manners of that people, their character, government, religion, power, and riches. In the second, after relating, in a few words, by what steps Carthage established and enlarged its power, there is an account of the wars by which it became so famous.

PART FIRST.

CHARACTER, MANNERS, RELIGION, AND GOVERNMENT, OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

SECTION I.

CARTHAGE FORMED AFTER THE MODEL OF TYRE, OF WHICH THAT CITY WAS A COLONY.

THE Carthaginians were indebted to the Tyrians, not only for their origin, but their manners, language, customs, laws, religion, and the great application to commerce, as will appear from every part of the sequel. They spoke the same language with the Tyrians, and these the same with the Canaanites and Israelites, that is, the Hebrew tongue, or at least a language which was entirely derived from it. Their names had commonly some particular meaning: thus Hanno signified *gracious, bountiful; Dido amiable, or well beloved; Sophonisba, one who keeps faithfully her husband's secrets*.* From a spirit of religion, they likewise joined the name of God to their own, conformably to the genius of the Hebrews. Hannibal, which answers to Ananias, signifies *Baal (or the Lord) has been gracious to me*. Asdrubal, answering to Azarias, implies *the Lord will be our succour*. It is the same with other names, Adherbal, Maharbal, Mastanabal, &c. The word Pœni, from which Punic is derived, is the same with Phœni or Phœnicians, because they came originally from Phœnicia. In the Pœnulus of Plautus is a scene written in the Punic tongue, which has very much exercised the learned.†

But the strict union which always subsisted between the Phœnicians and Carthaginians is still more remarkable.

When Cambysis had resolved to make war upon the latter, the Phœnicians, who formed the chief strength of his fleet, told him plainly, that they could not serve him against their countrymen; and this declaration obliged that prince to lay aside his design.‡ The Carthaginians, on their side, were never forgetful of the country from whence they came, and to which they owed their origin. They sent regularly every year to Tyre a ship freighted with presents, as a quit-rent or acknowledgment paid to their ancient country; and its tutelary gods had an annual sacrifice offered to them by the Carthaginians, who considered them as their protectors.§ They never failed to send thither the first fruits of their revenues, nor the tithe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, one of the principal gods of Tyre and Carthage. The Tyrians, to secure from Alexander, who was then besieging their city, what they valued above all things, I mean their wives and children, sent them to Carthage, where at a time that the inhabitants of the latter were involved in a furious war, they were received and entertained with such a kindness and generosity as might be expected from the most tender and opulent parents. Such uninterrupted testimonies of a warm and sincere gratitude, do a nation more honour than the greatest conquests and the most glorious victories.

* Bochart. Part. II. l. ii. c. 16.

† The first scene of the fifth act translated into Latin by Petit, in the second book of his Miscellanion.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 17—19.

§ Polyb. 944. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3.

SECTION II.

THE RELIGION OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

It appears from several passages of the history of Carthage, that its generals looked upon it as an indispensable duty to begin and end all their enterprises with the worship of the gods. Hamilcar, father of the great Hannibal, before he entered Spain in a hostile manner, offered up a sacrifice to the gods; and his son, treading in his steps, before he left Spain, and marched against Rome, went to Cadiz in order to pay the vows he made to Hercules, and to offer up new ones, in case that god should be propitious to him.* After the battle of Cannæ, when he acquainted the Carthaginians with the joyful news, he recommended to them, above all things, the offering of a solemn thanksgiving to the immortal gods, for the several victories he had obtained. *Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum esse gratis diis immortalibus agi haberique.*†

Nor was this religious honouring of the deity on all occasions the ambition of particular persons only, but it was the genius and disposition of the whole nation.

Polybius‡ has transmitted to us a treaty of peace concluded between Philip, son of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians, in which the great respect and veneration of the latter for the deity, and their inherent persuasion that the gods assist and preside over human affairs, and particularly over the solemn treaties made in their name and presence, are strongly displayed. Mention is therein made of five or six different orders of deities; and this enumeration appears very extraordinary in a public instrument, such as a treaty of peace concluded between two nations. I will here present my readers with the very words of the historian, as it will give some idea of the Carthaginian theology. *This treaty was concluded in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the demon or genius (δαίμωνος) of the Carthaginians, of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of all the confederate gods of the Carthaginians, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, meads, and waters; in the presence of all those gods who possess Carthage.* What would we now say to an instrument of this kind, in which the tutelar angels and saints of a kingdom should be introduced!

The Carthaginians had two deities, to whom they paid a more particular worship, and who deserve to have some mention made of them in this place.

The first was the goddess Cælestis, called likewise Urania, or the moon, who was invoked in great calamities, and particularly in droughts, in order to obtain rain: that very virgin Cælestis, says Tertullian, the promiser of rain,—*Ista ipsa virgo Cælestis, pluviarum pollicitatrix.*§ Tertullian, speaking of this goddess, and of Æsculapius, gives the heathens of that age a challenge, which is bold indeed, but at the same time very glorious to the cause of Christianity: and declares, that any Christian, who first comes, shall oblige these false gods to confess publicly that they are but devils; and consents that this Christian shall be immediately killed, if he does not extort such a confession from the mouth of these gods. *Nisi se dæmones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non audent, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite.* St. Austin likewise makes frequent mention of this deity. *What is now, says he,|| become of Cælestis, whose empire was once so great as Carthage? This was doubtless the same deity whom Jeremiah calls the queen of heaven;¶ and who was held in so much reverence by the Jewish women, that they addressed their vows, burnt incense, poured out drink-offerings, and made cakes for her with their own hands, ut faciant placentas regnæ cæli: and from whom they boasted their having received all manner of blessings, while they paid her a regular worship; whereas, since they had failed in it, they had been oppressed with misfortunes of every kind.*

The second deity particularly adored by the Carthaginians, and in whose honour human sacrifices were offered, was Saturn, known in Scripture by the name of Moloch; and this worship passed from Tyre to Carthage. Philo quotes a passage from Sanchoniathon, which shows, that the kings of Tyre, in great dangers, used to sacrifice their sons to appease the anger of the gods; and that one of them, by this action, procured himself divine honours, and was worshipped as a god, under the

* Liv. l. xxi. n. 21. Ibid. n. 21. † Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11. ‡ Lit. vii. n. 699. edit. Gronov. § Apolog. c. xxiii. ¶ In Psalm xcvi.iii.

¶ Jer. vii. 18. xlv. 17—25.

name of the planet Saturn: to this doubtless was owing the fable of Saturn devouring his own children. Private persons, when they were desirous of averting any great calamity, took the same method; and, in imitation of their princes, were so very superstitious, that such as had no children purchased those of the poor, in order that they might not be deprived of the merit of such a sacrifice. This custom prevailed long among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, from whom the Israelites borrowed it, though forbidden expressly by Heaven. At first, children were inhumanly burned, either in a fiery furnace, like those in the valley of Hinnon, so often mentioned in Scripture, or enclosed in a flaming statue of Saturn. The cries of these unhappy victims were drowned by the uninterrupted noise of drums and trumpets.* Mothers made it a merit, and a part of their religion, to view this barbarous spectacle with dry eyes; and without so much as a groan; and if a tear or a sigh stole from them, the sacrifice was less acceptable to the deity, and all the effects of it were entirely lost.† This strength of mind, or rather savage barbarity was carried to such excess, that even mothers would endeavour, with embraces and kisses, to hush the cries of their children; lest, had the victim been offered with an unbecoming grace, and in the midst of tears, it should anger the god;‡ *blanditiis et osculis comprimebant vagitum, ne flebilis hostia immolaretur.*§ They afterwards contented themselves with making their children pass through the fire, in which they frequently perished, as appears from several passages of Scripture.||

The Carthaginians retained the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to their gods, till the ruin of their city:¶ an action which ought to have been called a sacrilege rather than a sacrifice,—*Sacrilegium verius quam sacrum.* It was suspended only for some years, from the fear they were under of drawing upon themselves the indignation and arms of Darius I., king of Persia, who forbade them the offering up of human sacrifices, and the eating of the flesh of dogs; but they soon resumed this horrid practice, since, in the reign of Xerxes, the successor to Darius, Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, having gained a considerable victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily; ordered among other conditions of peace, *That no more human sacrifices should be offered to Saturn.*** And, doubtless, the practice of the Carthaginians, on this very occasion, made Gelon use this precaution. For during the whole engagement, which lasted from morning till night, Hamilcar, the son of Hanno their general, was perpetually offering up to the gods, sacrifices of living men, who were thrown in great numbers on a flaming pile; and seeing his troops routed and put to flight, he himself rushed into it, in order that he might not survive his own disgrace;‡‡ and to extinguish, says St. Ambrose, speaking of this action, with his own blood, this sacrilegious fire, when he found that it had not proved of service to him.‡‡

In times of pestilence, they used to sacrifice a great number of children to their gods, unmoved with pity for a tender age; which excites compassion in the most cruel enemies; thus seeking a remedy for their evils in guilt itself, and endeavouring to appease the gods by the most shocking barbarity.§§

Diodorus||| relates an instance of this cruelty, which strikes the reader with horror. At the time that Agathocles was just going to besiege Carthage, its inhabitants, seeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the

*Plut. de Superstit. p. 171.

†Παρεστήκει δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἀτεργητος καὶ ἀστένυτος, &c. The cruel and pitiless mother stood by as an unconcerned spectator; a groan or a tear falling from her, would have been punished by a fine; and still the child must have been sacrificed.—Plut. de Superstione.

‡ Tertul. in Apolog.

§ Minut. Felix.

|| Q. Curt. 1. iv. c. 5.

¶ It appears from Tertullian's Apology, that this barbarous custom prevailed in Africa, long after the ruin of Carthage. Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatam Tiberi, qui eosdem sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbratricibus scelorum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriæ nostræ, quæ id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est. *i. e.* Children were publicly sacrificed to Saturn, down to the proconsulship of Tiberius, who hanged the sacrificing priests themselves on the trees which shaded their temple, as on so many crosses raised to expiate their crimes, of which the militia of our country are witnesses, who were the actors, of this execution, at the command of this Proconsul.—Tertul. Apolog. c. 9. Two learned men are at variance about the proconsul, and time of his government. Salmasius confesses his ignorance of both, but rejects the authority of Scaliger, who, for *proconsulatam*, reads *proconsulem* Tiberii, and thinks Tertullian, when he wrote his apology, had forgot his name. However this be, it is certain that the memory of the incident here related by Tertullian was then recent, and probably the witnesses of it had not been long dead.

**Plut. de Ser. Vindic. Deorum, p. 552

‡‡Herod. l. vii. c. 167.

‡‡ In ipsos quos adolebat sese præcipitavit ignes, ut eos vel cruore suo extingueret, quos sibi nihil profuisse cognoverat.—St. Amb.

§§ Cum peste laborarent, eruenta sacrorum religione et scelere pro remedio usi sunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant, et impuberes, (quæ ætas etiam hostium misericordiam provocat,) aris admovebant, pacem deorum sanguine eorum expocentes, pro quorum vitâ dii maximè rogari solent.—Justin. l. xviii. c. 6. The Gauls as well as Germans, used to sacrifice men; if Dionysius and Tacitus may be credited.

||| Lib. ii. p. 756.

just anger of Saturn, because that, instead of offering up children nobly born, who were usually sacrificed to him, he had been fraudulently put off with the children of slaves and foreigners. To atone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in Carthage were sacrificed to Saturn; besides which, upwards of three hundred citizens, from a sense of their guilt of this pretended crime, voluntarily sacrificed themselves. Diodorus adds, that there was a brazen statue of Saturn, the hands of which were turned downwards, so that, when a child was laid on them, it dropped immediately into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace.

Can this, says Plutarch,* be called worshipping the gods? Can we be said to entertain an honourable idea of them, if we suppose that they are pleased with slaughter, thirsty of human blood, and capable of requiring or accepting such offerings? Religion, says this judicious author, is placed between two rocks, that are equally dangerous to man and injurious to the Deity, I mean impiety and superstition. The one, from an affection of free-thinking, believes nothing; and the other, from a blind weakness, believes all things. Impiety, to rid itself of a terror which galls it, denies the very existence of the gods; while superstition, to calm its fears, capriciously forges gods, which it makes not only the friends, but protectors and models of crimes.† Had it not been better, says he farther, for the Carthaginians to have had a Critias, a Diagoras, and such like open and undisguised atheists for their lawgivers, than to have established so frantic and wicked a religion? Could the Typhons and the giants, (the avowed enemies of the gods,) had they gained a victory over them, have established more abominable sacrifices?‡

Such were the sentiments which a heathen entertained of this part of the Carthaginian worship. But one would hardly believe that mankind were capable of such madness and frenzy. Men do not generally entertain ideas so destructive of all those things which nature considers as most sacred, as to sacrifice, to murder their children with their own hands, and to throw them in cool blood into fiery furnaces! Sentiments, so unnatural and barbarous and yet adopted by whole nations, and even by the most civilized, as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, and even the Greeks and Romans, and consecrated by custom during a long series of ages, can have been inspired by him only, who was a murderer from the beginning, and who delights in nothing but the humiliation, misery, and perdition of man.

SECTION III.

FORM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

THE government of Carthage was founded upon principles of the most consummate wisdom, and it is with reason that Aristotle ranks this republic in the number of those that were had in the greatest esteem by the ancients, and which were fit to serve as models for others.§ He grounds his opinion on a reflection which does great honour to Carthage, by remarking, that from its foundation to his time, that is, upwards of five hundred years, no considerable sedition had disturbed the peace, nor any tyrant oppressed the liberty, of that state. Indeed, mixed governments, such as that of Carthage, where the power was divided between the nobles and the people, are subject to two inconveniences; either of degenerating into an abuse of liberty by the seditions of the populace, as frequently happened in Athens, and in all the Grecian republics; or into the oppression of the public liberty by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuse, Corinth, Thebes, and Rome itself under Sylla and Cæsar. It is therefore giving Carthage the highest praise, to observe, that it had found out the art, by the wisdom of its laws, and the harmony of the different parts of its government, to shun, during so long a series of years, two rocks that are so dangerous, and on which others so often split. It were to be wished, that some ancient author had left us an accurate and regular description of the customs and laws of this famous republic. For want of such assistance, we can only give our readers a confused and imperfect idea of them, by collecting the several passages which lie scattered up and down in authors. Christopher Hendrich has obliged the learned world in this particular; and his work has been of great service to me.||

* De Superstitione, p. 169—171.

† Idem. in Camill. p. 132.

‡ De Superstitione.

§ De Rep. l. ii. c. 11.

|| It is entitled, *Carthago, sive Carthaginiensium Respublica, &c.*—*Francofurti ad Oderam, ann. 1664.*

The government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which counterpoised and gave mutual assistance to one another.* These authorities were, that of the two supreme magistrates called suffetes,† that of the senate, and that of the people. There afterwards was added the tribunal of one hundred, which had great credit and influence in the republic.

THE SUFFETES.

THE power of the suffetes was only annual, and their authority in Carthage answered to that of the consuls at Rome.‡ In authors they are frequently called kings, dictators, consuls; because they exercised the functions of all three. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. They were empowered to assemble the senate,§ in which they presided, proposed subjects for deliberation, and collected the votes;|| and they likewise presided in all debates on matters of importance. Their authority was not limited to the city nor confined to civil affairs: they sometimes had the command of the armies. We find, that when their employment of suffetes expired, they were made prætors, whose office was considerable, since it empowered them to preside in some causes; as also to propose and enact new laws, and call to account the receivers of the public revenues, as appears from what Livy¶ relates concerning Hannibal on this head, and which I shall take notice of in the sequel.

THE SENATE.

THE senate, composed of persons who were venerable on account of their age, their experience, their birth, their riches, and especially their merit, formed the council of state; and were, if I may use that expression, the soul of the public deliberations. Their number is not exactly known; it must, however, have been very great, since a hundred were selected from it to form a separate assembly, of which I shall immediately have occasion to speak. In the senate, all affairs of consequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints of provinces heard, ambassadors admitted to audience, and peace or war determined, as is seen on many occasions.

When the sentiments and votes were unanimous, the senate decided supremely, and there lay no appeal from it.** When there was a division, and the senate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then brought before the people, on whom the power of deciding thereby devolved. The reader will easily perceive the great wisdom of this regulation; and how happily it is adapted to crush factions, to produce harmony, and to enforce and corroborate good counsel; such an assembly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not easily prevailed upon to let it pass into other hands. Of this we have a memorable instance in Polybius.†† When, after the loss of the battle fought in Africa at the end of the second Punic war, the conditions of peace offered by the victor were read in the senate; Hannibal, observing that one of the senators opposed them, represented in the strongest terms, that as the safety of the republic lay at stake, it was of the utmost importance for the senators to be unanimous in their resolutions, to prevent such a debate from coming before the people; and he carried his point. This doubtless laid the foundation, in the infancy of the republic, of the senate's power, and raised its authority to so great a height. And the same author observes in another place, that while the senate had the administration of affairs, the state was governed with great wisdom, and was successful in all its enterprises.‡‡

THE PEOPLE.

IT appears from every thing related hitherto, that even as late as Aristotle's time, who gives so beautiful a picture and bestows so noble an eulogium on the government of Carthage, the people spontaneously left the care of public affairs, and the chief administration of them, to the senate; and this it was which made the republic so powerful. But things changed afterwards: for the people, grown insolent by their wealth and conquests, and forgetting that they owed these blessings to the prudent conduct of the senate, were desirous of having a share in the government,

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 493.

† This name is derived from a word, which with the Hebrews and Phœnicians, signifies judges, *Shophetim*:

‡ Ut Romæ consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur.—Corn. Nep. in Vita Annibalis, c. 7. The great Hannibal was once one of the suffetes.

§ Senatum itaque suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt.—Liv. l. xxx. n. 7.

|| Cum suffetes ad jus dicendum concedissent.—Idem. l. xxxiv. n. 62.

¶ Liv. xxxiii. n. 46, 47.

** Arist. loc. cit.

†† Lib. xv. p. 706, 707.

‡‡ Polyb. l. vi. p. 494. A. Carth. 487.

and arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period, the public affairs were transacted wholly by cabals and factions; and this Polybius assigns as one of the chief causes of the ruin of Carthage.

THE TRIBUNAL OF THE HUNDRED.

THIS was a body composed of a hundred and four persons; though often for brevity's sake they are called only the hundred. These according to Aristotle, were the same in Carthage as the ephori in Sparta; whence it appears, that they were instituted to balance the power of the nobles and senate; but with this difference, that the ephori were but five in number, and elected annually; whereas these were perpetual, and were upwards of a hundred. It is believed that these centumvirs are the same with the hundred judges mentioned by Justin,* who were taken out of the senate, and appointed to inquire into the conduct of their generals. The exorbitant power of Mago's family; which, by its engrossing the chief employments both of the state and the army, had thereby the sole direction and management of all affairs, gave occasion to this establishment. It was intended as a curb to the authority of their generals, which, while the armies were in the field, was almost boundless and absolute; but, by this institution, it became subject to the laws, by the obligation their generals were under of giving an account of their actions before these judges, on their return from the campaign. *Ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi judicia legesque respicerent.*† Of these hundred and four judges, five had a particular jurisdiction superior to that of the rest; but it is not known how long their authority lasted. This council of five was like the council of ten in the Venetian senate. A vacancy in their number could be filled by none but themselves. They also had the power of choosing those who composed the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reason none were elected into this office but persons of uncommon merit, and it was not judged proper to annex any salary or reward to it; the single motive of the public good being thought a tie sufficient to engage honest men to a conscientious and faithful discharge of their duty. Polybius,‡ in his account of the taking of New Carthage by Scipio, distinguishes clearly two orders of magistrates established in Old Carthage; for he says, that among the prisoners taken at New Carthage, were two magistrates belonging to the body or assembly of old men, (ἐκ τῆς ἑρεουσίας;) so he calls the council of the hundred; and fifteen of the senate, (ἐκ τῆς Συγκλήτου.) Livy mentions only the fifteen of the senators; but, in another place, he names the old men, and tells us, that they formed the most venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the senate.§ *Carthaginiensis—Oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos, concilium maximeque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.*||

Establishments, though constituted with the greatest wisdom and the justest harmony of parts, degenerate, however, insensibly, into disorder and the most destructive licentiousness. These judges, who, by the lawful execution of their power, were a terror to transgressors, and the great pillars of justice, abusing their almost unlimited authority, became so many petty tyrants. We shall see this verified in the history of the great Hannibal, who, during his prætorship, after his return to Africa, employed all his influence to reform so horrid an abuse; and made the authority of these judges, which before, was perpetual, only annual, about two hundred years from the first founding the tribunal of the one hundred.¶

DEFECTS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

ARISTOTLE, among other reflections made by him on the government of Carthage, remarks two defects in it, both which, in his opinion, are repugnant to the views of a wise lawgiver, and the maxims of sound policy.

The first of these defects was, the investing the same person with different employments, which was considered at Carthage as a proof of uncommon merit. But Aristotle thinks this practice highly prejudicial to a community. For, says this author, a man possessed but of one employment is much more capable of acquitting himself

* Lib. xix. c. 2. A. M. 3069. A. Carth. 487.

† Justin. l. xix.

‡ Lib. x, p. 824. edit. Gronov.

§ Liv. xxvi. n. 51. Lib. xxx. n. 16:

¶ Mr. Rollin might have taken notice of some civil officers who were established at Carthage, with a power like that of the censors of Rome, to inspect the manners of the citizens. The chief of these officers took from Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, a beautiful youth, named Asdrubal, on a report that Hamilcar was more familiar with this youth than was consistent with modesty. *Erat præterea cum eo [Amilcare] adolescens illustris et formosus, Hasdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam par erat, ab Amilcare, loquebantur. Quo factum est ut à præfecto morum Hasdrubal cum eo veteretur esse.*—Corn. Nep. in Vitâ Amilcaris.

¶ A. M. 3082. A. Carth. 682.

well in the execution of it; because affairs are then examined with greater care, and sooner despatched. We never see, continues our author, either by sea or land, the same officer commanding two different bodies, or the same pilot steering two ships. Besides, the welfare of the state requires, that places and preferments should be divided, in order to excite an emulation among men of merit: whereas the bestowing of them on one man too often dazzles him by so distinguishing a preference, and always fills others with jealousy, discontent, and murmurs.

The second defect taken notice of by Aristotle in the government of Carthage, was, that in order for a man to attain the first posts, a certain estate was required, besides merit and a conspicuous birth; by which means poverty might exclude persons of the most exalted merit, which he considers as a great evil in a government. For then, says he, as virtue is wholly disregarded, and money is all-powerful, because all things are attained by it, the admiration and desire of riches seize and corrupt the whole community. Add to this, that when magistrates and judges are obliged to pay large sums for their employments, they seem to have a right to reimburse themselves.

There is not, I believe, one instance in all antiquity, to show that employments, either in the state or courts of justice, were sold. The expense, therefore, which Aristotle talks of here, to raise men to preferments in Carthage, must doubtless be understood of the presents that were given, in order to procure the votes of the electors: a practice, as Polybius observes, very common at Carthage, where no kind of gain was considered a disgrace.* It is therefore no wonder, that Aristotle should condemn a practice, which it is very plain may in its consequences prove fatal to a government.

But in case he pretended, that the chief employments of a state ought to be equally accessible to the rich and the poor, as he seems to insinuate, his opinion is refuted by the general practice of the wisest republics; for these, without in any way demeaning or aspersing poverty, have thought, that on this occasion the preference ought to be given to riches; because it is to be presumed, that the wealthy have received a better education, have nobler views, are more out of the reach of corruption, and less liable to commit base actions; and that even the state of their affairs makes them more affectionate to the government, inclines them to maintain peace and order in it, and to suppress whatever may tend to sedition and rebellion.

Aristotle, in concluding his reflections on the republic of Carthage, is much pleased with a custom practised in it, viz. of sending from time to time colonies into different countries, and in this manner procuring its citizens commodious settlements. This provided for the necessities of the poor, who, equally with the rich, are members of the state; and it discharged Carthage of multitudes of lazy, indolent people, who were its disgrace, and often proved dangerous to it: it prevented commotions and insurrections, by thus removing such persons as commonly occasion them; and who, being very uneasy under their present circumstances, are always ready for innovations and tumults.

SECTION IV.

TRADE OF CARTHAGE, THE FIRST SOURCE OF ITS WEALTH AND POWER.

COMMERCE, strictly speaking, was the occupation of Carthage, the particular object of its industry, and its peculiar and predominant characteristic. It formed the greatest strength, and the chief support of that commonwealth. In a word, we may affirm that the power, the conquests, the credit, and the glory of the Carthaginians, all flowed from their commerce. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, and stretching out their arms eastward and westward, the extent of their commerce took in all the known world; and waisted it to the coast of Spain, of Mauritania, of Gaul, and beyond the strait and pillars of Hercules. They sailed to all countries, in order to buy, at a cheap rate, the superfluities of every nation, which, by the wants of others, became necessities; and these they sold to them at the dearest rate. From Egypt the Carthaginians brought fine flax, paper, corn, sails, and cables for ships; from the coast of the Red Sea, spices, frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearl, and precious stones; from Tyre and Phœnicia, purple and scarlet, rich stuffs, tapestry, costly furniture, and divers curious and exquisite works of art; in a word, they brought

* Περὶ Καρχηδονίου· διὸ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πρὸς πλεονεξίαν.—Polyb. l. vi. p. 497

from various countries, all things that can supply the necessities, or are capable of contributing to the comfort, luxury, and the delights of life. They brought back from the western parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, iron, tin, lead, and copper: by the sale of which articles, they enriched themselves at the expense of all nations; and put them under a kind of contribution, which was so much the surer, as it was spontaneous.

In thus becoming the factors and agents of all nations, they had made themselves lords of the sea; the band which held the east, the west, and south together, and the necessary channel of their communication; so that Carthage rose to be the common city, and the centre of the trade of all those nations which the sea separated from one another.

The most considerable personages of the city were not ashamed of engaging in trade. They applied themselves to it as industriously as the meanest citizens; and their great wealth did not make them less in love with the diligence, patience, and labour, which are necessary for the acquisition of it. To this they owed their empire of the sea; the splendour of their republic; their being able to dispute for superiority with Rome itself; and their elevation of power which forced the Romans to carry on a bloody and doubtful war for upwards of forty years, in order to humble and subdue this haughty rival. In short, Rome, even in its triumphant state, thought Carthage was not to be entirely reduced any other way than by depriving that city of the benefit of its commerce, by which it had been so long enabled to resist the whole strength of that mighty republic.

However it is no wonder that as Carthage came out of the greatest school of traffic in the world, I mean Tyre, she should have been crowned with rapid and uninterrupted success. The very vessels in which its founders had been conveyed in to Africa, were afterwards employed by them in trade. They began to make settlements upon the coasts of Spain, in those ports where they unloaded their goods. The ease with which they had founded these settlements, and the conveniences they met with, inspired them with the design of conquering those vast regions; and sometimes after *Nova Carthago*, or New-Carthage, gave the Carthaginians an empire in that country, almost equal to that which they enjoyed in Africa.

SECTION V.

THE MINES OF SPAIN, THE SECOND SOURCE OF THE RICHES AND POWER OF CARTHAGE.

Diodorus* justly remarks that the gold and silver mines, found by the Carthaginians in Spain, where an inexhaustible fund of wealth, that enabled them to sustain such long wars against the Romans. The natives had long been ignorant of these treasures that lay concealed in the bowels of the earth, at least of their use and value. The Phœnicians took advantage of this ignorance and by bartering some wares of little value for this precious metal, which the natives suffered them to dig up, they amassed infinite wealth. When the Carthaginians had made themselves masters of the country, they dug much deeper into the earth than the old inhabitants of Spain had done who probably were content with what they could collect on the surface; and the Romans, when they had dispossessed the Carthaginians of Spain; profited by their example, and drew an immense revenue from these mines of gold and silver.

The labour employed to come at these mines, and to dig the gold and silver out of them, was incredible, to the veins of these metals rarely appeared on the surface; they where to be sought for, and traced through frightful depths, where very often floods of water stopped the miners, and seemed to defeat all future pursuit.† But avarice is as patient in undergoing fatigues, as ingenious in finding expedients. By pumps, which Archimedes had invented when in Egypt, the Romans afterwards threw up the water out of these pits, and quite drained them. Numberless multitudes of slaves perished in these mines, which were dug to enrich their masters, who treated them with the utmost barbarity, forced them by heavy stripes to labour, and gave no respite either day or night. Polybius,‡ as quoted by Strabo, says that in his time, upwards of forty thousand men were employed in the mines near *Nova Carthago*, and furnished the Romans

* Lib. iv. p. 312, &c.

† Lib. iv. p. 312, &c.

‡ Lib. iii. p. 147.

every day with twenty-five thousand drachms, or three thousand eight hundred and fifteen dollars and sixty three cents.*

We must not be surprised to see the Carthaginians: soon after the greatest defeats, sending fresh and numerous armies again into the field; fitting out mighty fleets, and supporting at a great expense, for many years, wars carried on by them in far distant countries. But it must surprise us to hear of the Romans doing the same; they whose revenues were very inconsiderable before those great conquests, which subjected to them the most powerful nations; and who had no resources, either from trade, to which they were absolute strangers, or from gold or silver mines, which were very rarely found in Italy, in case there were any; and consequently, the expenses of which must have swallowed up all the profit. The Romans, in the frugal and simple life they led, in their zeal for the public welfare and love for their country, possessed funds which were not less ready or secure than those of Carthage, but, at the same time were far more honourable to their nation.

SECTION VI.

WAR.

CARTHAGE must be considered as a trading, and at the same time a warlike republic. Its genius, and the nature of its government, led it to traffic; and from the necessity the Carthaginians were under, first of defending themselves against the neighbouring nations, and afterwards from a desire of extending their commerce and empire, they became warlike. This double idea gives us, in my opinion, the true plan and character of the Carthaginian republic. We have already spoken of its commerce.

The military power of the Carthaginians consisted in all their alliances with kings; in tributary nations, from which they drew both men and money; in some troops raised from among their own citizens; and in mercenary soldiers, purchased of neighbouring states, without their being obliged to levy or exercise them, because they were already well disciplined and inured to the fatigues of war; for they made choice in every country of such soldiers as had the greatest merit and reputation. They drew from Numidia a nimble, bold, impetuous and indefatigable cavalry, which formed the principal strength of their armies; from the Balearian isles, the most expert slingers in the world; from Spain, a steady and invincible infantry; from the coasts of Genoa and Gaul, troops of known valour; and from Greece itself, soldiers fit for all the various operations of war, for the field or the garrison, for besieging or defending cities.

In this manner, the Carthaginians sent out at once, powerful armies composed of soldiers which were the flower of all the armies in the universe, without depopulating either their fields or cities by new levies; without suspending their manufactures, or disturbing the peaceful artificer; without interrupting their commerce, or weakening their navy. By venal blood they possessed themselves of provinces and kingdoms; and made other nations the instruments of their grandeur and glory, with no other expense of their own than their money, and even this furnished from the traffic they carried on with foreign nations.

If the Carthaginians, in the course of the war, sustained some losses, these were but as so many foreign accidents, which only grazed, as it were, the body of the state, but did not make a deep wound in the bowels or heart of the republic. These losses were speedily repaired, by sums arising out of a flourishing commerce, as from a perpetual sinew of war, by which the government was furnished with new supplies for the purchase of mercenary forces, who were ready at the first summons. And, from the vast extent of the coasts which the Carthaginians possessed, it was easy for them to levy, in a very little time, a sufficient number of sailors and rowers for the working of their fleets, and to procure able pilots and experienced captains to conduct them.

But, as these parts were fortuitously brought together, they did not adhere by any natural, intimate, or necessary tie. No common or reciprocal interest united them in such a manner as to form a solid and unalterable body. Not one individual in these mercenary armies wished sincerely the prosperity of the state. They did not act with the same zeal, nor expose themselves to dangers with equal resolution, for a re-

* Twenty-five thousand drachms.—An attic drachm, according to Dr. Bernard=8½d. English money, consequently, 25,000=859l. 7s. 6d.

public which they considered as foreign, and which consequently was indifferent to them, as they would have done for their native country, whose happiness constitutes that of the several members who compose it.

In great reverses of fortune, the kings in alliance with the Carthaginians might easily be detached from their interest, either by that jealousy which the grandeur of a more powerful neighbour naturally gives; or from the hopes of reaping greater advantages from a new friend; or from the fear of being involved in the misfortunes of an old ally.*

The tributary nations, being impatient under the weight and disgrace of a yoke which had been forced upon their necks, greatly flattered themselves with the hopes of finding one less galling in changing their masters; or, in case servitude was unavoidable, the choice was indifferent to them, as will appear from many instances in the course of this history.

The mercenary forces, accustomed to measure their fidelity by the largeness or continuance of their pay, were ever ready, on the least discontent, or the slightest expectation of a more considerable stipend, to desert to the enemy with whom they had just before fought, and to turn their arms against those who had invited them to their assistance.

Thus the grandeur of the Carthaginians, being sustained only by these foreign supports, was shaken to the very foundation when they were taken away. And if, to this, there happened to be added an interruption of their commerce, by which only they subsisted, arising from the loss of a naval engagement, they imagined themselves to be on the brink of ruin, and abandoned themselves to despondency and despair, as was evidently seen at the end of the first Punic war.

Aristotle, in the treatise where he shows the advantages and defects of the government of Carthage, finds no fault with its keeping up none but foreign forces; it is therefore probable, that the Carthaginians did not fall into this practice till a long time after. But the rebellions which harassed Carthage in its later years ought to have taught its citizens, that no miseries are comparable to those of a government which is supported only by foreigners; since neither zeal, security, nor obedience, can be expected from them.

But this was not the case with the republic of Rome. As the Romans had neither trade nor money, they were not able to hire forces, in order to push on their conquests with the same rapidity as the Carthaginians: but then, as they procured every thing from within themselves, and as all the parts of the state were intimately united, they had surer resources in greater misfortunes than the Carthaginians. And for this reason, they never once thought of suing for peace after the battle of Cannæ, as the Carthaginians had done in a less imminent danger.

The Carthaginians had, besides, a body of troops, which was not very numerous, levied from among their own citizens; and this was a kind of school, in which the flower of their nobility, and those whose talents and ambition prompted them to aspire to the first dignities, learned the rudiments of the art of war. From among these were selected all the general officers, who were put at the head of the different bodies of their forces, and had the chief command in the armies. This nation was too jealous and suspicious to employ foreign generals. But they were not so distrustful of their own citizens as Rome and Athens; for the Carthaginians, at the same time that they invested them with great power, did not guard against the abuse they might make of it, in order to oppress their country. The command of armies was neither annual, nor limited to any time, as in the two republics above mentioned. Many generals held their commissions for a great number of years, either till the war or their lives ended; though they were still accountable to the commonwealth for their conduct, and liable to be recalled, whenever a real oversight, a misfortune, or the superior interest of a cabal, furnished an opportunity for it.

SECTION VII.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

It cannot be said that the Carthaginians renounced entirely the glory which results from study and knowledge. The sending of Masinissa, son of a powerful king,†

* As Syphax and Masinissa.

† King of the Massylians in Africa.

thither for education, gives us room to believe, that Carthage was provided with an excellent school. The great Hannibal, who in all respects was an ornament to that city, was not unacquainted with polite literature, as will be seen hereafter.* Mago, another very celebrated general, did as much honour to Carthage by his pen as by his victories.† He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the Roman senate had in such esteem, that after the taking of Carthage, when they presented the African princes with the libraries founded there, another proof that learning was not entirely banished from Carthage, they gave orders to have these books translated into Latin,‡ though Cato had before written books on that subject. There is still extant a Greek version of a treatise, drawn up by Hanno in the Punic tongue, relating to a voyage he made, by order of the senate, with a considerable fleet round Africa, for the settling of different colonies in that part of the world.§

This Hanno is believed to be more ancient than that person of the same name who lived in the time of Agathocles.

Clitomachus, called in the Punic language Asdrubal, was a great philosopher.|| He succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been; and maintained in Athens the honour of the academic sect. Cicero says, that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study, than the Carthaginians generally are.¶ He composed several books, in one of which was a treatise to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery.**

I might rank among, or rather place at the head of, the writers who have adorned Africa with their compositions, the celebrated Terence himself, being singly capable of reflecting infinite honour on his country by the fame of his productions; if, on this account, Carthage, the place of his birth, ought not to be less considered as his country than Rome, where he was educated, and acquired that purity of style, that delicacy and elegance, which have gained him the admiration of all succeeding ages. It is supposed that he was carried off when an infant, or at least very young, by the Numidians in their incursions into the Carthaginian territories, during the war carried on between these two nations, from the conclusion of the second to the beginning of the third Punic war.†† He was sold for a slave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator, who, after giving him an excellent education, freed him, and called him by his own name, as was then the custom. He was united in a very strict friendship with the second Scipio Africanus and Lælius; and it was a common report at Rome, that he had the assistance of these two great men in composing his pieces.

The poet, so far from endeavouring to stifle a report so advantageous to him made a merit of it. Only six of his comedies are extant. Some authors, according to Suetonius, (the writer of his life,) say, that in his return from Greece, whither he had made a voyage, he lost a hundred and eight comedies translated from Menander, and could not survive an accident which must naturally afflict him in a sensible manner; but this incident is not very well founded. Be this as it may, he died in the year of Rome 594, under the consulship of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, aged thirty-five years, and consequently was born *anno* 560.

It must yet be confessed notwithstanding all we have said, that there ever was a great scarcity of learned men in Carthage, since it hardly furnished three or four writers of reputation in upwards of seven hundred years. Although the Carthaginians held a correspondence with Greece and the most civilized nations, yet this did not excite them to borrow their learning, as being foreign to their views of trade and commerce. Eloquence, poetry, history, seem to have been little known among them. A Carthaginian philosopher was considered as a sort of prodigy by the learned. What, then, would an astronomer or a geometrician have been thought? I know not in what reputation physic, which is so advantageous to life, was held at Carthage; or jurisprudence, so necessary to society.

As works of wit were generally had in so much disregard, the education of youth must necessarily have been very imperfect and unpolished. In Carthage, the study and knowledge of youth were for the most part confined to writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and the buying and selling of goods; in a word, to what ever related to traf-

* Nepos in vitâ Annibalis.

† Cic. de Orat. l. i. n. 249. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

‡ These books were written by Mago in the Punic language, and translated into Greek by Cassius Dionysius of Utica, from whose version we may probably suppose the Latin was made.

§ Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. iv.

|| Plut. de Fort. Al. x. p. 328. Diog. Laërt. in Clitom.

¶ Clitomachus, homo et acutus ut Pœnus, et valde studiosus ac diligens.—Academ. Quest. l. iv. n. 98.

** Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 54.

†† Suet. in Vit. Terent.

fic. But polite learning, history, and philosophy, were in little repute among them. These were in later years, even prohibited by the laws, which expressly forbade any Carthaginian to learn the Greek tongue, lest it might qualify them for carrying on a dangerous correspondence with the enemy, either by letter or word of mouth.*

Now what could be expected from such a cast of mind? Accordingly, there was never seen among them that elegance of behaviour, that ease and complacency of manners, and those sentiments of virtue, which are generally the fruits of a liberal education in all civilized nations. The small number of great men which this nation has produced, must therefore have owed their merit to the felicity of their genius, to the singularity of their talents, and a long experience, without any great assistance from instruction. Hence it was, that the merit of the greatest men of Carthage was sullied by great failings, low vices, and cruel passions; and it is rare to meet with any conspicuous virtue among them, without some blemish; with any virtue of a noble, generous, and amiable kind, and supported by clear and lasting principles, such as is every where found among the Greeks and Romans. The reader will perceive, that I here speak only of the heathen virtues, and agreeably to the idea which the pagans entertained of them.

I meet with as few monuments of their skill in arts of a less noble and necessary kind, as painting and sculpture. I find, indeed, that they had plundered the conquered nations of a great many works in both these kinds, but it does not appear that they themselves had produced many.

From what has been said, one cannot help concluding, that traffic was the predominant inclination, and the peculiar characteristic, of the Carthaginians; that it formed in a manner the basis of the state, the soul of the commonwealth, and the grand spring which gave motion to all their enterprises. The Carthaginians in general were skillful merchants employed wholly in traffic; excited strongly by the desire of gain, and esteeming nothing but riches: directing all their talents, and placing their chief glory, in amassing them, though, at the same time, they scarce knew the purpose for which they were designed, or how to use them in a noble or worthy manner.

SECTION VIII.

THE CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND QUALITIES OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

IN the enumeration of the various qualities which Cicero† assigns to different nations, as their distinguishing characteristics, he declares that of the Carthaginians to be craft, skill, address, industry, cunning *calliditas*; which doubtless appeared in war, but was still more conspicuous in the rest of their conduct; and this was joined to another quality, that bears a very near relation to it, and is still less reputable. Craft and cunning lead naturally to lying, hypocrisy, and breach of faith; and these by accustoming the mind insensibly to be less scrupulous with regard to the choice of the means for compassing its designs, prepare it for the basest frauds and the most perfidious actions. This was also one of the characteristics of the Carthaginians;‡ and it was so notorious, that to signify any remarkable *dishonesty*, it was usual to call it, *Punic honour*, *fides Punica*: and to denote a *knavish deceitful mind*, no expression was thought more proper and emphatical than this, *a Carthaginian mind*, *Punicom ingenium*.

An excessive thirst for, and an immoderate love of profit, generally gave occasion in Carthage, to the committing of base and unjust actions. A single example will prove this. In the time of a truce, granted by Scipio to the earnest entreaties of the Carthaginians, some Roman vessels, being driven by a storm on the coast of Carthage, were seized by order of the senate and people,§ who could not suffer so tempting a prey to escape them. They were resolved to get money, though the manner of acquiring it were ever so scandalous. The inhabitants of Carthage, even in St. Austin's

* Factum senatus-consultum ne quis postea Carthaginiensis aut literis Græcis aut sermoni studeret; ne aut loqui cum hoste, aut scribere sine interprete posset.—Justin. l. xx. c. 5. Justin ascribes the reason of this law to a treasonable correspondence between one Suniatu, a powerful Carthaginian, and Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily; the former, by letters written in Greek, which afterwards fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, having informed the tyrant of the war designed against him by his country, out of hatred to Hanno the general, to whom he was an enemy.

† Quam volumus licet ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, sed pietate ac religione, &c. omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.—De Arusp. Resp. n. 19.

‡ Carthaginiensis fraudulentum et mendaces—multis et variis mercatorum advenarumque sermouibus ad studium fallendi quæstus cupiditate vocabantur.—Cic. Orat. ii. in Rull. n. 94.

§ Magistratus senatum vocare, populis in curiæ vestibulo fremere, ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amit teretur præda. Consensum est ut, &c.—Liv. l. xxx. n. 24.

time as that father informs us, showed on a particular occasion, that they still retained part of this characteristic.*

But these were not the only blemishes and faults of the Carthaginians.† They had something austere and savage in their disposition and genius, a haughty and imperious air, a sort of ferocity, which in its first starts was deaf to either reason or remonstrances, and plunged brutally into the utmost excesses of violence. The people, cowardly and grovelling under apprehensions, were proud and cruel in their transports; at the same time that they trembled under their magistrates, they were dreaded in their turn by their miserable vassals. In this we see the difference which education makes between one nation and another. The Athenians, whose city was always considered as the centre of learning, were naturally jealous of their authority, and difficult to govern; but still a fund of good nature and humanity made them compassionate the misfortunes of others, and be indulgent to the errors of their leaders. Cleon one day desired the assembly in which he presided, to break up, because, as he told them, he had a sacrifice to offer, and friends to entertain. The people only laughed at the request, and immediately separated. Such a liberty, says Plutarch, at Carthage, would have cost a man his life.

Livy makes a like reflection with regard to Terentius Varro.‡ That general, on his return to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, which had been lost by his ill conduct, was met by persons of all orders of the state, at some distance from Rome, and thanked by them for his not having despaired of the commonwealth; who, says the historian, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, must have expected the most severe punishment: *Cui, si Carthaginiensium duxerit, nihil recusandum supplicii foret*. Indeed, a court was established at Carthage, where the generals were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and they were all made responsible for the events of the war. Ill success was punished there as a crime against the state; and whenever a general lost a battle, he was almost sure at his return, of ending his life upon a gibbet. Such was the furious, cruel, and barbarous disposition of the Carthaginians, who were always ready to shed the blood of their citizens as well as of foreigners. The unheard-of tortures which they made Regulus suffer, are a manifest proof of this assertion; and their history will furnish us with such instances of it, as are not to be read without horror.

PART SECOND.

THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

THE interval of time between the foundation of Carthage and its ruin, included seven hundred years, and may be divided into two chapters. The first, which is much the longest, and is least known, as is ordinary with the beginnings of all states, extends to the first Punic war, and takes up five hundred and eighty-two years. The second, which ends at the destruction of Carthage, contains but a hundred and eighteen years.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE, AND ITS PROGRESS TILL THE TIME OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

CARTHAGE, in Africa, was a colony from Tyre, the most renowned city at that time for commerce in the world. Tyre had long before transplanted another colony into that country, which built Utica,§ made famous by the death of the second Cato, who for this reason is generally called Cato Uticensis.

* A mountebank had promised the citizens of Carthage, to discover to them their most secret thoughts, in case they would come, on a day appointed, to hear him. Being all met, he told them they were desirous to buy cheap and sell dear. Every man's conscience pleaded guilty to the charge; and the mountebank was dismissed with applause and laughter.—*Vili vultis emere, et care vendere; in quo dicto levissimi scenici omnes tamen conscientias invenerunt suas, eique vera et tamen improvisa discenti admirabili favore plauserunt*.—S. August. l. xiii. de Trinit. c. 3.

† Plut. de Gen. Rep. p. 799.

‡ Lib. xxii. p. 61.

§ Utica et Carthago ambæ inclytæ, ambæ a Phœnicibus conditæ; illa fato Catonis insignis, hæc suo.—Pompon. Mel. c. 67. Utica and Carthage both famous, and both built by Phœnicians; the first renowned by Cato's fate, the last by its own.

Authors disagree very much with regard to the era of the foundation of Carthage.* It is a difficult matter, and not very material, to reconcile them; at least, agreeably to the plan laid down by me, it is sufficient to know, within a few years, the time in which that city was built.

Carthage existed a little above seven hundred years.† It was destroyed under the consulate of Cn. Lentulus and L. Mummius, the 603d year of Rome, 3859th of the world, and 145 before Christ. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed at the year of the world 3158, when Joash was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before our Saviour.

The foundation of Carthage is ascribed to Elisa, a Tyrian princess, better known by the name of Dido.‡ Ithobal, king of Tyre, and father of the famous Jezebel, called in Scripture Ethbaal, was her great-grandfather. She married her near relation Acerbas, called otherwise Sicharbas and Sichæus, an extremely rich prince, and Pygmalion, king of Tyre, was her brother. This prince having put Sichæus to death, in order that he might have an opportunity of seizing his immense treasures, Dido eluded the cruel avarice of her brother, by withdrawing secretly with her dead husband's possessions. After having long wandered, she at last landed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the gulf where Utica stood, and in the country of Africa, properly so called, distant almost fifteen miles from Tunis,§ so famous, at this time, for its corsairs; and there settled with her few followers, after having purchased some lands from the inhabitants of the country.||

Many of the neighbouring people, invited by the prospect of lucre, repaired thither to sell to these foreigners the necessaries of life, and shortly after incorporated themselves with them. These inhabitants, who had been thus gathered from different places, soon grew very numerous. The citizens of Utica, considering them as their countrymen, and as descended from the same common stock, deputed envoys with very considerable presents, and exhorted them to build a city in the place where they had first settled. The natives of the country, from the esteem and respect frequently shown to strangers, made them the like offers. Thus all things conspiring with Dido's views, she built her city, which was appointed to pay an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground it stood upon, and called it Carthada,¶ or Carthage, a name that in the Phœnician and Hebrew tongue, which have a great affinity, signifies the New City. It is said that, when the foundations were dug, a horse's head was found, which was thought a good omen, and a presage of the future warlike genius of that people.**

This princess was afterwards courted by Iarbas, king of Getulia, and threatened with a war in case of refusal. Dido, who had bound herself by an oath not to consent to a second marriage, being incapable of violating the faith she had sworn to Sichæus, desired time for deliberation, and for appeasing the manes of her first husband by sacrifice. Having, therefore, ordered a pile to be raised, she ascended it; and drawing out a dagger she had concealed under her robe, stabbed herself with it.††

* Our countryman Howel endeavoured to reconcile the three different accounts of the foundation of Carthage in the following manner. He says, that the town consisted of three parts, viz. Cothon, or the port and buildings adjoining to it, which he supposes to have been first built; Megara, built next, and in respect of Cothon called the New Town, or Karthada; and Byrsa, or the citadel, built last of all, and probably by Dido.

Cothon, to agree with Appian, was built fifty years before the taking of Troy; Megara, to correspond with Eusebius, was built a hundred and ninety-four years later; Byrsa, to agree with Menander, cited by Josephus, was built a hundred and sixty-six years after Megara.

† Liv. Epit. l. li.

‡ Justin l. xviii. c. 4, 5, 6. App. de Bello Pun. p. 1. Strab. l. xvii. p. 832. Patere. l. i c. 6.

§ One hundred and twenty stadia.—Strab. l. xiv. p. 687.

|| Some authors say, that Dido put a trick on the natives, by desiring to purchase of them, for her intended settlement, only so much land as an ox's hide would encompass. The request was thought too moderate to be denied. She then cut the hide into the smallest thongs; and with them encompassed a large tract of ground, on which she built a citadel, called Byrsa, from the hide. But this tale of the hide is generally exploded by the learned; who observe, that the Hebrew word Bosra, which signifies a fortification, gave rise to the Greek word Byrsa, which is the name of the citadel of Carthage.

¶ Kartha Hadath, or Hadtha.

** Effodère loco signum, quod regia Juno

Monstrárat, caput acris equi; nam sic fore bello

Egregiam, et facilem victu per secula, gentem.

Virg. Æn. l. i. 443.

The Tyrians landing near this holy ground,
And digging here, a prosperous omen found:
From under earth a curser's head they drew,
Their growth and future fortune to foreshew;
This fated sign their foundress Juno gave,
Of a soil fruitful, and a people brave.

—————Dryden.

†† The story, as it is told more at large in Justin. l. xvii. c. 6, is this.—Iarbas, king of the Mauritanians, sending for ten of the principal Carthaginians, demanded Dido in marriage, threatening to declare war against her in case of a refusal. The ambassadors being afraid to deliver the message of Iarbas, told her, with Punic honesty, that

Virgil has made a great alteration in this history, by supposing that *Æneas*, his hero, was contemporary with *Dido*, though there was an interval of near three centuries between the one and the other: the era of the building of Carthage being fixed three hundred years later than the destruction of *Troy*. This liberty is very excusable in a poet, who is not tied to the scrupulous accuracy of a historian; we admire, with great reason, the judgment he has shown in his plan, when, to interest the Romans for whom he wrote, he has the art of introducing the implacable hatred which subsisted between Carthage and Rome, and ingeniously deduces the original of it from the very remote foundation of those two rival cities.

Carthage, whose beginnings, as we have observed, were very weak, grew larger by insensible degrees, in the country, where it was founded. But its dominion was not long confined to Africa. The inhabitants of this ambitious city extended their conquests into Europe, by invading *Sardinia*, seizing a great part of *Sicily*, and reducing almost all *Spain*; and having sent powerful colonies every where, they enjoyed the empire of the seas for more than six hundred years; and formed a state which was able to dispute pre-eminence with the greatest empires of the world, by their wealth, their commerce, their numerous armies, their formidable fleets, and above all, by the courage and ability of their captains. The dates and circumstances of many of these conquests are little known; I shall take but a transient notice of them, in order to enable my readers to form some idea of the countries, which will be often mentioned in the course of this history.

CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN AFRICA.

THE first wars made by the Carthaginians, were to free themselves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the Africans, for the territory which had been ceded to them.* This conduct does them no honour, as the settlement was granted them upon condition of their paying a tribute. One would be apt to imagine, that they were desirous of covering the obscurity of their original by abolishing this proof of it. But they were not successful on this occasion. The Africans had justice on their side, and they prospered accordingly, the war being terminated by the payment of the tribute.

The Carthaginians afterwards carried their arms against the Moors and Numidians, and gained many conquests over both.† Being now emboldened by these happy successes, they shook off entirely the tribute which gave them so much uneasiness, and possessed themselves of a great part of Africa.‡

About this time there arose a great dispute between Carthage and Cyrene, on account of their respective limits.§ Cyrene was a very powerful city situated on the Mediterranean, towards the greater Syrtis, and had been built by *Battus the Lacedæmonian*.

It was agreed on each side, that two young men should set out at the same time from each city; and that the place of their meeting should be the common boundary of both states. The Carthaginians (these were two brothers named *Philæni*) made the most haste; and their antagonists, pretending that foul play had been used, and that the two brothers above mentioned had set out before the time appointed, refused to stand to the agreement, unless the two brothers, to remove all suspicion of unfair dealing; would consent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquiesced in the proposal, and the Carthaginians erected, on that spot, two altars to their memories, and paid them divine honours in their city, and from that time, the place was called the Altars of the *Philæni*, *Aræ Philænorum*,|| and served as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of *Hercules*.

he wanted to have some person sent him, who was capable of civilizing and polishing himself and his Africans; but that there was no possibility of finding any Carthaginian, who would be willing to quit his native place and kindred, for the conversation of barbarians, who were as savage as the wildest beasts. Here the queen, with indignation, interrupting them, and asking if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed even their lives? they then delivered the King's message, and bade her set them a pattern, and sacrifice herself to her country's welfare. *Dido* being thus ensnared, called on *Sichæus* with tears and lamentations, and answered that she would go where the fate of her city called her. At the expiration of three months, she ascended the fatal pile, and with her last breath told the spectators, that she was going to her husband, as they had ordered her. * Justin. l. xix. c. 1. † Justin. l. xix. c. 2.

‡ *Afri compulsi stipendium urbis condite Carthaginiensibus remittere.*—Justin. l. xix. c. 2.

§ *Sallust. de Bello Jugurth. n. 77. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6.*

|| These pillars were not standing in *Strabo's* time. Some geographers think *Areadia* to be the city which was anciently called *Philænorum Aræ*; but others believe it was *Naina* or *Tain*, situated a little west of *Arcadia*, in the gulf of *Sidra*.

CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SARDINIA, &c.

HISTORY does not inform us exactly, either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner they got possession of it. This island was of great use to them, and during all their wars supplied them abundantly with provisions.* It is separated from Corsica by a strait of about three leagues over. The metropolis of the southern and most fertile part of it, was Caralis, or Calaris, now called Cagliari. On the arrival of the Carthaginians, the natives withdrew to the mountains in the northern parts of the island, which are almost inaccessible, and whence the enemy could not dislodge them.

The Carthaginians seized likewise on the Baleares, now called Majorca and Minorca. Port Magon, in the latter island, was so called from Mago, a Carthaginian general, who first made use of, and fortified it. It is not known who this Mago was; but it is very probable that he was Hannibal's brother.† This harbour is, at this day, one of the most considerable in the Mediterranean.

These isles furnished the Carthaginians with the most expert slingers in the world, who did them great service in battles and sieges.‡ They slung large stones of above a pound weight; and sometimes threw leaden bullets§ with so much violence, that they would pierce even the strongest helmets, shields, and cuirasses; and were so dexterous in their aim, that they scarce ever missed the mark. The inhabitants of these islands were accustomed from infancy to handle the sling; for which purpose their mothers placed, on the bough of a high tree, the piece of bread designed for their children's breakfast, who were not allowed a morsel, till they had brought it down with their slings. From this practice these islands were called Baleares and Gymnasiæ by the Greeks;¶ because the inhabitants used to exercise themselves so early in slinging of stones.¶

CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN.

BEFORE I enter on the relation of these conquests, I think it proper to give my readers some idea of Spain.

Spain is divided in three parts, Bœtica, Lusitania, Tarraconia.**

Bœtica, so called from the river Bœtis,†† was the southern division of it, and comprehended the present kingdom of Granada, Andalusia, part of New Castile, and Estremadura. Cadiz, called by the ancients Gades and Gadir, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of Andalusia, about nine leagues from Gibraltar. It is well known that Hercules, having extended his conquests to this place, halted from the supposition that he was come to the extremity of the world.‡‡ He here erected two pillars as monuments of his victories, pursuant to the custom of that age. The place has always retained the name, though time has quite destroyed these pillars. Authors are divided in opinion, with regarded to the place where these pillars were erected. Bœtica was the most fruitful, the wealthiest, and the most populous part of Spain.§§ It contained two hundred cities, and was inhabited by the Turdetani, or Turduli. On the banks of the Bœtis stood three large cities; Castulo towards the source; Corduba lower down, the native place of Lucan and the two Senecas; lastly; Hispalis.¶¶ Lusitania, is bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river Durus,¶¶¶ and on the south by the river Anas.*† Between these two rivers is the Tagus. Lusitania was what is now called Portugal, with part of Old and New Castile.

* Strab. l. v. p. 224. Diod. l. v. p. 296.

† Liv. l. xxviii. n. 37.

‡ Diod. l. v. n. 298, and l. xix. p. 742. Liv. loco citato.

§ Liqescit excusse glans fundâ, et attritu aeris velut igne, distillat; i. e. The ball, when thrown from the sling, dissolves; and, by the friction of the air, runs as if it was melted by fire.—Senec. Nat. Quæst.

¶ Strab. l. iii. p. 167.

¶ Bochart derives the name of these islands from two Phœnician words, Baal-jare, or master in the art of slinging. This strengthens the authority of Strabo, viz. that the inhabitants learnt their art from the Phœnicians, who were once their masters. Σπειρόνηται ἀριστοὶ λέγονται—ἔξοτου φοίνικος κατέσχον τὰς νήσους. And this is still more probable, when we consider that both the Hebrews and Phœnicians excelled in this art. The Balearian slings would annoy an enemy, either near at hand, or at a distance. Every slinger carried three of them in war. One hung from the neck, a second from the waist, and a third was carried in the hand. To this give me leave to add two more observations, (foreign indeed to the present purpose, but relating to these islands,) which I hope will not be unentertaining to the reader. The first is, that these islands were once so infested with rabbits, that the inhabitants applied to Rome, either for aid against them, or otherwise desired new habitations, ἐκβάλλεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ζώων τέτων, those creatures having ejected them out of their old ones.—Vide. Strab. Plin. l. viii. c. 55. The second observation is, that these islanders were not only expert slingers, but likewise excellent swimmers; which they are to this day, by the testimony of our countryman Biddulph, who, in his Travels, informs us, that being becalmed near these islands, a woman swam to him out of one of them, with a basket of fruit to sell.

** Cluver. l. ii. c. 2.

†† Guadalquivir.

‡‡ Strab. l. iii. p. 171.

§§ Ibid. p. 139-142.

¶¶ Seville.

¶¶ Duero.

*† Guadiana.

Tarraconia comprehended the rest of Spain, that is, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valentia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, the Asturias, Gallicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greatest part of the two Castiles. Tarraco,* a very considerable city, gave its name to that part of Spain. Pretty near it lay Barcino.† Its name gave rise to the conjecture that it was built by Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, father of the great Hannibal. The most renowned nations of Tarraconia, were the Celtiberi, beyond the river Iberus;‡ the Cantabri, where Biscay now lies; the Carpetani, whose capital was Toledo; the Ovitani, &c.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and silver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had sufficient to excite both the avarice and ambition of the Carthaginians, who were more of a mercantile than of a warlike disposition, from the very genius and constitution of their republic. They doubtless knew that their Phœnician ancestors, as Diodorus relates,§ taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards with regard to the immense riches which were hid in the bowels of their land, first took from them these precious treasures in exchange for commodities of little value. They likewise foresaw, that if they could once subdue this country, it would furnish them abundantly with well disciplined troops for the conquests of other nations, as actually happened.

The occasion of the Carthaginians first landing in Spain, was to assist the inhabitants of Cadiz, who were invaded by the Spaniards.|| That city, as well as Utica and Carthage, was a colony of Tyre, and even more ancient than either of them. The Tyrians having built it, established there the worship of Hercules; and erected in his honour a magnificent temple, which became famous in after ages. The success of this first expedition of the Carthaginians, made them desirous of carrying their arms into Spain.

It is not exactly known in what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their first conquests. It is probable that these were slow in the beginning, as the Carthaginians had to do with very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great resolution and courage. Nor could they ever have accomplished their design, as Strabo observes,¶ had the Spaniards, united in a body, formed but one state, and mutually assisted one another. But as every district, every people, were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence nor connexion with them, the Carthaginians were forced to subdue them one after another. This circumstance occasioned, on one hand, the loss of Spain; but on the other, protracted the war, and made the conquest of the country much more difficult;** accordingly, it has been observed, that though Spain was the first province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the last they subdued;†† and was not entirely subjected to their power, till after having made a vigorous opposition for upwards of two hundred years.

It appears from the accounts given by Polybius and Livy, of the wars of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, which will soon be mentioned, that the arms of the Carthaginians had not made any considerable progress in that country before that period, and that the greatest part of Spain was then unconquered. But in twenty years time they completed the conquest of almost the whole country.

At the time that Hannibal set out for Italy, all the coast of Africa, from the Philænorum Aræ, by the great Syrtis, to the pillars of Hercules, was subject to the Carthaginians.‡‡ Passing through the strait, they had conquered all the western coast of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills. The coast which lies on the Mediterranean had been almost wholly subdued by them; and it was there they had built Carthage, and they were masters of all the country; as far as the river Iberus, which bounded their dominions. Such was at that time the extent of their empire. In the centre of the country, some nations had indeed held out against all their efforts, and could not be subdued by them.

CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SICILY.

THE wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily are more known. I shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes, who first prompted

* Tarragona.

† Barcelona.

‡ Ebro.

§ Liv. v. p. 312.

|| Justin. l. xlv. c. 5. Diod. l. v. p. 300.

¶ Lib. iii. p. 153.

** Such a division of Britain retarded, and at the same time facilitated the conquest of it to the Romans. Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.—Tacit.

†† Hispania prima Romanis inita Provinciarum quæ quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium perdomila est.—Liv. xxviii. n. 12.

‡‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 192. l. i. p. 9.

the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily, till the first Punic war. This period includes near two hundred and twenty years, *viz.* from the year of the world 3520 to 3738. At the breaking out of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus, three brothers who succeeded one another, with a sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy, or popular government was established in that city, and subsisted above sixty years. From this time the two Dionysiuses, Timoleon and Agathocles, bore the sway in Syracuse. Parrhus was afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept possession of it only a few years. Such was the government of Sicily during the wars of which I am about to treat. They will give us great light with regard to the power of the Carthaginians at the time that they began to be engaged in war with the Romans.

Sicily is the largest and most considerable island in the Mediterranean. It is of a triangular form, and for that reason was called Trinacria and Triquetra. The eastern side, which faces the Ionian or Grecian sea, extends from Cape Pachynum* to Pelorum.† The most celebrated cities on this coast are Syracuse, Tauromenium, and Messana. The northern coast, which looks towards Italy, reaches from Cape Pelorum to Cape Lilybæum.‡ The most noted cities on this coast are Mylæ, Hymera, Panormus, Eryx, Motya, Lilybæum. The southern coast, which lies opposite to Africa, extends from Cape Lilybæum to Pachynum. The most remarkable cities on this coast are Selinus, Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina. This island is separated from Italy by a strait, which is not more than a mile and a half over, and called the Faro, or Strait of Messina, from its contiguity to that city. The passage from Lilybæum to Africa§ is about 1500 furlongs, that is about seventy-five leagues.||

The period in which the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily is not exactly known.¶ All we are certain of is, that they were already possessed of some part of it at the time that they entered into a treaty with the Romans; the same year that the kings were expelled, and consuls appointed in their room, *viz.* twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. This treaty, which is the first we find mentioned to have been made between these two nations, speaks of Africa and Sardinia as possessed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions, with regard to Sicily, relate only to those parts of the island which were subject to them. By this treaty it is expressly stipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory,** which was very near Carthage; and that such merchants as shall resort to this city for traffic, shall pay only certain duties, as are settled in it.††

It appears by the same treaty, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the countries subject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though the Carthaginians, even at that time, had taken umbrage at the rising power of the Romans, and already harboured in their breasts the secret seeds of jealousy and distrust, that were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and a mutual hatred and animosity, which nothing could extinguish but the ruin of one of the contending powers.

Some years after the conclusion of this first treaty, the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes king of Persia.‡‡ This prince, who aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, whom he considered as his irreconcilable enemies, thought it would be impossible for him to succeed in his enterprise without the assistance of Carthage, whose power was formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who always kept in view the design they entertained of seizing upon the remainder of Sicily, eagerly embraced the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for completing the reduction of it. A treaty was therefore concluded, wherein it was agreed that the Carthaginians were to invade with all their forces, those Greeks who were settled in Sicily and Italy, while Xerxes should march in person against Greece itself.

* Passaro.

† Il Faro.

‡ Cape Boëo.

§ Strabo. l. vi. p. 267.

|| This is Strabo's calculation: but there must be a mistake in the numeral characters, and what he immediately subjoins, is a proof of this mistake. He says, that a man, whose eye sight was good, might, from the coast of Sicily, count the vessels that came out of the port of Carthage. Is it possible that the eye can carry so far as 60 or 75 leagues? This passage of Strabo, therefore, must be thus corrected. The passage from Lilybæum to Africa, is only 25 leagues.

¶ A. M. 3501. A. Carth. 343. Rome, 245. Ant. J. C. 503. Polyb. l. iii. p. 245. et seq. Edit. Gronov.

** The reason of this restraint, according to Polybius, was, the unwillingness of the Carthaginians to let the Romans have any knowledge of the countries which lay more to the south, in order that this enterprising people might not hear of their fertility.—Polyb. l. iii. p. 247. Edit. Gronov.

†† Polyb. l. iii. p. 246.

‡‡ A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Diod. l. xi. p. 1, 16, et 22.

The preparations for this war lasted three years. The land army amounted to less than three hundred thousand men. The fleet consisted of two thousand ships of war, and upwards of three thousand small vessels of burden. Hamilcar, the most experienced captain of his age, sailed from Carthage with this formidable army. He landed at Palermo,* and, after refreshing his troops, he marched against Hymera, a city not far distant from Palermo, and laid siege to it. Theron, who commanded in it, seeing himself very much straitened, sent to Gelon, who had possessed himself of Syracuse. He flew immediately to his relief with fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. His arrival infused new courage into the besieged, who, from that time, made a very vigorous defence.

Gelon was an able warrior, and excelled in stratagems. A courier was brought to him, who had been despatched from Selinuntum, a city of Sicily, with a letter for Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry, which he had requested. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own troops, and sent them from his camp about the time agreed on. These being admitted into the enemy's camp, as coming from Selinuntum, rushed upon Hamilcar, killed him, and set fire to his ships. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked with all his forces the Carthaginians, who at first made a gallant resistance. But when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they saw all their fleet in a blaze, their courage failed them, and they fled. And now a dreadful slaughter ensued; upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand being slain. The rest of the army, having retired to a place where they were in want of every thing, could not make a long defence, and were forced to surrender at discretion. This battle was fought on the very day of the famous action of Thermopylæ, in which three hundred Spartans,† with the sacrifice of their lives, disputed Xerxes's entrance into Greece.

When the sad news was brought to Carthage of the entire defeat of the army, consternation, grief, and despair, threw the whole city into such a confusion and alarm as are not to be expressed. It was imagined that the enemy was already at the gates. The Carthaginians, in great reverses of fortune, always lost their courage, and sunk into the opposite extreme. Immediately they sent a deputation to Gelon, by which they desired peace upon any terms. He heard their envoys with great humanity. The complete victory he had gained, so far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increased his modesty and clemency even towards the enemy. He therefore granted them a peace without any other condition than their paying two thousand talents‡ towards the expense of the war. He likewise required them to build two temples, where the treaty of this peace should be deposited, and exposed at all times to public view. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchase of a peace, that was so absolutely necessary to their affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. Gisco, the son of Hamilcar, pursuant to the unjust custom of the Carthaginians, of ascribing to the general the ill success of a war, and making him bear the blame of it, was punished for his father's misfortune, and sent into banishment. He passed the remainder of his days at Selinuntum, a city of Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuse, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himself entered the assembly, unarmed, and without his guards, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His speech met with no other interruption than the public testimonies which were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant, and the oppressor of his country's liberty, he was considered as its benefactor and deliverer; all, with an unanimous voice, proclaimed him king; and the crown was bestowed, after his death, on his two brothers.

After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse,§ where Nicias perished with his whole fleet, the Segestans, who had declared in favour of the Athenians against the Syracusans, fearing the resentment of their enemies, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinuntum, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themselves and city under their protection. At Carthage, the people debated

* This city is call'd in Latin Panormus.

† Besides the 300 Spartans, the Thessians, a people of Bœotia, to the number of 700, fought and died with Leonidas in this memorable battle.—Herod. l. vii. c. 202—222.

‡ An Attic silver talent, according to Dr. Bernard, is L.206 5s. consequently 2000 talents is L.412,500, or £1,831,500.

§ A. M. 3592. A. Carth. 434. A. Rome, 336. Ant. J. C. 412. Diad. l. xiii. p. 169—171, 179—186.

some time what course would be proper for them to take, the affair meeting with great difficulties. On one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of a city, which lay so convenient for them; on the other, they dreaded the powers and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians, and become, by so splendid a victory more formidable than ever. At last the lust of empire prevailed, and the Segestans were promised succours.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who at that time was invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the suffetes. He was grandson of Hamilcar, who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Hymera, and son of Gisco, who had been condemned to exile. He left Carthage, animated with an ardent desire of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the disgrace of the last defeat. He had a very great army, as well as a fleet under his command. He landed at a place called the *Well of Lilybæum*, which gave its name to a city, afterwards built on the same spot. His first enterprise was the siege of Selinuntum. The attack and defence were equally vigorous, the very women showing a resolution and bravery above their sex. The city, after making a long resistance, was taken by storm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the soldiers. The victor exercised the most horrid cruelties, without showing the least regard either to age or sex. He permitted such inhabitants as had fled, to return to the city after it had been dismantled, and to till the lands, on condition of their paying a tribute to the Carthaginians. This city had been built two hundred and forty-two years.

Hymera, which he next besieged and took likewise by storm, after being more cruelly treated than Selinuntum, was entirely razed, two hundred and forty years from its foundation. He forced three thousand prisoners to undergo every kind of ignominious punishment; and at last murdered them on the very spot, where his grandfather had been killed by Gelon's cavalry, to appease and satisfy his manes by the blood of these unhappy victims.

These expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occasion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him with the most joyful acclamations.

These successes rekindled the desire, and revived the design which the Carthaginians had ever entertained, of making themselves masters of all Sicily.* Three years after, they appointed Hannibal their general, a second time, and on his pleading his great age, and refusing the command of this war, they gave him for lieutenant, Imilcon, son of Hanno, of the same family. The preparations for this war were proportioned to the great design which the Carthaginians had formed. The fleet and army were soon ready, and set out for Sicily. The number of their forces, according to Timæus, amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand, and according to Ephorus, to three hundred thousand men. The enemy on their side, were prepared to give the Carthaginians a warm reception. The Syracusans had sent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them, and to all the cities of Sicily to exhort them to exert themselves vigorously in defence of their liberties.

Agrigentum expected to feel the first fury of the enemy. This city was immensely rich,† and strongly fortified. It was situated, as were Hymera, and Selinuntum, on that coast of Sicily which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one side, he directed his whole force to that quarter. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls, and made use, on this occasion, of the rubbish and fragments of the tombs standing round the city, which he had demolished for that purpose. Soon after, the plague infected the army, and swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the general himself. The Carthaginians interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods, who revenged in this manner the injuries done to the

* Diod. l. xiii. p. 201—203, 206—211, 826—231.

† The very sepulchral monuments showed the magnificence and luxury of this city, they being adorned with statues of birds and horses. But the wealth and boundless generosity of Gelliar, one of its inhabitants, is almost incredible. He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts; and, during a famine, prevented the citizens from dying with hunger; he gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair; he had built houses in the city and country, purposely for the accommodation of strangers, whom he usually dismissed with handsome presents. Five hundred ship-wrecked citizens of Gela, applying to him, were bountifully relieved, and every man supplied with a cloak and coat out of his wardrobe.—Diod. l. xiii. Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Empedocles the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable saying concerning his fellow-citizens, that the Agrigentines squandered their money so excessively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhausted; and built with such solidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should live for ever.

dead; whose ghosts many fancied they had seen stalking before them in the night. No more tombs were therefore demolished; prayers were ordered to be made, according to the practice of Carthage; a child was sacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a most inhumanly superstitious custom; and many victims were thrown into the sea in honour of Neptune.

The besieged, who at first had gained several advantages; were at last so pressed by famine, that all hopes of relief seeming desperate, they resolved to abandon the city. The following night was fixed on for this purpose. The reader will naturally imagine to himself the grief with which these miserable people must be seized, on their being forced to leave their houses, their rich possessions, and their country; but life was still dearer to them than all these. Never was a more melancholy spectacle seen. To omit the rest, a crowd of women, bathed in tears, were seen dragging after them their helpless infants, in order to secure them from the brutal fury of the victor. But the most grievous circumstance, was the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who were unable either to fly or to make the least resistance. The unhappy exiles arrived at Gela, which was the nearest city in their way, and there received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced.

In the mean time Imilcon entered the city, and murdered all who were found in it. The plunder was immense, and such as might be expected from one of the most opulent cities of Sicily, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never been besieged, nor consequently plundered before. A numberless multitude of pictures, vases and statues of all kinds were found here, the citizens having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities, was the famous bull* of Phalaris, which was sent to Carthage.

The siege of Agrigentum had lasted eight months. Imilcon made his forces take up their winter quarters in it, to give them the necessary refreshment; and left this city, after laying it entirely in ruins, in the beginning of the spring. He afterwards besieged Gela, and took it, notwithstanding the succours which were brought by Dionysius the Tyrant, who had seized upon the government of Syracuse. Imilcon ended the war by a treaty with Dionysius. The conditions of it were, that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the country of the Sicanians,† Selinuntum, Agrigentum, and Hymera; as likewise that of Gela and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reside in their respective dismantled cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage: that the Leontines, the Messenians, and all the Sicilians, should retain their own laws, and preserve their liberty and independence; lastly, that the Syracusans should still continue subject to Dionysius. After this treaty was concluded, Imilcon returned to Carthage, where the plague still made dreadful havoc.

Dionysius had concluded the late peace with the Carthaginians, with no other view than to get time to establish his new authority, and make the necessary preparations for the war which he meditated against them.‡ As he was very sensible how formidable these people were, he used his utmost endeavours to enable himself to invade them with success, and his design was wonderfully well seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The fame of this prince, the strong desire he had to distinguish himself, the charms of gain, and the prospect of the rewards, which he promised those who should show the greatest industry, invited from all quarters into Sicily, the most able artists and working men at that time in the world. All Syracuse now became in a manner an immense work-shop in every part of which men were seen making swords helmets, shields, and military engines: and preparing all things necessary for building ships, and fitting out fleets. The invention of vessels with five benches of oars or (*quinqueremos*), was at that time very recent; for till then, those with three alone had been used.§

Dionysius animated the workmen by his presence, and by the applauses he gave, and the bounty which he bestowed seasonably; but chiefly by his popular and engaging behavior, which excited more strongly than any other conduct, the industry and ardour of the workmen,|| the most excellent of whom, in every art, had frequently the honour to dine with him.

* This bull, with other spoils here taken, was afterwards restored to the Agrigentines by Scipio, when he took Carthage, in the third Punic war.—Cic. l. iv. in Verrem, c. 33.

† The Sicanians and Sicilians were anciently two distinct people.

‡ A. M. 3600. A. Carth. 442. A. Rome, 344. Ant. J. C. 404. Dion. l. xiv. p. 263—273.

§ Triremes.

|| Honoris alit artes.

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been levied in different countries, he called the Syracusans together, laid his designs before them, and represented to them that the Carthaginians were the professed enemies of the Greeks: that they had no less in view than the invasion of all Sicily; the subjecting of all the Grecian cities: and that in case their progress was not checked, the Syracusans themselves would soon be attacked; that the reason why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterprise; and continued inactive; was owing entirely to the dreadful havoc made by the plague among them, which he observed, was a favourable opportunity for the Syracusans. Though the tyranny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuse, yet the hatred the people bore to the Carthaginians, prevailed over all other considerations, and every one, guided more by the views of an interested policy, than by the dictates of justice, received the speech with applause. Upon this, without the least complaint made, or any declarations of war, Dionysius gave up to the fury of the populace, the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians. Great numbers of them resided at that time in Syracuse, and traded there on the faith of treaties. The common people ran to their houses, plundered their effects, and pretended they were sufficiently authorized to exercise every ignominy, and inflict every kind of punishment on them, for the cruelties they had exercised against the natives of the country. And this horrid example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily. This was the bloody signal of the war which was declared against them. Dionysius having thus begun to do himself justice, (in his way) sent deputies to Carthage, to require them to restore all the Sicilian cities to their liberties; and that otherwise all the Carthaginians found in them should be treated as enemies. This news spread a general alarm in Carthage especially when they reflected on the sad condition to which they were reduced.

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and pursued the siege on with so much vigour, that it was impossible for Imilcon, the Carthaginian admiral, to relieve it. He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering rams, advanced towers six stories high to the wall, rolled upon wheels, and of an equal height with their houses; and from these he greatly annoyed the besieged with furious volleys of arrows and stones sent from his catapultas, an engine at that time of late invention.* At last the city, after a long and vigorous defence, was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants of it put to the sword, those excepted who took sanctuary in the temple. The plunder of it was abandoned to the soldiers; and Dionysius, leaving a strong garrison and a trusty governor in it, returned to Syracuse.

The following year Imilcon, being appointed one of the suffetes, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before.† He landed at Palermo,‡ took several cities, and recovered Motya by force of arms. Animated by these successes, he advanced towards Syracuse, with a design to besiege it; marching his infantry by land, while his fleet, under the command of Mago, sailed along the coast.

The arrival of Imilcon threw the Syracusans into great consternation. Above two hundred ships laden with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a kind of triumph the great harbour, being followed by five hundred barks. At the same time the land army, consisting, according to some authors, of three hundred thousand foot,§ and three thousand horse, was seen marching forward on the other side of the city. Imilcon pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter, and the rest of the army encamped, at twelve furlongs, or about a mile and a half from the city. Marching up to it, Imilcon offered battle to the inhabitants, who did not care to accept the challenge. Imilcon, satisfied at his having extorted, from the Syracusans, this confession of their own weakness and his superiority, returned to his camp, not doubting but he should soon be master of the city, considering it already as a certain prey, which could not possibly escape him. For thirty days together, he laid waste the neighbourhood about Syracuse, and ruined the whole country. He possessed himself of the suburb of Acradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. To fortify his camp, he beat down the tombs which stood round the city; and among others, that of Gelon, and his wife Dematara, which was exceeding magnificent.

* The curious reader will find a very particular account of it in a subsequent part of this work.

† Diod. l. xiv. p. 279—295. Justin. l. xix. c. 2, 3.

‡ Panoramus.

§ Some authors say but thirty thousand foot, which is the more probable account, as the fleet which blocked up the town by sea was so formidable.

But these successes were not lasting. All the splendour of this anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and taught mankind, says Diodorus, that the proudest mortal, blasted sooner or later by a superior power, shall be forced to confess his own weakness. While Imilcon, now master of almost all the cities of Sicily, expected to finish his conquests by the reduction of Syracuse, a contagious distemper seized his army, and made dreadful havoc in it. It was now the midst of summer, and the heat that year was excessive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died, without any possibility of their being relieved. Care was taken at first to inter the dead; but the number increased daily, and the infection spreading very fast, the dead lay unburied, and the sick could have no assistance. This plague was attended with very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, burning entrails, acute pains in every part of the body. The infected were even seized with madness and fury, so that they would fall upon any person that came in their way, and tear them to pieces.

Dionysius did not lose this favourable opportunity for attacking the enemy. Imilcon's army, being more than half conquered by the plague, could make but a feeble resistance. The Carthaginian ships were almost all either taken or burnt. The inhabitants in general of Syracuse, their old men, women, and children, came pouring out of the city, to behold an event, which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, they thanked the tutelary gods of their city, for having revenged the sanctity of temples and tombs, which had been so brutally violated by these barbarians. Night coming on, both parties retired, when Imilcon, taking the opportunity of this short suspension of hostilities, sent to Dionysius, for leave to carry back with him the small remains of his shattered army, with an offer of three hundred talents,* which was all the specie he had then left. Permission only could be obtained for the Carthaginians, with whom Imilcon stole away in the night, and left the rest to the mercy of the conqueror.

In such unhappy circumstances did the Carthaginian general, who a few days before had been so proud and haughty, retire from Syracuse. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, but most of all that of his country, he with the most insolent fury, accused the gods as the sole authors of his misfortunes. "The enemy," continued he, "may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason to glory in it. We return victorious over the Syracusans, and are defeated by the plague alone. No part," added he, "of the disaster touches me so much as my surviving so many gallant men, and being reserved, not for the comforts of life, but to be the sport of so dire a calamity; however, since I brought back the miserable remains of an army which have been committed to my care, I now have nothing to do, but to follow the brave soldiers who lie dead before Syracuse, and show my country, that I did not survive them out of a fondness of life, but merely to preserve the troops which had escaped the plague from the fury of the enemy, to which my more early death would have abandoned them."

Being now arrived in Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, he entered his house, shut his doors against the citizens, and even his own children; and then gave himself the fatal stroke, in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falsely gave the name of courage, though it was, in reality, no other than cowardly despair.

But the calamities of this unhappy city did not stop here; for the Africans, who, from time immemorial, had borne an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, being now exasperated to fury, because their countrymen had been left behind, and exposed to the murdering sword of the Syracusans, assemble in the most frantic manner, sound the alarm, take up arms, and, after seizing upon Tunis, march directly to Carthage, to the number of more than two hundred thousand men. The citizens now gave themselves up for lost. This new incident was considered by them as the sad effect of the wrath of the gods, which pursued the guilty wretches even to Carthage. As its inhabitants, especially in all public calamities, carried their superstition to the greatest excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods. Ceres and Proserpine were deities, who, till that time, had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been done them, in the plundering of their temples, magnificent statues were erected to their honour; priests were selected from among the most distinguished families of the city; sacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual, if I may use the expression, were offered up to them; in a word, nothing

* About §274,390.

was omitted which could be thought conducive in any manner, to appease those angry goddesses, and to merit their favour. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for the Carthaginians, this numerous army had no leader, but was like a body uninformed with a soul; no provisions or military engines; no discipline or subordination were seen among them, every man setting himself up for a general, or claiming an independence from the rest. Divisions, therefore, arising in this rabble of an army, and the famine increasing daily, the individuals of it withdrew to their respective homes, and delivered Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

The Carthaginians were not discouraged by their late disaster, but continued their enterprises on Sicily. Mago, their general, and one of the suffetes, lost a great battle, in which he was slain. The Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which was granted, on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expenses of the war. They pretended to accept the terms; but representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities, without first obtaining an order from their republic, they obtained so long a truce, as gave them time sufficient for sending to Carthage. They took advantage of this interval, to raise and discipline new troops, over which Mago, son of him who had been lately killed, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. As soon as he arrived in Sicily, at the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionysius battle; in which Leptinus,* one of the generals of the latter, was killed, and upwards of fourteen thousand Syracusans left dead on the field. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in possession of all they had in Sicily, and even the addition of some strong holds, besides a thousand talents,† which were paid to them for defraying the expenses of the war.

About this time a law was enacted at Carthage; by which its inhabitants were forbid to learn to write or speak the Greek language; in order to deprive them of the means of corresponding with the enemy, either by the word of mouth or in writing.‡ This was occasioned by the treachery of a Carthaginian, who had written in Greek to Dionysius, to give him advice of the departure of the army from Carthage.

Carthage had soon after another calamity to struggle with.§ The plague spread in the city, and made terrible havoc. Panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, seized on a sudden the heads of the distempered; who, sallying sword in hand out of their houses, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to shake off a yoke which was so hateful to them; but both were subjected, and reduced to their allegiance. Dionysius formed at this time an enterprise in Sicily, with the same views, which was equally unsuccessful.|| He died, some time after, and was succeeded by his son of the same name.

We have already taken notice of the first treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans. There was another, which, according to Orosius, was concluded in the 402d year of the foundation of Rome, and consequently about the time we are now speaking of. This second treaty was nearly the same with the first, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were expressly comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians.

After the death of the elder Dionysius, Syracuse was involved in great troubles.¶ Dionysius the younger, who had been expelled, restored himself by force of arms, and exercised great cruelties there. One part of the citizens implored the aid of Icetes, tyrant of the Leontines, and by descent a Syracusan. This seemed a very favourable opportunity for the Carthaginians to seize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, such of the Syracusans as loved their country best, had recourse to the Corinthians, who often assisted them in their

* This Leptinus was brother to Dionysius.

† About 8914,640.

‡ Justin, l. xx. c. 5.

§ Diol. l. xv. p. 344.

|| This is the Dionysius who invited Plato to his court, and who, being afterwards offended with his freedom sold him for a slave. Some philosophers came from Greece to Syracuse, in order to redeem their brother, which having done, they sent him home with this useful lesson—that philosophers ought very rarely or very obligingly to converse with tyrants. This prince had learning, and affected to pass for a poet; but could not gain that name at the Olympic games, whither he had sent his verses, to be repeated by his brother Thearides. It had been happy for Dionysius, had the Athenians entertained no better an opinion of his poetry, for on their pronouncing him victor, when his poems were repeated in their city, he was raised to such a transport of joy and intemperance, that both together killed him; and thus, perhaps, was verified the prediction of the oracle, viz. that he should die when he had overcome his betters.

¶ A. M. 3656. A. Carth. 498. A. Rome, 400. Ant. J. C. 348. Diol. l. xvi. p. 252. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178. Plut. in Timol.

dangers, and were of all the Grecian nations, the most professed enemies to tyranny, and the most avowed and most generous asserters of liberty. Accordingly the Corinthians sent over Timoleon, a man of great merit, and who had signalized his zeal for the public welfare, by freeing his country from tyranny, at the expense of his own family. He set sail with only ten ships, and arriving at Rhegium, he eluded, by a happy stratagem, the vigilance of the Carthaginians; who, having been informed, by Icetes, of his voyage and design, wanted to intercept him in his passage to Sicily.

Timoleon had scarce above a thousand soldiers under his command; and yet, with this handful of men, he marched boldly to the relief of Syracuse. His small army increased in proportion as he advanced. The Syracusans were now in a desperate condition, and quite hopeless. They saw the Carthaginians masters of the port; Icetes of the city, and Dionysius of the citadel. Happily, on Timoleon's arrival, Dionysius having no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all the forces, arms, and ammunition in it, and escaped by his assistance to Corinth.* Timoleon had, by his emissaries, artfully represented to the foreign forces in Mago's army, (which, by an error in the constitution of Carthage, before taken notice of, was chiefly composed of such, and even the greatest part of whom were Greeks,) that it was astonishing to see Greeks using their endeavours to make barbarians masters of Sicily, from whence they, in a very little time, would pass over into Greece. For, could they imagine, that the Carthaginians were come so far, with no other view than to establish Icetes tyrant of Syracuse? Such discourses being spread among Mago's soldiers, gave this general very great uneasiness: and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed that his forces were going to betray and desert him, and upon this he sailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and steered for Carthage. Icetes, after his departure; could not hold out long against the Corinthians; so that they now got entire possession of the whole city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached; but he prevented the execution of the sentence passed upon him, by a voluntary death. His body was hung upon a gallows, and exposed as a public spectacle to the people. New forces were levied at Carthage, and a greater and more powerful fleet than the former were sent to Sicily.† It consisted of two hundred ships of war, besides a thousand transports; and the army amounted to upwards of seventy thousand men. They landed at Lilybæum, under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and resolved to attack the Corinthians first. Timoleon did not wait for, but marched out to meet them. But, such was the consternation of Syracuse, that of all the forces which were in that city, only three thousand Syracusans, and four thousand mercenaries, followed him; and a thousand of the latter deserted upon their march, through fear of the danger they were going to encounter. Timoleon, however, was not discouraged, but exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themselves courageously for the safety and liberties of their allies, he led them against the enemy, whose rendezvous he had been informed was on the banks of the little river Crimisa. It appeared at the first reflection, inexcusable folly to attack an army so numerous as that of the enemy, with only four or five thousand foot, and a thousand horse; but Timoleon, who knew that bravery, conducted by prudence, is superior to numbers, relied on the courage of his soldiers, who seemed resolved to die rather than yield, and with ardour demanded to be led against the enemy. The event justified his views and hopes. A battle was fought; the Carthaginians were routed, and upwards of ten thousand of them slain; full three thousand of whom were Carthaginian citizens, which filled their city with mourning and the greatest consternation. Their camp was taken, and with it immense riches, and a great number of prisoners.

Timoleon,‡ at the same time that he despatched the news of this victory to Corinth, sent thither the finest arms found among the plunder. For he was passionately desirous of having this city applauded and admired by all men, when they should see that Corinth alone, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its finest temples, not with the spoils of Greece, and offerings died in the blood of its citizens, the sight of which

* Here he preserved some resemblance of his former tyranny, by turning schoolmaster, and exercising a discipline over boys, when he could no longer tyrannise over men. He had learning, and was once a scholar to Plato, whom he caused to come again into Sicily, notwithstanding the unworthy treatment he had met with from Dionysius's father. Philip king of Macedonia, meeting him in the streets at Corinth, and asking him how he came to lose so considerable a principality as had been left him by his father; he answered, that his father had indeed left him the inheritance, but not the fortune which had preserved both himself and that.—However, fortune did him no great injury, in replacing him on the dunghill, from which she had raised his father.

† Plut. p. 248—250.

‡ Plut. 248—250.

could tend only to preserve the sad remembrance of their losses; but with those of barbarians, which by fine inscriptions, displayed at once the courage and religious gratitude of those who had won them. For these inscriptions imported, *That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their general, after having freed the Greeks, settled in Sicily, from the Carthaginian yoke, had hung up these arms in their temples, as an eternal acknowledgment of the favour and goodness of the gods.*

After this, Timoleon, leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginian territories, to waste and destroy them, returned to Syracuse. On his arrival there, he banished the thousand soldiers who had deserted him; and took no other revenge, than commanding them to leave Syracuse before sunset.

This victory gained by the Corinthians, was followed by the capture of many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians to sue for peace.

In proportion as the appearance of success made the Carthaginians vigorously exert themselves to raise powerful armies both by land and sea, and prosperity led them to make an insolent and cruel use of victory; so their courage would sink in unforeseen adversities, their hopes of new resources vanish, and their grovelling souls condescend to ask quarter of the most inconsiderable enemy, and without sense of shame, accept the hardest and most mortifying conditions. Those now imposed were, that they should possess only the lands lying beyond the river Halycus,* that they should give all the natives liberty to retire to Syracuse with their families and effects; and that they should neither continue in the alliance, nor hold any correspondence with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, in all probability, there happened at Carthage a memorable incident, related by Justin.† Hanno, one of its most powerful citizens, formed a design of seizing upon the republic, by destroying the senate. He chose, for the execution of this bloody plan, the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occasion he designed to invite the senators to an entertainment, and there poison them all. The conspiracy was discovered, but Hanno had such influence, that the government did not dare to punish so execrable a crime: the magistrates contented themselves with only preventing it, by an order, which forbade, in general, too great a magnificence at weddings, and limited the expense on those occasions. Hanno, seeing his stratagem defeated, resolved to employ open force, and for that purpose armed all the slaves. However, he was again discovered; and, to escape punishment, retired, with twenty thousand armed slaves, to a castle that was very strongly fortified; and there endeavoured, but without success, to engage in his rebellion the Africans, and the king of Mauritania. He afterwards was taken prisoner, and carried to Carthage, where, after being whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, he was put to death in presence of the people, and his body, all torn with stripes, was hung on a gibbet. His children, and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, in order that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime or revenge his death. Such was the temper of the Carthaginians; ever severe and violent in their punishments, they carried them to the extremes of rigour, and made them extend even to the innocent, without showing the least regard to equity, moderation, or gratitude.

I now come to the wars sustained by the Carthaginians in Africa itself, as well as in Sicily, against Agathocles, which exercised their arms during several years.‡

This Agathocles was a Sicilian, of obscure birth and low fortune.§ Supported at first by the forces of the Carthaginians, he had invaded the sovereignty of Syracuse, and made himself tyrant over it. In the infancy of his power, the Carthaginians kept him within bounds, and Hamilcar, their chief, forced him to agree to a peace, which restored tranquillity to Sicily. But he soon infringed the articles of it, and declared war against the Carthaginians themselves, who, under the conduct of Hamil-

* This river is not far from Agrigentum. It is called Lycus by Diodorus and Plutarch, but this is thought a mistake.

† Justin. lib. lxxi. c. 4.

‡ A. M. 3685. A. Carth. 527. A. Rome, 429. Ant. J. C. 319. Diod. l. xix. p. 651—656. 710—712. 737—743. 760. Justin. l. ii. c. 1—6.

§ He was, according to most historians, the son of a potter, but all allow him to have worked at the trade. From the obscurity of his birth and condition, Polybius uses an argument to prove his capacity and talents, in opposition to the slanders of Timæus. But his greatest eulogium was the praise of Scipio. That illustrious Roman being asked, who, in his opinion, were the most prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and most judiciously bold in the execution of their designs, answered, Agathocles and Dionysius.—Polyb. l. xv. p. 1003. Edit. Gronov. However, let his capacity have been ever so great, it was exceeded by his cruelties.

car, obtained a signal victory over him,* and forced him to shut himself up to Syracuse. The Carthaginians pursued him thither, and laid siege to that important city, the capture of which would have given them possession of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whose forces were greatly inferior to theirs, and who saw himself deserted by all his allies, from their detestation of his horrid cruelties, meditating a design of so daring, and, to all appearance, of so impracticable a nature, that even after success, it yet appeared almost incredible. This design was no less than to make Africa the seat of war, and to besiege Carthage, at a time when he could neither defend himself in Sicily, nor sustain the siege of Syracuse. His profound secrecy in the execution is as astonishing as the design itself. He communicated his thoughts on this affair to no person whatsoever, but contented himself with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracusans from the dangers that surrounded them; that they had only to endure with patience, for a short time, the inconveniences of a siege; but those that could not bring themselves to this resolution, might freely depart the city. Only sixteen hundred persons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there with forces and provisions sufficient for him to make a stout defence. He set at liberty all slaves who were of age to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only fifty talents† to supply his present wants; well assured that he should find in the enemy's country, whatever was necessary to his subsistence. He therefore set sail with two of his sons, Archagathus and Heraclides, without letting any one person know whither he intended his course. All who were on board his fleet believed that they were to be conducted either to Italy or Sardinia, in order to plunder those countries, or to lay waste those coasts of Sicily which belonged to the enemy. The Carthaginians, surprised at so unexpected a departure, endeavoured to prevent it; but Agathocles eluded their pursuit, and made for the main ocean.

He did not discover his design till he had landed in Africa. There assembling his troops, he told them, in few words, the motives which had prompted him to this expedition. He represented, that the only way to free their country, was to carry the war into the territories of their enemies: that he led them, who were inured to war and of intrepid dispositions, against a parcel of enemies who were softened and enervated by ease and luxury: that the natives of the country, oppressed with the yoke of servitude, equally cruel and ignominious, would run in crowds to join them on the first news of their arrival: that the boldness of their attempt would alone disconcert the Carthaginians, who had no expectation of seeing an enemy at their gates: in short, that no enterprise could possibly be more advantageous or honourable than this, since the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whose courage would be praised and admired by the latest posterity. The soldiers fancied themselves already masters of Carthage, and received his speech with applause and acclamations. One circumstance alone gave them uneasiness, and that was, an eclipse of the sun happening just as they were setting sail. In these ages, even the most civilized nations understood very little the reason of these extraordinary phenomena of nature; and used to draw from them, (by their soothsayers,) superstitious and arbitrary conjectures, which frequently would either suspend or hasten the most important enterprises. However, Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by assuring them that these eclipses always foretold some instant change: that, therefore, good fortune was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his soldiers in the good disposition he wished them, he executed, almost at the same time, a second enterprise, which was even more daring and hazardous than his first, of carrying them over into Africa; and this was, the burning every ship in his fleet. Many reasons determined him to so desperate an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa where his ships could lie in safety. As the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, they would not have failed to possess themselves immediately of his fleet, which was incapable of making the least resistance. In case he had left as many hands as were necessary to defend it, he would have weakened his army, which was inconsiderable at the best, and put it out of his power to gain any advantage by this unexpected diversion, the success of which depended entirely on the swiftness and vigour of the execution. Lastly, he was desirous of putting his sol-

* The battle was fought near the river and city of Himera.

† 50,000 French crowns, or 855,000.

diers under a necessity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge than victory. Much courage was necessary to adopt such a resolution. He had already prepared all his officers, who were entirely devoted to his service, and received every impression he gave them. He then came suddenly into the assembly, with a crown upon his head, dressed in a magnificent habit, and, with the air and behaviour of a man who was going to perform some religious ceremony, and addressing himself to the assembly, "When we," says he, "left Syracuse, and were warnly pursued by the enemy, in this fatal necessity, I addressed myself to Ceres and Proserpine, the tutelar divinities of Sicily; and promised, that if they would free us from this imminent danger, I would burn all our ships in their honour, at our first landing here. Aid me, therefore, O soldiers, to discharge my vow; for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice." At the same time, taking a flambeau in his hand, he hastily led the way on board his own ship, and set it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful shouts and acclamations. The fleet was soon consumed. The soldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on the proposal made to them. They had all been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour: but when they had a little recovered their reason, and, surveying in their minds the vast extent of ocean which separated them from their own country, saw themselves in that of the enemy, without the least resource, or any means of escaping out of it, a sad and melancholy silence succeeded the transport of joy and acclamations, but a moment before, had been so general in the army.

Here again Agathocles left no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country through which they marched to this place afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect in the world. On each side were seen large meads watered by beautiful streams, and covered with innumerable flocks of all kinds of cattle; country seats built with extraordinary magnificence; delightful avenues planted with olive and all sorts of fruit-trees; gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with a care and elegance which delighted the eye. This prospect reanimated the soldiers. They marched full of courage to the Great City, which they took, sword in hand, and enriched themselves with the plunder of it, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis, which was not far distant from Carthage, made as little resistance.

The Carthaginians were in prodigious alarm, when it was known that the enemy was in the country, advancing by hasty marches. This arrival of Agathocles made the Carthaginians conclude, that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost. The people ran in disorder to the great square of the city, while the senate assembled in haste, and in a tumultuous manner. Immediately they deliberated on the means for preserving the city. They had no army in readiness to oppose the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait the arrival of those forces which might be raised in the country, and among the allies. It was therefore resolved, after several different opinions, had been heard, to arm the citizens. The number of the forces thus levied amounted to forty thousand foot, a thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilcar, though divided between themselves by some family quarrels, were, however, joined in the command of these troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy, and on sight of them, drew up their forces in order of battle. Agathocles had, at most, but thirteen or fourteen thousand men.* The signal was given, and an obstinate fight ensued. Hanno, with his sacred cohort, the flower of the Carthaginian forces, long sustained the fury of the Greeks, and sometimes even broke their ranks; but at last, overwhelmed with a shower of stones, and covered with wounds, he fell dead on the field. Bomilcar might have changed the face of things, but he had private and personal reasons not to obtain a victory for his country. He therefore thought proper to retire with the forces under his command, and was followed by the whole army, which by that means was forced to leave the field to Agathocles. After pursuing the enemy some time, he returned and plundered the Carthaginian camp. Twenty thousand pair of manacles were found in it with which the Carthaginians had furnished themselves, in the firm persuasion of their taking many prisoners. The result of this victory was the capture of a

* Agathocles, wanting arms for many of his soldiers, provided them with such as were counterfeit, which look- ed well at a distance. And perceiving the discouragement his forces were under on the sight of the enemy's horse, he let fly a great many owls, privately procured for that purpose, which his soldiers interpreted as an omen and assurance of victory.—Diod. ad Ann. 3 Olymp. p. 117.

great number of strong-holds, and the defection of many of the natives of the country, who joined the victor.

This descent of Agathocles into Africa, doubtless gave birth to Scipio's design of making a like attempt upon the same republic, and from the same place.* Wherefore in his answer to Fabius, who ascribed to temerity his design of making Africa the seat of the war, he forgot not to mention the example of Agathocles, as an instance in favour of his enterprise, and to show, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, who presses too closely upon us, than by carrying the war into his own country; and that men are much more courageous when they act upon the offensive, than when they stand only upon the defensive.

While the Carthaginians were thus warmly attacked by their enemies, ambassadors came to them from Tyre.† They came to implore their succour against Alexander the Great who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long besieged. The extremity to which their countrymen, for so they called them, were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as sensibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve them, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them; and deputed thirty of their principal citizens, to express their grief that they could not spare them any troops, because of the present melancholy situation of their own affairs. The Tyrians though disappointed of the only hope they had left, did not however despond. They committed their wives, children,‡ and old men, to the care of those deputies; and being delivered from all inquietude with regard to persons who were dearer to them than any thing in the world, they thought only of making a resolute defence, prepared for the worst that might happen. Carthage received this afflicted company with all possible marks of amity, and paid to guests who were so dear and worthy of compassion, all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents.

Quintus Curtius places this embassy from Tyre to the Carthaginians at the same time that the Syracusans were ravaging Africa; and had advanced to the very gates of Carthage. But the expedition of Agathocles against Africa cannot agree in time with the siege of Tyre, which was more than twenty years before it.

At the same time, Carthage was solicitous how to extricate itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded. The present unhappy state of the republic was considered as the effect of the wrath of the gods; and it was acknowledged to be justly deserved, particularly with regard to two deities towards whom the Carthaginians had been remiss in the discharge of certain duties prescribed to their religion, and which had once been observed with great exactness. It was a custom coeval with the city itself, in Carthage, to send annually to Tyre, the mother city, the tenth of the revenues of the republic, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both cities. The domain, and consequently the revenues of Carthage, having increased considerably, the portion on the contrary, of the god, had been lessened, and they were far from remitting the whole tenth to him. They were seized with a scruple in this respect, they made an open and public confession of their insincerity, and sacrilegious avarice, and to expiate their guilt, they sent to Tyre a great number of presents, and small shrines of their deities, all of gold, which amounted to a prodigious value.

Another violation of religion, which to their inhuman superstition seemed as flagrant as the former, gave them no less uneasiness. Anciently, children of the best families in Carthage used to be sacrificed to Saturn. They now reproached themselves with having failed to pay to the god the honours which they thought were due to him; and with having used fraud and dishonest dealing towards him, by having substituted in their sacrifices, children of slaves or beggars, bought for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice was made to this blood-thirsty god, of two hundred children of the first rank; and upwards of three hundred persons, from a sense of this terrible neglect, offered themselves voluntarily as victims to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of the gods.

After these expiations, expresses were despatched to Sicily, with the news of what had happened in Africa, and, at the same time, to request immediate succours. Hamilcar, on receiving this disastrous intelligence, commanded the deputies to observe the strictest silence on the victory of Agathocles, and spread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the

* Liv. l. xxviii. n. 43.

† Diod. l. xvii. p. 519. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 3.

‡ Τῶν τίκτων καὶ γυναικῶν μέγας, some of their wives and children.—Diod. l. xvii.—xl.

Carthaginians; and in confirmation of this report, he showed the irons of the vessels pretended to be taken, which had been carefully sent to him. The truth of this report was not at all doubted in Syracuse; the majority were for capitulating,* when a galley of thirty oars, built in haste by Agathocles, arrived in the port, and through great difficulties and dangers forced its way to the besieged. The news of Agathocles's victory immediately flew through the city, and restored life and resolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a last effort to storm the city, but was beaten off with loss. He then raised the siege, and sent five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country. Some time after, having resumed the siege, and hoping to surprise the Syracusans, by attacking them in the night,† his design was discovered, and falling alive into the enemy's hands, he was put to death with most exquisite tortures.‡ Hamilcar's head was sent immediately to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, threw it into a general consternation, by displaying to them the head of their general, which manifested the melancholy situation of their affairs in Sicily.

To these foreign enemies was joined a domestic one, which was more to be feared as being more dangerous than the others; this was Bomilcar their general, who was then in possession of the first post in Carthage;§ He had long meditated how to make himself tyrant, and attain the sovereignty of Carthage, and imagined that the present troubles offered him the wished-for opportunity. He therefore entered the city, and being seconded by a small number of citizens, who were the accomplices of his rebellion, and a body of foreign soldiers, he proclaimed himself tyrant, and made himself literally such, by cutting the throats of all the citizens whom he met with in the streets. A tumult arising immediately in the city, it was at first thought that the enemy had taken it by some treachery; but when it was known that Bomilcar caused all this disturbance, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houses discharged whole volleys of darts and stones upon the heads of his soldiers. When he saw an army marching in order against him, he retired with his troops to an eminence, with design to make a vigorous defence, and to sell his life as dear as possible. To spare the blood of the citizens, a general pardon was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. They surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilcar their chief excepted; for he, notwithstanding the general indemnity promised by oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a cross, where he suffered the most exquisite torments. From the cross, as from a rostrum, he harangued the people, and thought himself justly empowered to reproach them for their injustice, their ingratitude, and perfidy; which he did by enumerating many illustrious generals, whose services they had rewarded with an ignominious death. He expired on the cross while uttering these reproaches.||

Agathocles¶ had won over to his interest a powerful king of Cyrene, named Ophellas, whose ambition he had flattered with the most splendid hopes, by leading him to understand that contenting himself with Sicily, he would leave to Ophellas the empire of Africa. But as Agathocles did not scruple to commit the most horrid crimes to promote his ambition and interest, the credulous prince had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than, by the blackest perfidy, he caused him to be murdered, in order that Ophellas's army might be entirely at his devotion. Many nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles, and several strong holds were garrisoned by his forces. As he now saw the affairs of Africa in a flourishing condition, he thought it proper to look after those of Sicily; accordingly, he sailed back thither, having left the command of his army to his son Archagathus. His renown, and the report of his victories, flew before him.

On the news of his arrival in Sicily, many towns revolted to him; but bad news soon recalled him to Africa. His absence had quite changed the face of things; and all his endeavours were incapable of restoring them to their former condition. All

* And the most forward of all the rest was Antander, the brother of Agathocles, left commander in his absence, who was so terrified with the report, that he was eager for having the city surrendered, and expelled out of it eight thousand inhabitants who were of a contrary opinion. † Diod. p. 767—769.

‡ He was cruelly tortured till he died, and so met with the fate which his fellow-citizens, offended at his conduct in Sicily, had probably allotted for him at home. He was too formidable to be attacked at the head of his army, and therefore the votes of the senate, whatever they were, being according to custom cast into a vessel, it was immediately closed, with an order not to uncover it till he was returned, and had thrown up his commission.—Justin. l. xxii. c. 3.

§ Diod. p. 779—781. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7.

|| It would seem incredible, that any man could so far triumph over the pains of the cross, as to talk with any coherence in his discourse, had not Seneca assured us, that some have so far despised and insulted its tortures, that they spit contemptuously upon the spectators. *Quidam ex pœnibulo suos spectatores conspuerunt.*—De Vita Beata, c. 19.

¶ Diod. p. 777—779, 791—802. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7, 8.

his strong holds had surrendered to the enemy; the Africans had deserted him; some of his troops were lost, and the remainder were unable to make head against the Carthaginians: he had no way to transport them into Sicily, as he was destitute of ships; the enemy were masters at sea, and he could not hope for either peace or treaty with the barbarians, since he had insulted them in so outrageous a manner, by his being the first who had dared to make a descent on their country. In this extremity, he thought only of providing for his own safety.

After many adventures, this base deserter of his army, and perfidious betrayer of his own children, who were left by him to the wild fury of his disappointed soldiers, stole away from the dangers which threatened him, and arrived at Syracuse with very few followers. His soldiers, seeing themselves thus betrayed, murdered his sons, and surrendered to the enemy. Himself died miserably, soon after, and ended, by a cruel death,* a life that had been polluted with the blackest crimes.

In this period may be placed another incident related by Justin.† The fame of Alexander's conquests made the Carthaginians fear that he might think of turning his arms towards Africa.

The disastrous fate of Tyre, whence they drew their origin, and which he had so lately destroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt, as if he intended it as a rival city to Carthage; the uninterrupted successes of that prince, whose ambition and good fortune were boundless; all this justly alarmed the Carthaginians. To sound his inclinations, Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, pretending to have been driven from his country by the cabals of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, to whom he was introduced by Parmenio, and offered him his services. The king received him graciously, and had several conferences with him. Hamilcar did not fail to transmit to his country whatever discoveries he made from time to time of Alexander's designs. Nevertheless, on his return to Carthage, after Alexander's death, he was considered as a betrayer of his country to that prince, and accordingly was put to death by a sentence, which displayed equally the ingratitude and cruelty of his countrymen.

I am now to speak of the wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily, in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The Romans, to whom the designs of that ambitious prince were not unknown, to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make upon Italy, had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their side, were no less afraid of his crossing into Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either of the contracting powers should be attacked by Pyrrhus.‡

The foresight of the Romans was well founded: Pyrrhus turned his arms against Italy, and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in consequence of the last treaty, thought themselves obliged to assist the Romans, and accordingly sent them a fleet of six-score sail, under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the senate, signified to them the concern his superiors took in the war which they heard was carrying on against the Romans: and offered them their assistance. The senate returned thanks for the obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at present thought fit to decline it.§

Mago, some days after, repaired to Pyrrhus, upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for terminating his quarrel with the Romans, but in reality to sound him, and discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade.|| The Carthaginians were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for the conquest of it. And indeed the Syracusans, who had been besieged for some time by the Carthaginians, had sent pressing for succour to Pyrrhus. This prince had a particular reason to espouse their interests, having married Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles, by whom he had a son, named Alexander.

He at last sailed from Tarentum, passed the strait, and arrived in Sicily. His conquests at first were so rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole island, only the single town of Lilybæum. He laid siege to it, but meeting with a vigorous re-

* He was poisoned by one Mænon, whom he had unparitally abused. His teeth were putrefied by the violence of the poison, and his body tortured all over with the most racking pains. Mænon was excited to this deed by Archagathus, grandson of Agathocles, whom he designed to defeat of the succession, in favour of his other son Agathocles. Before his death, he restored the democracy to the people. It is observable that Justin, or rather Trogus, and Diodorus, disagree in all the material parts of this tyrant's history. † Justin. l. xxii. c. 6.

‡ A. M. 3727. A. Carth. 569. Rome, 471. Ant. J. C. 277. Polyb. l. iii. p. 250. Edit. Gronov.

§ Justin. l. xviii. c. 2.

|| Ibid.

sistance, was obliged to retire, and the urgent necessity of his affairs called him back to Italy, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Nor was it less so in Sicily, which, on his departure, returned to the obedience of its former masters. Thus he lost this island with the same rapidity that he had won it. As he was embarking turning his eyes back to Sicily; *What a fine field of battle,** said he to those about him, *do we leave the Carthaginians and Romans!†* His prediction was soon verified.

After his departure, the chief magistracy of Syracuse was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king, by the united suffrages of the citizens, so greatly had his government pleased. He was appointed to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, and obtained several advantages over them. But now a common interest reunited them against a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, and justly alarmed both; these were the Romans, who having crushed all the enemies who had hitherto exercised their arms in Italy itself, were now powerful enough to carry them out of it; and to lay the foundation of that vast power there, to which they afterwards attained, and of which it was probable they had even then formed the design. Sicily lay too commodious for them, not to form a resolution of establishing themselves in it. They therefore eagerly snatched this opportunity for crossing into it, which caused the rupture between them and the Carthaginians, and gave rise to the first Punic war. This I shall treat of more at large by relating the causes of that war.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF CARTHAGE, FROM THE FIRST PUNIC WAR TO ITS DESTRUCTION.

THE plan which I have laid down, does not allow me to enter into an exact detail of the wars between Rome and Carthage, since that relates rather to the Roman history, which I shall only transiently and occasionally touch upon. My business is to relate such facts only as may give the reader a just idea of the republic, whose history lies before me; by confining myself to those particulars which relate chiefly to the Carthaginians, such as their transactions in Sicily, Spain, and Africa, which are sufficiently extensive.

I have already observed, that from the first Punic war to the ruin of Carthage, a hundred and eighteen years elapsed. This whole time may be divided into five parts or intervals.

I. The first Punic war lasted twenty-four years.	24
II. The interval between the first and second Punic war is also twenty-four years.	} 24
III. The second Punic war took up seventeen years.	
IV. The interval between the second and third, is forty-nine years.	49
V. The third Punic war, terminated by the destruction of Carthage, continued but four years and some months.	} 4

ARTICLE I.—THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

THE first Punic war arose from the following cause. Some Campanian soldiers in the service of Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, having entered as friends into Messina, they soon after murdered part of the townsmen, drove out the rest, married their wives, seized their effects, and remained sole masters of that important city.‡ They then assumed the name of Mamertines. In imitation of them, and by their assistance, a Roman legion treated in the same cruel manner the city of Rhegium, lying directly opposite to Messina, on the other side of the strait. These two perfidious cities, supporting one another, became at last formidable to their neighbours; and especially Messina, which, being very powerful, gave great umbrage and uneasiness both to

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 398.

† Οταν ἀπολείπομεν τῶ φίλοι, Καρχηδονίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πάλαιστραν. The Greek expression is beautiful: Indeed Sicily was a kind of Palæstra, where the Carthaginians and Romans exercised themselves in war, and for many years seemed to play the part of wrestlers with each other. The English language, as well as the French has no word to express the Greek term.

‡ A. M. 8724. A. Carth. 566. A. Rome, 468. Ant. J. C. 280. Polyb. l. i. p. 8. Edit. Gronov.

the Syracusans and Carthaginians, who possessed one part of Sicily. After the Romans had got rid of the enemies they had so long contended with, and particularly of Pyrrhus, they began to think it time to call their citizens to account, who had settled themselves near two years at Rhegium, in so cruel and treacherous a manner. Accordingly they took the city, and killed in the attack, the greatest part of the inhabitants, who armed with despair, had fought to the last gasp: three hundred only were left, who were carried to Rome, whipped, and then publicly beheaded in the forum. The view which the Romans had in making this bloody execution, was, to prove to their allies their own sincerity and innocence. Rhegium was immediately restored to its lawful possessors. The Mamertines, who were considerably weakened, as well by the ruin of their confederate city, as by the losses sustained from the Syracusans, who had lately placed Hiero at their head, thought it time to provide for their own safety. But divisions arising among them, one part surrendered the citadel to the Carthaginians, while the other called in the Romans to their assistance, and resolved to put them in possession of their city.

The affair was debated in the Roman senate, where, being considered in all its lights, it appeared to have some difficulties.* On one hand, it was thought base, and altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue, for them to undertake openly the defence of traitors, whose perfidy was exactly the same with that of the Rhegians, whom the Romans had recently punished with so exemplary a severity. On the other hand, it was of the utmost consequence to stop the progress of the Carthaginians, who, not satisfied with their conquests in Africa and Spain, had also made themselves masters of almost all the islands of the Sardinian and Hetrurian seas; and would certainly get all Sicily into their hands, if they should be suffered to possess themselves of Messina. From thence into Italy the passage was very short; and it was in some manner to invite an enemy to come over, to leave the entrance open. These reasons, though so strong, could not prevail with the senate to declare in favour of the Mamertines; and accordingly, motives of honour and justice prevailed over those of interest and policy. But the people were not so scrupulous; for, in an assembly held on this subject, it was resolved that the Mamertines should be assisted.† The consul Appius Claudius immediately set forward with his army, and boldly crossed the strait, after he had, by an ingenious stratagem, eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian general. The Carthaginians, partly by art and partly by force, were driven out of the citadel; and the city was surrendered immediately to the consul. The Carthaginians hanged their general, for having given up the citadel in so cowardly a manner, and prepared to besiege the town with all their forces. Hiero joined them with his own. But the consul having defeated them separately, raised the siege, and laid waste at pleasure the neighbouring country, the enemy not daring to face him. This was the first expedition which the Romans made out of Italy.

It is doubted, whether the motives which prompted the Romans to undertake this expedition were very upright, and exactly conformable to the rules of strict justice.‡ Be this as it may, their passage into Sicily, and the succour they gave to the inhabitants of Messina, may be said to have been the first steps by which they ascended to that height of glory and grandeur they afterwards attained.

Hiero having reconciled himself to the Romans, and entered into an alliance with them, the Carthaginians bent all their thoughts on Sicily, and sent numerous armies into that island.§ Agrigentum was their depot of arms, which being attacked by the Romans, was won by them, after they had besieged it seven months, and gained one battle.||

Notwithstanding the advantage of this victory, and the conquest of so important a city, the Romans were sensible, that while the Carthaginians should continue masters at sea, the maritime places in the island would always side with them, and put it out of their power ever to drive them out of Sicily.¶ Besides, they saw with reluctance Africa enjoy a profound tranquillity, at a time that Italy was infested by the frequent incursions of its enemies. They now first formed the design of having a fleet, and of disputing the empire of the sea with the Carthaginians. The undertaking was bold, and in outward appearance rash, but evinces the courage and grandeur of the Roman genius. The Romans were not then possessed of a single vessel,

* Polyb. l. i. p. §12—15. Edit. Gronov.

† A. M. 3741. A. Carth. 523. A. Rome, 485. Ant. J. C. 623. Frontin.

‡ The Chevalier Folard examines this question in his remarks upon Polybius, l. i. p. 16.

§ Polyb. l. i. p. 15—19.

|| A. M. 3743. A. Rome, 487.

¶ Polyb. l. i. p. 20.

which they could call their own: and the ships which had transported their forces into Sicily had been borrowed of their neighbours. They were unexperienced in sea affairs, had no carpenters acquainted with the building of ships, and knew nothing of the shape of the quinqueremes, or galleys, with five benches of oars, in which the chief strength of fleets at that time consisted; but happily, the year before, one had been taken upon the coasts of Italy, which served them as a model. They therefore applied themselves with ardour and incredible industry to the building of ships in the same form; and in the mean time they got together a set of rowers, who were taught an exercise and discipline utterly unknown to them before, in the following manner. Benches were made, on the shore, in the same order and fashion with those of galleys. The rowers were seated on these benches, and taught, as if they had been furnished with oars, to throw themselves backwards with their arms drawn to their breasts; and then to throw their bodies and arms forward in one regular motion, the instant their commanding officer gave the signal. In two months, one hundred galleys of five benches of oars, and twenty galleys of three benches were built; and after some time had been spent in exercising the rowers on ship-board, the fleet put to sea, and went in quest of the enemy. The consul Duillius had the command of it.

The Romans coming up with the Carthaginians near the coast of Myle, they prepared for an engagement.* As the Roman galleys, by their being clumsily and hastily built, were neither very nimble nor easy to work, this inconvenience was supplied by a machine invented for this occasion, and afterwards known by the name of the *Corvus*,† *crow* or *crane*, by help of which they grappled the enemy's ships, boarded them, and immediately came to close engagement. The signal for fighting was given. The Carthaginian fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty sail, under the command of Hannibal.‡ He himself was on board a galley of seven benches of oars, which had once belonged to Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians, highly despising enemies who were utterly unacquainted with sea affairs, imagined that their very appearance would put them to flight, and therefore came forward boldly, with little expectation of fighting, but firmly imagining they should reap the spoils, which they had already devoured with their eyes. They were nevertheless a little surprised at the sight of the above-mentioned engines, raised on the prow of every one of the enemy's ships, and which was entirely new to them. But their astonishment increased, when they saw those engines drop down at once; and being thrown forcibly into their vessels, grappled them in spite of all resistance. This changed the form of the action, and obliged the Carthaginians to come to close engagement with their enemies, as though they had fought them on land. They soon were unable to sustain the attack of the Roman vessels, upon which a horrible slaughter ensued; and the Carthaginians lost fourscore vessels, among which was the admiral's galley, he himself escaping with difficulty in a small boat.

So considerable and unexpected a victory raised the courage of the Romans, and seemed to redouble their vigour for the continuance of the war. Extraordinary honours were bestowed on the consul Duillius, who was the first Roman that had a naval triumph decreed him. Besides which, a rostral pillar was erected to his honour, with a noble inscription; which pillar is yet standing in Rome.§

During the two following years, the Romans grew insensibly stronger at sea, by their gaining several naval victories.|| But these were considered by them only as essays preparatory to the great design they meditated of carrying the war into Africa, and of combating the Carthaginians in their own country. There was nothing the latter dreaded more; and to divert so dangerous a blow, they resolved to fight the enemy, whatever might be the consequence.

The Romans had elected M. Atilius Regulus, and L. Manlius, consuls for this year.¶ Their fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty vessels, on board of which were one hundred and forty thousand men, each vessel having three hundred rowers, and a hundred and twenty soldiers. That of the Carthaginians, commanded by Hanno and Hamilear, had twenty vessels more than the Romans, and a greater number of men in proportion. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Ecnomus in Sicily. No man could behold two such formidable navies, or be a spectator of the extraordinary preparations they made for fighting, without being under some con-

* A. M. 3745. A. Rome, 489. Polyb. l. i. p. 22.

† Polyb. l. i. p. 31.

‡ A different person from the great Hannibal.

§ These pillars were called *rostratae*, from the beaks of ships with which they were adorned; *rostra*.

|| Polyb. l. i. p. 24.

¶ A. M. 3749. A. Rome, 494. Polyb. l. i. p. 24.

cern, on seeing the danger which menaced two of the most powerful states in the world. As the courage on both sides was equal, and no great disparity in their forces, the fight was obstinate, and the victory long doubtful; but at last the Carthaginians were overcome. More than sixty of their ships were taken by the enemy, and thirty sunk. The Romans lost twenty-four, not one of which was taken by the Carthaginians.

The fruit of this victory, as the Romans had designed it, was their sailing to Africa, after having refitted their ships, and provided them with all necessaries for carrying on a long war in a foreign country.* They landed happily in Africa, and began the war by taking a town called Clypea, which had a commodious haven. From thence, after having sent an express to Rome, to give advice of their landing, and to receive orders from the senate, they overran the open country, in which they made terrible havoc; bringing away whole flocks of cattle, and twenty thousand prisoners.

The express returned in the mean time with the orders of the senate; which were, that Regulus should continue to command the armies in Africa, with the title of proconsul; and that his colleague should return with a great part of the fleet and the forces; leaving Regulus only forty vessels, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse.† Their leaving the latter with so few ships and troops, was a visible renunciation of the advantages which might have been expected from the descent upon Africa.

The people at Rome depended greatly on the courage and abilities of Regulus; and their joy was universal, when it was known that he was continued in the command in Africa; but he alone was afflicted on that account.‡ When news was brought him of it, he wrote to Rome, and requested, in the strongest terms, that he might be allowed to resign. His chief reason was, that the death of the farmer who rented his grounds, having given one of his hirelings an opportunity of carrying off all the implements of tillage, his presence was necessary for taking care of his little spot of ground, but seven acres, which was all the property his family possessed. But the senate undertook to have his lands cultivated at the public expense; to maintain his wife and children; and to indemnify him for the loss he had sustained by the robbery of his hireling. Thrice happy age! in which poverty was thus had in honour, and was united with the most rare and uncommon merit, and the highest employments of the state! Regulus, thus freed from his domestic cares, bent his whole thoughts on discharging the duty of a general.

After taking several castles, he laid siege to Adis, one of the strongest fortresses of the country.§ The Carthaginians, exasperated at seeing their enemies thus laying waste their lands at pleasure, at last took the field, and marched against them to force them to raise the siege. With this view, they posted themselves on a hill, which overlooked the Roman camp, and was convenient for annoying the enemy; but at the same time, by its situation, useless to one part of their army; for the strength of the Carthaginians lay chiefly in their horses and elephants, which are of no service but in plains. Regulus did not give them an opportunity of descending from the hill, but taking advantage of this essential mistake of the Carthaginian generals, fell upon them in this post; and after meeting with a feeble resistance, put the enemy to flight, plundered their camp, and laid waste the adjacent countries. Then, having taken Tunis,|| an important city, and which brought him near Carthage, he made his army encamp there.

The enemy were in the utmost alarm. All things had succeeded ill with them; their forces had been defeated by sea and land, and upwards of two hundred towns had surrendered to the conqueror. Besides, the Numidians made greater havoc in

* Polyb. l. i. p. 30.

† A. M. 3750. A. Rome, 494.

‡ Val. Max. l. iv. c. 4.

§ Polyb. l. i. p. 31—36.

|| In the interval between the departure of Manlius and the taking of Tunis, we are to place the memorable combat of Regulus and his whole army, with a serpent of so prodigious a size, that the fabulous one of Cadmus is hardly comparable to it. The story of this serpent was elegantly written by Livy, but it is now lost. Valerius Maximus, however, partly repairs that loss; and, in the last chapter of his first book, gives us this account of this monster from Livy himself. He (Livy) says, that on the banks of Bagrada, an African river, lay a serpent, of so enormous a size, that it kept the whole Roman army from coming to the river. Several soldiers had been buried in the wide caverns of its belly, and many pressed to death in the spiral volumes of its tail. Its skin was impenetrable to darts; and it was with repeated endeavours, that stones, slung from military engines, at last killed it. The serpent then exhibited a sight that was more terrible to the Roman cohorts and legions, than even Carthage itself. The streams of the river were dyed with its blood, and the stench of its putrid carcase infecting the adjacent country, the Roman army was forced to decamp. Its skin, one hundred and twenty feet long, was sent to Rome; and, if Pliny may be credited, was to be seen, together with the jaw-bone of the same monster, in the temple, where they were first deposited, as late as the Numantine war.

their territories than even the Romans. They expected every moment to see their capital besieged. And their affliction was increased by the concourse of peasants, with their wives and children, who flocked from all parts to Carthage for safety; which gave them melancholy apprehensions of a famine in case of a siege, Regulus, afraid of having the glory of his victories torn from him by a successor, made some proposal of an accommodation to the vanquished enemy; but the conditions appeared so hard that they would not listen to them. As he did not doubt his being soon master of Carthage, he would not abate any thing in his demands; but by an infatuation which is almost inseparable from great and unexpected success, he treated them with haughtiness, and pretended, that every thing he suffered them to possess ought to be esteemed a favour, with this farther insult. *That they ought either to overcome like brave men; or learn to submit to the victor.** So harsh and disdainful a treatment only fired their resentment, and made them resolve rather to die sword in hand, than to do any thing which might derogate from the dignity of Carthage.

Reduced to this fatal extremity, they received, in the happiest juncture a reinforcement of auxiliary troops, out of Greece, with Xanthippus the Lacedæmonian at their head, who had been educated in the discipline of Sparta, and learned the art of war in that renowned and excellent school. When he had heard the circumstances of the last battle, which were told him at his request; had clearly discerned the occasion of its being lost, and perfectly informed himself of the strength of Carthage, he declared publicly, and repeated it often in the hearing of the rest of the officers, that the misfortunes of the Carthaginians were owing entirely to the incapacity of their generals. These discourses came at last to the ear of the public council: the members of it were struck with them, and they requested the favour of seeing and talking with him. He then corroborated his opinion with such strong and convincing reasons, that the oversights committed by the generals were visible to every one; and he proved as clearly to the council, that, by a conduct opposite to the former, they would not only secure their dominions, but drive the enemy out of them. This speech revived the courage and hopes of the Carthaginians; and Xanthippus was entreated, and in some measure forced, to accept the command of the army. When the Carthaginians saw, in his exercising of their forces near the city, the manner in which he drew them up in order of battle, made them advance or retreat on the first signal, file off with order and expedition; in a word, perform all the evolutions and movements of the military art; they were struck with astonishment, and owned that the ablest generals which Carthage had hitherto produced knew nothing in comparison of Xanthippus.

The officers, soldiers, and every one, were lost in admiration; and what is very uncommon, jealousy gave no alloy to it; the fear of the present danger, and the love of their country, stifling, without doubt, all other sentiments. The gloomy consternation, which had before seized the whole army, was succeeded by joy and alacrity. The soldiers were urgent to be led against the enemy, in the firm assurance, as they said, of being victorious under their new leader, and of obliterating the disgrace of former defeats. Xanthippus did not suffer their ardour to cool and the sight of the enemy only inflamed it.

When he had approached within a little more than twelve hundred paces of them, he thought proper to call a council of war, in order to show a respect to the Carthaginian generals by consulting them. All unanimously joined opinion with him, upon which they resolved to give the enemy battle the following day.

The Carthaginian army was composed of twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and about a hundred elephants. That of the Romans, as near as may be guessed from what goes before, for Polybius gives no determinate number, consisted of fifteen thousand foot, and three hundred horse.

It must have been a noble sight to see two armies, not overcharged with numbers, but composed of brave soldiers, and commanded by very able generals, engaged in battle. In those tumultuous fights, where two or three hundred thousand are engaged on both sides, confusion is inevitable; and it is difficult, amidst a thousand events, where chance generally seems to have greater share than counsel to discover the true merit of commanders, and the real causes of victory. But in such engagements as this before us, nothing escapes the curiosity of the reader, for he clearly sees the disposition of the two armies, imagines he almost hears the orders given out by the generals, follows all the movements of the army, discovers plainly the faults on both

* Διὶ τὸς ἀγαθὸς ἢ νικᾶν ἢ εἶναι τοῖς ὑπερίχουσιν.—Diod. Eclog. l. xxiii. c. 10.

sides, and is thereby qualified to determine, with certainty, the causes to which the victory or defeat is owing. The success of this battle, however inconsiderable it may appear, from the small number of the combatants, was nevertheless to decide the fate of Carthage.

The disposition of both armies was as follows. Xanthippus drew all his elephants in front. Behind these, at some distance, he placed the Carthaginian infantry in one body or phalanx. The foreign troops in the Carthaginian service were posted, one part of them on the right, between the phalanx and the horse, and the other, composed of light-armed soldiers, in platoons, at the head of the two wings of the cavalry.

On the side of the Romans, as they apprehended the elephants most, Regulus, to provide against them, posted his light-armed soldiers, on a line, in the front of the legions. In the rear of these he placed the cohorts, one behind another, and the horse on the wings. In thus straitening the front of his main battle, to give it more depth, he indeed took a just precaution, says Polybius, against the elephants, but he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy.

The two armies being thus drawn up, waited only for the signal. Xanthippus ordered the elephants to advance, to break the ranks of the enemy, and commanded the two wings of the cavalry to charge the Romans in flank. At the same time, the latter, clashing their arms, and shouting after the manner of their country, advanced against the enemy. Their cavalry did not stand the onset long, it being so much inferior to that of the Carthaginians. The infantry of the left wing, to avoid the attacks of the elephants, and show how little they feared the mercenaries who formed the enemy's right wing, attacks it, puts it to flight, and pursues it to the camp. Those in the first ranks, who were opposed to the elephants, were broken and trodden under foot, after fighting valiantly; and the rest of the main body stood firm for some time, by reason of its great depth. But the rear, being attacked in flank by the enemy's cavalry, and obliged to face about and receive it, and those who had broken through the elephants, met the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed on all sides, and entirely defeated. The greatest part of them were crushed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants; and the remainder, standing in their ranks, were shot through and through with arrows from the enemy's horse. Only a small number fled, and as they were in an open country, the horse and elephants killed a great part of them. Five hundred, or thereabouts, who went off with Regulus, were taken prisoners with him. The Carthaginians lost, in this battle, eight hundred mercenaries, who were opposed to the left wing of the Romans; and of the latter only two thousand escaped, who, by their pursuing the enemy's right wing, had drawn themselves out of the engagement. All the rest, Regulus and those who were taken with him excepted, were left dead in the field. The two thousand who had escaped the slaughter retired to Clypea, and were saved in an almost miraculous manner.

The Carthaginians, after having stripped the dead, entered Carthage in triumph, dragging after them the unfortunate Regulus, and five hundred prisoners. Their joy was so much the greater, as, but a very few days before, they had seen themselves upon the brink of ruin. The men and women, old and young, crowded the temples, to return thanks to the gods; and several days were devoted wholly to festivities and rejoicings.

Xanthippus, who had contributed so much to this happy change, had the wisdom to withdraw shortly after, from the apprehension lest his glory, which had hitherto been unsullied, might, after this first blaze, insensibly fade away, and leave him exposed to the darts of envy and calumny, which are always dangerous, but most in a foreign country, when a man stands alone, unsupported by friends, relations, or any other succour.

Polybius tells us, that Xanthippus's departure was related in a different manner, and he promises to take notice of it in another place, but that part of his history has not come down to us. We read in Appian,* that the Carthaginians, excited by a mean and detestable jealousy of Xanthippus's glory, and unable to bear the thoughts that they should stand indebted to Sparta for their safety, upon pretence of conducting him and his attendants back with honour to his own country, with a numerous convoy of ships, gave private orders to have them all put to death in their passage;

* De Bell. Pun. p. 30.

as if, with him, they could have buried in the waves for ever the memory of his services, and their horrid ingratitude to him.*

This battle, says Polybius,† though not so considerable as many others, may yet furnish very salutary instructions; which, adds that author, is the greatest benefit that can be reaped from the study of history.

First, should any man promise himself permanent good fortune, after he has considered the fate of Regulus? That general, insolent with victory, inexorable to the conquered, and deaf to all their remonstrances, saw himself a few days after vanquished by them, and made their prisoner. Hannibal suggested the same reflection to Scipio, when he exhorted him not to be dazzled with the success of his arms. Regulus, said he, would have been recorded among the few instances of valour and felicity, had he, after the victory obtained in this very country, granted our fathers the peace which they sued for. But, putting no bounds to his ambition and the insulence of success, the greater his prosperity, the more ignominious was his fall.‡

In the second place, the truth of the saying of Euripides is here seen in its full extent, *That one wise head is worth a great many hands.*§ A single man here changes the whole face of affairs. On one hand; he defeats troops which were thought invincible; on the other, he revives the courage of a city, and an army, whom he had found in consternation and despair.

Such, as Polybius observes, is the use which ought to be made of the study of history. For there being two ways of acquiring improvement and instruction, first, by one's own experience, and secondly, by that of other men; it is much more wise and useful to improve by other men's miscarriages than by our own.

I return to Regulus, that I may here finish what relates to him; Polybius, to our great disappointment, taking no farther notice of that general.||

After being kept some years in prison, he was sent to Rome, to propose an exchange of prisoners.¶ He had been obliged to take an oath, that he would return in case he proved unsuccessful. He then acquainted the senate with the subject of his voyage; and being invited by them to give his opinion freely, he answered that he could no longer do it as a senator, having lost both this quality, and that of a Roman citizen,

* This perfidious action, as it is related by Appian, may possibly be true, when we consider the character of the Carthaginians, who were certainly a cruel and treacherous people. But if it be fact, one would wonder why Polybius should reserve for another occasion, the relation of an incident, which comes in most properly here, as it finishes at once the character and life of Xanthippus. His silence therefore in this place, makes me think that he intended to bring Xanthippus again upon the stage, and to exhibit him to the reader in a different light from that in which he is placed by Appian. To this let me add, that it showed no great depth of policy in the Carthaginians, to take this method of d'spatching him, when so many others offered, which were less liable to censure. In this scheme formed for his destruction, not only himself, but all his followers, were to be murdered, without the pretence of even a storm, or loss of one single Carthaginian, to cover or excuse the perpetration of so horrid a crime.

† Lib. i. p. 36, 37.

‡ Inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla, M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terrâ fuisse, si victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris. Sed non statuendo tandem felicitati modum, nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat, eo fœdius corrui. — Liv. l. xxx. n. 30.

§ Ὅτις ἐν σθένι βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικά. It may not be improper to take notice in this place, as it was forgotten before, of a mistake of the learned Cassaubon, in his translation of a passage of Polybius, concerning Xanthippus. The passage is this, Ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἐλνδιππὸν τινα Λακεδαιμόνιον ἄνδρα τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀγωγῆς μετρηχλίται, καὶ τρεῖς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχοντα σύμμετρον which is thus rendered by Cassaubon: In quibus [militibus sc. Græciâ allatis] Xanthippus quidam fuit Lacedæmonius, vir disciplinâ Laconicâ imbutus, et qui rei militaris usum medioerem habebat. Whereas, agreeably with the whole character and conduct of Xanthippus, I take the sense of the passage to be, a man formed by the Spartan discipline, and proportionably [not moderately] skilled in military affairs.

|| This silence of Polybius has prejudiced a great many learned men against many of the stories told of Regulus's barbarous treatment, after he was taken by the Carthaginians. Mr. Rollin speaks no farther of this matter, and therefore I shall give my reader the substance of what is brought against the general belief of the Roman writers, (as well historians as poets,) and of Appian, on this subject. First, it is urged that Polybius was very sensible that the story of these cruelties was false; and therefore, that he might not disoblige the Romans, by contradicting so general a belief, he chose rather to be silent concerning Regulus after he was taken prisoner, than to violate the truth of history, of which he was so strict an observer. This opinion is farther strengthened, say the adversaries of this belief, by a fragment of Diodorus, which says, that the wife of Regulus, exasperated at the death of her husband at Carthage, occasioned, as she imagined, by barbarous usage, persuaded her sons to revenge the fate of their father by the cruel treatment of two Carthaginian captives, (thought to be Bostar and Hamlicar,) taken in the sea-fight against Sicily, after the misfortune of Regulus, and put into her hands for the redemption of her husband. One of these died by the severity of his imprisonment; and the other, by the care of the senate, who detested the cruelty, survived, and was restored to health. This treatment of the captives, and the resentment of the senate on that account, form a third argument or presumption against the truth of this story of Regulus, which is thus argued:—Regulus dying in his captivity, by the usual course of nature, his wife, thus frustrated of her hopes of redeeming him by the exchange of her captives, treated them with the utmost barbarity, in consequence of her belief of the ill usage which Regulus had received. The senate being angry with her for it, to give some colour to her cruelties, she gave out among her acquaintance and kindred, that her husband died in the way generally related. This, like all other reports, increased gradually; and, from the national hatred between the Carthaginians and Romans, was easily and generally believed by the latter. How far this is conclusive against the testimonies of two such weighty authors as Cicero and Seneca, (to say nothing of the poets,) is left to the judgment of the reader.

¶ A. M. 3755. A. Rome, 499. Appian de Bello P'un. p. 2, 3. Cic. de Off. l. iii. n. 99, 100. Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 4. Senec. Ep. 99.

from the time that he had fallen into the hands of his enemies; but he did not refuse to offer his thoughts as a private person. This was a very delicate affair. Every one was touched with the misfortunes of so great a man. He needed only, says Cicero, to have spoken one word, and it would have restored him to his liberty, his estate, his dignity, his wife, his children, and his country; but that word appeared to him contrary to the honour and welfare of the state. He therefore plainly declared that an exchange of prisoners ought not to be so much as thought of; that such an example would be of fatal consequence to the republic; that citizens, who had so basely surrendered their arms and persons to the enemy, were unworthy of the least compassion, and incapable of serving their country; that with regard to himself, as he was so far advanced in years, his death ought to be considered as nothing, whereas they had in their hands several Carthaginian generals, in the flower of their age, and capable of doing their country great services for many years. It was with difficulty that the senate complied with so generous and unexampled a counsel.

The illustrious exile therefore left Rome, in order to return to Carthage, unmoved either with the deep affliction of his friends, or the tears of his wife and children, although he knew but too well the grievous torments which were prepared for him.* And, indeed, the moment his enemies saw him returned without having obtained the exchange of prisoners, they put him to every kind of torture their barbarous cruelty could invent. They imprisoned him for a long time in a dismal dungeon, whence, after cutting off his eye-lids, they drew him at once into the sun, when its beams darted the strongest heat. They next put him into a kind of chest, stuck full of nails, whose points wounding him, did not allow him a moment's ease either day nor night. Lastly, after having been long tormented by being kept for ever awake in this dreadful torture, his merciless enemies nailed him to a cross, their usual punishment, and left him to expire on it. Such was the end of this great man. His enemies, by depriving him of some days, perhaps years, of life, brought eternal infamy on themselves.

The blow which the Romans had received in Africa did not discourage them. They made greater preparations than before to recover their loss; and sent to sea, the following campaign, three hundred and sixty vessels.† The Carthaginians sailed out to meet them with two hundred, but were beat in an engagement fought on the coast of Sicily, and a hundred and fourteen of their ships were taken by the Romans. These sailed into Africa, to take in the few soldiers who had escaped the pursuit of the enemy, after the defeat of Regulus, and had defended themselves vigorously in Clupea,‡ where they had been unsuccessfully besieged.

Here again we are astonished that the Romans, after so considerable a victory, and with so large a fleet, should sail into Africa, only to bring from thence a small garrison; whereas they might have attempted the conquest of it, since Regulus with much fewer forces, had almost completed it.

The Romans were overtaken by a storm in their return, which almost destroyed their whole fleet.§ The like misfortune befell them also the following year.|| However, they consoled themselves for this double loss, by a victory which they gained over Asdrubal, from whom they took near a hundred and forty elephants. This news being brought to Rome, it filled the whole city with joy, not only because the strength of the enemy's army was considerably diminished by the loss of their elephants, but chiefly because this victory had inspired the land forces with fresh courage, who since the defeat of Regulus, had not dared to venture upon an engagement, so great was the terror with which those formidable animals had filled the minds of all the soldiers. It was therefore judged proper to make a greater effort than ever in order to finish, if possible, a war which had continued fourteen years. The two consuls set sail with a fleet of two hundred ships, and arriving in Sicily, formed the bold design of besieging Lilybæum. This was the strongest town which the Carthaginians possessed in Sicily; and the loss of it would be attended with that of every part of the island, and open to the Romans a free passage into Africa.

The reader will suppose that the utmost ardour was shown, both in the assault and defence of the place.¶ Imilcon was governor there, with ten thousand regular forces, exclusive of the inhabitants; and Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, soon brought him as many more from Carthage, he having, with the most intrepid courage, forced his

* Horat. l. iii. Od. 3.

§ Polyb. l. vii. p. 38—40.

† Polyb. l. viii. p. 37.

|| Polyb. l. vii. p. 41, 42.

‡ Or Clupea.

¶ Polyb. l. i. p. 44—50.

way through the enemy's fleet, and arrived happily in the port. The Romans had not lost any time. Having brought forward their engines, they beat down several towers with their battering rams, and gaining ground daily, they made such progress as gave the besieged, who were now closely pressed, some fears. The governor saw plainly that there was no other way left to save the city, but by firing the engines of the besiegers. Having therefore prepared his forces for this enterprise, he sent them out at day-break, with torches in their hands, tow, and all kinds of combustible matters, and at the same time attacked all the engines. The Romans strove with unparalleled bravery, to repel them, and the engagement was very bloody. Every man, assailant as well as defendant, stood to his post, and chose to die rather than quit it. At last, after a long resistance, and dreadful slaughter, the besieged sounded a retreat, and left the Romans in possession of their works. This scene being over, Hannibal, embarking in the night, and concealing his departure from the enemy, sailed for Drepanum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians. Drepanum was advantageously situated, having a commodious port, and lying about a hundred and twenty furlongs from Lilybæum; and was of so much consequence to the Carthaginians, that they had been always very desirous of preserving it.

The Romans, animated by their late success, renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever, the besieged not daring to venture a second time to burn their machines, because of the ill success they had met with, in their first attempt. But a furious wind rising suddenly, some mercenary soldiers represented to the governor, that now was the favourable opportunity for them to fire the engines of the besiegers, especially as the wind blew full against them, and they offered themselves for the enterprise. The offer was accepted, and accordingly they were furnished with every thing necessary. In a moment the fire caught on all the engines, and the Romans could not possibly extinguish it, because the flames being instantly spread every where, the wind carried the sparks and smoke full into their eyes, so that they could not see where to apply relief, whereas their enemies saw clearly where to aim their strokes, and throw their fire. This accident made the Romans lose all hopes of being ever able to carry the place by force. They therefore turned the siege into a blockade, raised a line of contravallation round the town, and dispersing their army in every part of the neighbourhood, resolved to effect by time, what they found themselves absolutely unable to perform in any other way.

When the transactions of the siege of Lilybæum, and the loss of part of the forces, were known at Rome, the citizens, so far from desponding at this ill news, seemed to be fired with new vigour.* Every man strove to be foremost in the muster-roll; so that, in a very little time, an army of ten thousand men was raised, who, crossing the straight, marched by land to join the besiegers.

At the same time, P. Claudius Pulcher, the consul, formed a design of attacking Adherbal in Drepanum.† He thought himself sure of surprising him, because after the loss lately sustained by the Romans at Lilybæum, the enemy could not imagine that they would venture out again at sea. Flushed with these hopes, he sailed out with his fleet in the night, the better to conceal his design. But he had to do with an active general, whose vigilance he could not elude, and who did not even give him time to draw up his ships in line of battle, but fell vigorously upon him, while his fleet was in disorder and confusion. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory. Of the Roman fleet, only thirty vessels got off, which being in company with the consul, fled with him, and got away in the best manner they could, along the coast. All the rest, amounting to fourscore and thirteen, with the men on board them, were taken by the Carthaginians; a few soldiers excepted, who had escaped from the shipwreck of their vessels. This victory displayed as much the prudence and valour of Adherbal, as it reflected shame and ignominy on the Roman consul.

Junius,‡ his colleague, was neither more prudent nor more fortunate than himself, but lost almost his whole fleet by his ill conduct. Endeavouring to atone for his misfortune by some considerable action, he held a secret correspondence with the inhabitants of Eryx,§ and by that means got the city surrendered to him. On the summit of the mountain stood the temple of Venus Eryciana, which was certainly the most beautiful, as well as the richest of all the Sicilian temples. The city stood a little below the summit of this mountain, and the road that led to it was very long, and of difficult access. Junius posted one part of his troops upon the top, and the remainder at the

* Polyb. lib. i. p. 50.

† Polyb. l. i. p. 54—59.

‡ A. M. 3756. A. Rome, 500. Polyb. l. i. p. 51.

§ A city and mountain of Sicily.

foot of the mountain, imagining that he now had nothing to fear; but Hamilcar, sur-named Barcha, father of the famous Hannibal, found means to get into the city, which lay between the two camps, of the enemy, and there fortified himself. From this advantageous post, he harassed the Romans incessantly for two years. One can scarce conceive how it was possible for the Carthaginians to defend themselves, when thus attacked from both the summit and foot of the mountain, and unable to get provisions, but from a little port, which was the only one open to them. By such enterprises as these, the abilities and prudent courage of a general are as well, or perhaps better discovered, than by the winning of a battle.

For five years nothing memorable was performed on either side.* The Romans were once of opinion, that their land forces would alone be capable of finishing the siege of Lilybæum: but the war being protracted beyond their expectation, they returned to their first plan, and made extraordinary efforts to fit out a new fleet. The public treasury was at a low ebb; but this want was supplied by private purses, so ardent was the love which the Romans bore to their country. Every man, according to his circumstances, contributed to the common expense; and upon public security, advanced money, without the least scruple, for an expedition on which the glory and safety of Rome depended. One man fitted out a ship at his own charge; another was equipped by the contributions of two or three; so that in a very little time, two hundred were ready for sailing. The command was given to Lutatius the consul, who immediately put to sea.† The enemy's fleet had retired into Africa, by which means the consul easily seized upon all the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum: and foreseeing that he should soon be forced to fight, he did all that lay in his power to assure himself of success, and employed the interval in exercising his soldiers and seamen at sea.

He was soon informed that the Carthaginian fleet drew near, under the command of Hanno, who landed in a small island called Hiera opposite to Drepanum. His design was to reach Eryx undiscovered by the Romans, in order to supply the army there; to reinforce his troops, and take Barcha on board to assist him in the expected engagement. But the consul, suspecting his intention, was beforehand with him; and having assembled all his best forces, sailed for the small island Ægusa,‡ which lay near the other. He acquainted his officers with the design he had of attacking the enemy on the morrow. Accordingly, at day-break, he prepared to engage; unfortunately the wind was favourable for the enemy, which made him hesitate whether he should give them battle. But considering that the Carthaginian fleet when unloaded of its provisions, would become lighter and more fit for action, and besides would be considerably strengthened by the forces and presence of Barcha, he came to a resolution at once; and, notwithstanding the foul weather, made directly to the enemy. The consul had choice forces, able seamen, and excellent ships, built after the model of a galley that had been lately taken from the enemy; and which was the most complete of its kind that had ever been seen. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, were destitute of all these advantages. As they had been the entire masters at sea for some years, and the Romans did not once dare to face them, they had them in the highest contempt, and looked upon themselves as invincible. On the first report of the enemy being in motion, the Carthaginians had put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, as appeared from every circumstance of it: the soldiers and seamen being all mercenaries, newly levied, without the least experience, resolution, or zeal, since it was not for their own country they were going to fight. This soon appeared in the engagement. They could not sustain the first attack. Fifty of their vessels were sunk, and seventy taken, with their whole crews. The rest, favoured by a wind which rose very seasonably for them, made the best of their way to the little island from whence they had sailed. There were upwards of ten thousand taken prisoners. The consul sailed immediately for Lilybæum, and joined his forces to those of the besiegers.

When the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, it occasioned so much the greater surprise and terror, as it was less expected. The senate, however, did not lose their courage, though they saw themselves quite unable to continue the war. As the Romans were now masters of the sea, it was impossible for the Carthaginians to send either provisions or reinforcements to the armies in Sicily. An express was therefore immediately despatched to Barcha, the general there, empowering him to

* Polyb. l. i. p. 59—62.

† A. M. 3763. A. Rome, 507.

‡ They are now called Ægates.

act as he should think proper. Barcha, so long as he had room to entertain the least hopes, had done every thing that could be expected from the most intrepid courage; and the most consummate wisdom. But having now no resource left, he sent a deputation to the consul, in order to treat about a peace. Prudence, says Polybius, consists in knowing how to resist or to yield at a seasonable conjuncture. Lutatius was not insensible how tired the Romans were grown of a war, which had exhausted them both of men and money; and the dreadful consequences which had attended on the inexorable and imprudent obstinacy of Regulus was fresh in his memory. He therefore complied without difficulty, and dictated the following treaty:

*“There shall be peace between Rome and Carthage (in case the Roman people approve of it,) on the following conditions: The Carthaginians shall entirely evacuate all Sicily; shall no longer make war upon Hiero, the Syracusans, or their allies; they shall restore to the Romans without ransom, all the prisoners which they have taken from them; and pay them, within twenty years, two thousand two hundred Euboic talents of silver.”** It is worth the reader’s remarking by the way, the simple, exact, and clear terms in which this treaty is expressed: that, in so short a compass, adjusts the interests, both by sea and land, of two powerful republics and their allies.

When these conditions were brought to Rome, the people, not approving of them, sent ten commissioners to Sicily, to terminate the affair. These made no alteration as to the substance of the treaty; only shortening the time appointed for the payment, reducing it to ten years: a thousand talents were added to the sum that had been stipulated, which was to be paid immediately; and the Carthaginians were required to depart from all the islands situated between Italy and Sicily.† Sardinia was not comprehended in this treaty, but they gave it up by another treaty some years after.

Such was the conclusion of this war, the longest mentioned in history, since it continued twenty-four years without intermission.‡ The obstinacy, in disputing for empire, was equal on either side; the same resolution, the same greatness of soul, in forming as well as in executing projects, being conspicuous on both sides. The Carthaginians had the superiority with regard to experience in naval affairs; in the strength and swiftness of their vessels; the working of them; the skill and capacity of the pilots; the knowledge of coasts, shallows, roads, and winds; and in the inexhaustible fund of wealth, which furnished all the expenses of so long and obstinate a war. The Romans had none of these advantages; but their courage and zeal for the public good, love of their country, and a noble emulation of glory, supplied all other deficiencies. We are astonished to see a nation, so raw and inexperienced in naval affairs, not only disputing the sea with a people who were best skilled in them, and more powerful than any that had ever been before; but even gaining several victories over them at sea. No difficulties or calamities could discourage them. They certainly would not have thought of peace, in the circumstances under which the Carthaginians demanded it. One unfortunate campaign dispirits the next; whereas the Romans were not shaken by a succession of them.

As to the soldiers, there was no comparison between those of Rome and of Carthage, the former being infinitely superior in point of courage; among the generals who commanded in this war, Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, was doubtless the most conspicuous for his bravery and prudence.

THE LIBYAN WAR, OR WAR AGAINST THE MERCENARIES.

THE war which the Carthaginians waged against the Romans was succeeded immediately by another.§ The very same year,|| which, though of much shorter continuance, was infinitely more dangerous; as it was carried on in the very heart of the republic, and attended with such cruelty and barbarity, as scarcely to be paralleled in history; I mean the war which the Carthaginians were obliged to sustain against their mercenary troops, who had served under them in Sicily, and commonly called the African or Libyan war.¶ It continued only three years and a half, but was a very bloody one. The only occasion of it was this:

As soon as the treaty was concluded with the Romans, Hamilcar having carried to Lilybæum the forces which were in Eryx, resigned his commission, and left to

* This sum amounts to near six millions one hundred and eighty thousand French livres, or £2,286,600.

† Polyb. l. iii. p. 132.

‡ A. M. 3736. A. Carth. 605. A. Rome, 507. Ant. J. C. 241.

§ Polyb. l. i. p. 65—89.

|| The same year that the first Punic war ended.

¶ And sometimes *ξενικός*, or the war with the mercenaries.

Gisco, governor of the place, the care of transporting these forces into Africa.* Gisco, as though he had foreseen what would happen, did not ship them all off at once, but in small and separate parties; in order that those who came first might be paid off, and sent home, before the arrival of the rest. This conduct evinced great forecast and wisdom, but was not seconded equally at Carthage. As the republic had been exhausted by the expense of a long war, and the payment of nearly three millions French livres to the Romans on signing the peace, the forces were not paid off in proportion as they arrived; but it was thought proper to wait for the rest, in the hopes of obtaining from them, when they should be all together, a remission of some part of their arrears. This was the first oversight.

Here we discover the genius of a state composed of merchants, who know the full value of money, but do not estimate sufficiently the merit of soldiers; who bargain for blood as if it were an article of trade, and always go to the cheapest market. In such a republic, when an exigency is once answered, the merit of services is no longer remembered.

These soldiers, most of whom came to Carthage, being long accustomed to a licentious life, caused great disturbances in the city; to remedy which, it was proposed to their officers, to march them all to a little neighbouring town called Sicca, and there supply them with whatever was necessary for their subsistence, till the arrival of the rest of their companions; and that then they should all be paid off, and sent home. This was a second oversight.

A third was, the refusing to let them leave their baggage, their wives and children, in Carthage, as they desired, and the forcing them to remove these to Sicca; whereas, had they staid in Carthage, they would have been in a manner so many hostages.

Being all met together at Sicca, they began, having little else to do, to compute the arrears of their pay, which they made much more than was really due to them. To this computation they added the mighty promises which had been made them, at different times, as an encouragement for them to do their duty; and pretended that these likewise ought to be placed to account. Hanno, who was then governor of Africa, and had been sent to them from the magistrates of Carthage, proposed to these soldiers some remission of their arrears; and desired that they would content themselves with receiving a part in consideration of the great distress to which the commonwealth was reduced, and its present unhappy circumstances. The reader will easily guess how such a proposal was received. Complaints, murmurs, seditious and insolent clamours, were every where heard. These troops being composed of different nations, who were strangers to one another's language, were incapable of hearing reason when they once mutinied. Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians, inhabitants of the Balearic isles, Greeks, the greatest part of them slaves or deserters, and a very great number of Africans, composed these mercenary forces. Transported with rage, they immediately break up, march towards Carthage, being upwards of twenty thousand, and encamp at Tunis, not far from that metropolis.

The Carthaginians too late discovered their error. There was no compliance, how grovelling soever, to which they did not stoop, to sooth these exasperated soldiers; who on their side practised every knavish art which could be thought of, in order to extort money from them. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourse to a new artifice, on which to ground some new demand. Was their pay settled beyond the agreement made with them, they still would be reimbursed for the losses which they pretended to have sustained, either by the death of horses, or by the excessive price which at certain times they had paid for bread-corn; and still insisted on the recompense which had been promised them. As nothing could be fixed, the Carthaginians, with great difficulty, prevailed on them to refer themselves to the opinion of some general who had commanded in Sicily. Accordingly, they pitched upon Gisco, who had always been very acceptable to them. This general harangued them in a mild and insinuating manner; recalled to their memories the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service; the considerable sums they had received from the republic; and granted almost all their demands.

The treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when two mutineers occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. One of these was Spendius, a Capuan, who had been a slave at Rome, and fled to the Carthaginians. He was tall, stout, and bold. The fear he was under of falling into the hands of his old master, by whom he was sure to be hanged, as was the custom, prompted him to break off the accom-

modation. He was seconded by one Matho,* who had been very active in forming the conspiracy. These two represented to the Africans, that the instant after their companions should be discharged and sent home, they, being thus left alone in their own country, would fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Carthaginians, who would take vengeance upon them for the common rebellion. This was sufficient to raise them to fury. They immediately made choice of Spendius and Matho for their chiefs. No remonstrances were heard; and whoever offered to make any, was immediately put to death. They ran to Gisco's tent, plundered it of the money designed for the payment of the forces; dragged even that general himself to prison, with all his attendants, after having treated them with the utmost indignities. All the cities of Africa to whom they had sent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty, came over to them, Utica and Hippacra excepted, which they therefore besieged.

Carthage had never before been exposed to such imminent danger. The citizens of it, to a man, drew their particular subsistence from their rents and revenues of their lands, and the public expenses from the tribute paid from Africa. But all this was stopped at once, and, a much worse circumstance, was turned against them. They found themselves destitute of arms and forces either for sea or land; of all necessary preparations either for the sustaining of a siege or the equipping of a fleet; and, to complete their misfortunes, without any hopes of foreign assistance, either from their friends or allies.

They might in some sense accuse themselves for the distress to which they were reduced. During the last war, they had treated the African nations with the utmost rigour, by imposing excessive tributes on them, in the exaction of which, no allowance was made for poverty and extreme misery; and governors, such as Hanno, were treated with the greater respect, the more severe they had been in levying those tributes. So that these Africans were easily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very first signal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepest affliction, seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for non-payment, were more exasperated than the men, and with pleasure gave up all their ornaments towards the expenses of the war; so that the chiefs of the rebels, after paying all they had promised the soldiers, found themselves, still in the midst of plenty. An instructive lesson, says Polybius, to ministers; as it teaches them to look, not only to the present occasion, but to extend their views to futurity.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding their present distress, did not despond, but made the most extraordinary efforts for their defence. The command of the army was given to Hanno. Troops were levied by land and sea, horse as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were mustered; mercenaries were invited from all parts, and all the ships which the republic had left were refitted.

The rebels discovered no less ardour. We related before, that they had besieged two cities which refused to join them. Their army was now increased to seventy thousand men. After detachments had been drawn from it to carry on these sieges, they pitched their camp at Tunis, and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade, filling it with perpetual alarms, and frequently advancing up to its very walls, by day as well as by night.

Hanno had marched to the relief of Utica, and gained a considerable advantage, which, had he made a proper use of it, might have proved decisive: but entering the city, and only diverting himself there, the mercenaries, who were posted on a neighbouring hill covered with trees, hearing how careless the enemy were, poured down upon them, found the soldiers every where off their duty, took and plundered the camp, and seized upon all their provisions, &c. brought from Carthage to succour the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; and errors, on such occasions, are by much the most fatal. Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, was therefore appointed to succeed him. This general answered the idea which had been entertained of him; and his first success was in obliging the rebels to raise the siege of Utica. He then marched against their army, which was encamped near Carthage, defeated part of it, and seized almost all their advantageous posts. These successes revived the courage of the Carthaginians.

* Matho was an African, and free-born, but as he had been active in raising the rebellion, an accommodation would have ruined him. He therefore, despairing of a pardon, embraced the interest of Spendius with more zeal than any of the rebels; and first insinuated to the Africans the danger of concluding a peace, as this would leave them alone, and exposed to the rage of their old masters.—Polyb. p. 98. Edit. Gronov.

The arrival of a young Numidian nobleman, Naravasus by name, who, out of his esteem for the person and merit of Barcha, joined him with two thousand Numidians, and was of great service to that general. Animated by this reinforcement, he fell upon the rebels, who had enclosed him in a valley, killed ten thousand of them, and took four thousand prisoners. The young Numidian distinguished himself greatly in his battle. Barcha received among his troops as many of the prisoners as were desirous of being enlisted, and gave the rest liberty to go wherever they pleased, on condition that they should never take up arms again against the Carthaginians; otherwise, that every man of them who was taken should be put to death. This conduct proves the wisdom of that general. He thought this a better expedient than extreme severity. And indeed, where a multitude of mutineers are concerned, the greatest part of whom were drawn in by the persuasion of the most hot-headed, or through fear of the most furious, clemency seldom fails of being successful.

Spendius, the chief of the rebels, fearing that this affected lenity of Barcha might occasion a defection among his troops, thought the only expedient left him to prevent it would be, to put them upon some signal action, in order to deprive them of all hopes of being ever reconciled to the enemy. With this view, after having read to them some fictitious letters, by which advice was given him of a secret design, concerted between some of their comrades and Gisco, for the rescuing him out of prison, where he had been so long detained, he brought them to the barbarous resolution of murdering him and all the rest of the prisoners; and any man who durst offer any milder counsel was immediately sacrificed to their fury. Accordingly, this unfortunate general, and seven hundred prisoners, who were confined with him, were brought out to the head of the camp, where Gisco fell the first sacrifice, and afterwards all the rest. Their hands were cut off, their thighs broke, and their bodies, still breathing, were thrown into a hole. The Carthaginians sent a herald to demand their remains, in order to pay them the last sad office, but were refused; and the herald was further told, that whoever presumed to come upon the like errand, should meet with Gisco's fate. And indeed the rebels immediately came to this unanimous resolution, viz. to treat all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands in the same barbarous manner; and decreed further, that if any of their allies were taken, they should, after their hands were cut off, be sent back to Carthage. This bloody resolution was but too strictly executed.

The Carthaginians were now just beginning to breathe, as it were, and recover their spirits, when a number of unlucky accidents plunged them again into fresh dangers. A division arose among their generals: and the provisions, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them by sea, were all cast away in a storm. But their most grievous misfortune was, the sudden defection of the two only cities which till then had preserved their allegiance, and in all times adhered inviolably to the commonwealth. These were Utica and Hippacra. These cities, without the least reason, or even so much as a pretence, went over at once to the rebels, and, transported with the like rage and fury, murdered the governor, with the garrison sent to their relief; and carried their inhumanity so far, as to refuse their dead bodies to the Carthaginians, who demanded them for burial.

The rebels, animated by so much success, laid siege to Carthage, but were obliged immediately to raise it. They nevertheless continued the war. Having drawn together into one body all their troops and those of the allies, making upwards of fifty thousand men in all, they watched the motions of Hamilcar's army, but carefully kept their own on the hills, and avoided coming down into the plains, because the enemy would there have been so much superior to them, on account of their elephants and horses. Hamilcar, more skilful in the art of war than they, never exposed himself to any of their attacks; but, taking advantage of their oversight, often dispossessed them of their posts, if their soldiers straggled ever so little, and harassed them a thousand ways. Such of them as fell into his hands were thrown to wild beasts. At last, he surprised them at a time when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post, which was so situated that it was impossible for them to get out of it. Not daring to venture a battle, and being unable to get off, they began to fortify their camp, and surrounded it with ditches and entrenchments. But an enemy within themselves, and which was much more formidable, had reduced them to the greatest extremity; this was hunger, which was so raging, that they at last ate one another; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus revenging upon themselves the barbarous cruelty they had exercised on others. They now had no resource left, and knew but too well the pun

ishments which would be inflicted on them, in case they should fall alive into the hands of the enemy. After such bloody scenes as had been acted by them, they did not so much as think of peace, or of coming to an accommodation. They had sent to their forces, encamped at Tunis, for assistance, but with no success. In the mean time the famine increased daily. They had first eaten their prisoners, then their slaves, and now, their fellow-citizens only were left to be devoured. Their chiefs, no longer able to resist the complaints and cries of the multitude, who threatened to cut all their throats if they did not surrender, went themselves to Hamilcar, after having obtained a safe conduct from him. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Carthaginians should select any ten of the rebels, to treat them as they should think fit, and that the rest should be dismissed with only one suit of clothes for each. When the treaty was signed, the chiefs themselves were arrested, and detained by the Carthaginians, who plainly showed, on this occasion, that they were not over-scrupulous in point of honesty. The rebels, hearing that their chiefs were seized, and knowing nothing of the convention, suspected that they were betrayed, and thereupon immediately took up arms. But Hamilcar, having surrounded them, brought forward his elephants, and either trod them all under foot, or cut them to pieces, they being upwards of forty thousand.

The consequence of this victory was, the reduction of almost all the cities of Africa, which immediately returned to their allegiance. Hamilcar, without loss of time, marched against Tunis, which, ever since the beginning of the war, had been the asylum of the rebels, and their deposit of arms. He invested it on one side, while Hannibal, who was joined in the command with him, besieged it on the other. Then advancing near the walls, and ordering crosses to be set up, he hung Spendius on one of them, and his companions who had been seized with him on the rest, where they all expired. Matho, the other chief, who commanded in the city, saw plainly by this what he himself might expect, and for that reason was much more attentive to his own defence. Perceiving that Hannibal, as being confident of success, was very negligent in all things, he made a sally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp.

Then taking Spendius from the cross, he put Hannibal in his place, after having made him suffer inexpressible torments, and sacrificed round the body of Spendius thirty citizens of the first rank in Carthage, as so many victims of his vengeance. One would conclude that there had been a mutual emulation between the contending parties, which of them should outdo the other in acts of the most barbarous cruelty.

Barcha being at a distance from his colleague, it was some time before his misfortune reached him; and, besides, the road lying between the two camps being impracticable, it was impossible for him to advance hastily to his assistance. This unlucky accident caused a great consternation in Carthage. The reader may have observed, in the course of this war, a continual vicissitude of prosperity and adversity, of security and fear, of joy and grief; so various and inconstant were the events on either side.

In Carthage it was thought advisable to make one bold effort. Accordingly, all the youth capable of bearing arms were pressed into the service. Hanno was sent to join Hamilcar, and thirty senators were deputed to conjure those generals, in the name of the republic, to forget past quarrels, and sacrifice their resentments to their country's welfare. This was immediately complied with; they mutually embraced, and were reconciled sincerely to one another.

From this time the Carthaginians were uniformly successful; and Matho, who, in every succeeding attempt, came off with disadvantage, at last thought himself obliged to hazard a battle; this was just what the Carthaginians wanted. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as going to fight a battle which would for ever decide their fate. An engagement ensued. Victory was not long in suspense, for the rebels every where giving ground, nearly all the Africans were slain, and the rest surrendered. Matho was taken alive, and carried to Carthage. All Africa returned immediately to its allegiance, except the two perfidious cities which had lately revolted; they were however soon forced to surrender at discretion.

The victorious army now returned to Carthage, and was there received with shouts of joy, and the congratulations of the whole city. Matho and his soldiers, after having adorned the public triumph, were led to execution, and finished, by a painful and ignominious death, a life that had been polluted with the blackest treasons, and un-

paralleled barbarities. Such was the conclusion of the war against the mercenaries, after having lasted three years and four months. It furnished, says Polybius, an ever-memorable lesson to all nations not to employ in their armies a greater number of mercenaries than citizens: nor to rely, for the defence of their state, on a body of men who are not attached to it, either by interest or affection.

I have hitherto purposely deferred taking notice of such transactions in Sardinia, as passed at the time I have been speaking of, and which were, in some measure, dependent on, and resulting from, the war waged in Africa against the mercenaries. They exhibit the same violent methods to promote rebellion, the same excesses of cruelty, as if the wind had carried the same spirit of discord and fury from Africa into Sardinia.

When the news was brought there of what Spendius and Matho were doing in Africa, the mercenaries in that island also shook off the yoke, in imitation of those incendiaries. They began by the murder of Bostar their general, and of all the Carthaginians under him. A successor was sent, but all the forces which he carried with him went over to the rebels, hung the general on a cross, and, throughout the whole island, put all the Carthaginians to the sword, after having made them suffer inexpressible torments. They then besieged all the cities one after another, and soon got possession of the whole country. But feuds arising between them and the natives, the mercenaries were driven entirely out of the island, and took refuge in Italy. Thus the Carthaginians lost Sardinia, an island of great importance to them, on account of its extent, its fertility, and the great number of its inhabitants.

The Romans, ever since their treaty with the Carthaginians, had behaved towards them with great justice and moderation. A slight quarrel, on account of some Roman merchants who were seized at Carthage for their having supplied the enemy with provisions, had embroiled them a little. But these merchants being restored on the first complaint made to the senate of Carthage, the Romans, who prided themselves upon their justice and generosity on all occasions, made the Carthaginians a return of their former friendship; served them to the utmost of their power, forbade their merchants to furnish any other nation with provisions, and even refused to listen to proposals made by the Sardinian rebels, when invited by them to take possession of the island.

But these scruples and delicacy wore off by degrees, and Cæsar's advantageous testimony, in Sallust, of their honesty and plain dealing, could not, with propriety, be applied here: "although" says he, "in all the Punic wars, the Carthaginians, both in peace and during truces, had committed a number of detestable actions, the Romans could never (however inviting the opportunity might be,) be prevailed upon to retaliate such usage, being more attentive to their own glory, than to the revenge they might have justly taken on such perfidious enemies."*

The mercenaries, who, as was observed, had retired into Italy, brought the Romans at last to the resolution of sailing over into Sardinia, to render themselves masters of it.† The Carthaginians were deeply afflicted at the news, under the idea that they had a more just title to Sardinia than the Romans; they therefore put themselves in a posture to take a speedy and just revenge on those who had excited the people of that island to take up arms against them. But the Romans, pretending that these preparations were made, not against Sardinia, but their state, declared war against the Carthaginians. The latter, quite exhausted in every respect, and scarcely beginning to breathe, were in no condition to sustain a war. The necessity of the times was therefore to be complied with, and they were forced to yield to a more powerful rival. A fresh treaty was thereupon made, by which they gave up Sardinia to the Romans, and obliged themselves to a new payment of twelve hundred talents, to avoid the war with which they were menaced. This injustice of the Romans was the true cause of the second Punic war, as will appear in the sequel.

ARTICLE II.—THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

THE second Punic war, which I am about so relate, is one of the most memorable recorded in history, and most worthy of the attention of an inquisitive reader: whether we consider the boldness of the enterprises; the wisdom employed in the execu-

* *Bellis Punicis omnibus, cum sæpe Carthaginienses et in pace et per inducias multa nefanda facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere: magis quod se dignum foret, quam quod in illos jure fieri posset, quærebant.*—Sallust. in Bell. Catilin.

† A. M. 3767. A. Carth. 609. A. Rome, 511. Ant. J. C. 237.

tion; the obstinate efforts of two rival nations, and the ready resources they found in their lowest ebb of fortune; the variety of uncommon events, and the uncertain issue of so long and bloody a war; or lastly, the assemblage of the most perfect examples of every kind of merit, and the most instructive lessons that occur in history, either with regard to war, policy, or government.* Never did two more powerful, or at least more warlike states or nations, make war against each other, and never had these in question seen themselves raised to a more exalted pitch of power and glory. Rome and Carthage were, doubtless, at that time, the two first states of the world. Having already tried their strength in the first Punic war, and thereby made an essay of each other's power, they knew perfectly well what either could do. In this second war, the fate of arms was so equally balanced, and the success so intermixed with vicissitudes and varieties, that that party triumphed which had been most in danger of ruin. Great as the forces of these two nations were, it may almost be said, that their mutual hatred was still greater. The Romans, on one side, could not without indignation see the vanquished presuming to attack them; and the Carthaginians, on the other, were exasperated at the equally rapacious and harsh treatment which they pretended to have received from the victor.

The plan which I have laid down does not permit to enter into a minute detail of this war, whereof Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Africa, were the several seats, and which has a still closer connexion with the Roman history than with that I am now writing. I shall confine myself, therefore, principally to such transactions as relate to the Carthaginians, and endeavour, as far as I am able, to give my reader an idea of the genius and character of Hannibal, who perhaps was the greatest warrior of antiquity.

THE REMOTE AND MORE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

BEFORE I come to speak of the declaration of war between the Romans and Carthaginians, I think it necessary to explain the true causes of it, and to point out by what steps the rupture between these two nations was so long preparing, before it openly broke out.

That man would be grossly mistaken, says Polybius,† who should look upon the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal as the true cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians, for having so tamely given up Sicily, by the treaty which terminated the first Punic war, the injustice and violence of the Romans, who took advantage of the troubles excited in Africa, to dispossess the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and to impose a new tribute on them, and the success and conquests of the latter in Spain, were the true causes of the violation of the treaty, as Livy, agreeing herein with Polybius, insinuates in few words, in the beginning of his history of the second Punic war.‡

And indeed Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, was highly exasperated on account of the last treaty which the necessity of the times had compelled the Carthaginians to submit to, and therefore meditated the design of taking just, though distant measures, for breaking it, the first favourable opportunity that should offer.§

When the troubles of Africa were appeased, he was sent upon an expedition against the Numidians; in which, giving fresh proofs of his courage and abilities, his merit raised him to the command of the army which was to act in Spain. Hannibal his son, at that time but nine years of age, begged with the utmost importunity to attend him on this occasion; and for that purpose employed all the soothing arts so common to children of his age, and which have so much power over a tender father.|| Hamilcar could not refuse him; and after having made him swear upon the altars, that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans as soon as his age would allow him to do it, took his son with him.

Hamilcar possessed all the qualities which constitute the great general. To an invincible courage, and the most consummate prudence, he added a most popular and insinuating behaviour. He subdued, in a very short time, the greatest part of the nations of Spain, either by the terror of his arms, or his engaging conduct; and, after enjoying the command there nine years, came to an end worthy of his exalted character, by dying gloriously in arms for the cause of his country.

* Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

† Lib. iii. p. 162—168.

‡ Angebant ingentes spiritus virum, Sicilia Sardiniaque amissa: Nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam; et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam superimposito, interceptam.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

§ Polyb. l. ii. p. 90.

|| Polyb. l. iii. p. 127. Liv. l. xxi. n. 1

The Carthaginians appointed Asdrubal, his son-in-law, to succeed him.* This general, to secure the country, built a city, which, by the advantage of its situation, the commodiousness of its harbour, its fortifications, and opulence occasioned by its great commerce, became one of the most considerable cities in the world. It was called New Carthage, and to this day is known by the name of Carthagenæ.

From the several steps of these two great generals, it was easy to perceive that they were meditating some mighty design, which they had always in view, and laid their schemes at a great distance for putting it in execution. The Romans were sensible of this, and reproached themselves for their indolence and sloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy, at a time when the enemy were rapidly pursuing their victories in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They would have been very well pleased to attack them by open force, and to wrest their conquests out of their hands; but the fear of another not less formidable enemy, the Gauls, kept them from showing their resentments. They therefore had recourse to negotiation; and concluded a treaty with Asdrubal, in which, without taking any notice of the rest of Spain, they contented themselves with introducing an article, by which the Carthaginians were not allowed to make any conquests beyond the Iberus.

Asdrubal, in the mean time, still pushed on his conquests, but took care not to pass beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty; and sparing no endeavours to win the chiefs of the several nations by a courteous and engaging behaviour, he brought them over to the interest of Carthage, more by persuasive methods than force of arms.† But unhappily, after having governed Spain eight years, he was treacherously murdered by a Gaul, who took so barbarous a revenge for a private enmity he bore to him.‡

Three years before his death, he had written to Carthage to desire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be sent to him.§ The proposal met with some difficulty, as the senate was divided between two powerful factions, which, from Hamilcar's time, had begun to follow opposite views in the administration and affairs of the state. One faction was headed by Hanno, whose birth, merit and zeal for the public welfare, gave him great influence in the public deliberations. This faction proposed, on every occasion, the concluding of a safe peace, and the preserving the conquests in Spain as being preferable to the uncertain events of an expensive war, which they foresaw would one day occasion the ruin of Carthage. The other, called the Barcinian faction, because it supported the interests of Barcha and his family, had, to its ancient merit and credit in the city, added the reputation which the signal exploits of Hamilcar and Asdrubal had given it, and declared openly for war. When, therefore, Asdrubal's demand came to be debated in the senate, Hanno represented the danger of sending so early into the field, a young man who had all the haughtiness and imperious temper of his father; and who ought, therefore, rather to be kept a long time, and very carefully, under the eye of the magistrates, and the power of the laws, that he might learn obedience, and a modesty which should teach him not to think himself superior to all other men. He concluded with saying, that he feared this spark, which was then kindling, would one day rise to a conflagration. His remonstrances were not heard, so that the Barcinian faction had the superiority, and Hannibal set out for Spain.

The moment of his arrival there, he drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they saw his father Hamilcar revive in him. He seemed to dart the same fire from his eyes; the same martial vigour displayed itself in the air of his countenance, with the same features and engaging deportment. But his personal qualities endeared him still more. He possessed almost every talent that constitutes the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance was surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, and his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable; and a still more wonderful circumstance, his disposition and cast of mind were so flexible, that nature had formed him equally for commanding or obeying: so that it was doubtful whether he was dearer to the soldiers or the generals. He served three campaigns under Asdrubal.

Upon the death of that general, the suffrages of both the army and people concurred in raising Hannibal to the supreme command.|| I know not whether it was not even

* A. M. 3776. A. Rome, 520. Polyb. l. ii. p. 101.

† Polyb. l. ii. p. 123. Liv. l. xxi. n. 2.

‡ The murder was an effect of the extraordinary fidelity of this Gaul, whose master had fallen by the hand of Asdrubal. It was perpetrated in public; and the murderer being seized by the guards, and put to the torture, expressed so strong a satisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge so successfully, that he seemed to laugh at the pain of his torments. *Eo fuit habitu ornatus, ut superante lætitiâ dolores, ridentis etiam spœciem præberit.*—Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

§ A. M. 3783. A. Rome, 530. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3, 4.

|| A. M. 3784. A. Carth. 626. A. Rome, 523. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178, 179. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3-5.

then; or about that time, that the republic, to heighten his influence and authority, appointed him one of its suffetes, the first dignity of the state, which was sometimes conferred on generals. It is from Cornelius Nepos* that we have borrowed this circumstance of his life, who, speaking of the prætorship bestowed on Hannibal, upon his return to Carthage, and the conclusion of the peace, says, that this was twenty-two years after he had been nominated king.†

The moment he was created general Hannibal, as if Italy had been allotted to him, and he was even then appointed to make war upon the Romans, secretly turned his whole views on that side and lost no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. In Spain he took several strong towns, and conquered many nations: and although the Spaniards greatly exceeded him in the number of forces, their army amounting to upwards of one hundred thousand men, yet he chose his time and posts so judiciously, that he entirely defeated them. After this victory every thing submitted to his arms. But he still forbore laying siege to Saguntum,‡ carefully avoiding every occasion of a rupture with the Romans, till he should be furnished with all things necessary for so important an enterprise, pursuant to the advice given by his father. He applied himself particularly to engage the affections of the citizens and allies, and to gain their confidence, by generously allotting them a large share of the plunder taken from the enemy, and by scrupulously paying them all their arrears:§ a wise step, which never fails of producing its advantage at a proper season.

The Saguntines, on their side, sensible of the danger with which they were threatened, informed the Romans of the progress of Hannibal's conquests.|| Upon this, deputies were nominated by the latter, and ordered to go and examine the state of affairs upon the spot; they were also to lay their complaints before Hannibal, if it should be thought proper; and in case he should refuse to do justice, they should then go directly to Carthage, and make the same complaints.

In the mean time Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, promising himself great advantages from the taking of this city. He was persuaded, that this would deprive the Romans of all hopes of carrying their war into Spain; that this new conquest would secure those he had already made; that as no enemy would be left behind him, his march would be more secure and unmolested; that he should find money enough in it for the execution of his designs; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with greater ardour, and make them follow him more cheerfully; that, lastly, the spoils which he should send to Carthage, would gain him the favour of the citizens. Animated by these motives, he carried on the siege with the utmost vigour. He himself set an example to his troops, was present at all the works, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers.

News was soon carried to Rome that Saguntum was besieged. But the Romans instead of flying to its relief, lost their time in fruitless debates, and equally insignificant deputations. Hannibal sent word to the Roman deputies that, he was not at leisure to hear them; they therefore repaired to Carthage, but met with no better reception, the Barcinian faction having prevailed over the complaints of the Romans, and all the remonstrances of Hanno.

During all these voyages and negotiations, the siege was carried on with great vigour. The Saguntines were now reduced to the last extremity, and in want of all things. An accommodation was thereupon proposed; but the conditions on which it was offered appeared so harsh, that the Saguntines could not prevail upon themselves to accept them. Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards rushed headlong into it themselves. At the same time a tower, which had been long assaulted by the battering rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the city by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. But, notwithstanding the fire, the Carthaginians got a very great booty. Hannibal did not reserve to himself any part of the spoils gained by his victories, but applied them solely to carrying on his enterprises. Accordingly Polybius re-

* In Vit. Annib. c. 7.

† Hic ut rediit prætor factus est, postquam rex fuerat anno secundo et vigesimo.

‡ This city lay on the Carthaginian side of the Iberus, very near the mouth of that river, and in a country where the Carthaginians were allowed to make war; but Saguntum, as an ally of the Romans, was excepted from all hostilities, by virtue of the late treaty.

§ Ibi largè partiendo prædam, stipendia præterita cum fide exsolvendo, cunctos civium sociorumque, animos in se firmitate.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 5.

|| Polyb. l. iii. p. 170, 171. Liv. l. xxi. n. 6—15.

marks, that the taking of Saguntum was of service to him, as it awakened the ardour of his soldiers, by the sight of the rich booty which they had just obtained, and by the hopes of more; and it reconciled all the principal persons of Carthage to Hannibal, by the large presents he made to them out of the spoils.

Words could never express the grief and consternation with which the melancholy news of the capture and the cruel fate of Saguntum was received at Rome.* Compassion for this unfortunate city; shame for having failed to succour such faithful allies; a just indignation against the Carthaginians, the authors of all these calamities; a strong alarm raised by the successes of Hannibal, whom the Romans fancied they saw already at their gates; all these sentiments caused so violent an emotion, that, during the first moments of their agitation, the Romans were unable to come to any resolution, or do any thing, but give way to the torrent of their passion, and sacrificed floods of tears to the memory of a city, which fell the victim of its inviolable fidelity† to the Romans, and had been betrayed by their unaccountable indolence and imprudent delays. When they were a little recovered, an assembly of the people was called, and war was unanimously decreed against the Carthaginians.

WAR PROCLAIMED.

THAT no ceremony might be wanting, deputies were sent to Carthage, to inquire whether Saguntum had been besieged by order of the republic, and if so, to declare war;‡ or, in case this siege had been undertaken solely by the authority of Hannibal, to require that he should be delivered up to the Romans. The deputies perceiving that the senate gave no direct answer to their demands, one of them taking up the fold of his robe, *I bring here*, says he, in a haughty tone, *either peace or war; the choice is left to yourselves*. The senate answering, that they left the choice to him, *I give you war then*, says he, unfolding his robe: *and we*, replied the Carthaginians, with the same haughtiness, *as heartily accept it, and are resolved to prosecute it with the same cheerfulness*. Such was the beginning of the second Punic war.

If the cause of this war should be ascribed to the taking of Saguntum,§ the whole blame, says Polybius, lies upon the Carthaginians, who could not, with any colourable pretence, besiege a city that was in alliance with Rome, and as such, comprehended in the treaty, which forbade either party to make war upon the allies of the other. But, should the origin of this war be traced higher, and carried back to the time when the Carthaginians were dispossessed of Sardinia by the Romans, and a new tribute was so unreasonably imposed on them; it must be confessed, continues Polybius, that the conduct of the Romans is entirely unjustifiable on these two points, as being founded merely on violence and injustice, and that, had the Carthaginians, without having recourse to ambiguous and frivolous pretences, plainly demanded satisfaction upon these two grievances, and upon their being refused it, had declared war against Rome, in that case reason and justice had been entirely on their side.

The interval between the conclusion of the first, and the beginning of the second Punic war, was twenty-four years.

THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

When war was resolved upon and proclaimed on both sides, Hannibal, who was then twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, before he discovered his grand design, thought it incumbent on him to provide for the security of Spain and Africa.|| With this view, he marched the forces out of the one into the other, so that the Africans served in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa. He was prompted to this from a persuasion, that these soldiers, being thus at a distance from their respective countries, would be fitter for service, and more firmly attached to him, as they would be a kind of hostages for each other's fidelity. The forces which he left in Africa amounted to about forty thousand men, twelve hundred whereof were cavalry: those of Spain were somewhat more than fifteen thousand, of which two thousand five hundred and fifty were cavalry. He left the command of the Spanish forces to his brother Asdrubal, with a fleet of about sixty ships to guard the coast; and at the same time gave him the wisest counsel for his conduct, both with regard to the Spaniards or the Romans, in case they should attack him.

Livy observes, that Hannibal, before he set forward on this expedition, went to Cadiz to discharge his vows made to Hercules; and that he engaged himself by new

* Polyb. p. 174, 175. Liv. l. xxi. n. 16, 17.

† Sanctitate disciplinæ, quâ fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 7.

‡ Polyb. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 13, 19.

§ Polyb. l. iii. p. 184, 135.

|| A. M. 3787. A. Carth. 629. A. Rome, 531. Ant. J. C. 217. Polyb. l. iii. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 21, 22.

ones, in order to obtain success in the war he was entering upon. Polybius gives us, in few words, a very clear idea of the distance of the several places through which Hannibal was to march in his way to Italy.* From New Carthage,† whence he set out to the Iberus, was computed two thousand two hundred furlongs.‡ From the Iberus to Emporium, a small maritime town, which separates Spain from the Gauls, according to Strabo§ was sixteen hundred furlongs.|| From Emporium to the pass of the Rhone, the like distance of sixteen furlongs.¶ From the pass of the Rhone to the Alps fourteen hundred furlongs.** From the Alps to the plains of Italy, twelve hundred furlongs.†† Thus, from New Carthage to the plains of Italy, were eight thousand furlongs.‡‡

Hannibal had, long before, taken all proper measures to discover the nature and the situation of the places through which he was to pass;§§ to know how the Gauls were affected to the Romans; to win over their chiefs, whom he knew to be very greedy of gold, by his bounty to them;||| and to secure to himself the affection and fidelity of a part of the nations through whose country he was to march. He was not ignorant, that the passage of the Alps would be attended with great difficulties, but he knew they were not insurmountable, and that was enough for his purpose.

Hannibal began his march early in the spring, from New Carthage, where he had wintered.¶¶ His army then consisted of more than a hundred thousand men, of which twelve thousand were cavalry, and he had nearly forty elephants. Having crossed the Iberus, he soon subdued the several nations which opposed him in his march but lost a considerable part of his army in this expedition. He left Hanno to command all the country lying between the Iberus and the Pyrenean hills, with eleven thousand men, who were appointed to guard the baggage of those who were to follow him. He dismissed the like number, sending them back to their respective countries; thus securing to himself their affection when he should want recruits, and assuring the rest that they should be allowed to return whenever they should desire it. He passed the Pyrenean hills and advanced as far as the banks of the Rhone, at the head of fifty thousand foot, from the valour of the troops that composed it; troops who had served several years in Spain, and learned the art of war, under the ablest captains that Carthage could ever boast.

PASSAGE OF THE RHONE.

HANNIBAL†* being arrived within about four days' march from the mouth of the Rhone,‡* attempted to cross it, because the river, in this place, took up only the breadth its of channel. He brought up all the ship boats and small vessels he could meet with, of which the inhabitants had a great number, because of its commerce. He likewise built with great diligence a prodigious number of boats, small vessels, and rafts. On his arrival, he found the Gauls encamped on the opposite bank, and prepared to dispute the passage. There was no possibility of his attacking them in front. He therefore ordered a considerable detachment of his forces, under the command of Hanno, the son of Bomilear, to pass the river higher up; and, in order to conceal his march, and the design he had in view, from the enemy, he obliged them to set out in the night. All things succeeded as he desired; and the river was passed the next day without the least opposition.§*

They passed the rest of the day in refreshing themselves, and in the night they advanced silently towards the enemy. In the morning, when the signals agreed upon had been given, Hannibal prepared to attempt the passage. Part of his horses, completely harnessed, were put into boats, that their riders might, on their landing, immediately charge the enemy. The rest of the horses swam over on both sides of the boats, from which one single man held the bridles of three or four. The infantry crossed the river, either on rafts, or in small boats, and in a kind of gondolas, which were only the trunks of trees they themselves had made hollow. The large boats were drawn up in a line at the top of the channel, in order to break the force of the waves, and facilitate the passage to the rest of the fleet. When the Gauls saw it

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 192, 193.

† Two hundred and seventy-five miles.

‡ Polybius makes the distance from New Carthage to be 2600 furlongs; consequently the whole number of furlongs will be 8400, or, allowing 625 feet to the furlong, 994 English miles, and almost one third.—See Polyb. Edit. Gronov. p. 267.

§ Polyb. l. iii. p. 199.

|| 200 miles.

¶ 200 miles.

** 175 miles.

†† 150 miles.

‡‡ 1000 miles.

§§ Polyb. l. iii. p. 188, 189.

¶¶ Polyb. l. iii. p. 190. Liv. l. xxi. n. 22—24.

¶¶ Audierunt præoccupatos jam ab Annibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne ille quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore, ni subinde auro, cujus avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 20.

†* Polyb. l. iii. p. 270—274. Edit. Gronov. Liv. l. xxi. n. 26—28.

‡* A little above Avignon.

§* It is thought this was between Roquemaure and Pont St. Esprit.

advancing on the river, they, according to their custom, broke into dreadful cries and howlings, and, clashing their bucklers over their heads, one against the other, let fly a shower of darts. But they were prodigiously astonished, when they heard a great noise behind them, saw their tents on fire, and themselves attacked both in front and rear. They now had no way left to save themselves but by flight, and accordingly retreated to their respective villages. After this, the rest of the troops crossed the river quietly, and without any opposition.

The elephants were still behind, and occasioned a great deal of trouble. They were wafted over the next day in the following manner: From the bank of the river was thrown a raft, two hundred feet in length, and fifty in breadth; this was strongly fixed to the banks by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth, so that the elephants, deceived by its appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From this first raft they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only a hundred feet long, and fastened to the former by chains that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first raft, and the males followed after; and, when they were got upon the second raft, it was loosened from the first, and by the help of small boats towed to the opposite shore. After this, it was sent back to fetch those which were behind. Some fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore, and not a single elephant was drowned.

THE MARCH AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE RHONE.

THE TWO Roman consuls had, in the beginning of the spring, set out for their respective provinces; P. Scipio for Spain with sixty ships, two Roman legions, fourteen thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse of the allies; Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily, with a hundred and sixty ships, two legions, sixteen thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse of the allies.* The Roman legion consisted, at that time, of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse. Sempronius had made extraordinary preparations at Lilybæum, a seaport town in Sicily, with the design of crossing over directly into Africa. Scipio was equally confident that he should find Hannibal still in Spain, and make that country the seat of war. But he was greatly astonished, when, on his arrival at Marseilles, advice was brought him that Hannibal was upon the banks of the Rhone, and preparing to cross it. He then detached three hundred horse, to view the posture of the enemy; and Hannibal detached five hundred Numidian horse for the same purpose, during which some of his soldiers were employed in transporting the elephants.

At the same time he gave audience, in the presence of his whole army, to one of the princes of that part of Gaul which is situated near the Po, who assured him, by an interpreter, in the name of his subjects, that his arrival was impatiently expected; that the Gauls were ready to join him, and march against the Romans; that he himself would conduct his army through places where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provisions. When the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a speech to his troops, magnified extremely this deputation from the Gauls; extolled with just praises, the bravery which his forces had shown hitherto, and exhorted them to sustain to the last their reputation and glory. The soldiers, inspired with fresh ardour and courage, declared, with uplifted hands, their readiness to follow wherever he should lead the way. Accordingly he appointed the next day for his march; and after offering up vows, and making supplications to the gods for the safety of his troops, he dismissed them, desiring, at the same time, that they would take necessary refreshments.

While this was doing, the Numidians returned. They had met with and charged the Roman detachment: the conflict was very obstinate, and the slaughter great, considering the small number of combatants. A hundred and sixty of the Romans were left dead upon the spot, and more than two hundred of their enemies. But the honour of this skirmish fell to the Romans, the Numidians having retired, and left them the field of battle. This first action was interpreted as an omen of the fate of the whole war, and seemed to promise success to the Romans, but which, at the same time, would be dearly bought, and strongly contested.† On both sides, those who had survived this engagement, and who had been engaged in reconnoitering, returned to inform their respective generals of what they had discovered.

Hannibal, as he had declared, decamped the next day, and crossing through the

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 200—202, &c. Liv. l. xxi. n. 31, 32.

† Hoc principium simulque omen belli, ut summâ rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sanè incruentumancipisque certaminis victoriam Romanis protendit.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 9.

midst of Gaul, advanced northward; not that this was the shortest way to the Alps, but only as it led him from the sea, it prevented his meeting Scipio; and, by that means favoured the design he had of marching all his forces into Italy, without lessening them by fighting.

Though Scipio marched with the utmost expedition, he did not reach the place where Hannibal had passed the Rhone, till three days after he had set out from it. Despairing therefore to overtake him, he returned to his fleet, and re-embarked, fully resolved to wait for Hannibal at the foot of the Alps. But, in order that he might not leave Spain defenceless, he sent his brother Cneius thither, with the greatest part of his army, to make head against Asdrubal; and himself set forwards immediately for Genoa, with the intention of opposing the army which was in Gaul, near the Po, to that of Hannibal.

The latter, after four days' march, arrived at a kind of island, formed by the conflux of two rivers, which unite their streams at this place.* Here he was chosen umpire between two brothers, who disputed their right to the kingdom. He to whom Hannibal decreed it, furnished his whole army with provisions, clothes and arms. This was the country of the Allobroges, the people who inhabited the present districts of Geneva, Vienne,† and Grenoble. His march was not much interrupted till he arrived at the Durance, and from thence he reached the foot of the Alps without any opposition.

THE PASSAGE OVER THE ALPS.

THE sight of these mountains, whose tops seemed to touch the skies, and were covered with snow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few pitiful cottages, scattered here and there, on the sharp tops of inaccessible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks, almost perishing with cold, and hairy men of a savage and fierce aspect; this spectacle renewed the terror which the distant prospect had raised, and chilled with fear the hearts of the soldiers.‡ When they began to climb up, they perceived the mountaineers, who had seized upon the highest cliffs, and prepared to oppose their passage. They therefore were forced to halt. Had the mountaineers, says Polybius, only lain in ambuscade, and suffered Hannibal's troops to strike into some narrow passage, and then charged them on a sudden, the Carthaginian army would have been irrecoverably lost. Hannibal, being informed that they kept those posts only in the day time, and quitted them in the evening, possessed himself of them by night. The Gauls, returning early in the morning, were very much surprised to find their posts in the enemy's hands; but still they were not disheartened. Being used to climb up those rocks, they attacked the Carthaginians who were upon their march, and harassed them on all sides. The latter were obliged, at the same time, to engage with the enemy, and struggle with the ruggedness of the paths of the mountains, where they could hardly stand. But the greatest disorder was caused by the horses and beasts of burden laden with the baggage, that were frightened by the cries and howling of the Gauls, which echoed dreadfully among the mountains; and being sometimes wounded by the mountaineers, came tumbling on the soldiers, and dragged them headlong with them down the precipices which skirted the road. Hannibal, being sensible that the loss of his baggage alone was enough to destroy his army, ran to the assistance of his troops who were thus embarrassed, and having put the enemy to flight, continued his march without molestation or danger, and came to a castle, which was the most important fortress in the whole country. He possessed himself of it, and of all the neighbouring villages, in which he found a large quantity of corn, and sufficient cattle to subsist his army for three days.

Although their march was for a short time uninterrupted, the Carthaginians were to encounter a new danger. The Gauls, feigning to take advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbours, who had suffered for opposing the passage of Hannibal's troops, came to pay their respects to that general, brought him provisions, offered to be his guides, and left him hostages, as pledges of their fidelity. Hannibal, however, placed no great confidence in them. The elephants and horses marched in the

* The text of Polybius, as it has been transmitted to us, and that of Livy, place this island at the meeting of the Saone and the Rhone, that is, in that part where the city of Lyons stands. But this is a manifest error. It was *Σαώνας* in the Greek, instead of which *ἡ Ἀγγελὸς* has been substituted. J. Gronovius says, that he had read, in a manuscript of Livy, *Bisarar*, which shows that we are to read *Isara Rhodanusque amnes*, instead of *Arar Rhodanusque*; and that the island in question is formed by the conflux of the Isara and the Rhone. The situation of the Allobroges, here spoken of, proves this evidently.

† In Dauphiné.

‡ Polyb. l.iii. p.203—208. Liv. l. xxi. n. 32—37.

front, while himself followed with the main body of his foot, keeping a vigilant eye over all. They came at length to a very steep and narrow pass, which was commanded by an eminence, where the Gauls had placed an ambuscade. These rushing out on a sudden, assailed the Carthaginians on every side, rolling down stones upon them of a prodigious size. The army would have been entirely routed, had not Hannibal exerted himself, in an extraordinary manner, to extricate them out of this difficulty.

At last, on the ninth day, they reached the summit of the Alps. Here the army halted two days, to rest and refresh themselves after their fatigue, after which they continued their march. As it was now autumn, a great quantity of snow had lately fallen, and covered all the roads, which caused a consternation among the troops, and disheartened them very much. Hannibal perceiving it, and halting on a hill, from whence there was a prospect of all Italy, he showed them the fruitful plains of Piedmont, watered by the river Po, which they had nearly reached, adding that they had but one more effort to make, before they arrived at them. He represented to them, that a battle or two would put a glorious period to their toils, and enrich them for ever, by giving them possession of the capital of the Roman empire. This speech, full of such pleasing hopes, and enforced by the sight of Italy, inspired the dejected soldiers with fresh vigour and alacrity. They therefore pursued their march. But still the road was more craggy and troublesome than ever, and as they were now on a descent, the difficulty and danger increased. For the ways were narrow, steep, and slippery, in most places; so that the soldiers could neither keep their feet as they marched, nor recover themselves when they made a false step, but stumbled, and beat down one another.

They were now come to a place worse than any they had yet met with. This was a path naturally very steep and craggy, which being made more so by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice more than a thousand feet deep. Here the cavalry stopped short. Hannibal, wondering at this sudden halt, ran to the place, and saw that it would really be impossible for the troops to advance. He therefore was for making a circuitous route, but this also was found impracticable. As upon the old snow, which was growing hard by lying, there was some lately fallen that was of no great depth, the feet, at first, by their sinking into it, found a firm support; but this snow being soon dissolved by the treading of the foremost troops and beasts of burden, the soldiers marched on nothing but ice, which was so slippery that they had no firm footing; and where, if they made the least false step, or endeavoured to save themselves with their hands or knees, there were no boughs or roots to catch hold of. Besides this difficulty, the horses striking their feet forcibly into the ice to keep themselves from falling, could not draw them out again, but were caught as in a gin. They therefore were forced to seek some other expedient.

Hannibal resolved to pitch his camp, and to give his troops some days' rest, on the summit of this hill, which was of a considerable extent; after they should have cleared the ground, and removed all the old as well as the new fallen snow, which was a work of immense labour. He afterwards ordered a path to be cut into the rock itself, and this was carried on with amazing patience and labour. To open and enlarge this path, all the trees thereabout were cut down, and piled round the rock, and there set on fire. The wind, fortunately blowing hard, a fierce flame soon broke out, so that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was surrounded. Then Hannibal, if Levy may be credited, for Polybius says nothing of this matter, caused a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock,* which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intense heat of the fire, calcined and softened it. In this manner, making a large circuit, in order that the descent might be easier, they cut a way along the rock, which opened a free passage to the forces, the baggage, and even to the elephants. Four days were employed in this work, during which the beasts of burden had no provender, there being no food for them on

* Many reject this incident as fictitious. Pliny takes notice of a remarkable quality in vinegar, viz. its being able to break rocks and stones — *Saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens* l. xxiii. c. 1. He therefore calls it, *Succus rerum domitor*, l. xxxiii. c. 2. Dion, speaking of the siege of Eleuthra, says, that the walls of it were made to fall by the force of vinegar, l. xxxvi. p. 8. Probably the circumstance that seems improbable on this occasion, is the difficulty of Hannibal's procuring, in those mountains, a quantity of vinegar sufficient for this purpose.

mountains buried under eternal snows. At last they came into cultivated and fruitful spots, which yielded plenty of forage for the horses, and all kinds of food for the soldiers.

HANNIBAL ENTERS ITALY.

WHEN Hannibal marched into Italy, his army was far less numerous than when he left Spain, where we find it amounted to nearly sixty thousand men.* He had sustained great losses during the march, either in the battles he was forced to fight, or in the passage of rivers. At his departure from the Rhone, it consisted of thirty-eight thousand foot, and above eight thousand horse. The march over the Alps destroyed nearly half this number, so that Hannibal had now remaining only twelve thousand Africans, eight thousand Spanish foot, and six thousand horse. This account he himself caused to be engraved on a pillar near the promontory called Licinium. It was five months and a half since his first setting out from New Carthage, including the fortnight he employed in marching over the Alps, when he set up his standard in the plains of the Po, at the entrance of Piedmont. It might then have been September.

His first care was to give his troops some rest, which they very much wanted. When he perceived that they were fit for action, the inhabitants of all the territories of Turin† refusing to conclude an alliance with him, he marched and encamped before their chief city, carried it in three days, and put all who had opposed him to the sword. This expedition struck the barbarians with so much dread, that they all came voluntarily and surrendered at discretion. The rest of the Gauls would have done the same, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal thought, therefore, that he had no time to lose; that it was his interest to march up into the country, and attempt some great exploit, such as might induce those who should have an inclination to join him to rely on his valour.

The rapid progress which Hannibal had made, greatly alarmed Rome, and caused the utmost consternation throughout the city. Sempronius was ordered to leave Sicily, and hastened to the relief of his country; and P. Scipio, the other consul, advanced with the utmost diligence towards the enemy, crossed the Po, and pitched his camp near the Ticinus.‡

BATTLE OF THE CAVALRY NEAR THE TICINUS.

THE armies being now in sight, the generals on each side made a speech to their soldiers, before they engaged in battle.§ Scipio, after having represented to his forces the glory of their country, and the noble achievements of their ancestors, observed to them, that victory was in their hands, since they were to combat only with Carthaginians, a people who had been so often defeated by them, as well as forced to be their tributaries for twenty years, and long accustomed to be almost their slaves: that the advantage they had gained over the flower of the Carthaginian horse, was a sure omen of their success during the rest of the war: that Hannibal, in marching over the Alps, had just before lost the best part of his army, and that those who survived were exhausted with hunger, cold, and fatigue: that the bare sight of the Romans was sufficient to put to flight a parcel of soldiers, who had the aspect of ghosts rather than of men: in a word, that victory was become necessary, not only to secure Italy, but to save Rome itself, whose fate the present battle would decide, that city having no other army wherewith to oppose the enemy.

Hannibal, that his words might make the stronger impression on the rude minds of his soldiers, addressed himself to their eyes, before he addressed their ears; and did not attempt to persuade them by arguments, till he had first moved them by the following spectacle. He armed some of the prisoners he had taken in the mountains, and obliged them to fight, two and two, in sight of his army, promising to reward the conquerors with their liberty and rich presents. The alacrity and vigour wherewith these barbarians engaged upon these motives, gave Hannibal an occasion of exhibiting to his soldiers a lively image of their present condition; which, by depriving them of all means of returning back, put them under an absolute necessity either of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the endless evils prepared for those that should be so base and cowardly as to submit to the Romans. He dis-

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 209 & 212—214. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39.

† Taurini.

‡ A small river, now called Tesino, in Lombardy.

§ Polyb. l. iii. p. 214—218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39—47.

played to them the greatness of their reward, viz. the conquest of all Italy; the plunder of the rich and wealthy city of Rome; an illustrious victory, and immortal glory. He spoke contemptibly of the Roman power, the false lustre of which he observed, ought not to dazzle such warriors as themselves, who had marched from the pillars of Hercules, through the fiercest nations into the very centre of Italy. As for his own part, he scorned to compare himself with Scipio, a general of but six months' standing; himself, who was almost born, at least brought up, in the tent of Hamilcar his father; the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and, what was still more remarkable, of the Alps themselves. He roused their indignation against the insolence of the Romans, who had dared to demand that himself, and the rest who had taken Saguntum, should be delivered up to them; and excited their jealousy against the intolerable pride of those imperious masters, who imagined that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the world.

After these speeches, both sides prepared for battle. Scipio, having thrown a bridge across the Ticinus, marched his troops over it. Two ill omens had filled his army with consternation and dread.* As for the Carthaginians, they were inspired with the boldest courage. Hannibal animated them with fresh promises; and cleaving with a stone the skull of the lamb he was sacrificing, he prayed to Jupiter to dash his head in pieces in like manner, in case he did not give his soldiers the rewards he had promised them.

Scipio posted in the first line, the troops armed with missile weapons, and the Gaulish horse; and forming his second line of the flower of the confederate cavalry, he advanced slowly. Hannibal advanced with his whole cavalry, in the centre of which he had posted the troopers who rode with bridles, and the Numidian horse on the wings, in order to surround the enemy.† The officers and cavalry, being eager to engage, the battle commenced. At the first onset, Scipio's light-armed soldiers discharged their darts, but frightened at the Carthaginian cavalry, which came pouring upon them, and fearing lest they should be trampled under the horses' feet, they gave way, and retired through the intervals of the squadrons. The fight continued a long time with equal success. Many troopers on both sides dismounted; so that the battle was carried on between infantry as well as cavalry. In the mean time, the Numidians surrounded the enemy, and charged the rear of the light-armed troops, who at first had escaped the attack of the cavalry, and trod them under their horses' feet. The centre of the Roman forces had hitherto fought with great bravery. Many were killed on both sides, and even more on that of the Carthaginians. But the Roman troops were thrown into disorder by the Numidians, who attacked them in the rear: and especially by a wound the consul received, which disabled him. This general, however, was rescued out of the enemy's hands by the bravery of his son, then but seventeen years old, and who afterwards was honoured with the surname of Africanus, for having put a glorious period to this war.

The consul, though dangerously wounded, retreated in good order, and was conveyed to his camp by a body of horse who covered him with their arms and bodies: the rest of the army followed him thither. He hastened to the Po, which he crossed with his army, and then broke down the bridge, whereby he prevented Hannibal from overtaking him.

It was agreed, that Hannibal owed this first victory to his cavalry; and it was judged from thenceforth, that the main strength of his army consisted in his horse; and therefore, that it would be proper for the Romans to avoid large open plains like those between the Po and the Alps.

Immediately after the battle of the Ticinus, all the neighbouring Gauls seemed to contend who should submit themselves first to Hannibal, furnish him with ammunition, and enlist in his army. And this, as Polybius has observed, was what chiefly induced that wise and skilful general, notwithstanding the small number and weakness of his troops, to hazard a battle; which he indeed was now obliged to venture, from the impossibility of marching back whenever he should desire to do it, because nothing but a battle would oblige the Gauls to declare for him: their assistance being the only refuge he then had left.

* These two ill omens were, first, a wolf had stole into the camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled some of the soldiers, without receiving the least harm from those who endeavored to kill it; and, secondly, a swarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the prætorium, or general's tent.—Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

† The Numidians used to ride without saddle or bridle.

SEMPRONIUS the consul, upon the orders he had received from the senate, was returned from Sicily to Ariminum.* From thence he marched towards Trebia, a small river of Lombardy, which falls into the Po a little above Placentia, where he joined his forces to those of Scipio. Hannibal advanced towards the camp of the Romans, from which he was separated only by that small river. The armies lying so near one another, gave occasion to frequent skirmishes, in one of which Sempronius, at the head of a body of horse, gained but a very small advantage over a party of Carthaginians, which nevertheless very much increased the good opinion this general naturally entertained of his own merit.

This inconsiderable success seemed to him a complete victory. He boasted his having vanquished the enemy in the same kind of fight in which his colleague had been defeated, and that he thereby had revived the courage of the dejected Romans. Being now resolutely bent to come, as soon as possible, to a decisive battle, he thought it proper, for decency sake, to consult Scipio, whom he found to be of a quite different opinion from himself. Scipio represented, that in case time should be allowed for disciplining the new levies during the winter, they would be much more fit for service in the ensuing campaign; that the Gauls, who were naturally fickle and inconstant, would disengage themselves insensibly from Hannibal; that as soon as his wounds should be healed, his presence might be of some use in an affair of such general concern; in a word, he besought him earnestly not to proceed any farther.

These reasons, though so just, made no impression upon Sempronius. He saw himself at the head of sixteen thousand Romans, and twenty thousand allies, exclusive of cavalry, which number, in those ages, formed a complete army, when both consuls joined their forces. The troops of the enemy amounted to near the same number. He thought the juncture extremely favourable for him. He declared publicly, that all the officers and soldiers were desirous of a battle, except his colleague, whose mind, he observed, being more affected by his wound than his body, could not for that reason bear to hear of an engagement. But still, continued Sempronius, is it just to let the whole army droop and languish with him? What could Scipio expect more? Did he flatter himself with the hopes that a third consul, and a new army, would come to his assistance? Such were the expressions he employed, both among the soldiers, and even about Scipio's tent. The time for the election of new generals drawing near, Sempronius was afraid a successor would be sent before he had put an end to the war; and therefore it was his opinion, that he ought to take advantage of his colleague's illness to secure the whole honour of the victory to himself. As he had no regard, says Polybius, to the time proper for action, and only to that which he thought suited his own interest, he could not fail of taking wrong measures. He therefore ordered his army to prepare for battle.

This was the very thing Hannibal desired, holding it for a maxim, that when a general has entered a foreign country, or one possessed by the enemy, and has formed some great design, that such an one has no other refuge left, but continually to raise the expectation of his allies by some fresh exploits. Besides, knowing that he should have to deal only with new-levied and inexperienced troops, he was desirous of taking every advantage possible of the ardour of the Gauls, who were extremely desirous of fighting; and of Scipio's absence, who, by reason of his wound, could not be present in the battle. Mago was therefore ordered to lie in ambush with two thousand men, consisting of horse and foot, on the steep banks of a small rivulet, which ran between the two camps, and to conceal himself among the bushes, that were very thick there. An ambuscade is often safer in a smooth open country, but full of thickets, as this was, than in woods, because such a spot is less apt to be suspected. He afterwards caused a detachment of Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia, with orders to advance at break of day as far as the very barriers of the enemy's camp, in order to provoke them to fight; and then to retreat and repass the river, in order to draw the Romans after them. What he had foreseen, came exactly to pass. The fiery Sempronius immediately detached his whole cavalry against the Numidians, and then six thousand light-armed troops, who were soon followed by the rest of the army. The Numidians fled designedly; upon which the Romans pursued them with great eagerness, and crossed the Trebia without resistance, but not without great difficulty, being forced to wade up to their very arm-pits through the rivulet, which was

* Polyb. l. xxiii p. 229—227. Liv. l. xxi. n. 51—56.

swollen with the torrents that had fallen in the night from the neighbouring mountains. It was then about the winter-solstice, that is, in December. It happened to snow that day, and the cold was excessively piercing. The Romans had left their camp fasting, and without taking the least precaution; whereas the Carthaginians had, by Hannibal's order, eat and drank plentifully in their tents; had got their horses in readiness, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their armour by the fire-side.

They were thus prepared when the fight began. The Romans defended themselves valiantly for a considerable time, though they were half spent with hunger, fatigue, and cold; but their cavalry was at last broken and put to flight by that of the Carthaginians, which much exceeded theirs in numbers and strength. The infantry also were soon in great disorder. The soldiers in ambuscade sallying out at a proper time, rushed suddenly upon their rear, and completed the overthrow. A body of about ten thousand men fought their way resolutely through the Gauls and Africans, of whom they made a dreadful slaughter; but as they could neither assist their friends, nor return to their camp, the way to it being cut off by the Numidian horse, the river and the rain, they retreated in good order to Placentia. Most of the rest lost their lives on the banks of the river, being trampled to pieces by the elephants and horses. Those who escaped, joined the body above mentioned. The next night Scipio also retired to Placentia. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory, and their loss was inconsiderable, except that a great number of their horses were destroyed by the cold, the rain, and the snow; and that, of all their elephants, they saved but one.

In Spain, the Romans had better success, in this and the following campaign,* for Cn. Scipio extended his conquests as far as the river Iberus,† defeated Hanno, and made him prisoner.

Hannibal took the opportunity, while he was in winter quarters, to refresh his troops, and gain the affection of the natives. For this purpose, after having declared to the prisoners he had taken from the Roman allies, that he was not come with the view of making war upon them, but to restore the Italians to their liberty, and protect them against the Romans, he sent them all home to their own countries, without requiring the least ransom.‡

The winter was no sooner over, than he set off towards Tuscany, whither he hastened his march for two important reasons.§ First, to avoid the ill effects which would arise from the ill-will of the Gauls, who were tired with the long stay of the Carthaginian army in their territories; and impatient of bearing the whole burden of a war, in which they had engaged with no other view, than to carry it into the country of their common enemy. Secondly, that he might increase, by some bold exploit, the reputation of his arms in the minds of all the inhabitants of Italy, by carrying the war to the very gates of Rome, and at the same time, reanimate his troops, and the Gauls his allies, by the plunder of the enemy's territories. But in his march over the Appenines, he was overtaken with a dreadful storm, which destroyed great numbers of his men. The cold, the rain, the wind, and hail, seemed to conspire his ruin; so that the fatigues which the Carthaginians had undergone in crossing the Alps, seemed less dreadful than these they now suffered. He therefore marched back to Placentia, where he again fought Sempronius, who had returned from Rome. The loss on both sides was very nearly equal.

While Hannibal was in these winter quarters, he hit upon a stratagem truly Carthaginian.|| He was surrounded with fickle and inconstant nations; the friendship he had contracted with them was but of recent date. He had reason to apprehend a change in their disposition, and consequently that attempts would be made upon his life. To secure himself, therefore, he got perukes made, and clothes suited to every age. Of these he sometimes wore one, sometimes another; and disguised himself so often, that not only those who saw him transiently, but even his intimate acquaintance, could scarcely know him.

At Rome, Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius had been appointed consuls.¶ Hannibal, having advice that the latter was advanced already as far as Arretium, a town of Tuscany, resolved to go and engage him as soon as possible. Two ways being shown him, he chose the shortest, though the most troublesome, nay, almost impassable, by reason of a fen which he was forced to go through. Here the army suffered incredible hardships. During four days and three nights, they marched half leg deep in water, and consequently could not get a moment's sleep. Hannibal himself, who

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 228, 229. Liv. l. xxi. n. 60, 61. † Or Ebro. ‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 229. § Liv. l. xxi. n. 58.
 || Polyb. l. xxi. Liv. l. xxii. n. 1. Appian. in Bell. Annib. p. 316.
 ¶ A. M. 3788. A. Rome, 532. Polyb. p. 230, 231. Liv. l. xxii. n. 2.

rode upon the only elephant he had left, could hardly get through. His long want of sleep, and the thick vapours which exhaled from that marshy place together with the unhealthfulness of the season, cost him one of his eyes.

BATTLE OF THRASYMENE.

HANNIBAL thus extricated, almost unexpectedly, out of this dangerous situation, refreshed his troops; and then marched and pitched his Camp between Arretium and Fesulæ; in the richest and most fruitful part of Tuscany.* His first endeavours were, to discover the genius and character of Flaminius, in order that he might take advantage of his errors, which, according to Polybius, ought to be the chief study of a general. He was told, that Flaminius was very self conceited, bold, enterprising, rash, and fond of glory. To plunge him the deeper into these excesses, to which he was naturally prone,† he inflamed his impetuous spirit, by laying waste and burning the whole country in his sight.

Flaminius was not of a disposition to remain inactive in his camp, though Hannibal should have lain still. But when he saw the territories of his allies laid waste before his eyes, he thought it would reflect dishonour upon him should he suffer Hannibal to ravage Italy without controul, and even advance to the very walls of Rome, without meeting any resistance. He rejected with scorn the prudent counsels of those who advised him to wait the arrival of his colleague; and to be satisfied for the present with putting a stop to the devastation of the enemy,

In the mean time Hannibal was still advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left hand, and the lake Thrasydene on his right. When he saw that the consul followed close after him, with the design to give him battle, by stopping him in his march; having observed that the ground was convenient for that purpose, he also began to prepare himself for battle. The lake Thrasydene and the mountains of Cortona form a narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both sides with hills of considerable height, and closed at the outlet by a steep hill of difficult access. On this hill, Hannibal, after having crossed the valley, came and encamped with the main body of his army; posting his light-armed infantry in ambuscade upon the hills on the right, and part of his cavalry behind those on the left, as far almost as the entrance of the defile, through which Flaminius was obliged to pass. Accordingly, this general, who followed him very eagerly, with the resolution to fight him, having reached the defile near the lake, was forced to halt, because night was coming on, but he entered it next morning at day-break.

Hannibal having permitted him to advance with all his forces more than half way through the valley, and seeing the Roman van-guard pretty near him; he sounded the charge, and commanded his troops to come out of their ambuscade, that he might attack the enemy, at the same time, from all quarters. The reader may guess at the consternation with which the Romans were seized.

They were not yet drawn up in order of battle, neither had they got their arms in readiness, when they found themselves attacked in front; in rear, and in flank. In a moment all the ranks were put in disorder. Flaminius, alone undaunted in so universal a consternation, animated his soldiers both with his hand and voice; and exhorted them to cut themselves a passage, with their swords, through the midst of the enemy. But the tumult which reigned every where, the dreadful shouts of the enemy, and a heavy fog prevented his being seen or heard. When the Romans, however, saw themselves surrounded on all sides, either by the enemy or the lake, and the impossibility of saving their lives by flight, it roused their courage, and both parties began the fight with astonishing animosity. Their fury was so great, that not a soldier in either army perceived an earthquake which happened in that country, and buried whole cities in ruins. In this confusion, Flaminius being slain by one of the Insubrian Gauls, the Romans began to give ground, and at last turned and fled. Great numbers, to save themselves, leaped into the lake; while others directing their course to the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands whom they strove to avoid. Only six thousand cut their way through the conquerors, and retreated to a place of safety, but the next day they were taken prisoners. In this battle fifteen thousand Romans were killed, and about ten thousand escaped to Rome by different roads. Hannibal sent back the Latins, who were allies of the Romans, into their own country, without demanding the

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 231—238.

† Apparebat ferociter omnia ac præproperè acturum. Quoque pronior esset in sua vitia, agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat.—Liv. l. xxii. n. 3.

least ransom. He commanded search to be made for the body of Flaminius in order to give it burial, but it could not be found. He afterwards put his troops into quarters of refreshment, and solemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who were killed in the battle. He lost in all but fifteen hundred men, most of whom were Gauls.

Immediately after, Hannibal despatched a courier to Carthage, with the news of his success in Italy. This caused the greatest joy for the present, raised the most promising hopes with regard to the future, and revived the courage of all the citizens. They now prepared, with incredible ardour, to send into Italy and Spain all necessary succours.

Rome, on the contrary, was filled with universal grief and alarm, as soon as the prætor had pronounced from the rostra the following words, *We have lost a great battle*. The senate, studious of nothing but the public welfare, thought that in so great a calamity, and so imminent a danger, recourse must be had to extraordinary remedies. They therefore appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a person as conspicuous for his wisdom as his birth. It was the custom of Rome, that the moment a dictator was nominated, all authority ceased, that of the tribunes of the people excepted. M. Minucius was appointed his general of horse. We are now in the second year of the war.

HANNIBAL'S CONDUCT WITH RESPECT TO FABIUS.

HANNIBAL, after the battle of Thrasymene, not thinking it yet proper to march directly to Rome, contented himself, in the mean time, with laying waste the country.* He crossed Umbria and Picenum; and after ten days' march, arrived in the territory of Adria.† He got a very considerable booty in this march. Out of his implacable enmity to the Romans, he commanded, that all who were able to bear arms should be put to the sword; and meeting no obstacle any where, he advanced as far as Apulia; plundering the countries which lay in his way, and carrying desolation wherever he came, in order to compel the nations to disengage themselves from their alliance with the Romans, and to show all Italy, that Rome itself, now quite dispirited, yielded him the victory.

Fabius, followed by Minucius and four legions, had marched from Rome in quest of the enemy, but with a firm resolution not to let him take the least advantage, nor to advance one step, till he had first reconnoitered every place; nor hazard a battle, till he should be sure of success.

As soon as both armies were in sight, Hannibal, to terrify the Roman forces, offered them battle, by advancing almost to the intrenchments of their camp. But finding every thing quiet there, he retired; blaming in appearance the outward cowardice of the enemy, whom he upbraided with having at last lost that valour so natural to their ancestors; but fretting inwardly, to find he had to act with a general of so different a genius from Sempronius and Flaminius; and that the Romans, instructed by their defeat, had at last made choice of a commander capable of opposing Hannibal.

From this moment he perceived that the dictator would not be formidable to him by the boldness of his attacks, but by the prudence and regularity of his conduct, which might perplex and embarrass him very much. The only circumstance he now wanted to know was, whether the new general had resolution enough to pursue steadily the plan he seemed to have laid down. He endeavoured, therefore, to rouse him, by his frequent removals from place to place, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would raise his camp with the utmost precipitation; and at another, stop short in some valley out of the common route, to try whether he could not surprise him in the plain. However, Fabius still kept his troops on the hills, but without losing sight of Hannibal; never approaching near enough to come to an engagement, nor yet keeping at such a distance, as might give him an opportunity of escaping him. He never suffered his soldiers to stir out of the camp, except to forage, and not even on those occasions without a numerous convoy. If ever he engaged, it was only in slight skirmishes, and so very cautiously, that his troops had always the advantage. This conduct revived, by insensible degrees, the courage of the soldiers, which the loss of three battles had entirely damped; and enabled them to rely, as they had formerly done, on their valour and success.

* Polyb. l. xxiii. p. 239—255. Liv. l. xxii. n. 9—30.

† A small town, which gave name to the Adriatic sea.

Hannibal, having got immensely rich spoils in Campania, where he had resided a considerable time, left there with his army, that he might not consume the provisions he had laid up, and which he reserved for the winter season. Besides he could no longer continue in a country of gardens and vineyards, which were more agreeable to the eye, than useful for the subsistence of an army; a country where he would have been forced to take up his winter-quarters among marshes, rocks, and sands; whereas the Romans would have drawn plentiful supplies from Capua, and the richest parts of Italy. He therefore resolved to settle elsewhere.

Fabius naturally supposed that Hannibal would be obliged to return the same way he came, and that he might easily annoy him during his march. He began by throwing a considerable body of troops into Casilinum, thereby securing that small town, situated on the Vulturinus, which separated the territories of Falernum from those of Capua; he afterwards detached four thousand men, to seize the only narrow pass through which Hannibal could come out; and then, according to his usual custom, posted himself with the remainder of the army on the hills adjoining the road.

The Carthaginians arrived, and encamped in the plain at the foot of the mountains. And now, the crafty Carthaginian fell into the same snare he had laid for Flaminius at the defile of Thrasymene; and it seemed impossible for him ever to extricate himself out of this difficulty, there being but one outlet, of which the Romans were possessed. Fabius, fancying himself sure of his prey, was only contriving how to seize it. He flattered himself with the probable hopes of putting an end to the war by this single battle. Nevertheless, he thought fit to defer the attack till the next day.

Hannibal perceived that his own artifices were now employed against him.* It is in such junctures as these, that a general has need of great presence of mind, and unusual fortitude, to view danger in its utmost extent, without being struck with the least dread; and to find out sure and instant expedients, without deliberating. The Carthaginian general immediately caused two thousand oxen to be collected, and ordered small bundles of vine branches to be tied to their horns. He then commanded the branches to be set on fire in the dead of night, and the oxen to be driven with violence to the top of the hills, where the Romans were encamped. As soon as those creatures felt the flame, the pain putting them in a rage, they flew up and down on all sides, and set fire to the shrubs and bushes they met in their way. This squadron, of a new kind, was sustained by a good number of light-armed soldiers, who had orders to seize upon the summit of the mountain, and to charge the enemy in case they should meet them. All things happened which Hannibal had foreseen. The Romans, who guarded the defile, seeing the fires spread over the hills which were above them, and imagining that it was Hannibal making his escape by torch-light, quit their posts and run to the mountains to oppose his passage. The main body of the army not knowing what to think of all this tumult, and Fabius himself not daring to stir, as it was excessively dark, for fear of a surprise, waited for the return of the day. Hannibal seized this opportunity, marched his troops and the spoils through the defile, which was now unguarded, and rescued his army out of a snare, in which, had Fabius been but a little more vigorous, it would either have been destroyed, or at least very much weakened. It is glorious for a man to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them subservient to his reputation.

The Carthaginian army returned to Apulia, still pursued and harrassed by the Romans. The dictator being obliged to take a journey to Rome, on account of some religious ceremonies, earnestly entreated his general of horse, before his departure, not to fight during his absence. Minucius however did not regard either his advice nor his entreaties, but the very first opportunity he had, while part of Hannibal's troops were foraging, charged the rest, and gained some advantage. He immediately sent advice of this to Rome, as if he had obtained a considerable victory. The news of this, with what had just before happened at the passage of the defile, raised complaints and murmurs against the slow and timorous circumspection of Fabius. In a word, matters were carried so far, that the Roman people gave his general of horse an equal authority with him; a thing unheard of before. The dictator was upon the road when he received advice of this, for he had left Rome, that he might not be an eye-witness of what was contriving against him. His constancy, however, was not shaken. He was very sensible, that though his authority in the command was divided, yet his skill in the art of war was not so.† This soon became manifest.

* Nec Annibalem fecellit suis se artibus peti.—Liv.

† Satis fidens haudquamquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam.—Liv. l. xxii. n. 26.

Minucius, grown arrogant with the advantage he had gained over his colleague, proposed that each should command a day alternately, or even a longer time. But Fabius rejected this proposal, as it would have exposed the whole army to danger while under the command of Minucius. He therefore chose to divide the troops, in order that it might be in his power to preserve, at least, that part which should fall to his share.

Hannibal, fully informed of all that passed in the Roman camp, was over-joyed to hear of this dissention of the two commanders. He therefore laid a snare for the rash Minucius, who accordingly plunged headlong into it, and engaged the enemy on an eminence, in which an ambuscade was concealed. But his troops, being soon put into disorder, were just on the point of being cut to pieces, when Fabius, alarmed by the sudden outcries of the wounded, called aloud to his soldiers, "Let us hasten to the assistance of Minucius; let us fly and snatch the victory from the enemy, and extort from our fellow-citizens a confession of their fault." This succour was very seasonable, and compelled Hannibal to sound a retreat. The latter, as he was retiring, said, "That the cloud which had been long hovering on the summit of the mountains, had at last burst with a loud crack, and caused a mighty storm." So important and seasonable a service rendered by the dictator, opened the eyes of Minucius. He accordingly acknowledged his error, returned immediately to his duty and obedience, and showed that it is sometimes more glorious to know how to atone for a fault, than to have committed it.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

IN the beginning of this campaign, Cn. Scipio having suddenly attacked the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hamilcar, defeated it, and took twenty-five ships, with a great quantity of rich spoils.* This victory made the Romans sensible that they ought to be particularly attentive to the affairs of Spain, because Hannibal could draw considerable supplies both of men and money from that country. Accordingly they sent a fleet thither, the command of which was given to P. Scipio, who, after his arrival in Spain, having joined his brother, did the commonwealth very great service. Till that time the Romans had never ventured beyond the Ebro. They then were satisfied with having gained the friendship of the nations situated between that river and Italy, and confirming it by alliances; but under Publius, they crossed the Ebro, and carried their arms much farther up into the country.

The circumstance which contributed most to promote their affairs, was the treachery of a Spaniard in Saguntum. Hannibal had left there the children of the most distinguished families in Spain, whom he had taken as hostages. Abelox, (for so this Spaniard was called,) persuaded Bostar, the governor of the city, to send back these young men into their country, in order, by that means, to attach the inhabitants more firmly to the Carthaginian interest. He himself was charged with this commission; but he carried them to the Romans, who afterwards delivered them to their relations, and by so acceptable a present, acquired their animity.

THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ.

THE next spring, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Æmilius Paulus, were chosen consuls at Rome.† In this campaign, which was the third of the second Punic war, the Romans did what had never been practised before, viz. they composed the army of eight legions, each consisting of five thousand men, exclusive of the allies. For, as we have already observed, the Romans never raised but four legions, each of which consisted of about four thousand foot, and three hundred horse.‡ They never, except on the most important occasions, made them consist of five thousand of the one, and four hundred of the other. As for the troops of the allies, the number of their infantry, was equal to that of the legions, but they had three times as many horse. Each of the consuls had commonly half the troops of the allies, with two legions, that they might act separately; and all these forces were very seldom used at the same time, and in the same expedition. Here the Romans had not only four, but eight legions, so important did the affair appear to them. The senate even thought

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 245—250. Liv. J. xxii. n. 19—22.

† A. M. 3789. A. Rome, 533. Polyb. l. iii. p. 255—268. Liv. l. xxii. n. 34—54.

‡ Polybius supposes only two hundred horse in each legion; but J. Lipsius thinks that this is a mistake, either of the author or transcriber.

proper that the two consuls of the foregoing year, Servilius and Attilius, should serve in the army as proconsuls; but the latter could not go into the field, in consequence of his great age.

Varro, at his setting out from Rome, had declared openly that he would fall upon the enemy the very first opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated, as long as men of the character of Fabius should be at the head of the Roman armies. An advantage which he gained over the Carthaginians, of whom near seventeen hundred were killed, greatly increased his boldness and arrogance. As for Hannibal, he considered this loss as a real advantage, being persuaded that it would serve as a bait to the consul's rashness, and urge him on to a battle, which he anxiously desired. It was afterwards known, that Hannibal was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions, that he could not possibly have subsisted ten days longer. The Spaniards were already meditating to leave him. So that there would have been an end of Hannibal and his army, if his good fortune had not thrown a Varro in his way.

Both armies, having often removed from place to place, came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a little town in Apulia, situated on the river Aufidus. As Hannibal was encamped in a level, open country, and his cavalry much superior to that of the Romans, Æmilius did not think proper to engage in such a place. He was for drawing the enemy into an irregular spot, where the infantry might have the greatest share in the action. But his colleague, who was wholly inexperienced, was of a contrary opinion. Such is the disadvantage of a divided command; jealousy, a difference of disposition, or a diversity of views, seldom failing to create a dissent between the two generals.

The troops on either side were, for some time, contented with slight skirmishes. But at last, one day when Varro had the command, for the two consuls took it by turns, preparations were made on both sides for battle. Æmilius had not been consulted; yet, though he extremely disapproved the conduct of his colleague, as it was not in his power to prevent it, he seconded him to the utmost.

Hannibal, after having pointed out to his soldiers that being superior in cavalry, they could not possibly have pitched upon a better spot for fighting, had it been left to their choice, thus addressed them: "Return thanks to the gods for having brought the enemy hither, that you may triumph over them; and thank me also for having reduced the Romans to the necessity of coming to an engagement. After three great victories, won successively, is not the remembrance of your own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By former battles, you are become masters of the open country, but this will put you in possession of all the cities, and, I presume to say it, of all the riches and power of the Romans. It is not words that we want, but actions. I trust in the gods that you shall soon see my promises verified."

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Romans, including the allies, amounted to fourscore thousand foot, and a little more than six thousand horse, and that of the Carthaginians consisted but of forty thousand foot, all well disciplined, and of ten thousand horse. Æmilius commanded the right wing of the Romans, Varro the left, and Servilius, one of the consuls of the last year, was posted in the centre. Hannibal, who had the art of taking all advantages, had posted himself so that the wind Vulturinus,* which rises at certain stated times, should blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight, and cover them with dust; then keeping the river Aufidus on his left, and posting his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the Spanish and Gallic infantry, which he posted in the centre, with half the African heavy armed foot on their right, and half on the left, on the same line with the cavalry. His army being thus drawn up, he put himself at the head of the Spanish and Gallic infantry; and having drawn them out of the line, advanced to begin the battle, rounding his front as he advanced nearer the enemy; and extending his flanks in the shape of a half-moon, in order that he might leave no interval between his main body and the rest of the line, which consisted of the heavy-armed infantry, who had not moved from their posts.

The fight soon began, and the Roman legions that were in the wings, seeing their centre warmly attacked, advanced to charge the enemy in flank. Hannibal's main body, after a brave resistance, finding themselves furiously attacked on all sides, gave

* A violent burning wind, blowing south south-east, which, in this flat and sandy country, raised clouds of hot dust, and blinded and choked the Romans.

way, being overpowered by numbers, and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The Romans having pursued them thither with eager confusion, the two wings of the African infantry, which were fresh, well armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a sudden towards that void space in which the Romans, who were already fatigued, had thrown themselves in disorder, and attacked them vigorously on both sides, without leaving them time to recover themselves, or leaving them ground to form. In the mean time, the two wings of the cavalry, having defeated those of the Romans, which were much inferior to them, and, in order to pursue the broken and scattered squadrons, having left only as many forces as were necessary to keep them from rallying, advanced and charged the rear of the Roman infantry, which, being surrounded at once on every side by the enemy's horse and foot, was all cut to pieces, after having fought with unparalleled bravery. Æmilius, being covered with the wounds he had received in the fight, was afterwards killed by a body of the enemy, to whom he was not known; and with him two quæstors, one and twenty military tribunes, many who had been either consuls or prætors; Servilius, one of the last year's consuls, Minucius, the late general of horse to Fabius, and fourscore senators. Above seventy thousand men fell in this battle,* and the Carthaginians, so great was their fury,† did not give over the slaughter, till Hannibal, in the very heat of it, called out to them several times, *Stop, soldiers; spare the vanquished.* Ten thousand men, who had been left to guard the camp, surrendered themselves prisoners of war after the battle. Varro, the consul, retired to Venusia, with only seventy horse; and about four thousand men escaped into the neighbouring cities. Thus Hannibal remained master of the field, he being chiefly indebted for this, as well as for his former victories, to the superiority of his cavalry over that of the Romans. He lost four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, advised Hannibal to march directly to Rome, promising him, that within five days they should sup in the capitol. Hannibal answering, that it was an affair which required mature examination, "I see," replied, Maharbal, "that the gods have not endowed the same man with every talent. You, Hannibal, know how to conquer, but not to make the best use of a victory."‡

It is pretended that this delay saved Rome and the empire. Many authors, and among them, Livy, charge Hannibal, on this occasion, with being guilty of a capital error. But others, more reserved, are not for condemning, without evident proofs, so renowned a general, who, in the rest of his conduct, was never wanting, either in prudence to make choice of the best expedients, or in readiness to put his designs in execution. They are, moreover, inclined to judge favourably of him, from the authority, or at least the silence of Polybius, who, speaking of the memorable consequences of this celebrated battle, says, that the Carthaginians were firmly persuaded, that they should possess themselves of Rome at the first assault; but, then, he does not mention how this could possibly have been effected, as that city was very populous, warlike, strongly fortified, and defended with a garrison of two legions; nor does he any where give the least hint that such a project was feasible, or that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution.

And, indeed, if we examine matters more narrowly, we shall find, that according to the common maxims of war, it could not be undertaken. It is certain that Hannibal's whole infantry, before the battle, amounted but to forty thousand men; and as six thousand of these had been slain in the action, and doubtless many more either wounded or disabled, there could remain but six or seven-and-twenty thousand foot for service. Now this number was not sufficient to invest so large a city as Rome, which had a river running through it; nor to attack it in form, because they had neither engines, ammunition, nor any other things necessary for carrying on a siege.§ For want of these, Hannibal, even after his victory at Thrasymene, miscarried in his attempt upon Spoletum; and, soon after the battle of Cannæ, was forced to raise the siege of Casilinum, though a city of little note or strength. It cannot be denied, that, had he miscarried on the present occasion, nothing less could have been expected, than that he must have been irrecoverably lost. However, to form a judgment

* Livy lessens very much the number of the slain, making them amount but to about forty-three thousand. But Polybius ought rather to be believed.

† Duo maximi exercitus cæsi ad hostium satietatem, donec Annibal diceret militi suo, Parce ferro.—Flor. l. i. c. 6.

‡ Tum Maharbal: Non omnia nimirum eidem Dii dederê. Vincere scis, Annibal, victoriâ uti nescis.—Liv. l. xxii. n. 51.

Liv. l. xxii. n. 9. Ibid. l. xxiii. n. 18.

of this matter, a man ought to be a soldier, and should perhaps have been upon the spot. This is an old dispute, on which none but those who are perfectly well skilled in the art of war should pretend to give their opinion.

Soon after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal despatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with the news of his victory;* and at the same time to demand succours, in order that he might be enabled to put an end to the war. Mago, on his arrival, made, in full senate, a lofty speech, in which he extolled his brother's exploits, and displayed the great advantages he had gained over the Romans. And, to give a more lively idea of the greatness of the victory, by speaking in some measure to the eye, he poured out in the middle of the senate a bushel of gold rings,† which had been taken from the fingers of such of the Roman nobility as had fallen in the battle of Cannæ. He concluded with demanding money, provisions, and fresh troops. All the spectators were struck with an extraordinary joy, upon which Imilcon, a warm advocate for Hannibal, fancying he now had a fair opportunity to insult Hanno, the chief of the opposite faction, asked him, whether he was still dissatisfied with the war they were carrying on against the Romans, and was for having Hannibal delivered up to them? Hanno, without discovering the least emotion, replied, that he was still of the same mind, and that the victories they so much boasted, supposing them real, could not give him joy, but only in proportion as they should be made subservient to an advantageous peace; he then undertook to prove, that the mighty exploits, on which they insisted so much, were wholly chimerical and imaginary. "I have cut to pieces," says he, continuing Mago's speech, "the Roman armies; send me some troops. What more could you ask, had you been conquered? I have twice seized upon the enemy's camp, full, no doubt, of provisions of every kind.—Send me provisions and money. Could you have talked otherwise, had you lost your camp." He then asked Mago, whether any of the Latin nations were come over to Hannibal, and whether the Romans had made him any proposals of peace? To this, Mago answering in the negative; "I then perceive," replied Hanno, "that we are no farther advanced than when Hannibal first landed in Italy." The inference he drew from hence was, that neither men nor money ought to be sent. But Hannibal's faction prevailing at that time, no regard was paid to Hanno's remonstrances, which were considered merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy; and accordingly, orders were given for levying the supplies of men and money which Hannibal required. Mago set out immediately for Spain, to raise twenty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse, in that country; but these levies were afterwards stopped, and sent another way, so eager was the opposite faction to counteract the designs of a general whom they utterly abhorred. In Rome, a consul who had fled was thanked because he had not despaired of the commonwealth; but at Carthage, people were almost angry with Hannibal for being victorious.‡ Hanno could never forgive him the advantages he had gained in this war, because he had undertaken it in opposition to his counsel. Thus, being more jealous for the honour of his own opinions than for the good of his country, and a greater enemy to the Carthaginian general than to the Romans, he did all that lay in his power to prevent future successes, and to frustrate those already acquired.

HANNIBAL TAKES UP HIS WINTER-QUARTERS IN CAPUA.

The battle of Cannæ subjected the most powerful nations of Italy to Hannibal,§ drew over to his interest Græcia Magna,|| with the city of Tarentum; and so wrested from the Romans their most ancient allies, among whom the Capuans held the first rank. This city, by the fertility of its soil, its advantageous situation, and the blessings of a long peace, had risen to great wealth and power. Luxury, and a flow of pleasure, the usual attendants on wealth, had corrupted the minds of all its citizens, who, from their natural disposition, were but too much inclined to voluptuousness and all excesses.

Hannibal made choice of this city for his winter-quarters.¶ Here it was that his

* Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11—14,

† Pliny, l. xxiii. c. 1, says, that there were three bushels sent to Carthage. Livy observes, that some authors make them amount to three bushels and a half, but he thinks it most probable that there was but one, l. xxiii. n. 12.—Florus, l. ii. c. 16, makes it two bushels.

‡ De St. Evremond.

§ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 4—18.

|| Cæterum quum Græci omnem fere oram maritimam coloniis suis e Græciâ deductis, obsiderent, &c. But after the Greeks had, by their colonies, possessed themselves of all the maritime coast, this very country, together with Sicily, was called Græcia Magna, &c.—Chuver. Geograph. l. iii. c. 30.

¶ Ibi partem majorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit, adversus omnia humana mala sæpe ac diu durantem, bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdere, nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ, et eo impensius, quæ avidius ex insolentiâ in eas se miserant.—Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.

soldiers, who had sustained the most grievous toils, and braved the most formidable dangers, were overthrown by delights and a profusion of all things, into which they plunged with the greater eagerness, as they, till then, had been strangers to them. Their courage was so greatly enervated in this bewitching retirement, that all their after efforts were owing rather to the fame and splendour of their former victories, than to their present strength. When Hannibal marched his forces out of the city, they would have been taken for other men, and the reverse of those who had so lately marched into it. Accustomed during the winter season, to commodious lodgings, to ease and plenty, they were no longer able to bear hunger, thirst, long marches, watchings, and the other toils of war; not to mention, that all obedience, all discipline, were entirely laid aside.

I only transcribe on this occasion from Livy, who, if he may be credited, thinks Hannibal's stay at Capua a reproach to his conduct; and pretends that there he was guilty of an infinitely greater error, than when he neglected to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For this delay, says Livy, might seem only to have retarded his victory; whereas this last misconduct rendered him absolutely incapable of ever defeating the enemy.* In a word, as Marcellus afterwards judiciously observed, Capua was to the Carthaginians and their general, what Cannæ had been to the Romans.† There their martial genius, their love of discipline, were lost: there their former fame, and their almost certain hopes of future glory, vanquished at once. And, indeed, from thenceforth the affairs of Hannibal rapidly advanced to their decline; fortune declared in favour of prudence, and victory seemed now reconciled to the Romans.

I know not whether Livy has reason to impute all these fatal consequences to the delicious abode of Capua. If we examine carefully all the circumstances of this history, we shall be hardly able to persuade ourselves, that the little progress which was afterwards made by the arms of Hannibal ought to be ascribed to Capua. It might, indeed, have been one cause, but this would be a very inconsiderable one: and the bravery with which the forces of Hannibal afterwards defeated the armies of consuls and prætors; the town they took even in sight of the Romans; their maintaining their conquests so vigorously, and staying fourteen years after this in Italy, in spite of the Romans; all these circumstances may induce us to believe, that Livy lays too great a stress on the delights of Capua.

The real cause of the decay of Hannibal's affairs was owing to his want of necessary recruits and succours from Carthage. After Mago's speech, the Carthaginian senate had judged it necessary in order to carry on the conquests in Italy, to send thither a considerable reinforcement of Numidian horse, forty elephants and a thousand talents; and to hire, in Spain, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to reinforce their armies in Spain and Italy.‡ Mago however, could obtain an order but for twelve thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: and even when he was just going to march to Italy with an army so much inferior to that which had been promised him, he was countermanded and sent to Spain.§ So that Hannibal, after these mighty promises, had neither infantry, cavalry, elephants, nor money, sent him, but was left to his own resources. His army was now reduced to twenty-six thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. How could it be possible for him, with so inconsiderable an army, to sieze, in an enemy's country, on all the advantageous posts, to awe his new allies, to preserve his old conquests, and form new ones; and to keep the field with advantage against two armies of the Romans, which were recruited every year? This was the true cause of the declension of Hannibal's affairs, and of the ruin of those of Carthage. Were the part where Polybius treats of this subject extant, we doubtless should find, that he lays a greater stress on this cause, than on the luxurious delights of Capua.

THE TRANSACTIONS RELATIVE TO SPAIN AND SARDINIA.

THE two Scipios continued in the command of Spain, and their arms were making a considerable progress there, when Asdrubal, who alone seemed able to cope with them, received orders from Carthage to march into Italy to the relief of his brother.|| Before he left Spain, he wrote to the Senate to convince them of the absolute necessity

* *Illa enim cunctatio distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires ademisse ad vincendum.*—Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.

† *Capuam Annibali Cannas fuisse: ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi præteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam.*—Liv. l. xxiii. n. 45.

‡ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 13.

§ *Ibid.* n. 32.

|| A. M. 3790. A. Rome, 534. Liv. xxiii. n. 26—30, 32, 40, 41.

of their sending a general in his stead, who possessed abilities adequate to oppose the Romans. Imilcon was therefore sent thither with an army; and Asdrubal commenced his march in order to join his brother. The news of his departure was no sooner known than the greater part of Spain was subdued by the Scipios. These two generals animated by such signal success, resolved to prevent him, if possible, from leaving Spain. They considered the danger to which the Romans would be exposed, if being scarce able to resist Hannibal only, they should be attacked by the two brothers at the head of two powerful armies. They therefore pursued Asdrubal, and coming up with him, forced him to fight against his inclination. Asdrubal was overcome; and so far from being able to continue his march for Italy, he found that it would be impossible for him to continue with any safety in Spain.

The Carthaginians had no better success in Sardinia. Designing to take advantage of some rebellions they had fomented in that country, they lost twelve thousand men in a battle fought with the Romans, who took a still greater number of prisoners, among whom were Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, Hanno and Mago,* who were distinguished by their birth as well as military exploits.

THE ILL SUCCESS OF HANNIBAL. THE SIEGES OF CAPUA AND ROME.

FROM Hannibal's abode in Capua, the Carthaginian affairs in Italy no longer supported their reputation.† M. Marcellus, first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, had contributed very much to this revolution. He harassed Hannibal's army on every occasion, seized upon his quarters, forced him to raise sieges, and even defeated him in several engagements; so that he was called the sword of Rome, as Fabius had before been called its buckler.

But what most affected the Carthaginian general, was to see Capua besieged by the Romans.‡ In order, therefore, to preserve his reputation among his allies, by a vigorous support of those who held the chief rank as such, he flew to the relief of that city, brought forward his forces, attacked the Romans, and fought several battles to oblige them to raise the siege. At last, seeing all his measures defeated, he marched hastily towards Rome, in order to make a powerful diversion.§ He had some hopes, in case he could have an opportunity, in the first consternation, to storm some part of the city, of drawing the Roman generals, with all their forces, from the siege of Capua, to the relief of their capital; he flattered himself, at least, that if for the sake of continuing the siege, they should divide their forces, their weakness might then offer an occasion, either to the Capuans or himself, of engaging and defeating them. Rome was struck, but not confounded. A proposal being made by one of the senators, to recall all the armies to succour Rome, Fabius declared that it would be a disgrace to them to be terrified, and forced to change their measures, upon every motion of Hannibal.|| They therefore contented themselves with only recalling part of the army, and one of the generals, Q. Fulvius, the proconsul, from the siege. Hannibal, after making some devastations, drew up his army in order of battle before the city, and the consul did the same. Both sides were preparing to signalize themselves in a battle, of which Rome was to be the recompense, when a violent storm obliged them to separate. They were no sooner returned to their respective camps, than the face of the heavens grew calm and serene. The same happened frequently afterwards, insomuch that Hannibal, believing that there was something supernatural in the event, said, according to Livy, that sometimes his own will, and sometimes fortune, would not suffer him to take Rome.¶

But the circumstance which most surprised and intimidated him, was the news that while he lay encamped at one of the gates of Rome, the Romans had sent out recruits for the army in Spain at another gate; and at the same time disposed of the ground whereon he was encamped, notwithstanding which it had been sold for its full value, such open contempt stung Hannibal to the quick: he, therefore, on the other hand, exposed to sale the shops of the goldsmiths round the forum. After this bravado he retired, and, in his march, plundered the rich temple of the goddess Feronia.**

* Not Hannibal's brother.

† A. M. 3791. A. Rome, 535. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 41—46. l. xxv. n. 22. l. xxvi. n. 5—16.

‡ A. M. 3793. A. Rome, 537.

§ A. M. 3794. A. Rome, 538.

|| Flagitiosum esse terreri ac circumagi ad omnes Annibalis comminationes.—Liv. l. xxvi. n. 8.

¶ Audita vox Annibalis fertur, potiundæ sibi urbis Romæ, modo mentem nondari, modo fortunam.—Liv. l. xxvi. n. 11.

** Feronia was the goddess of groves, and there was one with a temple in it dedicated to her, at the foot of the mountain Soracte. Strabo, speaking of the grove where this goddess was worshipped, says, that a sacrifice was offered annually to her in it; and that her votaries, inspired by this goddess, walked unhurt over burning coals. There are still extant some medals of Augustus, in which this goddess is represented with a crown on her head.

Capua, thus left to itself, held out but very little longer. After such of its senators as had been principals in the revolt, and consequently could not expect any quarter from the Romans, had put themselves to a truly tragical death,* the city surrendered at discretion. The success of this siege, which, by the happy consequences attending it, proved decisive, and gave the Romans a visible superiority over the Carthaginians, displayed at the same time, how formidable the power of the Romans was,† when they undertook to punish their perfidious allies; and the feeble protection which Hannibal could afford his friends, at a time when they most wanted it.

THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF THE TWO SCIPIOS IN SPAIN.

THE face of affairs was very much changed in Spain.‡ The Carthaginians had three armies in that country; one commanded by Asdrubal, the son of Gisco; the second by Asdrubal, son of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the first Asdrubal. The two Scipios, Cneus and Publius, were for dividing their forces, and attacking the enemy separately, which was the cause of their ruin: it accordingly was agreed that Cneus, with a small number of Romans, and thirty thousand Celtiberians, should march against Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar; while Publius, with the remainder of the forces, composed of Romans and the allies of Italy, should advance against the other two generals.

Publius was vanquished first. Masinissa, elated with the victories he had lately obtained over Syphax, had joined the two leaders whom Publius was to oppose; and was to be soon followed by Indibilis, a powerful Spanish prince. The armies came to an engagement. The Romans, being thus attacked on all sides at once, made a brave resistance as long as they had their general at their head; but the moment he fell, the few troops which had escaped the slaughter, secured themselves by flight.

The three victorious armies marched immediately in quest of Cneus, in order to put an end to the war by his defeat. He was already more than half vanquished, by the desertion of his allies, who all forsook him, and left to the Roman generals this important instruction, viz. never to let their own forces be exceeded in number by those of foreigners.§ He had reason to believe that his brother was slain, and his army defeated, on seeing such great bodies of the enemy arrive. He survived him but a short time, being killed in the engagement. These two great men were equally lamented by their citizens and allies; and the Spaniards bewailed their memory on account of the justice and moderation of their conduct.

These extensive countries seemed now inevitably lost; but the valour of L. Marcius,|| a private officer of the equestrian order, preserved them to the Romans. Shortly after this, the younger Scipio was sent thither, who fully avenged the death of his father and uncle, and restored the affairs of the Romans in Spain to their former flourishing condition.

THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ASDRUBAL.

One unforeseen defeat ruined all the measures, and blasted all the hopes of Hannibal with regard to Italy.¶ The consuls of this year, which was the eleventh of the second Punic war, (for I pass over several events for brevity's sake,) were C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius. The latter had for his province Cisalpine Gaul, where he was to oppose Asdrubal, who, it was reported, was preparing to pass the Alps. The former commanded in the country of the Brutians and in Lucania, that is, in the opposite extremity of Italy, and was there making head against Hannibal.

The passage of the Alps gave Asdrubal very little trouble, because his brother had cleared the way for him, and all the nations were disposed to receive him. Some time after this he despatched couriers to Hannibal, but they were intercepted. Nero found by their letters, that Asdrubal was hastening to join his brother in Umbria.

* Villius Virius, the chief of this conspiracy, after having represented to the Capuan senate, the severe treatment which his country might expect from the Romans, prevailed upon twenty-seven senators to go with him to his own house, where, after eating a plentiful dinner, and heating themselves with wine, they all drank poison. Then, taking their last farewell, some withdrew to their own houses, others staid with Virius; and all expired before the gates were opened to the Romans.—Liv. l. xxvi. n. 13, 14.

† Confessio expressa hosti, quanta vis in Romanis ad expetendas pœnas ab infidelibus sociis, et quam nihil in Annibale auxilii ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset.—Liv. l. xxvi. n. 16.

‡ A. M. 3793. A. Rome, 537. Liv. l. xxv. n. 32=39.

§ Id quidem cavendum semper Romanis ducibus erit exemplaque hæc vere pro documentis habenda. Ne ita externis credant auxillis ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprie virium in castris habeant.—Liv. n. 33.

|| He attacked the Carthaginians, who had divided themselves into two camps, and were secure, as they thought, from any immediate attempt of the Romans; killed thirty-seven thousand of them; took one thousand eight hundred prisoners, and brought off immense plunder.—Liv. l. xxv. n. 39.

¶ A. M. 3798. A. Rome, 542. Polyb. l. xi. p. 622=625. Liv. l. xxvii. p. 35=39, 51.

In a conjuncture of so delicate and important a nature as this, when the safety of Rome lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules of his duty, for the welfare of his country.* In consequence of this, it was his opinion, that such a bold and unexpected blow ought to be struck, as might be capable of terrifying the enemy, by marching to the relief of his colleague, in order to charge Asdrubal unexpectedly with their united forces. This design, if the several circumstances of it be thoroughly examined, will appear exceedingly remote from imprudence. To prevent the two brothers from joining their armies, was to save the state. Very little would be hazarded, even though Hannibal should be informed of the absence of the consul. From his army, which consisted of forty-two thousand men, he drew out but seven thousand for his own detachment, which indeed were the flower of his troops, but at the same time, a very inconsiderable part of them. The rest remained in the camp, which was advantageously situated, and strongly fortified. Now, could it be supposed that Hannibal would attack, and force a camp, defended by thirty-five thousand men?

Nero set out, without giving his soldiers the least notice of his design. When he advanced so far, that it might be communicated without any danger, he told them, that he was leading them to a certain victory; that in war all things depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the measures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to them.

They marched with extraordinary diligence, and joined the other consul in the night, but did not encamp separately, the better to impose upon the enemy. The troops on their arrival joined those of Livius. The army of Portius the Prætor was encamped near that of the consul, and in the morning a council of war was held. Livius was of opinion, that it might be proper to allow the troops some days to refresh themselves, but Nero besought him not to ruin, by delay, an enterprise to which despatch only could give success; and to take advantage of the error of the enemy, absent as well as present. This advice was complied with, and accordingly the signal for battle was given. Asdrubal, advancing to his foremost ranks, discovered by several circumstances, that fresh troops were arrived; and he did not doubt but that they belonged to the other consul. This made him conjecture that his brother had sustained a considerable loss, and, at the same time, fear that he was come too late to his assistance.

After making these reflections, he caused a retreat to be sounded and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting, he was uncertain which way to go. He marched at random along the banks, of the river Metaurus,† and was preparing to cross it, when the three armies of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid coming to an engagement; and therefore did every thing which could be expected from the presence of mind and valour of a great captain. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportunity of posting his left wing, the weakest part of his army, in such a manner, that it could neither be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving to his main battle and right wing a greater depth than front. After this hasty disposition of his forces, he posted himself in the centre, and first marched to attack the enemy's left wing; well knowing that all was at stake, and that he must either conquer or die. The battle lasted a long time, and was obstinately disputed on both sides. Asdrubal, especially, signalized himself in this engagement, and added new glory to that he had already acquired by a series of brilliant actions. He led on his soldiers, trembling and quite dispirited, against an enemy superior to them both in numbers and resolution. He animated them by his words, supported them by his example, and, with entreaties and menaces, endeavoured to bring back those who fled; till, at last, seeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men, who had quit their country to follow his fortune, he rushed at once into the midst of a Roman cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of Hamilcar, and the brother of Hannibal.

This was the most bloody battle the Carthaginians had fought during this war: and, whether we consider the death of the general, or the slaughter made of the Carthaginian forces, it may be looked upon as a retaliation for the battle of Cannæ.

* No general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another.

† Now called Metaro.

The Carthaginians lost fifty-five thousand men,* and six thousand prisoners. The Romans lost eight thousand, and were so weary of slaughter, that some person telling Livius, that he might very easily cut to pieces a body of the enemy who were flying: *It is fit, says he, that some should survive, that they may carry the news of this defeat to the Carthaginians.*

Nero set out upon his march on the very night which followed the engagement. Through all places where he passed, in his return, he was welcomed by shouts of joy and loud acclamations, instead of those fears and uneasiness which his coming had occasioned. He arrived in his camp the sixth day. Asdrubal's head being thrown into the camp of the Carthaginians, informed Hannibal of his brother's unhappy fate. Hannibal perceived, by this cruel stroke, the fortune of Carthage: *It is finished, says he; I will no longer send triumphant messages to Carthage. In losing Asdrubal, I have lost at once all my hope, all my good fortune.*† He afterwards retired to the extremities of the country of the Brutians, where he assembled all his forces, who found it a very difficult matter to subsist there, as no provisions were sent them from Carthage.

SCIPIO CONQUERS ALL SPAIN; IS APPOINTED CONSUL, AND SAILS INTO AFRICA. HANNIBAL IS RECALLED.

THE affairs of the Carthaginians were equally unfortunate in Spain.‡ The prudent activity of young Scipio had restored the Roman affairs in that country to their former flourishing state, as the courageous delay of Fabius had before done in Italy. The three Carthaginian generals in Spain, Asdrubal son of Gisco, Hanno, and Mago, having been defeated with their numerous armies by the Romans, in several engagements, Scipio at last possessed himself of Spain, and subjected it entirely to the Roman power. It was at this time that Masinissa, a very powerful African prince, went over to the Romans; and Syphax, on the contrary, to the Carthaginians.

Scipio, on his return to Rome, was declared consul, being then thirty years of age.§ He had P. Licinius Crassus for his colleague. Sicily was allotted to Scipio, with permission to cross into Africa, if he found it convenient. He set out with all imaginable expedition for his province; while his colleague was to command in the country to which Hannibal had retired.

The taking of New Carthage, where Scipio had displayed all the prudence, the courage and capacity which could have been expected from the greatest generals, and the complete conquests of Spain, were more than sufficient to immortalize his name; but he had considered these as only so many steps by which to climb to a nobler enterprise, and this was the conquest of Africa. Accordingly he crossed over thither, and made it the seat of war.

The devastation of the country; the siege of Utica, one of the strongest cities of Africa; the entire defeat of the two armies under Syphax and Asdrubal, whose camp was burnt by Scipio; and afterwards the taking Syphax himself prisoner, who was the most powerful resource the Carthaginians had left; all these things forced them at last to turn their thoughts to peace. They thereupon deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected for that purpose, out of the powerful body at Carthage, called the *council of the hundred*. Being introduced into the Roman general's tent they threw themselves prostrate on the earth, (such was the custom of their country,) spoke to him in terms of great submission, accusing Hannibal as the author of all their calamities, and promising in the name of the senate, an implicit obedience to whatever the Romans should please to ordain. Scipio answered, that though he was come into Africa, not for peace but conquest, he would however grant them a peace, upon condition that they should deliver up all the prisoners and deserters to the Romans; that they should recal their armies out of Italy and Gaul; should never set foot again in Spain; should retire out of the islands between Italy and Africa; should deliver up all their ships, except twenty, to the victor; should give to the Romans

* According to Polybius, the loss amounted to but ten thousand men, and that of the Romans to two thousand. L. xi. p. 870. Edit. Gronov.

† Horace makes him speak thus, in the beautiful ode where this defeat is described:

Carthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos. Occidit, occidit
Spes omnis, et fortuna nostris

Nomimis, Asdrubale interempto.—Lib. vi Od. 4.

‡ A. M. 3799. A. Rome, 543. Polyb. l. xi. p. 650. et l. xiv. p. 677—687. et l. xv. p. 689—694. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 1—4, 16, 38, 40—46. l. xxix. n. 24—36. l. xxx. n. 20—28. § A. M. 3800. A. Rome, 544.

five hundred thousand bushels of wheat, three hundred thousand of barley, and pay fifteen thousand talents: that in case they were pleased with these conditions, they then might send ambassadors to the senate. The Carthaginians feigned a compliance, but this was only to gain time, till Hannibal should be returned. A truce was then granted to the Carthaginians who immediately sent deputies to Rome; and at the same time, an express to Hannibal, to order his return into Africa.

He was then, as was observed before, in the extremity of Italy.* Here he received the orders from Carthage, which he could not listen to without groans, and almost tears; and was exasperated almost to madness, to see himself thus forced to quit his prey. An exile could not have showed more regret at leaving his native country, than Hannibal did in quitting that of an enemy.† He often turned his eyes wishfully to Italy, accusing gods and men of his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, says Livy, upon himself, for not having marched directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, while his soldiers were still reeking with the blood of its citizens.‡

At Rome the senate, greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by the Carthaginian deputies, in justification of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of Lutatius, thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to Scipio, who, being on the spot, could best judge what conditions the welfare of the state required.

About the same time, Octavius the prætor, sailing from Sicily with two hundred vessels of burden, was attacked near Carthage by a violent storm, which dispersed his fleet. The citizens, unwilling to see so rich a prey escape them, demanded importunately that the Carthaginian fleet might sail out and seize it. The senate, after a faint resistance, complied. Asdrubal, sailing out of the harbour, seized the greatest part of the Roman ships, and brought them to Carthage, although the truce was still subsisting.

Scipio sent deputies to the Carthaginian senate, to complain of this, but they were slightly regarded. Hannibal's approach had revived their courage, and filled them with great hopes. The deputies were even in great danger of being ill treated by the populace. They therefore demanded a convoy, which was granted, and accordingly two ships of the republic attended them; but the magistrates, who were absolutely against peace, and determined to renew the war, gave private orders to Asdrubal, who was with the fleet near Utica, to attack the Roman galley when it should arrive in the river Bagrada, near the Roman camp, where the convoy was ordered to leave them. He obeyed the order, and sent out two galleys against the ambassadors, who nevertheless, made their escape, but with difficulty and danger.

This was a fresh subject for a war between the two nations, who were now more animated, or rather more exasperated one against the other, than ever; the Romans, from the strong desire they had to revenge so base a perfidy, and the Carthaginians, from a firm persuasion that they were not now to expect a peace.

At the same time, Læus, and Fulvius, who carried the full powers with which the senate and people of Rome had invested Scipio, arrived in the camp, accompanied by the deputies of Carthage. As the Carthaginians had not only infringed the truce, but violated the law of nations, in the persons of the Roman ambassadors, it was natural that their principles should order the Carthaginian deputies to be seized by way of reprisal. Scipio, however,§ more attentive to the Roman generosity than to the demerits of the Carthaginians, in order not to deviate from the principles and maxims of his own countrymen, nor his own character, dismissed the deputies, without offering them the least injury. So astonishing an instance of moderation, and at such a juncture, terrified the Carthaginians, and even put them to the blush; and made Hannibal himself entertain a still higher idea of a general, who, to the dishonourable practices of his enemies, opposed a rectitude and magnanimity, still more worthy of admiration than all his military virtues.

In the mean time, Hannibal, being strongly importuned by his fellow-citizens, advanced into the country; and arriving at Zama, which is five days' march from Car-

* A. M. 3802. A. Rome, 546.

† Rare quæquam alium patriam exilii causa relinquente[m] magis mœstum abuisse ferunt, quam Annibalem hostium terra excedente[m]. Respexisset sæpe Italiæ littora, et deos hominesque accusante[m], in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput execratum. "Quod non eruentum ab Cannensi victoria militem Romanum duxisset."—Liv. l. xxx. n. 20.

‡ Livy supposes, however, that this delay was a capital error in Hannibal, which he himself afterwards regretted. § Εσχοπισίτο πᾶρ' αὐτῶ σὺλλογιζόμενος, ἢ καὶ τὶ διὸν παθεῖν Καρχηδονίως, ὡς τὶ διὸν ἢν περᾶσαι Ῥωμαίους. Polyb. l. xv. p. 965. edit Gronov.

¶ Quibus Scipio; Etsi non induciarum modo fides, sed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum esset; tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse.—Liv. l. xxx. n. 25.

thage encamped there. He thence sent out spies to observe the posture of the Romans. Scipio having seized these, so far from punishing them, only commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, that they might take an exact survey of it, and then sent them back to Hannibal. The latter knew very well whence so noble an assurance flowed. After the strange reverses he had met with, he no longer expected that fortune would again be propitious. While every one was exciting him to give battle, he alone meditated a peace. He flattered himself that the conditions of it would be more honourable for him, as he was at the head of an army, and as the fate of war might still appear uncertain. He therefore sent to desire an interview with Scipio, which accordingly was agreed to, and the time and place fixed.

THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO IN AFRICA, FOLLOWED BY A BATTLE.

THESE two generals, who were not only the most illustrious of their own age, but worthy of being ranked with the most renowned princes and warriors that had ever lived, meeting at the place appointed, maintained for some time a deep silence, as though they were astonished, and struck with mutual admiration at the sight of each other.* At last Hannibal spoke; and, after having praised Scipio in the most artful and delicate manner, he gave a very lively description of the ravages of the war, and the calamities in which it had involved both the victors and the vanquished. He conjured him not to suffer himself to be dazzled by the splendour of his victories. He represented to him, that however successful he might have hitherto been, he ought to tremble at the inconstancy of fortune: that without going far back for examples, he himself, who was then speaking to him, was a glaring proof of this: that Scipio was at that time what himself, Hannibal, had been at Thrasymene and Cannæ: that he ought to make a better use of opportunity than himself had done, and consent to peace, now when it was in his power to propose the conditions of it. He concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians would willingly resign Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy, to the Romans. That they must be forced, since such was the will of the gods, to confine themselves to Africa; while they should see the Romans extending their conquests in the most remote regions, and obliging all nations to pay obedience to their laws.

Scipio answered in a few words, but not with less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians for their perfidy, in plundering the Roman galleys before the truce was expired. He imputed to them only, and to their injustice, all the calamities with which the two wars had been attended. After thanking Hannibal for the admonition he gave him, with regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded with desiring him to prepare for battle, unless he chose rather to accept of the conditions that had been already proposed; to which he observed, some others would be added, in order to punish the Carthaginians for having violated the truce.

Hannibal could not prevail upon himself to accept these conditions, and the generals separated with the resolution to decide the fate of Carthage by a general battle. Each commander exhorted his troops to fight valiantly. Hannibal enumerated the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio represented to his soldiers, the conquests of both the Spains, his successes in Africa, and the tacit confession their enemies themselves made of their weakness, by thus coming to sue for peace. All this he spoke with the tone and air of a conqueror.† Never were motives more calculated to excite troops to behave gallantly. This day was to complete the glory of the one or the other of the generals, and to decide whether Rome or Carthage should prescribe laws to all other nations.

I shall not undertake to describe the order of the battle, nor the valour of the forces on both sides. The reader will naturally suppose, that two such experienced generals did not forget any circumstance which could contribute to the victory. The Carthaginians, after a very obstinate fight, were obliged to fly, leaving twenty thousand men on the field of battle, and the like number of prisoners were taken by the Romans. Hannibal escaped in the tumult, and entering Carthage, owned that he was irrecoverably overthrown, and that the citizens had no other choice left, but to accept of peace on any conditions. Scipio bestowed great eulogiums on Hannibal, chiefly with regard to his capacity in taking advantages, his manner of drawing up his army, and giving his orders in the engagement; and affirmed, that Hannibal had this day surpassed himself, although fortune had not answered his valour and conduct.

* A. M. 3303. A. Rome, 547. Polyb. l. xv. p. 694--763. Liv. l. xxx. n. 29, 35.

† Celsus hæc corpore, vultuque inâ facto, ut visse jam crederes dicebat.--Liv. l. xxx. n. 32.

With regard to himself, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of his victory, and the consternation with which he had filled the enemy. He commanded one of his lieutenants to march his land army to Carthage, and prepared in person to conduct the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city, when he met a vessel covered with streamers and olive-branches, bringing ten of the most considerable persons of the state, as ambassadors to implore his clemency. He however dismissed them without making any answer, and bid them come to him at Tunis, where he should halt. The deputies of Carthage, being thirty in number, came to him at the place appointed, and sued for peace in the most submissive terms. He then called a council, the majority of which was for razing Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time which must necessarily be employed before a city so strongly fortified could be taken, and Scipio's fear that a successor to him might be appointed while he should be employed in the siege, made him incline to clemency.

A PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE CARTHAGINIANS AND THE ROMANS. THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

The conditions of the peace dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were "that the Carthaginians were to continue free, and preserve their laws, their territories, and the cities they possessed in Africa before the war;* that they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, slaves, and captives belonging to them; all their ships, except ten triremes; all their tame elephants, and that they should not train up any more for war; that they should not make war out of Africa, nor even in that country, without first obtaining leave for that purpose from the Roman people; should restore to Masinissa all they had taken from him or his ancestors; should furnish money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries, till their ambassadors should be returned from Rome; should pay to the Romans ten thousand Euboic talents† of silver, in fifty annual payments; and give a hundred hostages, who should be nominated by Scipio. And in order that they might have time to send to Rome, it was agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition that they should restore the ships taken during the former war, without which they were not to expect either a truce or a peace."

When the deputies returned to Carthage, they laid before the senate the conditions dictated by Scipio. But they appeared so intolerable to Gisco, that rising up, he made a speech, in order to dissuade the citizens from accepting a peace on such shameful terms. Hannibal, provoked at the calmness with which such an orator was heard, took Gisco by the arm, and dragged him from his seat. A behaviour so outrageous, and so remote from the manners of a free city, like Carthage, raised an universal murmur. Hannibal was vexed with himself when he reflected on what he had done, and immediately made an apology for it. "As I left," says he, "your city at nine years of age, and did not return to it till after thirty-six years' absence, I had full leisure to learn the arts of war, and flatter myself that I have made some improvement in them. As for your laws and customs, it is no wonder I am ignorant of them, and I therefore desire you to instruct me in them." He then expatiated on the necessity they were under of concluding a peace. He added, that they ought to thank the gods for having prompted the Romans to grant them a peace even on these conditions. He urged on them the importance of their uniting in opinion, and of not giving an opportunity, by their divisions, for the people to take an affair of this nature under their cognizance. The whole city came over to his opinion, and accordingly the peace was accepted. The senate made Scipio satisfaction with regard to the ships demanded by him, and after obtaining a truce for three months, sent ambassadors to Rome.

These Carthaginians, who were all venerable for their years and dignity, were admitted immediately to an audience. Asdrubal, surnamed Hædus, who was still an irreconcilable enemy to Hannibal and his faction, spoke first: and after having excused, to the best of his power, the people of Carthage, by imputing the rupture to the am-

* Polyb. l. xv. p. 704--707. Liv. l. xxx. n. 36--44.

† Ten thousand Attic talents make thirty millions French money. Ten thousand Euboic talents make something more than twenty-eight millions, thirty-three thousand livres; because, according to Budæus, the Euboic talent is equivalent but to fifty, -six Minæ and something more, whereas the Attic talent is worth sixty Minæ.

Or otherwise thus calculated in English money :

According to Budæus, the Euboic talent is	- - - - -	56 Minæ
56 Minæ reduced to English money	- - - - -	L.175, or £777.
Consequently 10,000 Euboic talents make	- - - - -	L.1,750,000 or £7,770,000.
So that the Carthaginians paid annually	- - - - -	L.35,000, or £155,400.

This calculation is as near the truth as it can well be brought, the Euboic talent being something more than 56 Minæ.

bition of some particular persons, he added, that had the Carthaginians listened to his councils and those of Hanno, they would have been able to grant the Romans the peace for which they now were obliged to sue. "But," continued he, "wisdom and prosperity are very rarely found together. The Romans are invincible, because they never suffer themselves to be blinded by good fortune. And it would be surprising should they act otherwise. Success dazzles those only to whom it is new and unusual, whereas the Romans are so much accustomed to conquer, that they are almost insensible to the charms of victory; and it may be said for their glory, that they have extended their empire, in some measure, more by the humanity they have shown to the conquered, than by conquest itself."* The other ambassadors spoke with a more plaintive tone of voice, and represented the calamitous state to which Carthage was about to be reduced, and the grandeur and power from which she had fallen.

The senate and people, being equally inclined to peace, sent full powers to Scipio to conclude it, left the conditions to that general, and permitted him to march back his army, after the treaty should be ratified.

The ambassadors desired leave to enter the city to redeem some of their prisoners, and they found about two hundred whom they desired to ransom. But the senate sent them to Scipio, with orders that they should be restored without any pecuniary consideration, in case a peace should be concluded.

The Carthaginians, on the return of the ambassadors, concluded a peace with Scipio on the terms he himself had prescribed. They then delivered up to him more than five hundred ships, all which he burnt in sight of Carthage; a lamentable sight to the inhabitants of that ill-fated city! He struck off the heads of the allies of the Latin name, and hanged all the citizens who were surrendered to him, as deserters.

When the time for the payment of the first tax imposed by the treaty was expired, as the funds of the government were exhausted by this long and expensive war, the difficulty which would be found in levying so great a sum, threw the senate into a melancholy silence, and many could not refrain even from tears. It is said, that at this Hannibal laughed, and when reproached by Asdrubal Hædus, for thus insulting his country in the affliction which he had brought upon it, "were it possible," says Hannibal, "for my heart to be seen, and that as clearly as my countenance, you would then find that this laughter, which offends so much, flows not from an intemperate joy, but from a mind almost distracted with the public calamities. But is this laughter more unseasonable than your unbecoming tears? Then, ought you to have wept, when your arms were ingloriously taken from you, your ships burned, and you were forbidden to engage in any foreign wars. This was the mortal blow which laid us prostrate. We are sensible of the public calamity so far only as we have a personal concern in it, and the loss of our money gives us the most poignant sorrow. Hence it was, that when our city was made the spoil of the victor; when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so many powerful nations of Africa, who had at that time taken the field, not a groan, not a sigh was heard. But now, when you are called on for a poll-tax, you weep and lament, as if all were lost. Alas! I only wish that the subject of this day's fear do not soon appear to you the least of your misfortunes."

Scipio, after all things were concluded, embarked to return to Italy. He arrived at Rome through crowds of people, whom curiosity had drawn together to behold his march. The most magnificent triumph that Rome had ever seen was decreed him, and the surname of Africanus was bestowed upon that great man; an honour till then unknown, no person before him having assumed the name of a vanquished nation. Such was the conclusion of the second Punic war, after having lasted seventeen years.†

A SHORT REFLECTION ON THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE, IN THE TIME OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

I SHALL conclude the particulars which relate to the second Punic war, with a reflection of Polybius, which will show the difference between the two commonwealths.‡ It may be affirmed, in some measure, that at the beginning of the second

* *Raro simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari. Populum Romanum eo invictum esse quod in secundis rebus sapere et consulere meminerit. Et hercle mirandum fuisse si aliter facerent. Ex insolentia, quibus nova bona fortuna sit, impotentes lætitiæ insanire; populo Romano usitata ac prope obsoleta ex victoria gaudia esse; ac plus pene parcendo victis, quam vincendo, imperium auxisse.*—Liv. l. xxx. n. 42.

† A. M. 3304. A. Carth. 646. A. Rome, 548. Ant. J. C. 200.

‡ Lib. vi. p. 493, 494.

Punic war, and in Hannibal's time, Carthage was in its decline. The flower of its youth, and its sprightly vigour, were already diminished. It had begun to fall from its exalted pitch of power, and was inclining towards its ruin; whereas Rome was then, as it were, in its bloom and strength of life, and rapidly advancing to the conquest of the universe. The reason of the declension of the one, and the rise of the other, is taken by Polybius from the different form of government established in these commonwealths, at the time we are now speaking of. At Carthage, the common people had seized upon the sovereign authority with regard to public affairs, and the advice of their ancient men, or magistrates, was no longer listened to; all affairs were transacted by intrigue and cabal. Not to mention the artifices which the faction opposed to Hannibal employed during the whole time of his command, to perplex him; the single instance of burning the Roman vessels during a truce, a perfidious action to which the common people compelled the senate to lend their name and assistance, is a proof of Polybius's assertion. On the contrary, at this very time, the Romans paid the highest regard to their senate, that is, to a body composed of the greatest sages; and their old men were listened to and revered as oracles. It is well known that the Roman people were exceedingly jealous of their authority, and especially in that part of it which related to the election of magistrates.* A century of young men, who by lot were to give the first vote, which generally directed all the rest, had nominated two consuls. On the bare remonstrance of Fabius,† who represented to the people, that in a tempest, like that with which Rome was then struggling, the most able pilots ought to be chosen to steer their common ship, the republic; the century returned to their suffrages, and nominated other consuls. Polybius, from this disparity of government, infers that a people, thus guided by the prudence of old men, could not fail of prevailing over a state which was governed wholly by the giddy multitude. And indeed, the Romans under the guidance of the wise counsels of their senate gained at last the superiority with regard to the war, considered in general, though they were defeated in several particular engagements, and established their power and grandeur on the ruin of their rivals.

THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD PUNIC WAR.

THE events relating to Carthage during this period, are not very remarkable, although it includes more than fifty years. They may be reduced to two heads, one of which relates to the person of Hannibal, and the other to some particular differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of the Numidians. We shall treat both separately, but not extensively.

SECTION I.—CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF HANNIBAL.

WHEN the second Punic war was ended, by the treaty of peace concluded with Scipio, Hannibal, as he himself observed in the Carthaginian senate, was forty-five years of age. What we have further to say of this great man, includes the space of twenty-five years.

HANNIBAL UNDERTAKES AND COMPLETES THE REFORMATION OF THE COURTS OF JUSTICE, AND THE TREASURY OF CARTHAGE.

AFTER the conclusion of the peace, Hannibal; at least in the beginning, was greatly respected in Carthage, where he filled the first employments of the state with honour and applause. He headed the Carthaginian forces in some wars against, the Africans: but the Romans, to whom the very name of Hannibal gave uneasiness, discontented at seeing him in arms, made complaint on that account, and accordingly he was recalled to Carthage.‡

On his return he was appointed prætor, which seems to have been a very considerable employment, as well as of great authority.§ Carthage is therefore, with regard to him, becoming a new theatre, as it were, on which he will display virtues and qualities of a quite different nature from those we have hitherto admired in him, and which will finish the picture of this illustrious man.

Eagerly desirous of restoring the affairs of his afflicted country to their former happy condition, he was persuaded, that the two most powerful methods to make a

* Liv. l. xxiv. n. 8, 9.

† Quilibet nautarum rectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest; ubi æva orta tempestas est, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus est. Non tranquillo navigamus, sed jam aliquot procellis submersi pene sumus. Itaque quis ad gubernacula sedeat summa cura providendum ac præcavendum nobis est.

‡ Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 7.

§ A. M. 3810. A. Rome, 554.

state flourish were, an exact and equal distribution of justice to the people in general, and a faithful management of the public finances. The former, by preserving an equality among the citizens, and making them enjoy such a delightful, undisturbed liberty, under the protection of the laws, as fully secures their honour, their lives and properties, unites the individuals of the commonwealth more closely together, and attaches them more firmly to the state, to which they owe the preservation of all that is most dear and valuable to them. The latter, by a faithful administration of the public revenues, supplies punctually the several wants and necessities of the state, keeps in reserve a never-failing resource for sudden emergencies, and prevents the people from being burdened with new taxes, which are rendered necessary by extravagant profusion, and which chiefly contribute to make men harbour an aversion for government.

Hannibal saw with great concern, the irregularities which had crept equally into the administration of justice and the management of the finances. Upon his being nominated prætor, as his love for regularity and order made him uneasy at every deviation from it, and prompted him to use his utmost endeavours for its restoration; he had the courage to attempt the reformation of this double abuse, which drew after it a numberless multitude of others, without dreading either the animosity of the old faction that opposed him, or the new enmity which his zeal for the republic must necessarily create.

The judges exercised the most cruel rapine with impunity.* They were so many petty tyrants, who disposed, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives and fortunes of the citizens, without there being the least possibility of putting a stop to their injustice. Because they held their commissions for life, and mutually supported one another. Hannibal, as prætor, summoned before his tribunal an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who openly abused his power. Livy tells us that he was a quæstor. This officer, who was in the opposite faction to Hannibal, and had already assumed all the pride and haughtiness of the judges among whom he was to be admitted at the expiration of his present office, insolently refused to obey the summons. Hannibal was not of a disposition to suffer an affront of this nature tamely. Accordingly, he caused him to be seized by a lictor, and brought him before the assembly of the people. There, not satisfied with levelling his resentment against this single officer, he impeached the whole bench of judges; whose insupportable and tyrannical pride was not restrained, either by the fear of the laws, or a reverence for the magistrates. And, as Hannibal perceived that he was heard with pleasure, and that the lowest and most inconsiderable of the people discovered on this occasion that they were no longer able to bear the insolent pride of these judges, who seemed to have a design upon their liberties; he proposed a law, which accordingly passed, by which it was enacted, that new judges should be chosen annually; with a clause that none should continue in office beyond that term. This law, at the same time that it acquired him the friendship and esteem of the people, drew upon him proportionably the hatred of the greatest part of the *grandees* and nobility.

He attempted another reformation, which created him new enemies, but gained him great honour.† The public revenues were either squandered away by the negligence of those who had the management of them, or were plundered by the chief men of the city, and the magistrates; so that money being wanted to pay the annual tribute due to the Romans, the Carthaginians were going to levy it upon the people in general. Hannibal, entering into a full detail of the public revenues, ordered an exact estimate to be laid before him; inquiring in what manner they had been applied to the employments and ordinary expenses of the state; and having discovered by this inquiry, that the public funds had been in a great measure embezzled by the fraud of the officers who had the management of them, he declared and promised, in a full assembly of the people, that without laying any new taxes upon individuals, the republic should hereafter be enabled to pay the tribute due to the Romans; and he was as good as his word. The farmers of the revenues, whose plunder and rapine he had publicly detected, having accustomed themselves hitherto to fatten upon the spoils of their country, exclaimed‡ vehemently against these regulations, as if their own property had been forced out of their hands, and not the sums of which they had defrauded the public.

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 46.

† Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 46, 47.

‡ Tum vero isti quos paverat per aliquot annos publicus peculatus, velut bonis creptis, non furto eorum manibus extorto, incensi et irati, Romanos in Annibalem, et ipsos causam odii quærentes, instigabant.—Liv.

THE RETREAT AND DEATH OF HANNIBAL.

THIS double reformation of abuses raised great clamours against Hannibal.* His enemies were writing incessantly to the chief men, or their friends, at Rome, to inform them, that he was carrying on a secret correspondence with Antiochus, king of Syria; that he frequently received couriers from him; and that this prince had privately despatched agents to Hannibal, to concert with him measures for carrying on the war he was meditating: that as some animals are so extremely fierce, that it is impossible ever to tame them; in like manner, this man was of so turbulent and implacable a spirit, that he could not brook ease, and therefore would, sooner or later, break out again. These informations were listened to at Rome; and as the transactions of the preceding war had been begun and carried on almost solely by Hannibal, they appeared the more probable. However, Scipio strongly opposed the violent measures which the senate were about to take on their receiving this intelligence, by representing it as derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people, to countenance the hatred and accusations of Hannibal's enemies; to support, with their authority, their unjust passions; and obstinately to pursue him even to the very heart of his country; as though the Romans had not humbled him sufficiently, in driving him out of the field, and forcing him to lay down his arms.

But, notwithstanding these prudent remonstrances, the senate appointed three commissions to go and make their complaints to Carthage, and to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them. On their arrival in that city, though other things were speciously pretended, yet Hannibal was perfectly sensible that he only was the object. The evening being come, he conveyed himself on board a ship, which he had secretly provided for that purpose; on which occasion he bewailed his country's fate more than his own. *Scipius patrie quam suos eventus miseratus.* This was the eighth year after the conclusion of the peace. The first place he landed at was Tyre, where he was received as in his second country, and had all the honours paid him which were due to his exalted merit. After staying some days here, he set out for Antioch, which the king had lately left, and from thence waited upon him at Ephesus.† The arrival of so renowned a general gave great pleasure to the king, and did not a little contribute to determine him to engage in war against Rome; for hitherto he had appeared wavering and uncertain on that head. In this city, a philosopher, who was looked upon as the greatest orator of Asia, had the imprudence to harangue before Hannibal on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art.‡ The speech charmed the whole audience. But Hannibal, being asked his opinion of it, "I have seen," says he, "many old dotards in my life, but this exceeds them all."§

The Carthaginians, justly fearing that Hannibal's escape would certainly draw upon them the arms of the Romans, sent them advice that Hannibal was withdrawn to Antiochus.|| The Romans were very much disturbed at this news, and the king might have turned it extremely to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it.

The first counsel that Hannibal gave him at this time, and which he frequently repeated afterwards, was, to make Italy the seat of war.¶ He required a hundred ships, eleven or twelve thousand land-forces, and offering to take upon himself the command of the fleet; to cross into Africa, in order to engage the Carthaginians in the war; and afterwards to make a descent upon Italy, during which the king himself should be ready to cross over with his army into Italy, whenever it should be thought convenient. This was the only thing proper to be done, and the king very much approved the proposal at first.

Hannibal thought it would be expedient to prepare his friends at Carthage, in order to engage them the more strongly in his interest.** The communication by

† A. M. 3812. A. Rome, 556.

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 45—49.

‡ Cic. de. Orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76.

§ Hic Pœnus libere respondisse fertur, multos se deliros senes sæpe vidisse: sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret vidisse neminem. Stobæus, Sermon. lii. gives the following account of this matter: 'Αντίβαλ ἄκουσας Στοιχῆ τίνος ἐπιχειρήσαντος ὅτι δ σαφὲς μῖνος στρατηγὸς ἴστιν, ἐγέλασε, νομίζων ἄδύνατον εἶναι ἕκτος τῆς δὲ ἔργων ἱκανείας τῆν ἐν τούτοις ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν.' &c. Hannibal, hearing a Stoic philosopher undertake to prove that the wise man was the only general, laughed, as thinking it impossible for a man to have any skill in war, without being long practised in it.

¶ They did more, for they sent two ships to pursue Hannibal, and bring him back; they sold off his goods, razed his house, and by a public decree, declared him an exile. Such was the gratitude the Carthaginians showed to the greatest general they ever had.—Corn. Nep. in Vita Annib. c. 7.

|| Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 60.

** Ibid. n. 61.

letters is not only unsafe, but also gives an imperfect idea of things, and is never sufficiently particular. He therefore despatched a trusty person with ample instructions to Carthage. This man had no sooner arrived in the city, than his business was suspected. Accordingly, he was watched and followed; and at last orders were issued for his being seized. He, however, prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and escaped in the night; after having fixed, in several public places, papers which fully declared the occasion of his coming among them. The senate immediately sent advice of this to the Romans.

Villius, one of the deputies who had been sent into Asia, to inquire into the state of affairs there, and, if possible, to discover the real designs of Antiochus, found Hannibal in Ephesus.* He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and speciously affected to show him a particular esteem on all occasions. But his chief aim, by all this artificial behaviour, was to make him be suspected, and to lessen his credit with the king, in which he succeeded but too well.†

Some authors affirm, that Scipio was joined in this embassy; and they even relate the conversation which that general had with Hannibal.‡ They tell us that the Roman having asked him, who, in his opinion, was the greatest captain that had ever lived; he answered, Alexander the Great, because, with a handful of Macedonians, he had defeated numberless armies, and carried his conquests into countries so very remote, that it seemed scarcely possible for any man only to travel so far. Being afterwards asked, to whom he gave the second rank; he answered, to Pyrrhus, for this king, says Hannibal, first understood the art of pitching a camp to advantage; no commander had ever made a more judicious choice of his posts, was better skilled in drawing up his forces, or was more happy in winning the affection of foreign soldiers; insomuch that even the people of Italy were more desirous to have him for their governor than the Romans themselves, though they had so long been subject to them. Scipio proceeding, asked him next, whom he looked upon as the third captain; on which decision Hannibal made no scruple to give the preference to himself. Here Scipio could not forbear laughing: "but what would you have said," continued Scipio, "had you conquered me?"—"I would," replied Hannibal, "have ranked myself above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all the generals the world ever produced." Scipio was not insensible to so refined and delicate a flattery, which he by no means expected; and which, by giving him no rival, seemed to insinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in comparison with him.

The answer, as told by Plutarch,§ is less witty, and not so probable. In this author, Hannibal gives Pyrrhus the first place, Scipio the second, and himself the third.

Hannibal, sensible of the coldness with which Antiochus received him ever since his conferences with Villius or Scipio, took no notice of it for some time, and seemed insensible of it. But at last he thought it advisable to come to an explanation with the king, and to open his mind freely to him, "the hatred," says he, "which I bear to the Romans, is known to the whole world. I bound myself to it by an oath, from my most tender infancy. It was this hatred that made me draw the sword against Rome during thirty-six years. It was that, even in times of peace, which drove me from my native country, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. For ever guided and fired by the same passion, should my hopes be eluded, I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouse up all nations against the Romans. I hate them, will hate them eternally; and know that they bear me no less animosity. So long as you shall continue in the resolution to take up arms against that people, you may rank Hannibal in the number of your best friends. But if other counsels incline you to peace, I declare to you once for all, address yourself to others for counsel, and not to me." Such a speech, which came from his heart, and expressed the greatest sincerity, struck the king, and seemed to remove all his suspicions; so that he now resolved to give Hannibal command of part of his fleet.¶

But, what mischief is beyond the power of flattery to produce in courts, and in the

* A. M. 3813. A. Rome, 557. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14. Polyb. l. iii. p. 166, 167.

† Polybius represents this application of Villius to Hannibal, as a premeditated design, in order to render him suspected to Antiochus, because of his intimacy with a Roman. Livy owns, that the affair succeeded as if it had been designed; but, at the same time, he gives, for a very obvious reason, another turn to this conversation, and says that no more was intended by it than to sound Hannibal, and to remove any fears or apprehensions he might be under from the Romans.

‡ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 21. Plutarch. in Vita. Flamin. &c.

§ Plut. in Pyrrho. p. 637.

¶ Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 19.

minds of princes? Antiochus was told, "that it was imprudent in him to put so much confidence in Hannibal, an exile, a Carthaginian, whose fortune or genius might suggest, in one day, a thousand different projects to him; that besides, this very fame which Hannibal had acquired in war, and which he considered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for a man who fought only under the ensigns of another; that none but the king ought to be general and conductor of the war; and that it was incumbent on him to draw upon himself only the eyes and attention of all men; whereas, should Hannibal be employed, he, a foreigner, would have the glory of all victories ascribed to him."* *No minds, says Livy on the occasion, are more susceptible of envy, than those whose merit is below their birth and dignity; such persons always abhorring virtue and worth in others, for this reason only, because they are strange and foreign in themselves.*† This observation was fully verified on this occasion. Antiochus had been taken on his weak side; a low and sordid jealousy, which is the defect and characteristic of little minds, extinguished every generous sentiment in that monarch. Hannibal was now slighted and laid aside; he, however, was greatly revenged on Antiochus, by the ill success this prince met with, who showed how unfortunate that king is, whose soul is accessible to envy, and his ears open to the poisonous insinuation of flatterers.

In a council held some time after, to which Hannibal, for form's sake, was admitted, he, when it came to his turn to speak, endeavoured chiefly to prove, that Philip of Macedon ought, on any terms, to be invited into the alliance of Antiochus, which was not so difficult as might be imagined. "With regard," says Hannibal, "to the operations of the war, I adhere immoveably to my first opinion; and had my counsels been listened to before, Tuscany and Liguria would now be all in a flame, had Hannibal, a name that strikes terror into the Romans, been in Italy. Though I should not be very well skilled as to other matters, yet the good and ill success I have met with, must necessarily have taught me sufficiently how to carry on a war against the Romans. I have now nothing in my power, but to give you my counsel, and offer you my service. May the gods give success to all your undertakings." Hannibal's speech was received with applause, but not one of his counsels were put in execution.‡

Antiochus, imposed upon and lulled to sleep by his flatterers, remained quiet at Ephesus, after the Romans had driven him out of Greece; not once imagining that they would ever invade his dominions.§ Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was for ever assuring him, that the war would soon be removed into Asia, and that he would see the enemy at his gates: that he must resolve either to abdicate his throne, or vigorously oppose a people who grasped at the empire of the world. This discourse waked, in some measure, the king out of his lethargy, and prompted him to make some weak efforts. But, as his conduct was unsteady, after sustaining a great many considerable losses, he was forced to terminate the war by an ignominious peace; one of the articles of which was, that he should deliver up Hannibal to the Romans. The latter, however, did not give him an opportunity to put it in execution, retiring to the island of Creta, to consider there what course would be best for him to take.

The riches he had brought with him, of which the people of the island had got some notice, had like to have proved his ruin.|| Hannibal was never wanting in stratagems, and he had occasion to employ them now, to save both himself and his treasure. He filled several vessels with molten lead, which he just covered with gold and silver. These he deposited in the temple of Diana, in presence of several Cretans, to whose honesty, he said, he confided all his treasure. A strong guard was then posted on the temple, and Hannibal left at full liberty, from a supposition that his riches were secured. But he had concealed them in hollow statues of brass,¶ which he always carried along with him. And then, embracing a favourable opportunity he had of making his escape, he fled to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia.**

It appears from history, that he made some stay in the court of this prince, who soon engaged in war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus, a professed friend to the Romans. By the aid of Hannibal, the troops of king Prusias gained several victories by land and sea.

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 42, 43.

† Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam sunt, quam eorum qui genus ac fortunam suam animis non æquant; Quia virtutem et bonum alienum oderunt.

‡ Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 7.

§ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 41.

|| Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 9. 10. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

¶ These statues were thrown out by him, in a place of public resort, as things of little value.—Corn. Nep.

** A. M. 3820. A. Rome, 564. Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.

He employed a stratagem of an extraordinary kind, in a sea fight.* The enemy's fleet consisting of more ships than his, he had recourse to artifice. He put into earthen vessels all kinds of serpents, and ordered these vessels to be thrown into the enemy's ships. His chief aim in this was to destroy Eumenes, and for that purpose it was necessary for him to find out which ship he was on board of. This Hannibal discovered, by sending out a boat, upon pretence of conveying a letter to him. Having gained his point thus far, he ordered the commanders of the respective vessels to direct the greatest force of their attacks against Eumenes's ship. They obeyed, and would have taken it, had he not outsailed his pursuers. The rest of the ships of Pergamus sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels had been thrown into them. At first they only laughed at this, and were very much surprised to find such weapons employed against them. But seeing themselves surrounded with serpents which flew out of these vessels when they broke to pieces, they were seized with dread, retired in disorder, and yielded the victory to the enemy.

Services of so important a nature, seemed to secure for ever to Hannibal an undisturbed asylum at that prince's court. The Romans however, would not suffer him to be easy there, but deputed Q. Flaminius to Prusias, to complain of the protection he gave Hannibal.† The latter readily conjectured the motive of this embassy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up. At first he attempted to secure himself by flight, but perceiving that the seven secret outlets which he had contrived in his palace were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who, by this perfidy, was desirous of making his court to the Romans, he ordered the poison, which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion, to be brought him; and, taking it in his hand, "let us," said he, "free the Romans from the disquiet with which they have been so long tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. The victory which Flaminius gains over a naked, and betrayed man, will not do him much honour. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their fathers sent notice to Pyrrhus, to desire he would beware of a traitor who intended to poison him, and that at a time when this prince was at war with them in the very centre of Italy; but their sons have deputed a person of consular dignity to instigate Prusias impiously to murder one who is not only his friend, but his guest." After calling down curses upon Prusias, and having invoked the gods, the protectors and avengers of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the poison, and died at seventy years of age.‡

This year was remarkable for the death of three great men, Hannibal, Philopœmen, and Scipio, who it is worthy of notice, all died out of their native countries, in a manner far from corresponding to the glory of their actions. The two first died by poison: Hannibal was betrayed by his host; and Philopœmen being taken prisoner in a battle against the Messinians, and thrown into a dungeon, was forced to swallow a dose of poison. As to Scipio, he banished himself, to avoid an unjust prosecution which was carrying on against him at Rome, and ended his days in a kind of obscurity.

THE CHARACTER AND EULOGIUM OF HANNIBAL.

THIS would be the proper place for representing the excellent qualities of Hannibal, who reflected so much glory on Carthage. But, as I have attempted to draw his character elsewhere,§ and to give a just idea of him, by making a comparison between him and Scipio, I think it unnecessary to give his eulogium at large in this place.

Persons who devote themselves to the profession of arms, cannot spend too much time in the study of this great man, who is looked upon, by the best judges, as the most complete general, in almost every respect, that ever the world produced.

During the whole seventeen years, (the time the war lasted,) two errors only are objected to him; first, his not marching immediately after the battle of Cannæ, his victorious army to Rome, in order to besiege that city; secondly, his sufferings their courage to be softened and enervated, during their winter-quarters in Capua; errors,

* Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Annib.

† A. M. 3822. A. Rome, 566 Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51.

‡ Plutarch, according to his custom, assigns him three different deaths. Some, says he, relate, that having wrapped his cloak about his neck, he ordered his servant to fix his knees against his buttocks, and not to leave twisting till he had strangled him. Others say, that in imitation of Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. Livy tells us, that Hannibal drank a poison which he always carried about him; and faking the cup into his hands, cried, "Let us free," &c.—In Vita Flamini.

§ Vol. II. Of the method of studying and teaching the Belles Lettres.

which only show that great men are not so in all things, *summi enim sunt homines tamen*;^{*} and which, perhaps, may be partly excused.

But then, for these two errors, what a multitude of shining qualities appear in Hannibal! How extensive were his views and designs even in his most tender years! What greatness of soul? what intrepidity! what presence of mind must he have possessed, to be able, even in the fire and heat of action, to take all advantages! With what surprising address must he have managed the minds of men, that amidst so great a variety of nations as composed his army, who often were in want both of money and provisions, his camp was not once disturbed with an insurrection, either against himself or any of his generals! With what equity, what moderation, must he have behaved towards his new allies, to have prevailed so far, as to attach them inviolably to his service, though he was reduced to the necessity of making them sustain almost the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their several countries! In fine, how fruitful must he have been in expedients, to be able to carry on, for so many years, the war in a remote country, in spite of the violent opposition made by a powerful domestic faction, which refused him supplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occasions! It may be affirmed, that Hannibal, during the whole series of this war, seemed the only prop of the state, and the soul of every part of the empire of the Carthaginians, who could never believe themselves conquered, till Hannibal confessed that he himself was so.

But that man must know the character of Hannibal very imperfectly, who should consider him only at the head of armies. The particulars we learn from history, concerning the secret intelligence he held with Philip of Macedon; the wise counsels he gave to Antiochus, king of Syria; the double regulation he introduced in Carthage, with regard to the management of the public revenues and the administration of justice, prove that he was a great statesman in every respect. So superior and universal was his genius, that it took in all parts of government; and so great were his natural abilities, that he was capable of acquitting himself in all the various functions of it with glory. Hannibal shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field; equally able to fill civil or military employments. In a word, he united in his own person, the different talents and merits of all professions, the sword, the gown, and the finances.

He had some learning; and though he was so much employed in military labours, and engaged in so many wars, he, however, found leisure to cultivate the muses.† Several smart repartees of Hannibal, which have been transmitted to us, show that he had a great fund of natural wit; and this he improved, by the most polite education that could be bestowed at that time, in such a republic as Carthage. He spoke Greek tolerably well, and wrote several books in that language. His preceptor was a Lacedæmonian, (Solsius,) who, with Philenius, another Lacedæmonian, accompanied him in all his expeditions. Both these undertook to write the history of this renowned warrior.

With regard to his religion and moral conduct, he was not so profligate and wicked as he is represented by Livy; "cruel even to inhumanity; more perfidious than a Carthaginian; regardless of truth, of probity, of the sacred ties of oaths; fearless of the gods, and utterly void of religion." *Inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plusquam Punica: nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jus jurandum, nulla religio.*‡ According to Polibius, he rejected a barbarous proposal that was made to him, before he entered Italy, of eating human flesh, at a time when his army was in absolute want of provisions.§ Some years after, so far from treating with barbarity, as he was advised to do, the dead body of Sempronius Gracchus, which Mago had sent him, he caused his funeral obsequies to be solemnized in presence of the whole army.|| We have seen him, on many occasions, showing the highest reverence for the gods; and Justin, who copied Trogus Pompeius, an author worthy of credit, observes that he always showed uncommon wisdom and continence, with regard to the great number of women taken by him during the course of so long a war; insomuch, that no one would have imagined he had been born in Africa, where incontinence is the predominant vice of the country. *Pudicitiamque eum tantum inter tot captivas habuisse, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret.*¶

His disregard of wealth at a time when he had so many opportunities to enrich him-

* Quinctil.

† Atque hic tantus vir, tantisque bellis distractus, nonnihil temporis tribuit literis, &c.—Corn. Nep. in Vita Annib. cap. 13.

‡ Liv. l. xxi. n. 4.

§ Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 33.

|| Excerpt. e. Diod. p. 232. Liv. l. xxv. n. 17.

¶ Lib. xxxii. c. 4.

self, by the plunder of the cities he stormed, and the nations he subdued shows, that he knew the true and genuine use, which a general ought to make of riches, viz. to gain the affection of his soldiers, and to attach allies to his interest, by diffusing his beneficence on proper occasions, and not being sparing in his rewards; a very essential quality, but very uncommon in a commander. The only use Hannibal made of money was to purchase success; firmly persuaded, that a man who is at the head of affairs is sufficiently recompensed by the glory derived from victory.

He always led a very regular, austere life, and even in times of peace, and in the midst of Carthage, when he was invested with the first dignity of the city; we were told that he never used to recline himself on a bed at meals, as was the custom in those ages, and drank but very little wine.* So regular and uniform a life may serve as an illustrious example to our commanders, who often include among the privileges of war, and the duty of officers, the keeping of splendid tables, and luxurious living.

But, notwithstanding those eulogiums, I do not, however, pretend to justify entirely all the errors and defects with which Hannibal is charged. Though he possessed an assemblage of the most exalted qualities, it cannot be denied that he had some little tincture of the vices of his country: and that it would be difficult to excuse some actions and circumstances of his life. Polybius observes, that Hannibal was accused of avarice in Carthage, and of cruelty in Rome.† He adds, on the same occasion, that people were very much divided in opinion concerning him; and it would be no wonder, as he had made himself so many enemies, in both cities, that they should have drawn him in disadvantageous colours. But Polybius is of opinion, that though it should be taken for granted, that all the defects with which he is charged are true, we yet ought to conclude, that they were not so much owing to his nature and disposition, as to the difficulties with which he was surrounded in the course of so long and laborious a war; and to the complacency he was obliged to show to the general officers, whose assistance he absolutely wanted for the execution of his various enterprises; and whom he was not always able to restrain, any more than he could the soldiers who fought under them.

SECT. II.—DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE CARTHAGINIANS AND MASINISSA, KING OF NUMIDIA.

AMONG the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians there was one which imported, that they should restore to Masinissa all the territories and cities he possessed before the war; and Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity, which that monarch had shown with regard to the Romans, had also added to his dominions those of Syphax. This presently afterwards gave rise to disputes and quarrels between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

These two princes, Syphax and Masinissa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned in different parts of it. The subjects of Syphax were called Masæsulii, and their capital was Cirta. Those of Masinissa were the Massyli; but both these nations are better known by the name of Numidians, which was common to them. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. They always rode without saddles, and some even without bridles, whence Virgil called them *Numidæ infreni*.‡

In the beginning of the second Punic war, Syphax adhering to the Romans, Gala, the father of Masinissa, to check the career of so powerful a neighbour, thought it his interest to join the Carthaginians, and accordingly sent out against Syphax a powerful army, under the conduct of his son, at that time but seventeen years of age.§ Syphax being overcome in a battle, in which it is said he lost thirty thousand men, escaped into Mauritania. The face of things, however, was afterwards greatly changed.

Masinissa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin; being driven from his kingdom by an usurper; closely pursued by Syphax; in danger every instant of falling into the hands of his enemies; and destitute of forces, money, and almost every thing.|| He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had an interview in Spain. His misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Masinissa joined him with a few horse, and from that time was inviolably attached to the Roman interest.¶ Syphax, on the contrary, having married the famous Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians.

* Cibi potitionisque, desiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus finitus.—Liv. l. xxi. n. 4.

‡ Constat Annibalem nec tum cum Romano tonantem bello Italia contremuit, nec cum reversus Carthaginem summum imperium tenuit, aut cubantem cœnasse, aut plus quam sextario vini indulsisse.—Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

† Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 34, 37.

§ Æn. l. iv. ver. 41.

¶ Liv. l. xxiv. n. 48, 49.

|| Liv. l. xxix. n. 29.—34.

¶ Liv. l. xxix. n. 23.

The fortune of these two princes now underwent a final change.* Syphax lost a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. Masinissa, the victor, besieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field, in the charms and endearments of Sophonisba, which he was unable to resist. To secure this princess to himself he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to send her a dose of poison, as her nuptial present; this being the only way left him to keep his promise with his queen, and preserve her from the power of the Romans.

This was a great fault in itself, and must necessarily have disoblged a nation that was so jealous of its authority: but this young prince repaired it gloriously by the signal services he afterwards rendered Scipio. We observed, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were bestowed upon him; and that the Carthaginians were forced to restore all he possessed before.† This gave rise to the divisions we are now about to relate.

A territory situated towards the sea-side, near the Lesser Syrtis, was the subject of those contests.‡ The country was very rich, and the soil extremely fruitful, a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis only, which belonged to that territory, paid daily a talent to the Carthaginians, by way of tribute. Masinissa had seized part of this territory. Each side despatched deputies to Rome, to plead the cause of their superiors before the senate. This assembly thought proper to send Scipio Africanus, with two other commissioners, to examine the controversy upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any resolution, and left the business in the same uncertain state in which they had found it. Possibly they acted in this manner by order of the senate, and had received private instructions to favour Masinissa, who was then possessed of the district in question.

Ten years after, new commissioners having been appointed to examine the same affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole undetermined.§

After the like distance of time, the Carthaginians again brought their complaint to the senate, but with greater importunity than before.¶ They represented, that besides the territories at first in dispute, Masinissa had, during the two preceding years, dispossessed them of upwards of seventy towns and castles: that their hands were bound up by the article of the last treaty, which forbade their making war upon any of the allies of the Romans; that they could no longer bear the insolence, the avarice, and cruelty of that prince; that they were deputed to Rome with three requests, which they desired might be immediately complied with, viz. either to get orders to have the affair examined and decided by the senate; or, secondly, that they might be permitted to repel force by force, and defend themselves by arms; or, lastly, that if favour was to prevail over justice, they then entreated the Romans to specify, once for all, which of the Carthaginian lands they were desirous should be vested in Masinissa, that they, by this means, might hereafter know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would have some regard to them, at a time when this prince set no other bounds to his pretensions, than his insatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beseeching the Romans, that if the Carthaginians had been guilty of any crimes with regard to them, since the conclusion of the last peace, that they themselves would punish them for it; and not give them up to the wild caprice of a prince, by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives insupportable. After ending their speech, being pierced with grief, they fell prostrate upon the earth, and burst into tears; a scene that moved all who were present to compassion, and raised a violent hatred against Masinissa. Gulussa, his son, who was then present, being asked what he had to reply, answered, that his father had not given him any instructions, not knowing that any thing would be laid to his charge. He only desired the senate to reflect, that the circumstance which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians, was the inviolable fidelity with which he had always been attached to them. The senate, after hearing both sides, answered, that they were inclined to do justice to that party to whom it was due; that Gulussa should set out immediately with their orders to his father, who thereby was commanded to send deputies with those of Carthage; that they would do all that lay in their power to serve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians; that it was but just the ancient limits should be preserved; and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans, to have the Carthaginians dispossessed, during the peace,

* Liv. l. xxx. n. 11, 12.

† Liv. l. xxx. n. 44.

‡ Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 62.

§ A. M. 3823. A. Rome, 567. Liv. l. xl, n. 17.

¶ A. M. 3833.

A. Rome, 577. Liv. l. xlii. n. 23, 24.

of those territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty. The deputies of both powers were then dismissed with the usual presents.

All these assurances, however, were but mere words. It is plain that the Romans did not once endeavour to satisfy the Carthaginians, or do them the least justice; and that they protracted the business, on purpose to give Masinissa an opportunity to establish himself in his usurpation, and weaken his enemies.*

A new deputation was sent to examine the affair upon the spot, and Cato was one of the commissioners.† On their arrival, they asked the parties if they were willing to abide by their determination. Masinissa readily complied. The Carthaginians answered, that they had a fixed rule to which they adhered, and that this was the treaty which had been concluded with Scipio, and desired that their cause might be examined with all possible rigour. They therefore could not come to any decision. The deputies visited all the country, and found it in a very good condition, especially the city of Carthage; and they were surprised to see it, after being involved in such a calamity, again raised to so exalted a pitch of power and grandeur. The senate was told of this, immediately on the return of the deputies; and declared that Rome could never be in safety, so long as Carthage should subsist. From this time, whatever affair was debated in the senate, Cato always added the following words to his opinion, *I conclude that Carthage ought to be destroyed*. This grave senator did not give himself the trouble to prove, that bare jealousy of the growing power of a neighbouring state is a sufficient cause for destroying a city, contrary to the faith of treaties. But Scipio Nasica was of opinion, that the ruin of this city would draw after it that of their commonwealth; because the Romans, having then no rival to fear, would quit the ancient severity of their manners, and abandon themselves to luxury and pleasures, the neverfailing subverters of the most flourishing empires.

In the mean time, divisions broke out in Carthage.‡ The popular faction, having now become superior to that of the grandes and senators, sent forty citizens into banishment; and bound the people by an oath, never to suffer the least mention to be made of recalling those exiles. They withdrew to the court of Masinissa, who despatched Gulussa and Micipsa, his two sons, to Carthage, to solicit their return. But the gates of the city were shut against them, and one of them was closely pursued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic. This gave rise to a new war, and accordingly armies were levied on both sides. A battle was fought; and the younger Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was spectator of it. He had been sent from Lucullus in Spain, under whom Scipio then fought, to Masinissa, to desire some elephants from that monarch. During the whole engagement, he stood upon a neighbouring hill, and was surprised to see Masinissa, then eighty-eight years of age, mounted, agreeably to the custom of his country, on a horse without a saddle, flying from rank to rank, like a young officer, and sustaining the most arduous toils. The fight was very obstinate, and continued all day, but at last the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio used to say afterwards, that he had been present at many battles, but at none with so much pleasure as this; having never before beheld so formidable an army engage, without any danger or trouble to himself. And being very conversant in the writings of Homer, he added, that till his time, there were but two more who had been spectators of such an action, viz. Jupiter from mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy. I know not whether the sight of a hundred thousand men, (the number engaged) butchering one another, can administer a real pleasure, or whether such a pleasure is consistent with the sentiments of humanity, so natural to mankind.

The Carthaginians after the battle was over, entreated Scipio to terminate their contests with Masinissa.§ Accordingly, he heard both parties; and the Carthaginians consented to relinquish the territory of Emporium,|| which had been the first cause of their division; to pay Masinissa two hundred talents of silver down, and eight hundred more at such times as should be agreed on. But Masinissa insisting on the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. Scipio, after having

* Polyb. p. 951.

† A. M. 3848. A. Rome, 592. App. de Bell. Pun. p. 37.

‡ App. p. 28.

§ App. de Bell. Pun. p. 40.

|| Emporium, or Emporia, was a country of Africa, on the Lesser Syrtis, in which Leptis stood. No part of the Carthaginian dominions was more fruitful than this. Polyb. l. 1, says, that the revenue that arose from this place was so considerable, that all their hopes were almost founded on it, *ἐν αὐτῇ, viz. their revenues from Emporia, εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς μετὰ τὸν ἑσπέρου ἐλπίδων*. To this was owing their care and state jealousy above mentioned, lest the Romans should sail beyond the Fair Promontory, that lay before Carthage, and become acquainted with a country which might induce them to attempt the conquest of it.

paid his compliments, and returned thanks to Masinissa, set out with the elephants for which he had been sent.

The king, immediately after the battle was over, had blocked up the enemy's camp, which was pitched upon a hill, where neither troops nor provisions could come to them.* During this interval, there arrived deputies from Rome, with orders from the senate to decide the quarrel, in case the king should be defeated, otherwise to leave it undetermined, and to give the king the strongest assurances of the continuation of their friendship, which they did. In the mean time, the famine daily increased in the enemy's camp, which, being heightened by the plague, occasioned a new calamity, and made dreadful havoc. Being now reduced to the last extremity, they surrendered to Masinissa, promising to deliver up the deserters, to pay him five thousand talents of silver in fifty years, and restore the exiles, notwithstanding their oaths to the contrary. They all submitted to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the yoke,† and were dismissed with only one suit of clothes for each. Gulussa, to satiate his vengeance for the ill treatment which we before observed he had met with, sent out against them a body of cavalry, whom, from their great weakness, they could neither escape nor resist; so that, of fifty-eight thousand men, very few returned to Carthage.

ARTICLE III.—THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

THE third Punic war, which was less considerable than either of the former, with regard to the number and greatness of the battles, and its continuance, which was only four years, was still more remarkable with respect to the success and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and destruction of Carthage.‡

The inhabitants from their last defeat, knew what they might naturally fear from the Romans, from whom they had always met with the most rigorous treatment, after they had addressed them upon their disputes with Masinissa.§ To prevent the consequences of it, the Carthaginians, by a decree of the senate, impeached Asdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces, as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war against the king of Numidia.|| They then sent a deputation to Rome, to inquire what opinion that republic entertained of their late proceedings, and what was desired of them. The deputies were coldly answered, that it was the business of the senate and people of Carthage to know what satisfaction was due to the Romans. A second deputation bringing them no clearer answer, they fell into the greatest dejection, and being seized with the strongest terrors, upon recollecting their past sufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imagined to themselves all the dismal consequences of a long siege, and a city taken by the sword.¶

In the mean time, the senate debated at Rome, on the measures it would be proper for them to take, and the disputes between Cato and Scipio Nasica, who were of quite different opinions on this subject, were renewed.** The former, on his return from Africa, had declared, in the strongest terms, that he had not found Carthage exhausted of men nor money, nor in so weak and humbled a state as the Romans supposed it to be; but on the contrary, that it was crowded with vigorous young men, abounded with immense quantities of gold and silver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all warlike stores; and was so haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is farther said, that after he had ended his speech, he threw out of the fold of his robe into the midst of the senate, some African figs, and as the senators admired their beauty and size, *Know, says he, that it is but three days since these figs were gathered. Such is the distance between the enemy and us.*††

Cato and Nasica had each of them their reasons for voting as they did.‡‡ Nasica, observing that the people rose to such a height of insolence, as threw them into excesses of every kind; that their prosperity had swelled them with a pride which their senate itself was not able to check; and that their power had become so enormous, that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every mad design they might under-

* App. de Bell. Pnn. p. 40.

† Ils furent tous passés sous le ioug,—sub jugum missi. A kind of gallows, made by two forked sticks standing upright, was erected, and a spear laid across, under which vanquished enemies were obliged to pass.—Festus.

‡ A. M. 3855. A. Carth. 697. A. Rome, 599. Ant. J. C. 149. § Appian. p. 41, 42.

|| The foreign forces were commanded by leaders of their respective nations, who were all under the command of a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian. Βοηθητικὸς Χρῆστος.

¶ Plut. in vita Cat. p. 252.

** Ibid. p. 352.

†† Plin. l. xv. e. 18.

‡‡ Plut. *ibid.* in vita Cat.

take, was desirous that they should continue in fear of Carthage, as a curb to restrain their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion, that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans, and at the same time so powerful, that it was not for the interest of the Romans to consider them in a contemptible light. With regard to Cato, he thought, that as his countrymen were become haughty and insolent by success, and plunged headlong into dissipation of every kind; nothing could be more dangerous than for it to have a rival city, to whom the Romans were odious; a city that, till now, had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wise and provident than ever; and therefore, that it would not be safe to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power, since they had, within their own walls, all the opportunities of indulging themselves in excesses of every kind.

To lay aside, for one instant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine which of these two great men reasoned most justly, according to the maxims of sound policy, and the true interests of a state. One undoubted circumstance is, that all historians have observed that there was a sensible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immediately after the ruin of Carthage;* that vice no longer made its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by stealth, but appeared openly, and seized, with astonishing rapidity, all orders of the republic; that senators, plebeians, in a word, all conditions, abandoned themselves to luxury and voluptuousness, without having the least regard to, or sense of decency, which occasioned, as it must necessarily, the ruin of the state. "The first Scipio,"† says Paterculus, speaking of the Romans, "had laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, had opened a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness. For after Carthage, which obliged Rome to stand for ever on its guard, by disputing empire with that city, had been totally destroyed, the depravity of manners was no longer slow in its progress, but swelled at once beyond all conception."

Be this as it may, the senate resolved to declare war against the Carthaginians; and the reasons, or pretences, urged for it, were their keeping up ships, contrary to the tenor of treaties; their sending an army out of their territories, against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they treated ill, at the time he was accompanied by a Roman ambassador.‡

An event that by chance occurred very fortunately while the senate of Rome was debating on the affair of Carthage, contributed, doubtless, very much to make them take that resolution.§ This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender themselves, their effects, their territories, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, vastly rich, and had an equally spacious and commodious port; it stood within sixty furlongs of Carthage, so that it might serve as a depot of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but proclaimed war. M. Manilius, and L. Marcius Censorinus, the two consuls, were desired to set out as soon as possible. They had secret orders from the senate, not to end the war but by the destruction of Carthage. The consuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. They had a considerable fleet, on board of which were four-score thousand foot, and about four thousand horse.

The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at Rome.|| The answer brought back by their deputies had only increased their fears, viz. *It was the business of the Carthaginians to consider what satisfaction was due to the Romans.* This made them not know what course to take. At last they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should see proper; and even, what the former wars could never make them stoop to, to declare that the Carthaginians gave up themselves, and all they possessed, to the will and pleasure of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clause, *se suaque*

* Ubi Carthago, et æmula imperii Romani ab stirpe interiit, Fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cepit.—Sallust in Bell. Catilin.

Ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se Remp. tractabant.—Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, illicet ea quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere.—Sallust in Bello Jugurthino.

† Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu sed præcipiti cursu a virtute descitum, ad vita transeursum.—Vel. Pate. c. l. ii. c. 1.

‡ App. p. 42.

§ A. M. 5856. A. Rome, 600. App. bell. Pun. p. 42.

|| Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

eorum arbitrio permittere, was submitting themselves, without reserve, to the power of the Romans, and becoming their vassals. Nevertheless, they did not expect any great success from this condescension, though so very mortifying; as the Uticans had been before-hand with them on that occasion, and had thus deprived them of the merit of a ready and voluntary submission.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was set out. The Romans had despatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the senate, and to inform that city that the Roman fleet had sailed. The deputies had therefore no time for deliberation, but delivered up themselves, and all they possessed, to the Romans. In consequence of this behaviour, they were answered, that since they had at last taken a right step, the senate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories and other possessions, whether public or private, provided that within the space of thirty days, they should send as hostages, to Lilybræum, three hundred young Carthaginians of the first distinction, and comply with the orders of the consuls. This last condition filled them with inexpressible anxiety: but the concern they were under would not allow them to make the least reply, or to demand an explication; nor indeed would it have been to any purpose. They therefore set out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embassy.

All the articles of the treaty were extremely severe with regard to the Carthaginians; but the silence of the Romans with respect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the concessions which that people were willing to make, perplexed them exceedingly. All they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent losses the Carthaginians had sustained, they were by no means in a condition to resist such an enemy, since they had not been able to oppose Masinissa. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the rest.*

They did not think proper to wait till the thirty days which had been allowed them were expired, but immediately sent their hostages, in order to soften the enemy by the readiness of their obedience, though they could by no means flatter themselves with the hopes of meeting with favour on this occasion. These hostages were in a manner the flower, and the only hopes of the noblest families of Carthage. Never was there a more moving scene; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing seen but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations! But, above all, the unhappy mothers, bathed in tears, tore their dishevelled hair, beat their breasts, and, as grief and despair had distracted them, cried out in such a manner, as might have moved the most savage beasts to compassion. But the scene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of their separation arrived; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the ship, they bid them a long, last farewell, persuaded that they should never see them more; they wept a flood of tears over them; embraced them with the utmost fondness; clasped them eagerly in their arms; could not be prevailed upon to part with them till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breasts. The hostages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the consuls told the deputies, that when they should arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

In such a situation of affairs, nothing can be more grievous than a state of uncertainty, which, without descending to particulars, presents to the mind the blackest scenes of misery. As soon as it was known that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp, signifying that they were come, in the name of their republic, to receive the commands which they were ready to obey. The consul, after praising their good disposition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they consented to, but besought him to reflect on the sad condition to which he was reducing them, at a time when Asdrubal whose quarrel against them was owing to no other cause than their perfect submission to the orders of the Romans, was advanced almost to their gates, with an army of twenty thousand men. The answer returned them was, That the Romans would set that matter right.†

This order was immediately put in execution.‡ There arrived in the camp a long train of wagons, loaded with all the preparations of war, taken out of Carthage; two

* Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

† Polyb. p. 975. Appian. p. 44—46.

‡ Appian. p. 46.

hundred thousand complete sets of armour, a numberless multitude of darts and javelins, with two thousand engines for shooting darts and stones.* Then followed the deputies of Carthage, accompanied by the most venerable senators and priests, who came purposely to try to move the Romans to compassion in this critical moment, when their sentence was about to be pronounced, and their fate would be irrevocable. Censorinus the consul, for it was he who spoke all this time, rose up for a moment at their coming, and expressed some kindness and affection for them, but suddenly assuming a grave and severe countenance, "I cannot," says he, "but commend the readiness with which you execute the orders of the senate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their absolute will and pleasure that you depart out of Carthage, which they have resolved to destroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions, as you shall think proper, provided it be at the distance of eight stadia† from the sea."

The instant the consul had pronounced this fulminating decree, nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but lamentable shrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunderstruck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themselves in the dust, tearing their clothes, and unable to vent their grief any otherwise, than in broken sighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of suppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice with regard to a people who would soon be reduced to the extremity of despair. But, as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they soon changed them into reproaches and imprecations, bidding the Romans call to mind, that there were such beings as avenging deities, whose severe eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themselves could not refrain from tears at so moving a spectacle, but their resolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail so far as to get the execution of this order suspended, till they should have an opportunity of presenting themselves again before the senate, to get it revoked if possible. They were forced to set out immediately, and carry the answer to Carthage.‡

The people waited for their return with such an impatience and terror, as words could never express. It was scarcely possible for them to break through the crowd, that flocked round them, to hear the answer, which was but too strongly painted in their faces. When they were come into the senate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general shriek informed the people of their too lamentable fate; and, from that instant, nothing was seen nor heard, in every part of the city, but howling and despair, madness and fury.§

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the course of the history for a moment, to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is to be regretted that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, should end exactly in the most affecting part of this event. I should set a much higher value on one short reflection of so judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian ascribes to the deputies and the consul. I can never believe that so rational, judicious, and just a man as Polybius, could have approved the proceeding of the Romans on the present occasion. We do not here discover, in my opinion, any of the characteristics which distinguished them anciently; that greatness of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is somewhere said, formed no part of the Roman character; *Minime Romanis artibus*. Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty, a most solemn and sacred thing, that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws; and understand, at the same time, certain private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both? Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission of the word *city* in this treaty, the black design of destroying Carthage; as if, beneath the cover of such an equivocation, they might destroy it with justice? In fine, why did the Romans not make their last declaration, till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hostages and arms; that is, till they had absolutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their most arbitrary commands? Is it not manifest that Carthage, notwithstanding all its defeats and losses, though it was weakened and almost exhausted, was still a terror to the Romans, and that they were persuaded they were not able to conquer it by force of arms? It is very dangerous to be possessed of so much power as may enable one

* Balistæ, or Catapultæ.

† Four leagues, or twelve miles.

‡ Appian. p. 46—53.

§ Appian. p. 53, 54.

to commit injustice with impunity, and with the prospect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages shows, that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans, differs widely from what was practised here. These people, says he, far from using artifice and deceit with regard to their allies, in order to enlarge their power, did not think themselves allowed to employ them even against their enemies; considering only those victories solid and glorious, which were obtained sword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery. He owns, in the same place, that there then remained among the Romans but very faint traces of the former generosity of their ancestors; and he thinks it incumbent on him, as he declares, to make this remark, in opposition to a maxim which had grown very common in his time, among persons in the administration of governments, who imagined that honesty is inconsistent with good policy, and that it is impossible to succeed in the administration of state affairs, either in war or peace, without using fraud and deceit on some occasions.*

I now return to my subject. The consuls made no great haste to march against Carthage, not suspecting they had reason to be under any apprehensions from that city, as it was now disarmed. However, the inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay, to put themselves in a posture of defence, being unanimously resolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general without the walls, Asdrubal, who was at the head of twenty thousand men, and to whom deputies were sent accordingly, to entreat him to forget, for his country's sake, the injustice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops within the walls was given to another Asdrubal, grandson of Masinissa. They then applied themselves to making arms with incredible expedition. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and squares, were all changed into so many arsenals, where men and women worked day and night. A hundred and forty shields, three hundred swords, five hundred pikes and javelins, a thousand arrows, and a great number of engines to discharge them, were made daily; and, there being a deficiency of materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, and abundantly supplied their wants on this occasion.†

Masinissa was very much disgusted at the Romans, because, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner with their design, which circumstance caused some coldness between them.‡

During this interval, the consuls were advancing towards the city, in order to besiege it. As they expected nothing less than a vigorous resistance, the incredible resolution and courage of the besieged filled them with the utmost astonishment. The Carthaginians were continually making the boldest sallies, in order to repulse the besiegers, to burn their engines, and harass their foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus was then a tribune in the army, and distinguished himself above the rest of the officers, no less by his prudence than by his bravery. The Consul, under whom he fought, committed many oversights by refusing to follow his advice. This young officer extricated the troops from several dangers into which their imprudent leaders had plunged them. Phamæas a celebrated general of the enemy's cavalry, who continually harassed the forages, did not dare even to keep the field when it was Scipio's turn to support them: so capable was he of directing his troops, and posting himself to advantage. So great and universal a reputation excited some envy against him in the beginning; but as he behaved in all respects with the utmost modesty and reserve, that envy was soon changed into admiration; so that, when the senate sent deputies to the camp to enquire into the state of the siege, the whole army gave him unanimously the highest commendations: the soldiers, as well as officers, nay, the very generals, extolled the merit of young Scipio; so necessary is it for a man to soften, if I may be allowed the expression, the splendour of his rising glory, by a mild and modest deportment and not to excite the jealousy of people by haughty and self sufficient behaviour, as it naturally awakens pride in others, and makes even virtue itself odious!§

About the same time Masinissa, finding his end approach, sent to desire a visit from Scipio, that he might invest him with full powers to dispose, as he should see proper, of his kingdom and estate, in behalf of his children. But, on Scipio's arrival, he

* Polyb. l. xvii. p. 671, 672. † Appian. p. 55. Strabo. l. xvii. p. 382. ‡ Appian. p. 5. § Appian, p. 55—58.

found that monarch dead. Masinissa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I shall give no further account here of the family and posterity of Masinissa, because that would interrupt too much the history of Carthage.*

The high esteem which Phamæas entertained for Scipio, induced him to forsake the Carthaginians, and go over to the Romans. Accordingly, he joined him with above two thousand horse, and did great service at the siege.†

Calpurnius Piso the consul, and L. Mancinus his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the spring. Nothing remarkable was transacted during this Campaign. The Romans were even defeated on several occasions, and carried on the siege of Carthage but slowly. The besieged on the contrary, had recovered their spirits. Their troops were considerably increased, they daily got new allies, and even sent an express as far as Macedonia, to the pretender Philip:‡ who passed for the son of Perseus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans, to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promising to furnish him with money and ships.§

This news occasioned some uneasiness at Rome. People began to doubt the success of a war which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than had at first been imagined. They were dissatisfied with the dilatoriness of the generals, and exclaimed at their conduct, but unanimously agreed in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He had come to Rome, in order to stand candidate for the edileship.|| The instant he appeared in the assembly, his name, his countenance, his reputation, a general persuasion that he was designed by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the first Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the second; these several circumstances made a very strong impression on the people, and, though it was contrary to law, and therefore opposed by the ancient men, instead of the edileship which he sued for, disregarding for once the laws, conferred the consulship upon him,¶ and assigned him Africa for his province, without casting lots for the provinces as usual, and as Drusus his colleague demanded.

As soon as Scipio had completed his recruits, he set out for Sicily, and arrived soon after in Utica. He came very seasonably for Mancinus, Piso's lieutenant, who had rashly fixed himself in a post where he was surrounded by the enemy, and would have been cut to pieces that very morning, had not the new consul, who at his arrival, heard of the danger he was in, re-embarked his troops in the night, and sailed with the utmost speed to his assistance.**

Scipio's first care, after his arrival, was to restore discipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected. There was not the least regularity, subordination, nor obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, feasting, and diversions. He drove from the camp all useless persons, settled the quality of the provisions he would have brought in by the sutlers; and allowed of none but what were plain and fit for soldiers, studiously banishing all dainties and luxuries.††

After he had made these regulations, which cost him but little time and trouble, because he himself first set the example, he was convinced that those under him were soldiers, and thereupon prepared to carry on the siege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themselves with axes, levers and scaling-ladders, he led them in the dead of the night, and without the least noise, to a district of the city called Megara; when, ordering them so give a sudden and general shout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were, at first, in the utmost terror; they however, defended themselves so courageously, that Scipio could not scale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forsaken, and which stood without the city, very near the walls, he detached thither a party of intrepid soldiers, who by the help of pontoons,‡‡ got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, whose gates they broke down. Scipio entered it, immediately after, and drove the enemy out of that post: who, terrified at this unexpected assault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel, where they were followed even by those forces that were encamped without the city, who abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it necessary for them to fly to a place of security.

§§ Before I proceed further, it will be proper to give some account of the situation

† Strabo, l. xvii. p. 65. * A. M. 3857. A. Rome, 601. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 63. †† Appian, p. 70.
 ‡ A. M. 3858. A. Rome, 602. † Andrisicus. § Ibid. p. 66. ‡‡ Appian, p. 70.
 †† A sort of moveable bridge. §§ Appian, p. 56, 57. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 832.

and dimensions of Carthage, which, in the beginning of the war against the Romans, contained seven hundred thousand inhabitants. It stood at the bottom of a gulf surrounded with the sea, and in the form of a peninsula, whose neck, that is, the isthmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five stadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninsula was three hundred and sixty stadia, or eighteen leagues in circumference. On the west side there projected from it a long neck of land, half a stadium, or twelve fathoms broad; which advancing into the sea, divided it from a morass, and was defended on all sides with rocks and a single wall. On the south side, towards the continent where stood the citadel called Byrsa, the city was surrounded with a triple wall thirty cubits high, exclusive of the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being fourscore fathoms. Every tower was four stories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were stalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants with their fodder, &c. Over these were stables for four thousand horses, and lofts for their food. There was likewise room enough to lodge twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. In fine, all these were contained within the walls. The walls were weak and low in one place only; and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours, which were on the west side. Two of these communicated with each other, and had but one entrance, seventy feet broad shut up with chains. The first was appropriated to the merchants, and had several distinct habitations for the seamen. The second, or inner harbour, was for the ships of war, in the midst of which stood an island, called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large keys, in which were distinct receptacles* for sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ships; over these were magazines or store-houses, containing whatever was necessary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order: so that both the harbour and the island was the admiral's palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, though no one from thence could see what was transacting in the inner part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no prospect of the men of war, the two ports being separated by a double wall, each having its particular gate that led to the city, without passing through the other harbour. So that Carthage may be divided into three parts: the harbour, which was double, and called sometimes Cothon, from the little island of that name: the citadel, named Byrsa: the city properly so called, where the inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the citadel, and was called Megara.†

At day-break,‡ Asdrubal,§ perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order to be revenged on the Romans, and, at the same time, deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman prisoners he had taken upon the walls, in sight of the whole army. There he put them to the most exquisite torture; putting out their eyes, cutting off their noses, ears, and fingers; tearing their skin to pieces with iron rakes or harrows, and then throwing them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror: he did not however spare even them, but murdered many senators who had been so brave as to oppose his tyranny.

Scipio finding himself absolute master of the Isthmus, burned the camp which the enemy had deserted, and built a new one for his troops.¶ It was of a square form, surrounded with large and deep entrenchments, and fenced with strong pallisades. On the side which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and, on the middle tower, he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the Isthmus, that is, twenty-five stadia.¶ The enemy, who were within arrow shot of it, employed their utmost efforts to put a stop to his work; but, as the whole army worked at it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work; first, his forces were lodged more safely and commodiously than before: secondly, he cut off all provisions from the besieged, to whom none could be brought but by land; which distressed them exceedingly, both because the sea is frequently very

* *Neposius*, Strabo.

† *Boch.* in *Phal.* p. 512.

‡ *Appian*, p. 72.

§ It was he who at first commanded without the city, but having caused the other Asdrubal, Massinissa's grandson, to be put to death, he got the command of the troops within the walls.

¶ *Appian*, p. 73.

¶ Four miles and three quarters.

tempestuous in that place, and because the Roman fleet kept a strict guard. This proved one of the chief causes of the famine which soon after raged in the city. Besides, Asdrubal distributed the corn that was brought only among thirty thousand men who served under him, without regard to what became of the inhabitants.

To distress them still more by the want of provisions, Scipio attempted to stop up the mouth of the haven by a mole, beginning at the above-mentioned neck of land, which was near the harbour.* The besieged at first looked upon this attempt as ridiculous, and insulted the workmen accordingly; but at last, seeing them make an astonishing progress every day, they began to be afraid, and to take such measures as might, if possible, render the attempt unsuccessful. Every one, even to the women and children, fell to work, but so secretly, that all Scipio could learn from the prisoners was, that they had heard a great noise in the harbour, but did not know the cause or occasion of it. At last, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a sudden, a new outlet on the other side of the haven, and appeared at sea with a numerous fleet, which they had then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they must inevitably have taken it; because, as no such attempt was expected, and every man was otherwise employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, soldiers, or officers. But the ruin of Carthage, says the historian, was decreed. Having therefore only offered a kind of insult or bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

Two days after, they brought forward their ships, with a resolution to fight in good earnest, and found the enemy ready for them.† This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. It lasted a long time, each exerting themselves to the utmost; the one to save their country, reduced to the last extremity, and the other to complete their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines, running along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces sometimes their sterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and when briskly attacked, retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. At last, after the two armies had fought with equal success till sunset, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire; not that they believed themselves overcome, but in order to recommence the fight on the morrow. Part of their ships not being able to run swiftly enough into the harbour, because the mouth of it was too narrow, took shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the wall to unload goods, on the side of which a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and lasted till late at night. The Carthaginians suffered greatly, and the few ships of theirs which got off sailed for refuge to the city. When the morning arrived, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it, though with great difficulty; after which he posted and fortified himself on it, and built a brick wall close to those of the city, and of the same height. When it was finished, he commanded four thousand men to get on the top of it, and to discharge from it a constant shower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution; because, as the two walls were of equal height, there was scarce one dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

During the winter-quarters, Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city, who very much harassed the troops that brought his provisions, and protected such as were sent to the besieged.‡ For this purpose he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nopheris, where they used to shelter themselves. In the last action, about seventy thousand of the enemy, as well soldiers as peasants who had been enlisted, were cut to pieces, and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after sustaining a siege of two and twenty days. The seizure of this fort was followed by the surrender of almost all the strong-holds in Africa; and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itself, into which, from that time, it was almost impossible to bring any provisions.

Early in the spring, Scipio attacked, at one and the same time, the harbour called Cothon and the Citadel. Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded this port, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it, from whence was an ascent to the citadel, up three streets, with houses on both sides, from the tops of which a shower of darts was discharged upon the Romans, who

* Appian, p. 74.

† Appian, p. 75.

‡ Appian, p. 78.

were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houses they first reached, and post themselves in them, in order to dislodge the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houses. The combat which was carried on from the tops, and in every part of the houses, continued six days, during which a dreadful slaughter was made. To clear the streets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aside, with hooks, the bodies of such of the inhabitants as had been slain, or precipitated headlong from the houses, and threw them into pits, the greatest part of them being still alive and panting. In this labour, which lasted six days and nights, the soldiers were relieved from time to time by others, without which they would have been quite spent. Scipio slept none during this time, but was occupied in giving orders in all places, and scarcely allowed himself leisure to take the least refreshment.*

There was still reason to believe, that the siege would last much longer, and occasion a great effusion of blood. But on the seventh day, there appeared a company of men in a suppliant posture and habit, who desired no other conditions, than that the Romans would please to spare the lives of all those who should be willing to leave the citadel; which request was granted them, excepting only the deserters. Accordingly, there came out fifty thousand men and women, who were sent into the fields under a strong guard. The deserters, who were about nine hundred, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themselves in the temple of Æsculapius, with Asdrubal, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was but small, they might have held out a long time, because the temple stood on a very high hill, upon rocks, to which the ascent was by sixty steps. But at last, exhausted by hunger and watchings, oppressed with fear, and seeing their destruction at hand, they lost all patience; when, abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermost story, and resolved not to quit it but with their lives.†

In the mean time Asdrubal, being desirous of saving his own life, came down privately to Scipio, carrying an olive branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet. Scipio showed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage and fury at the sight, vented millions of imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple. While it was kindling, we are told, that Asdrubal's wife, dressing herself as splendidly as possible, and placing herself with her two children in sight of Scipio, addressed him with a loud voice: "I call not down," said she, "curses upon thy head, O Roman, for thou only takest the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish, according to his deserts, the false wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children!" Then directing herself to Asdrubal, "Perfidious wretch," says she, "thou basest of creatures! this fire will presently consume both me and my children; but as to thee, too shameful general of Carthage, go, adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror; suffer, in the sight of all Rome, the tortures thou so justly deservest!" She had no sooner pronounced these words, than seizing her children, she cut their throats, threw them into the flames, and afterwards rushed into them herself; in which she was imitated by all the deserters.

With regard to Scipio, when he saw the entire ruin of this famous city, which had flourished seven hundred years, and might have been compared to the greatest empires, on account of the extent of its dominions, both by sea and land; its mighty armies; its fleets, elephants, and riches; and that the Carthaginians were even superior to other nations, by their courage and magnanimity, as notwithstanding their being deprived of arms and ships, they had sustained, for three whole years, all the hardships and calamities of a long siege; historians relate, that he could not refuse his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage.‡ He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions, no less than individual men; that the like sad fate had befallen Troy, anciently so powerful; and, in later times, the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, whose dominions were once of so great an extent; and lastly, the Macedonians, whose empire had been so glorious throughout the world. Full of these mournful ideas, he repeated the following verses of Homer:

"Ἔσσειται ἡμῶν, ὅταν ποτ' ὀλόγη Ἴλιος ἴση,
Καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς εὐμελῆϊο Πριάμοιο.—Λ. Δ'. 164, 165.

"The day shall come, that great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay;
When Priam's pow'rs and Priam's self shall fall,
And one prodigious ruin follow all."———Pope.

* A. M. 3899. A. Rome, 603. Appian, p. 79.

† Appian, p. 91.

‡ Appian, p. 82.

Thereby denouncing the future destiny of Rome, as he himself confessed to Polybius, who desired Scipio to explain himself on that occasion.

Had the truth enlightened his soul, he would have discovered what we are taught in the Scriptures, that *because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is translated from one people to another.** Carthage is destroyed, because its avarice, perfidiousness, and cruelty, have attained their utmost height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjust usurpations, concealed beneath a specious and delusive show of justice and virtue, shall have compelled the sovereign Lord, the disposer of empires, to give the universe an important lesson in its fall.

Carthage being taken in this manner, Scipio gave it up to plunder (the gold, silver, statues, and other offerings which should be found in the temples, excepted) to his soldiers for some days. He afterwards bestowed several military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly distinguished themselves, viz. Tib. Gracchus, and Caius Fannius, who first scaled the walls. After this, adorning a very small ship (an excellent sailer) with the enemy's spoils, he sent it to Rome with the news of the victory.†

At the same time, he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take possession of the pictures and statues which the Carthaginians had plundered them of in the former wars. When he restored to the citizens of Agrigentum Phalaris's famous bull,‡ he said that this bull, which was at one and the same time, a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings, and of the lenity of their present sovereigns, ought to make them sensible which would be most advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.§

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded his family, under the most severe penalties, not to take, or even buy any of them; so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome, the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as if the public tranquillity had not been secured till that instant. They revolved in their minds all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for sixteen years together; during which Hannibal had plundered four hundred towns, destroyed three hundred thousand men, and reduced Rome itself to the utmost extremity. Amidst the remembrance of these past evils, the people in Rome would ask one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men eminently strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards the gods, and the citizens were, for many days, employed wholly in solemn sacrifices, in public prayers, games, and spectacles.||

After these religious duties were ended, the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country for the future. Their first care was to demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage.¶ Rome,** though mistress of almost the whole world, could not believe herself safe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being: so true it is, that inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars, lasts even beyond the time when all cause of fear is removed; and does not cease, till the object that occasions it is no more. Orders were given, in the name of the Romans, that it should never be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced against those who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any parts of it, especially those called Byrsa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who desired it, was permitted to see Carthage; Scipio being well pleased to have people view the sad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire.†† The commissioners

* Eccles. x. 8. † A. M. 3859. A. Carth. 701. A. Rome, 693. Ant. J. C. 145. Appian. p. 83.

‡ Quem taurum Scipio cum redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur, æquum esse illos cogitare utrum esset Siculis utilis, suisne servire, an populo R. obtemperare, eum idem monumentum et domesticæ crudelitatis, et nostræ mansuetudinis haberent.—Cicer. Verr. vi. n. 73. § Appian, p. 33. || Ibid.

¶ We may guess at the dimensions of this famous city, by what Florius says, viz. that it was seventeen days on fire before it could be all consumed.—Quanta urbs deleta sit, ut de cæteris taceam, vel ignium mora probari potest, quippe per continous decem et septem dies vix potuit incendium extinguï.—Lib. ii. c. 15.

** Neque se Roma, jam terrarum orbe superator, securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam maneret Carthaginis. Adeo odium certaminibus ortam, ultra metum durat, et ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante visum esse desinit, quam esse desit.—Vel. Patere. l. i. c. 12.

†† Ut ipse locus corum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio certarunt, vestigia calamitatis ostenderet.—Cic. Agrar. ii. n. 30.

decreed further, that those cities, which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should all be razed, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the rest they made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province, to which a prætor was sent annually.*

All matters being thus settled, Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been seen before; the whole exhibiting nothing but statues, rare invaluable pictures, and other curiosities, which the Carthaginians had for many years been collecting in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the public treasury, that amounted to immense sums.†

Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt, in less than thirty years after, and even in Scipio's life-time, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it anew; and conducted thither a colony, consisting of six thousand citizens, for that purpose. The senate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, not being over scrupulous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithstanding all these bad presages, and finished it in a few days. This was the first Roman colony that was ever sent out of Italy.‡

It is probable, that only huts were built there, since we are told, that when Marius retired thither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a mean and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, consoling himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle; himself serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city.

Appian relates, that Julius Cæsar, after the death of Pompey, having crossed into Africa, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he wrote down, in his pocket-book, the design which he formed on this occasion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but that having been murdered soon after by the conspirators, Augustus Cæsar, his adopted son, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the spot where it formerly stood, in order that the imprecations which had been vented at the time of its destruction, against those who should presume to rebuild it, might not fall upon them.¶

I know not what foundation Appian has for this story;¶ but we read in Strabo, that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by Cæsar, to whom he gives the name of God, by which title, a little before, he had plainly intended Julius Cæsar;*** and Plutarch,†† in the life-time of that emperor, ascribes expressly to him the establishment of these two colonies; and observes, that one remarkable circumstance in these two cities is, that as both had been taken and destroyed together, they likewise were rebuilt and repopled at the same time. However this be, Strabo affirms, that in his time, Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa; and it rose to be the capital of Africa, under the succeeding emperors. It existed for about seven hundred years after in splendour, but at last was so completely destroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the seventh century, that neither its name, nor the least vestige of it, is known at this time in the country.

A DIGRESSION ON THE MANNERS AND CHARACTER OF THE SECOND SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, was son to the famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus, the last king of Macedon; and consequently grand-son to that Paulus, who lost his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the son of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Scipio Æmilianus; the names of the two families being so united, pursuant to the law of adoption. Our Scipio supported, with equal lustre, the honour and dignity of both houses, being possessed of all the exalted qualities of the sword and gown.‡‡ The whole tenor of his life, says a historian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts, or his words, was conspicuous for its

* Appian, p. 84.

† Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 12.

‡ Appian, p. 85. Plut. in Vit. Gracch. p. 389.

§ Marius cursum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio runarum Carthaginiensium toleravit: cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginiem, illa inuenit Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio.—Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 19.

¶ Appian, p. 89.

¶ Appian, l. xvii. p. 833.

** Ibid. p. 83.

†† Ibid. p. 733.

‡‡ Scipio Æmilianus, vir auitis P. Africanæ paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus belli actogæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandam aut fecit aut dixit, aut sensit.—Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 12.

great beauty and regularity. He distinguished himself particularly, a circumstance seldom found at that time in persons of the military profession, by his exquisite taste for polite literature and all sciences, as well as by the uncommon regard he showed to learned men. It is universally known, that he was reported to be the author of Terence's comedies, the most polite and elegant writings of which the Romans could boast. We are told of Scipio,* that no man could blend more happily, repose and action, nor employ his leisure hours with greater delicacy and taste: thus was he divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet; in which he either exercised his body in toils of war, or his mind in the study of the sciences. By this he showed, that nothing does greater honour to a person of distinction, of whatever quality or profession, than the adorning his soul with knowledge. Cicero, speaking of Scipio, says,† that he always had Xenophon's works in his hands, which are so famous for the solid and excellent instructions they contain, both in regard to war and policy.

He owed this exquisite taste for polite learning and the sciences, to the excellent education which Paulus Æmilius bestowed on his children. He had put them under the ablest masters in every art, and did not spare any expense on that occasion, though his circumstances were very narrow; Paulus Æmilius was himself present at all their lessons, as often as the affairs of government would permit, becoming, by this means, their chief preceptor.‡

The strict union between Polybius and Scipio finished the exalted qualities, which, by the superiority of his genius and disposition, and the excellency of his education, were already the subject of admiration.§ Polybius, with a great number of Achæians, whose fidelity the Romans suspected during the war with Perseus, was detained in Rome, where his merit soon attracted notice and made his conversation the desire of all persons of the highest quality in that city. Scipio, when scarcely eighteen, devoted himself entirely to Polybius, and considered as the greatest felicity of his life, the opportunity he had of being instructed by so great a master, whose society he preferred to all the vain and idle amusements which are generally so eagerly pursued by young persons.

The first care of Polybius was to inspire Scipio with an aversion for those equally dangerous and ignominious pleasures, to which the Roman youth were so strongly addicted; the greatest part of them being already depraved and corrupted, by the luxury and licentiousness which riches and new conquest had introduced into Rome. Scipio, during the first five years that he continued in so excellent a school, made the greatest improvement in it; and, despising the levity and wantonness, as well as the pernicious examples of persons of the same age with himself, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a shining model of discretion and wisdom.

From hence the transition was easy and natural, to generosity, to a noble disregard of riches, and to a laudable use of them; all virtues so requisite in persons of illustrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the most exalted pitch, as appears from some instances of this kind related by Polybius, and highly worthy our admiration.

Æmilia,|| wife of the first Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who had adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great estate to the latter. This lady, besides the diamonds and jewels which were worn by women of her high rank, possessed a great number of gold and silver vessels used in sacrifices, together with several splendid equipages, and a considerable number of slaves of both sexes; the whole suited to the august house into which she had married. At her death, Scipio made over all those rich possessions to Papiria, his mother, who, having been divorced a considerable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumstances to support the dignity of her birth, lived in great obscurity, and never appeared in the assemblies or public ceremonies. But when she again frequented them with a magnificent train, this noble generosity of Scipio did him great honour, especially in the minds of the ladies, who expatiated on it in all their conversations, and in a city whose inhabitants, says Polybius, were not easily prevailed upon to part with their money.

Scipio was no less admired on another occasion. He was bound, by a condition

* Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalia negotiorum otio dispenxit; semperque aut belli aut pacis servit artibus, semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum disciplinis exercuit. — Vel. Patere, c. 13.

† Africanus semper Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat. — Tusc. Quest. l. 2. n. 62.

‡ Plut. in Vita Æmil. Pauli.

§ Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 147--165.

|| She was sister of Paulus Æmilius, father of the second Scipio Africanus.

in the will, to pay at three different times, to the two daughters of Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, half their portion, which amounted to fifty thousand French crowns.* The time for the payment of the first sum having expired, Scipio put all the money into the hands of a banker. Tiberius Gracchus, and Scipio Nasica, who had married the two sisters, imagining that Scipio had made a mistake, went to him and observed, that the laws allowed him three years to pay the sum, and at three different times. Young Scipio answered, that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occasion; that they might indeed be executed in their greatest rigour with strangers, but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with a more generous simplicity; and therefore desired them to receive the whole sum. They were struck with such admiration at the generosity of their kinsman, that in their return home they reproached themselves for their narrow way of thinking, at a time when they made the greatest figure, and had a higher regard paid to them than any family in Rome.† This generous action, says Polybius, was the more admired, because no person in Rome, so far from consenting to pay fifty thousand crowns before they were due, would pay even a thousand before the time for payment had elapsed.

It was from the same noble spirit, that two years after, Paulus Æmilius his father, being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius, who was not so wealthy as himself, the part of their father's estate which was Scipio's due, (amounting to above three-score thousand crowns,‡ that there might not be so great a disparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being desirous to exhibit a show of gladiators after his father's decease, in honour of his memory, as was the custom in that age, and not being able to defray the expenses on this occasion, which amounted to a very heavy sum, Scipio made him a present of fifteen thousand crowns,§ in order to defray at least half the charges of it.

The splendid presents which Scipio had made his mother Papiria reverted to him by law, as well as equity, after her demise; and his sisters, according to the custom of those times, had not the least claim to them. Nevertheless, Scipio thought it would have been dishonourable in him, had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his sisters whatever he had presented to their mother, which amounted to a very considerable sum, and by this fresh proof of his glorious disregard of wealth, and the tender friendship he had for his family, acquired the applause of the whole city.

These different benefactions, which amounted altogether to a prodigious sum, seem to have received a brighter lustre from the age at which he bestowed them, he being then very young; and still more, from the circumstances of the time when they were presented, as well as the kind and obliging behaviour he assumed on those occasions.

The incidents I have here given are so repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reason to fear the reader would consider them merely as the rhetorical flourishes of a historian, who was prejudiced in favour of his hero, if it was not well known that the predominant characteristic of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a sincere love of truth, and an utter aversion to adulation of every kind. In the very passage whence this relation is extracted, he thought it would be necessary for him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio; and he observes, that as his writings were to be perused by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he would certainly be animadverted upon by them, should he venture to advance any falsehood; an affront, to which it is not probable an author, who has the least regard for his reputation, would expose himself, especially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

We have already observed, that Scipio had never gone into the fashionable debaucheries and excesses to which the young people at Rome so wantonly abandoned themselves. But he was sufficiently compensated for this self-denial of all destructive pleasures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the rest of his life, which enabled him to taste pleasures of a much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that reflected so much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his favourite exercise, contributed also very much to invigorate his constitution, and enable him to endure the hardest toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging, to the utmost of his

* Or 855,900.

† Κατεργασμένος, τῆς αὐτοῦ μικροσυνίας.

‡ Or 866,000.

§ Or 815,500.

desire, his passion in this respect; for the chase, which was the usual diversion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid aside for some years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilius, studious of procuring his son virtuous pleasures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from those which reason prohibits, gave him full liberty to indulge himself in his favourite sport, during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perseus. The illustrious youth employed his leisure hours in an exercise which so well suited his age and inclination; and was as successful in this innocent war against the beasts of Macedonia, as his father had been in that which he had carried on against the inhabitants of the country.

It was at Scipio's return from Macedon that he met with Polybius in Rome, and contracted the strict friendship with him, which was afterwards so beneficial to our young Roman, and did him almost as much honour in after ages as all his conquests. We find by history, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day, when he and Scipio were alone, the latter opened himself freely to him, and complained, but in the mildest and most gentle terms, that he, in their conversations at table; always directed himself to his brother Fabius, and never to him, "I am sensible," says he, "that this indifference arises from your supposing, with all our citizens, that I am a heedless young man, and wholly averse to the taste which now prevails in Rome, because I do not plead at the bar, nor study the graces of elocution. But how should I do this? I am constantly told that the Romans expect a general, and not an orator, from the house of the Scipios. I will confess to you, pardon the sincerity with which I reveal my thoughts, that your coldness and indifference grieve me exceedingly." Polybius, surprised at these unexpected words, made Scipio the kindest answer, and assured the illustrious youth, that though he always directed himself to his brother, yet this was not out of disrespect to him, but only because Fabius was the eldest; not to mention, continued Polybius, that knowing you possessed but one soul, I conceived that I addressed both, when I spoke to either of you. He then assured Scipio, that he was entirely at his command; that, with regard to the sciences, for which he discovered the happiest genius, he would have opportunities sufficient to improve himself in them, from the great number of learned Grecians who resorted daily to Rome; but that, as to the art of war, which was properly his profession and favourite study, he, Polybius, might be of some little service to him. He had no sooner spoke these words, than Scipio, grasping his hand in a kind of rapture; "Oh! when," says he, "shall I see the happy day, when, disengaged from all other avocations, and living with me, you will be so much my friend as to improve my understanding, and regulate my affections? It is then I shall think myself worthy of my illustrious ancestors." From that time Polybius, overjoyed to see so young a man breath such noble sentiments, devoted himself particularly to our Scipio, who for ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father.

Scipio, however, did not only esteem Polybius as an excellent historian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him, by his being so able a warrior, and so profound a politician. Accordingly, he consulted him on every occasion, and always took his advice, even when he was at the head of his army: concerting in private with Polybius, all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of the forces, all enterprises against the enemy, and the several measures proper for rendering them successful.

In a word, it was the common report, that our illustrious Roman did not perform any great or good action, but when he was advised to it by Polybius; nor ever commit an error, except when he acted without consulting him.*

I flatter myself that the reader will excuse this long digression, which may be thought foreign to my subject, as I am not writing the Roman history. However, it appeared to me so well adapted to the general design I propose to myself in this work, viz. the cultivating and improving the minds of youth, that I could not forbear introducing it here, though I was sensible this is not altogether its proper place. And indeed these examples show how important it is that young people should receive a liberal and virtuous education, and the great benefit they derive from associating and corresponding early with persons of merit; for these were the foundations whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But above all, how noble an example for our age, in which the most inconsiderable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animosities between brothers and sisters, and disturb

* Pausan. in Arcad. l. viii. p. 505.

the peace of families, is the generous disinterestedness of Scipio, who, whenever he had an opportunity of serving his relations, took a delight in bestowing the largest sums upon them! This excellent passage of Polybius had escaped me, by its not being inserted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs indeed naturally to the book where, treating of the taste with regard to solid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the ancients held riches, and the excellent use they made of them. I therefore thought myself indispensably obliged to restore, on this occasion, to young students, what I afterwards could not but blame myself for omitting.

THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY AND POSTERITY OF MASINISSA.

I PROMISED, after finishing what related to the republic of Carthage to return to the family and posterity of Masinissa. This piece of history forms a considerable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my subject.

From Masinissa's having declared for the Romans in the time of the first Scipio, he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almost unparalleled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconsul of Africa, under whose standards the younger Scipio then fought, to desire that Roman might be sent to him; adding, that he should die with satisfaction, if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him executor to his will. But, believing that he should be dead before it could be possible for him to receive this consolation, he sent for his wife and children, and spoke to them as follows: "I know no nation but the Romans, and, among this nation no family but that of Scipio. I now, in my expiring moments, empower Scipio Æmilianus to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all my possessions, and to divide my kingdom among my children. I require, that whatever Scipio may decree, shall be executed as punctually as if I myself had appointed it by my will." After saying these words, he breathed his last, being upwards of ninety years of age.*

This prince, during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, having been dispossessed of his kingdom, obliged to fly from province to province, and a thousand times in danger of his life.† Being supported, says the historian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured, till his death, with a perpetual series of prosperity, unruffled by any unfortunate accident; for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax his enemy; and extending his kingdom from Mauritania as far as Cyrene, he became the most powerful prince of all Africa. He was blessed, till he left the world, with the greatest health and vigour, which was doubtless owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he perpetually sustained. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men,‡ and always rode without a saddle; and Palybius observes, a circumstance preserved by Plutarch,§ that a day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Masinissa was seen, sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread.

He left fifty-four sons, of whom three only were legitimate, viz. Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between these three, and gave considerable possessions to the rest; but the two last dying soon after, Micipsa became sole possessor of these extensive dominions. He had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, whom he educated in his palace with Jugurtha his nephew, Mastanabal's son, of whom he took as much care as he did of his own children.|| This last-mentioned prince possessed several eminent qualities, which gained him universal esteem. Jugurtha, who was finely shaped, and very handsome, of the most delicate wit and the most solid judgment, did not devote himself, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleasure. He used to exercise himself with persons of his age, in running, riding, and throwing the javelin; and though he surpassed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chase was his only delight, but it was that of lions and other savage beasts. To finish his character, he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of himself; *plurimum facere, et minimum ipse de se loqui.*¶

So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfections, began to excite the jealousy of Micipsa. He was himself in the decline of life, and his children very young. He knew the prodigious lengths which ambition is capable of going, when a crown is

* A. M. 3857. A. Rome, 601. App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. x. c. 2.

† Appian, p. 65.

‡ Cicero introduces Cato, speaking as follows of Masinissa's vigorous constitution: *Arbitror te audire, Scipio, hospes tuus Masinissa quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere; cum equo, ex equo non defendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capito operto sit; suam esse in eo corporis siccitatem. Itaque exequi omnia regis officia et munera.*—De Senectute.

§ An seni gerenda sit Resp. p. 791.

|| All this history of Jugurtha is extracted from Sallust.

¶ Appian, Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

in view; and that a man, with talents much inferior to those of Jugurtha, might be dazzled by so replendent a temptation, especially when united with such favourable circumstances.* In order, therefore, to remove a competitor, so dangerous with regard to his children, he gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he sent to the assistance of the Romans, who, at that time, were besieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio. Knowing Jugurtha was actuated by the most heroic bravery, he flattered himself that he probably would rush upon danger, and lose his life. In this, he was mistaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage, the utmost calmness of mind; preserving a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness, a circumstance very rarely found in persons of his age.† In this campaign, he won the esteem and friendship of the whole army. Scipio sent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the most advantageous testimonials of his conduct, after having given him very prudent advice with regard to it; for knowing mankind so well, he in all probability had discovered certain sparks of ambition in that prince, which he feared one day would break out in a flame.

Micipsa, pleased with the great character that was sent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him, and resolved if possible, to win his affection by kindness. Accordingly he adopted him; and by his will, made him joint-heir with his two sons. Finding afterwards his end approaching, he sent for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in the presence of his whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind how good he had been to him, conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect his children on all occasions; who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now become his brethren, by his (Micipsa's) bounty. He told him, that neither arms nor treasure constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are not won by arms nor gold, but by real services and inviolable fidelity.‡ Now where, says he, can we find better friends than our brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend on strangers? He exhorted his sons to pay the highest reverence to Jugurtha; and to have no contention with him, but in their endeavours to equal, and, if possible, surpass his exalted merit. He concluded with entreating them to observe for ever an inviolable attachment to the Romans; and to consider them as their benefactors, their patrons, and masters. A few days after this Micipsa expired.§

But Jugurtha soon threw off the mask; and began by ridding himself of Hiempsal, who had expressed himself to him with great freedom, by instigating his murder.|| This bloody action proved but too evidently to Adherbal, what he himself might naturally fear. Numidia was now divided, and sided severally with the two brothers. Mighty armies were raised by each party. Adherbal, after losing the greatest part of his fortresses, was vanquished in battle, and forced to make Rome his asylum. This however gave Jugurtha no great uneasiness, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city. He therefore sent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the chief senators. In the first audience to which they were introduced, Adherbal represented the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the injustice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murder of his brother, the loss of almost all his fortresses; but the circumstance on which he laid the greatest stress was, the commands of his dying father, viz. to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring, that the friendship of this people would be a stronger support both to himself and his kingdom, than all the troops and treasures in the universe. His speech was of great length, and extremely pathetic. Jugurtha's deputies made only the following answer; that Hiempsal had been killed by the Numidians, on account of his great cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggressor, and yet, after having been vanquished, was come to make complaints, because he had not committed all the excesses he desired; that their sovereign entreated the senate to judge of his behaviour and conduct in Africa, from what he had shown at Numantia; and to lay a greater stress on his actions, than on the accusations of his enemies. But these ambassadors had secretly employed an eloquence, much more prevalent than that of words, which had not proved ineffectual. The whole assembly was for Jugurtha, a few senators excepted, who were not so void of

* *Terreat eum natura mortalium avida imperii, et præceptum ad explendam animi cupidinem præterea opportunitas suæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros spe prædæ transversos agit.*—Sallust.

† *Ac sane, quod difficillimum imprimis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio; quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.*

‡ *Non exercitus, neque thesauri, præsidia regni sunt, verum amici; quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parere queas; officio et fide parantur. Quis autem amicior quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidem inveniat, si tuus hostis fuerit?*

§ *A. M. 3887. A. Rome, 631.*

|| *A. M. 3888. A. Rome, 622.*

honour as to be corrupted by money. The senate came to this resolution, that commissioners should be sent from Rome, to divide the provinces equally upon the spot between the two brothers. The reader will naturally suppose, that Jugurtha was not sparing of his treasure on this occasion; the division was made to his advantage, and yet a specious appearance of equity was preserved.

This first success of Jugurtha augmented his courage and assurance. He accordingly attacked his brother by open force; and while the latter lost his time in sending deputations to the Romans, he stormed several fortresses, carried on his conquests, and after defeating Adherbal, besieged him in Cirtha, the capital of his kingdom. During this interval, ambassadors arrived from Rome with orders, in the name of the senate and people, to the two kings, to lay down their arms, and cease all hostilities. Jugurtha, after protesting that he would obey, with the most profound reverence and submission, the commands of the Roman people, added, that he did not believe it was their intention, to hinder him from defending his own life against the treacherous snares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with saying, that he would send ambassadors forthwith to Rome, to inform the senate of his conduct. By this evasive answer he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait on Adherbal.

Though the latter was so closely blocked up in his capital, he yet found means to send to Rome, to implore the assistance of the Romans against his brother, who had besieged him five months, and intended to take away his life.* Some senators were of opinion, that war ought to be proclaimed immediately against Jugurtha; but still his influence prevailed, and the Romans only ordered an embassy to be sent, composed of senators of the highest distinction, among whom was Æmilius Scaurus, a factious man, who had a great influence over the nobility, and concealed the blackest vices under the specious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at first; but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly sent them back without coming to any conclusion. Upon this Adherbal, who had lost all hopes, surrendered upon condition of having his life spared; nevertheless he was immediately murdered, with a great number of Numidians.

Although the greatest part of the people at Rome were struck with horror at this news, Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the senate. But C. Memmius, a tribune of the people, an active man who hated the nobility, prevailed upon the former not to suffer so horrid a crime to go unpunished; and accordingly war being proclaimed against Jugurtha, Calpurnius Bestia, the consul, was appointed to carry it on. He was endued with excellent qualities, but they were all destroyed, and rendered useless by his avarice.† Scaurus set out with him. They at first took several towns; but Jugurtha's bribes checked the progress of these conquests; and Scaurus‡ himself, who, till now, had expressed the strongest animosity against this prince, could not resist so powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to submit to the Romans, and thirty elephants, some horses, with a very considerable sum of money, were delivered to the quæstor.§

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome displayed itself in the strongest manner. Memmius the tribune, fired them by his speeches. He caused Cassius who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha, and to engage him to come to Rome, under the guarantee of the Romans, in order that an inquiry might be made in his presence who those persons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly, Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The sight of him raised the anger of the people still higher, but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the session, and at last dissolved it. A Numidian prince, grandson of Masinissa, called Massiva, being at that time in the city, was advised to solicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which coming to the ears of the latter, he got him assassinated in the midst of Rome. However, the murderer was seized, and delivered up to the civil magistrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart from Italy. Upon leaving the city, he turned his eyes

* He chose two of the nimblest of those who had followed him into Cirtha; who, induced by the great rewards he promised them, and pitying his unhappy circumstances, undertook to pass through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighbouring shore, and from thence to Rome.—*Ex iis qui una Cirtham profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit: eos multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.*—Sallust.

† *Multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat.*

‡ *Magnitudine pecuniæ a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est.*

§ *A. M. 3894. A. Rome, 683. Ant. J. C. 110.*

several times towards it, and said, "Rome wants only a purchaser; and were one to be found, it were inevitably ruined."*

The war now recommenced. At first the indolence, or perhaps connivance, of Albinus the consul, caused it to progress very slowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the public assemblies,† the Roman army, by the unskilfulness of his brother Aulus, having marched into a defile from whence there was no getting out, surrendered ignominiously to the enemy, who forced the Romans to submit to the ceremony of passing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so shameful a peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was considered in a most odious light at Rome. They could flatter themselves with the hopes of being successful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the consul. To all the other virtues which constitute the great captain, he added a perfect disregard of wealth; a quality most essentially requisite against such an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money, than by the sword.‡ But the African monarch found Metellus as inaccessible in this as in all other respects. He therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmost bravery, through the deficiency of an expedient which now began to fail him. He accordingly signalized himself in a surprising manner; and showed in this campaign, all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of an illustrious general, to whom despair adds new vigour, and suggests new views: he was, however, unsuccessful, because opposed by a consul who did not suffer the most inconsiderable error to escape him, nor ever let slip an opportunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's greatest concern was, how to secure himself from traitors. From the time he had been told that Bomilcar, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, had a design upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himself safe any where: but all things, by day, as well as night, the citizen as well as foreigner, were suspected by him; and the blackest terrors sat for ever brooding over his mind. He never got any sleep, except by stealth; and often changed his bed, in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting sometimes from his slumbers, he would snatch his sword, and break into loud cries; so strongly was he haunted by fear, and so strangely did he act the madman.

Marius was lieutenant of Metellus. His boundless ambition induced him to endeavour secretly to lessen this general's character, in the minds of his soldiers; and becoming soon his professed enemy and slanderer, he at last, by the most grovelling and perfidious arts prevailed so far as to supplant Metellus, and get himself nominated in his place, to carry on the war against Jugurtha. With whatever strength of mind Metellus might be endued on other occasions, he was totally dejected by this unforeseen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and such expressions as were altogether unworthy so great a man.§ There was something very dark and vile in this procedure of Marius; a circumstance that displays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and shows that it extinguishes, in those who abandon themselves to it, all sense of honour and integrity. Metellus avoided a man whose sight he could not bear, arrived in Rome, and was received there with universal acclamations. A triumph was decreed him, and the surname of Numidicus conferred upon him.||

I thought it would be proper to suspend, till I came to the Roman history, an account of the events that happened in Africa under Metellus and Marius, all which are very circumstantially described by Sallust, in his admirable history of Jugurtha. I therefore hasten to the conclusion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly distressed in his affairs, had recourse to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the shores of the Mediterranean, opposite to Spain.¶ The Roman name was scarcely known in it, and the people as little known to the Romans. Ju-

* Postquam Roma egressus est, fertur sæpe tacitus eo respiciens, postremo dixisse. Urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.

† For electing magistrates.—Sal.

‡ I 2 Numidian proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter artes bonas, tum maxime quod adversum divitias invictum animum gerebat.

§ Quibus rebus supra bonum atque honestum percussus, neque lacrymas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati.

|| A. M. 3898. A. Rome, 642.

¶ Now comprehending Fez, Morocco, &c.

Jugurtha insinuated to his father-in-law, that should he suffer Numidia to be conquered, his kingdom would doubtless be involved in its ruin: especially, as the Romans, who were sworn enemies to monarchy, seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. He therefore prevailed upon Bocchus to enter in to a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occasions, very considerable succours from the king.

This confederacy, which was strengthened on either side by no other tie than that of interest, had never been close, and a late defeat which Jugurtha met with, broke at once all the bands of it. Bocchus now meditated the dark design of delivering up his son-in-law to the Romans. For this purpose he had desired Marius to send him a trusty person. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and served under him as quæstor, was thought every way qualified for this negotiation. He was not afraid to put himself into the hands of the barbarian king; and accordingly set out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus, who, like the rest of his countrymen, did not pride himself in sincerity, was for ever projecting new designs, debated within himself, whether it would not be his interest to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and between contrary opinions: and the sudden changes which displayed themselves in his countenance, in his air, and his whole person, showed evidently how strong his mind was affected. At length, returning to his first design, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was sent immediately to Marius.

Sylla, says Plutarch,* acted on this occasion like a young man fired with a strong thirst of glory, the sweets of which he had just begun to taste. Instead of ascribing to the general under whom he fought all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim, he reserved the greatest part of it to himself, and had a ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was represented receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus; and this ring he used ever after as his signet. But Marius was so highly exasperated at this kind of insult, that he could never forgive him; a circumstance that gave rise to the implacable hatred between these two Romans, which afterwards broke out with so much fury, and cost the republic so much blood.†

Marius entered Rome in triumph, exhibiting such a spectacle to the Romans, as they could scarce believe they saw, when it passed before their eyes; I mean, Jugurtha in chains; that so formidable an enemy, during whose life they could not flatter themselves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war; so well was his courage sustained by stratagem and artifice, and his genius so fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were most desperate.‡ We are told, that Jugurtha ran distracted, as he proceeded in the triumph; that after the ceremony was ended, he was thrown into prison; and that the lictors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition, he was cast, quite naked, and in the utmost terrors, into a deep dungeon, where he spent six days in struggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a strong desire of life to his last gasp: an end, continues Plutarch, worthy of his wicked deeds; Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greatest crimes might be committed to satiate his ambition, ingratitude, perfidy, black treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

Juba, king of Mauritania, reflected so much honour on polite literature and the sciences, that I could not without impropriety omit him in the history of Masinissa, to whom his father, who also was named Juba, was great-grandson, and grandson of Gulussa. The elder Juba, signalized himself in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter hero. He slew himself after the battle of Thapsus, in which his forces, and those of Scipio, were entirely defeated. Juba, his son, then a child, was delivered up to the conqueror, and was one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from history, that a noble education was bestowed upon Juba in Rome, where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards enabled him to rival the most learned Grecians. He did not leave that city till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. Augustus restored them to him, when by the death of Mark Antony, the provinces

* Οἷα τίς τις φιλότιμος ἔρτι δόξης γογγυμένος, οὐκ ἤνεγκε μίτητος τὸ εὐτυχίην.—Plut. Præcep. Reip. Gerend. p^o 506.

† Plut. in Vit. Marii.

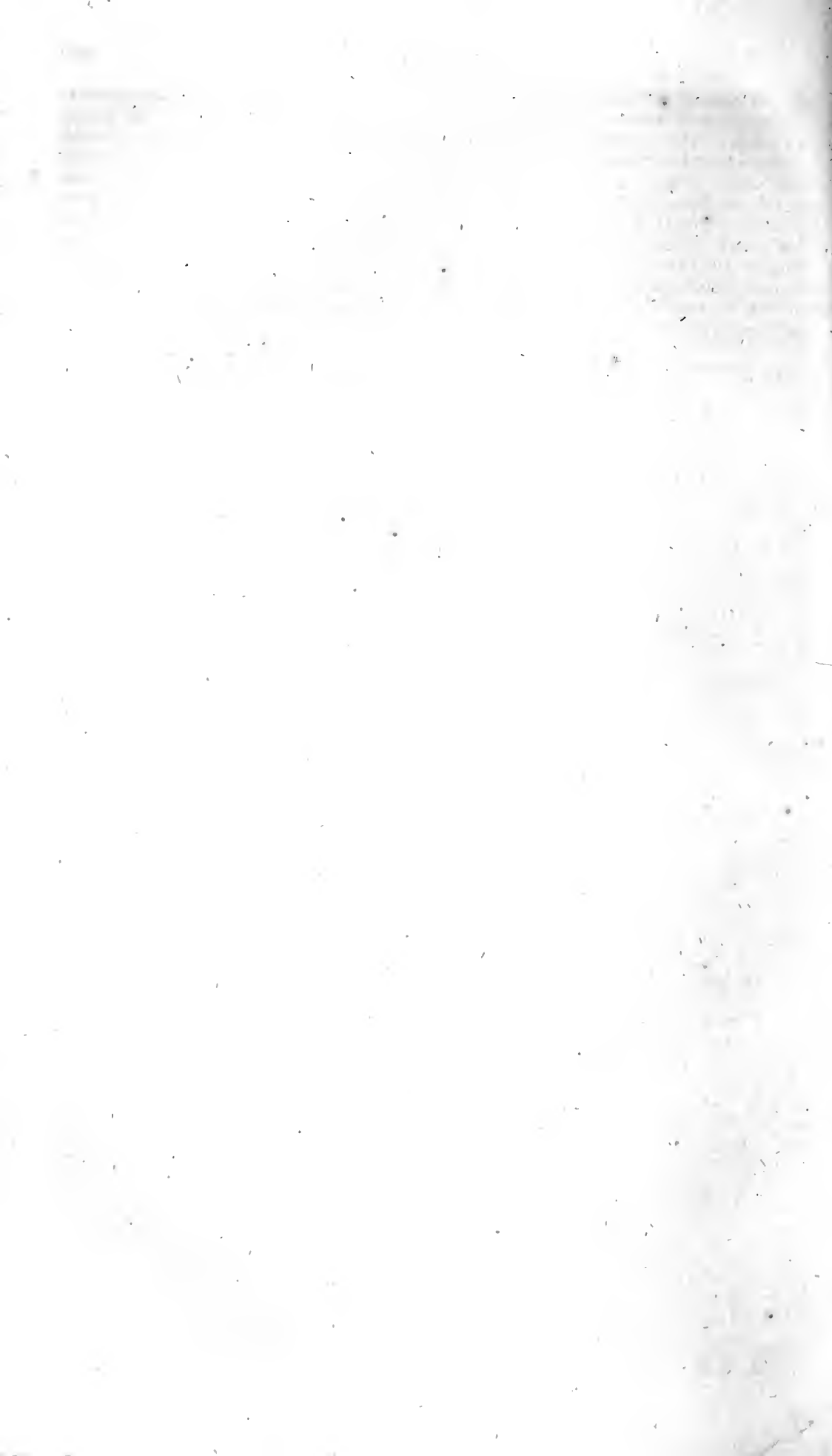
‡ A. M. 3901. A. Rome, 645. Ant. J. C. 103.—Plaut. Ibid.

of the empire were absolutely at his disposal.* Juba, by the lenity of his government, gained the hearts of all his subjects: who, out of a grateful sense of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Pausanias speaks of a statue which the Athenians erected to his honour. It was indeed just, that a city, which had been consecrated in all ages to the muses, should give public testimonies of its esteem for a king who made so bright a figure among the learned. Suidas ascribes several works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant.† He had written the history of Arabia; the antiquities of Assyria, and those of the Romans; the history of theatres, of painting, and painters; of the nature and properties of different animals, and of grammar, &c. a catalogue of all which is given in Abbé Sevin's short dissertations on the life and works of the younger Juba,‡ whence I have extracted these few particulars.

* A. M. 3974. A. Rome, 719. Ant. J. C. 30.

† In voce 16525.

‡ Vol. IV. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 457.



BOOK THIRD.

THE HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS.

PLAN.

This book will contain the history of the Assyrian empire, both of Nineveh and Babylon, the kingdom of the Medes, and the kingdom of the Lydians.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST EMPIRE OF THE ASSYRIANS.

SECTION I.—DURATION OF THAT EMPIRE.

THE Assyrian empire was undoubtedly one of the most powerful in the world. With respect to its duration, two opinions have chiefly prevailed. Some authors, as Ctesias, whose opinion is followed by Justin, give it a duration of thirteen hundred years; others reduce it to five hundred and twenty, of which number is Herodotus. The diminution, or probably the interruption of power, which happened in this vast empire, might possibly give occasion to this difference of opinion, and may perhaps serve in some measure to reconcile it.

The history of those early times is so obscure, the monuments which convey it down to us so contrary to each other, and the systems of the moderns upon that matter so different, that it is difficult to lay down any opinion about it, as certain and incontestable.* But, where certainty is not to be had, I suppose a reasonable person will be satisfied with probability; and, in my opinion, a man can hardly be deceived, if he makes the Assyrian empire equal in antiquity with the city of Babylon, its capital. Now we learn from the Holy Scripture, that this was built by Nimrod, who certainly was a great conqueror, and in all probability, the first and most ancient that ever aspired after that denomination.

The Babylonians, as Callisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's retinue, wrote to Aristotle, reckoned themselves to be at least of 1903 years' standing, when that prince entered triumphant into Babylon; which carries their origin as far back as the year of the world 1771, that is to say, 115 years after the deluge.† This computation comes within a few years of the time we suppose Nimrod to have founded that city. Indeed this testimony of Callisthenes, as it does not agree with any other accounts of that matter, is not esteemed authentic by the learned; but the conformity we find between it and the Holy Scripture should make us regard it.

Upon these grounds, I think we may allow Nimrod to have been the founder of the first Assyrian empire, which subsisted, with more or less extent and glory, upwards of 1450 years, from the time of Nimrod to that of Sardanapalus, the last king; that is to say, from the year of the world 1800 to the year 3257.‡

Nimrod.§ He is the same with Belus,|| who was afterwards worshipped as a god, under that appellation.

He was the son of Chus, grandson of Cham, and great-grandson of Noah. He was, says the Scripture, *a mighty hunter before the Lord.*¶ In applying himself to

* They that are curious to make deeper researches into this matter, may read the dissertations of abbé Bannier, and Mr. Freret, upon the Assyrian empire, in the memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres. For the first, see Vol. III. and for the other, Vol. V. as also what father Tournemine has written upon this subject, in his edition of Menochius.

† Porphyry, apud Simplicius, in lib. ii. de Cælo.

‡ Here I depart from the opinion of Bishop Usher, my ordinary guide, with respect to the duration of the Assyrian empire, which he supposes, with Herodotus, to have lasted but 520 years; but the time when Nimrod lived, and Sardanapalus died, I take from him.

§ A. M. 1800. Ant. J. C. 2204.

|| Belus, or Baal, signifies Lord.

¶ Gen. x. 9.

this laborious and dangerous exercise, he had two things in view; the first was to gain the people's affection, by delivering them from the fury and dread of wild beasts; the next was, to train up numbers of young people, by this exercise of hunting, to endure labour and hardship, to form them to the use of arms, to inure them to a kind of discipline and obedience, that at a proper time after they had been accustomed to his orders, and habituated to arms, he might make use of them for other purposes more serious than hunting.

In ancient history we find some footsteps remaining of this artifice of Nimrod, whom the writers have confounded with Ninus, his son: for Diodorus has these words; "Ninus, the most ancient of the Assyrian kings mentioned in history, performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike disposition, and ambitious of glory which results from valour, he armed a considerable number of young men, that were brave and vigorous like himself; trained them up a long time in laborious exercises and hardships, and by that means accustomed them to bear the fatigues of war patiently, and to face dangers with courage and intrepidity."*

What the same author adds, that Ninus entered into an alliance with the king of the Arabs, and joined forces with him, is taken from ancient tradition, which informs us, that the sons of Chus, the brothers of Nimrod, all settled themselves in Arabia, along the Persian gulf, from Havila to the ocean, and lived near enough their brother to lend him succours, or to receive them from him. And what the same historian further says of Ninus, that he was the first king of the Assyrians, agrees exactly with what the Scripture says of Nimrod, *that he began to be mighty upon the earth*; that is, he procured himself settlements, built cities, subdued his neighbours, united different people under one and the same authority, by the band of the same polity and the same laws, and formed them into one state, which for those early times was of a considerable extent, though bounded by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and which in succeeding ages made new acquisitions by degrees, and at length extended its conquests very far.†

The capital city of his kingdom, says the Scripture, *was Babylon*.‡ Most of the profane historians, ascribe the founding of Babylon to Semiramis,§ the rest to Belus. It is evident that both the one and the other are mistaken, if they speak of the first founding of that city; for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis, nor to Nimrod, but to the foolish vanity of those persons mentioned in Scripture,|| who desired to build a tower and a city, that should render their memory immortal.

Josephus relates, upon the testimony of a Sibyl, which must have been very ancient, and whose fictions cannot be imputed to the indiscreet zeal of any Christians, that the gods threw down the tower by an impetuous wind, or a violent hurricane.¶ Had this been the case, Nimrod's temerity must have been still the greater, to rebuild a city and a tower, which God himself had overthrown with such marks of his displeasure. But the Scripture says no such thing; and it is very probable the building remained in the condition it was when God put an end to the work by the confusion of languages; and that the tower consecrated to Belus, which is described by Herodotus,** was this very tower which the sons of men pretended to raise to the clouds.

It is also probable, that this ridiculous design being defeated by such an astonishing prodigy as none could be the author of but God himself, every body abandoned the place which had given him offence; and that Nimrod was the first who encompassed it afterwards with walls, settled therein his friends and confederates, and subdued those that lived round about it, beginning his empire, in that place, but not confining it to so narrow a compass; *Fuit principium regni ejus Babylon*. The other cities which the Scripture speaks of in the same place, were in the land of Shinar, which was certainly the province of which Babylon became the metropolis.

From this country he went into that which has the name of Assyria, and there built Nineveh: *De terra illa egressus est Assur, et edificavit Nineveh*.†† This is the sense in which many learned men understand the word Assur, looking upon it as the name of a province, and not of the first man who possessed it; as if it were, *egressus est in Assur, in Assyriam*. And this seems to be the most natural construction, for many reasons not necessary to be recited in this place. The country of Assyria, in one of

* Lib. ii. p. 90.

† Ibid.

‡ Gen. x. 10.

Semiramis eam considerat, vel, ut plerique tradidere, Belus, ejus regia ostenditur.—Q. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

|| Gen. xi. 4.

¶ Hist. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

** Lib. ii. c. 181.

†† Gen. x. 11.

the prophets,* is described by the particular character of being the land of Nimrod: *Et pascent terram Assur in gladio, et terram Nimrod in lanceis ejus; et liberabit ab Assur, cum venerit in terram nostram.* It derived its name from Assur the son of Shem, who without doubt had settled himself and family there, and was probably driven out, or brought under subjection, by the usurper Nimrod.

This conquerer, having possessed himself of the provinces of Assur, † did not ravage them, like a tyrant, but filled them with cities, and made himself as much beloved by his new subjects as he was by his old ones; so that the historians, ‡ who have not sufficiently examined this affair, have thought that he made use of the Assyrians to conquer the Babylonians. Among other cities, he built one larger and more magnificent than the rest, which he called Nineveh, from the name of his son Ninus, in order to immortalize his memory. The son, in his turn, out of veneration for his father, was willing that they who had served him as their king should adore him as their god, and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears plainly, that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions, and who showed others the way to that sort of immortality which may result from human accomplishments.

I intend to speak of the mighty strength and greatness of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, under the kings to whom their building is ascribed by profane authors, because the Scripture says little or nothing on that subject. This silence of Scripture, so little satisfactory to our curiosity, may become an instructive lesson for our piety. The holy penman has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were in one view before us; and seems to have put them so near together, on purpose that we should see an example in the former, of what is admired and coveted by men; and in the latter, of what is acceptable and well-pleasing to God. § These two persons, so unlike each other, are the two first and chief citizens of two different cities, built from different motives, and with different principles; the one self-love, and a desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the Deity; the other, the love of God, even to self-humiliation.

NINUS. I have already observed, that most of the profane authors look upon him as the first founder of the Assyrian empire, and for that reason ascribe to him a great part of his father Nimrod's or Belus's actions.

Having a design to enlarge his conquests, the first thing he did was to prepare troops and officers capable of promoting his designs. And having received powerful succours from the Arabians, his neighbours, he took the field, and in the space of seventeen years conquered a vast extent of country, from Egypt, as far as India and Bactriana, which he did not then venture to attack. ||

At his return, before he entered upon any new conquests, he conceived the design of immortalizing his name by the building of a city answerable to the greatness of his power; he called it Nineveh, and built it on the eastern banks of the Tigris. ¶ Possibly he did no more than finish the work his father had begun. His design, says Diodorus, was to make Nineveh the largest and noblest city in the world, and not leave it in the power of those that came after him, ever to build, or hope to build, such another. Nor was he deceived in his view, for never did any city rival the greatness and magnificence of this: it was one hundred and fifty stadia, or eighteen miles and three quarters in length, and ninety stadia, or eleven miles and one quarter in breadth; and consequently was an oblong square. Its circumference was four hundred and eighty stadia, or sixty miles. For this reason we find, it said in the prophet Jonah, *that Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey,*** which is to be understood of the whole circuit or compass of the city. †† The walls of it were a hundred feet high, and of such a thickness, that three chariots might go abreast upon them with ease. They were fortified and adorned with fifteen hundred towers two hundred feet high.

After he had finished this prodigious work, he resumed his expedition against the Bactrians. His army, according to the relation of Ctesias, consisted of seventeen

* Mic. v. 6.

† Gen. x. 11, 12.

‡ Dio. l. ii. p. 90.

§ *Fecerunt civitates quas amores duo: terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei, cælestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui.*—St. Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. xiv. c. 28.

|| Dio. l. ii. p. 90—95.

¶ Diodorus says, it was on the banks of the Euphrates, and speaks of it as if it was so, in many places; but he is mistaken.

** Jonah, iii. 3.

†† It is hard to believe, that Diodorus does not speak of the magnitude of Nineveh with some exaggeration: therefore, some learned men have reduced the stadium to little more than one half, and reckon fifteen of them to the Roman mile, instead of eight.

hundred thousand foot, two hundred thousand horse, and about sixteen thousand chariots, armed with scythes. Diodorus adds, that this ought not to appear incredible, since, not to mention the innumerable armies of Darius and Xerxes, the single city of Syracuse, in the time of Dionysius the tyrant, furnished one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, besides four hundred vessels well equipped and provided. And a little before Hannibal's time, Italy, including the citziens and allies, was able to send into the field nearly a million of men. Ninus made himself master of a great number of cities, and at last laid siege to Bactria, the capital of the country. Here he would probably have seen all his attempts miscarry, had it not been for the diligence and assistance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of an uncommon courage, and particularly exempted from the weakness of her sex. She was born at Ascalon, a city of Syria. I think it needless to recite the account Diodorus gives of her birth, and of the miraculous manner of her being nursed and brought up by pigeons, since that historian himself looks upon it only as a fabulous story. It was Semiramis that directed Ninus how to attack the citadel, and by her means he took it, and then became master of the city, in which he found an immense treasure. The husband of this lady having killed himself to prevent the effects of the king's threats and indignation, who had conceived a violent passion for his wife, Ninus married Semiramis.

After his return to Nineveh, he had a son by her, whom he called Ninyas. Not long after this he died, and left the queen the government of the kingdom. She in honour of his memory, erected him a magnificent monument, which remained a long time after the ruin of Nineveh.

I find no appearance of truth in what some authors relate concerning the manner of Semiramis's coming to the throne. According to them, having secured the chief men of the state, and attached them to her interest by her benefactions and promises, she solicited the king with great importunity to put the sovereign power into her hands for the space of five days. He yielded to her entreaties, and all the provinces of the empire were commanded to obey Semiramis. These orders were executed but too exactly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death, either immediately, or after some years' imprisonment.*

SEMIRAMIS. This princess applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name, and to cover the meanness of her extraction by the greatness of her deeds and enterprises.† She proposed to herself to surpass all her predecessors in magnificence, and to that end she undertook the building of the mighty Babylon,‡ in which work she employed two million of men, who were collected out of all the provinces of her vast empire. Some of her successors endeavoured to adorn that city with new works and embellishments. I shall here speak of them altogether, in order to give the reader a more clear and distinct idea of that stupendous city.

The principal works, which rendered Babylon so famous, were the walls of the city; the quays and the bridges; the lake, banks, and canals made for the draining of the river; the palaces, hanging gardens, and the temple of Belus; works of such surprising magnificence, as is scarcely to be comprehended. Dr. Prideaux having treated this matter with great extent and learning, I have only to copy, or rather abridge them.

I. THE WALLS.

BABYLON stood on a large flat or plain, in a very rich and deep soil.§ The walls were every way prodigious. They were eighty-seven feet thick, three hundred and fifty feet high, and four hundred and eighty furlongs, or sixty of our miles in circumference. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact square, each side of which was one hundred and twenty furlongs,|| or fifteen miles in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth in that country, which binds in building much stronger and firmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the bricks or stones themselves, which it cements together.

These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch, full of water, and

* Plut. in Mor. p. 753.

† Dioid. l. ii. p. 95.

‡ We are not to wonder, if we find the founding of a city ascribed to different persons. It is common, even among profane writers, to say, such a prince built such a city, whether he was the person that first founded it, or that only embellished or enlarged it.

§ Her. l. j. c. 178, 130. Dioid. l. ii. p. 95, 96. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

|| I relate things as I find them in the ancient authors, which Dean Prideaux has also done; but I cannot help believing that great abatements are to be made in what they say as to the immense extent of Babylon and Nineveh.

lined with bricks on both sides. The earth that was dug out of it, was made into the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore, from the vast height and breadth of the walls, may be inferred the greatness of the ditch.

On every side of this great square were twenty-five gates, that is, a hundred in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promised to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him, *That he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass.** Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side; every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates in each side of this great square extended twenty-five streets, in straight lines to the gates, which were directly over against them, in the opposite side; so that the whole number of the streets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, twenty-five of which passed one way, and twenty-five the other, crossing each other at right angles. And besides these, there were also four half streets, which had houses only on one side, and the wall on the other; these went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them two hundred feet broad; the rest were about a hundred and fifty. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was divided into six hundred and seventy-six squares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. Round these squares, on every side towards the streets, stood the houses, which were not contiguous, but had void spaces between them, all built three or four stories high, and embellished with all manner of ornaments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was likewise all vacant ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses; so that Babylon was greater in appearance than reality, nearly one half of the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Q. Curtius.†

II. THE QUAYS AND BRIDGE.

A BRANCH of the river Euphrates ran quite across the city, from the north to the south side; on each side of the river was a quay, and a high wall, built of brick and bitumen, of the same thickness as the walls that went round the city. In these walls, opposite to every street that led to the river, were gates of brass, and from them descents by steps to the river, for the convenience of the inhabitants, who used to pass over from one side to the other in boats, having no other way of crossing the river before the building of the bridge. These brazen gates were always open in the daytime, and shut in the night.‡

The bridge was not inferior to any of the other buildings either in beauty or magnificence; it was a furlong in length, and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was sandy.§ The arches were made of huge stones, fastened together with chains of iron and melted lead. Before they began to build the bridge, they turned the course of the river, and laid its channel dry, having another view in so doing besides that of laying the foundations more commodiously, as I shall hereafter explain. And as every thing was prepared beforehand, both the bridge and the quays, which I have already described, were built in that interval.

III. THE LAKE, DITCHES, AND CANALS MADE FOR THE DRAINING OF THE RIVER.

THESE works, objects of admiration for the skilful in all ages, were still more useful than magnificent. In the beginning of the summer, the melting of the snow upon the mountains of Armenia, causes a vast increase of waters, which running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July, and August, makes it overflow its banks, and occasions such another inundation as the Nile does in Egypt.||

To prevent the damage which both the city and country received from these inundations, at a very considerable distance above the town, two artificial canals were cut, which turned the course of these waters into the Tigris before they reached Babylon.¶ And to secure the country yet more from the danger of inundations, and to keep the

* Isa. xlv. 3.

† Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

‡ Her. l. i. c. 180, 186. Diod. l. ii. p. 96.

§ Diodorus says this bridge was five furlongs in length, which can hardly be true, since the Euphrates was but one furlong broad.—Strab. l. xvi. p. 768.

|| Strab. l. xvi. p. 740. Plin. l. v. c. 26.

¶ Abyd. ap. Eus. Præp. Evang. l. ix.

river within its channel, they raised prodigious artificial banks on both sides the river, built with brick, cemented with bitumen, which began at the head of the artificial canals, and extended below the city.*

To facilitate the making of these works, it was necessary to turn the course of the river another way; for which purpose, to the west of Babylon, was dug a prodigious artificial lake, forty miles square,† one hundred and sixty in compass, and thirty-five feet deep according to Herodotus, and seventy-five feet according to Megasthenes. Into this lake the whole river was turned by an artificial canal, cut from the west side of it, till the whole work was finished, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates, in the time of its increase, might not overflow the city through the gates on its sides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was still preserved. The water received into the lake at the time of these overflowings, was kept there all the year, as in a common reservoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices at convenient times for watering the lands below it. The lake, therefore, was equally useful in securing the country from inundations, and rendering it fertile. I relate the wonders of Babylon as they are delivered down to us by the ancients, but there are some of them which are scarcely to be comprehended or believed, of which number is the lake I have described. I mean with respect to its vast extent.

Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius made Nebuchadnezzar the author of most of these works; but Herodotus ascribes the bridge, the two quays of the river, and the lake, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. Perhaps Nitocris might only finish what her father left imperfect at his death, on which account that historian might give her the honour of the whole undertaking.

IV. THE PALACES AND THE HANGING GARDENS.

At the two ends of the bridges were two palaces, which had a communication with each other by a vault, built under the channel of the river at the time of its being dry.‡ The old palace, which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs, or three miles and three quarters, in compass; near which stood the temple of Belus, of which we shall soon speak. The new palace which stood on the west side of the river, opposite to the other, was sixty furlongs, or seven miles and a half, in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, with considerable spaces between them. These walls, as also those of the other palace, were embellished with an infinite variety of sculptures, representing all kinds of animals to the life. Among them was a curious hunting-piece, in which Semiramis, on horseback, was throwing her javelin at a leopard, and her husband Ninus piercing a lion.

In this last, or new palace, were the hanging gardens, so celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a square of four plethra, that is, of four hundred feet, on every side, and were carried aloft into the air, in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the height equalled that of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches, raised upon other arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall twenty-two feet thick, surrounding it on every side. On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long, and four broad; over these was a layer of reeds, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaister. The whole was covered with thick sheets of lead, upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this flooring was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running through the arches. The mould, or earth, laid here, was so deep, that the greatest trees might take root in it; and with such the terraces were covered, as well as with all other plants and flowers that were proper for a garden of pleasure. In the upper terrace there was an engine, or kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which this whole structure rested, were large and magnificent apartments, that were very light, and had the advantage of a beautiful prospect.§

* Abyd. ib. Her. l. i. c. 185.

† The author follows Herodotus, who makes it four hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifty-two miles square; but I choose to follow Dean Prideaux, who in that prefers the account of Megasthenes.

‡ Diod. l. ii. p. 96, 97.

§ Diod. p. 98, 99. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media, (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country,) was highly pleased with the mountains and woody parts of that country. And as she desired to have something like it in Babylon, Nebuchodonosor, to gratify her, caused this prodigious edifice to be erected.* Diodorus gives much the same account of the matter, but without naming the persons.

V. THE TEMPLE OF BELUS.

ANOTHER of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus, which stood, as I have mentioned already, near the old palace.† It was most remarkable for a prodigious tower that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, half a mile in the whole compass; and, according to Strabo, it was also a furlong in height. It consisted of eight towers, built one above the other; and because it decreased gradually to the top, Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. It is not only asserted, but proved, that this tower far exceeded the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt in height. Therefore we have good reason to believe, as Bochartus asserts, that this is the very same tower which was built there at the confusion of languages, and the rather, because it is attested by several profane authors, that this tower was entirely built of bricks and bitumen, as the Scripture says the tower of Babel was. The ascent to the top was by stairs round the outside of it; that is, perhaps, there was an easy sloping ascent in the side of the outer wall, which turning by very slow degrees in a spiral line eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the same appearance as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In these different stories were many large rooms, with arched roofs supported by pillars. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an observatory, by means of which the Babylonians became more expert in astronomy than all other nations, and made in a short time the great progress in it ascribed to them in history.‡

But the chief use to which this tower was designed, was the worship of the god Belus, or Baal, as also that of several other deities: for which reason there was a multitude of chapels in the different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in statues, tables, censers, cups, and other sacred vessels, all of massy gold, were immense. Among other images, there was one of forty feet high, which weighed a thousand Babylonish talents. The Babylonish talent, according to Pollux, in his *Onomasticon*, contained seven thousand Attic drachmas, and consequently was a sixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but six thousand drachmas.

According to the calculation which Diodorus makes of the riches contained in this temple, the sum total amounts to six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold.

The sixth part of six thousand three hundred, is one thousand and fifty; consequently, six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold, are equivalent to seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold.

Now, seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of silver, are worth upwards of two millions and one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The proportion between gold and silver among the ancients, we reckon as ten to one; therefore, seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold amount to above one-and-twenty millions sterling.§

This temple stood till the time of Xerxes; but he on his return from his Grecian expedition, demolished it entirely, after having first plundered it of all its immense riches. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from the Indian expedition, purposed to have rebuilt it; and, in order thereto, set ten thousand men to work, to rid the place of its rubbish; but after they had laboured herein two months, Alexander died, and that put an end to the undertaking.||

Such were the chief works which rendered Babylon so famous. Some of them are ascribed by profane authors to Semiramis, to whose history it is now time to return.

When she had finished all these great undertakings, she thought proper to make a tour through the several parts of her empire; and, wherever she came, left monu-

* Beros. ap. Jos. con. App. l. i. c. 6.

† Herod. l. i. c. 181. Diod. l. ii. p. 98: Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738.

‡ Phal. part. I. l. i. c. 9.

§ 893,240,000.

|| Herod. l. i. c. 183. Strabo, l. xv. p. 738. Arrian. l. vii. p. 480

ments of her magnificence, by many noble structures which she erected, either for the convenience or ornament of her cities; she applied herself particularly to have water brought by aqueducts to such places as wanted it, and to make the highway easy, by cutting through mountains, and filling up valleys. In the time of Diodorus, there were still monuments to be seen in many places, with her name inscribed upon them.*

The authority this queen had over her people seems very extraordinary, since we find her presence alone capable of appeasing a sedition.† One day, as she was dressing herself, word was brought her of a tumult in the city. Whereupon she went out immediately, with her head half dressed, and did not return till the disturbance was entirely appeased. A statue was erected in remembrance of this action, representing her in that very condition and undress, which had not hindered her from flying to her duty.

Not satisfied with the vast extent of dominions left her by her husband, she enlarged them by the conquest of a great part of Æthiopia. While she was in that country, she had the curiosity to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to inquire of the oracle how long she had to live. According to Diodorus, the answer she received was, that she should not die till her son Ninyas conspired against her; and that after her death, one part of Asia would pay her divine honours.

Her greatest and last expedition was against India. On this occasion she raised an innumerable army out of all the provinces of her empire, and appointed Bactra for the rendezvous. As the strength of the Indians consisted chiefly in their great number of elephants, this artful queen had a multitude of camels accoutred in the form of elephants, in hopes of deceiving the enemy. It is said that Perseus long after used the same stratagem against the Romans, but neither of them succeeded in this design. The Indian king, having notice of her approach, sent ambassadors to ask her who she was, and with what right, having never received any injury from him, she came wantonly to attack his dominions; adding, that her boldness should soon meet with the punishment it deserved. Tell your master, replied the queen, that in a little time I myself will let him know who I am. She advanced immediately towards the river‡ from which the country takes its name; and having prepared a sufficient number of boats, she attempted to pass it with her army. Their passage was a long time disputed, but after a bloody battle, she put her enemies to flight. More than a thousand of their boats were sunk, and above a hundred thousand of their men taken prisoners. Encouraged by this success, she advanced directly into the country, leaving sixty thousand men behind to guard the bridge of boats which she had built over the river. This was just what the king desired, who fled on purpose to bring her to an engagement in the heart of his country. As soon as he thought her far enough advanced, he faced about, and a second engagement ensued, more bloody than the first. The disguised camels could not long sustain the shock of the elephants, which routed her army, crushing whatever came in their way. Semiramis did all that could be done to rally and encourage her troops, but in vain. The king, perceiving her engaged in the fight, advanced towards her, and wounded her in two places, but not mortally. The swiftness of her horse soon carried her beyond the reach of her enemies. As her men crowded to the bridge, to repass the river, great numbers of them perished, through the disorder and confusion unavoidable on such occasions. When those that could save themselves were safely over, she destroyed the bridge, and by that means stopped the enemy, and the king likewise, in obedience to an oracle, had given orders to his troops not to pass the river, nor pursue Semiramis any farther. The queen, having made an exchange of prisoners at Bactra, returned to her own dominions with scarcely one third of her army, which, according to Ctasiar, consisted of three hundred thousand foot, and fifty thousand horse, besides the camels and chariots armed for war, of which she had a very considerable number. She, and Alexander after her, were the only persons that ever ventured to carry the war beyond the river Indus.

I must own I am somewhat puzzled with a difficulty which may be raised against the extraordinary things related of Ninus and Semiramis, as they do not seem to agree with the times so near the deluge; such vast armies, I mean, such a numerous cavalry, so many chariots armed with scythes, and such immense treasures of gold and silver, all which seem to be of a later date. The same thing may likewise be

* Diod. l. ii. p. 60—103.

† Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 3.

‡ Indus.

said of the magnificence of the buildings ascribed to them. It is probable the Greek historians, who came so many ages afterwards, deceived by the similarity of names, through their ignorance in chronology, and the resemblance of one event to another, may have ascribed to more ancient princes, such acts as belonged to those of a later date; or may have attributed a number of exploits and enterprises to one, which ought to be divided among a series of them, succeeding one another.

Semiramis, some time after her return, discovered that her son was plotting against her, and one of her principal officers had offered him assistance. She then called to mind the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, and believing that her end approached, without inflicting any punishment on the officer, who was taken into custody, she voluntarily abdicated the throne, put the government into the hands of her son, and withdrew from the sight of men, hoping speedily to have divine honours paid to her, according to the promise of the oracle. And indeed we are told she was worshipped by the Assyrians under the form of a dove. She lived sixty-two years, of which she reigned forty-two.

There are in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, two learned dissertations upon the Assyrian empire, and particularly on the reign and actions of Semiramis.*

What Justin† says of Semiramis, namely, that after her husband's decease, not daring either to commit the government to her son, who was then too young, or openly to take it upon herself, she governed under the name and authority of Ninyas; and that, after having reigned in that manner more than forty years, falling passionately in love with her own son, she endeavoured to bring him to a criminal compliance, and was slain by him; all this is so void of every appearance of truth, that to undertake to confute it, would be but losing time. It must, however, be owned, that almost all the authors who have spoken of Semiramis, give us but a disadvantageous idea of her chastity.

I do not know but the glorious reign of this queen, might partly induce Plato‡ to maintain in his commonwealth, that woman, as well as men, should be admitted into the management of public affairs, the conducting of armies, and the government of states; and, by necessary consequence, ought to be trained up in the same exercises as men, as well for the forming of the body as the mind. Nor does he so much as except those exercises, wherein it was customary to fight perfectly naked, alleging, that the virtue of the sex would be a sufficient covering for them.§

It is just matter of astonishment to find a philosopher so judicious in other respects, openly combating the most common and most natural maxims of modesty and decency, which virtues are the principal ornament of the sex, and insisting so strongly upon a principle, sufficiently confuted by the constant practice of all ages, and of almost all nations in the world.

Aristotle, wiser in this than his master, Plato, without doing the least injustice to the real merit and essential qualities of the sex, has with great judgment marked out the different ends to which man and woman are ordained, from the different qualities of body and mind wherewith they are endowed by the Author of Nature, who has given the one strength of body, and intrepidity of mind, to enable him to undergo the greatest hardships, and face the most imminent dangers; while the other, on the contrary, is of a weak and delicate constitution, accompanied with a natural softness and modest timidity, which render her more fit for a sedentary life, and dispose her to keep within the precincts of the house, to employ herself in a prudent and industrious economy.||

Xenophon is of the same opinion with Aristotle, and in order to set off the occupation of the wife, who confines herself within her house, agreeably compares her to the mother-bee, commonly called the queen of the bees, who alone governs and has the superintendance of the whole hive; who distributes all their employments, encourages their industry, presides over the building of their little cells, takes care of the nourishment and subsistence of her numerous family; regulates the quantity of honey appointed for that purpose, and at fixed and proper seasons sends abroad the new swarms in colonies to relieve and discharge the hive of its superfluous inhabitants. He remarks, with Aristotle, the difference of constitution and inclinations, designedly given by the Author of Nature to man and woman, to point out to each of them their proper and respective offices and functions.¶

* Vol. III. p. 313, &c.

† Lib. i. c. 2.

‡ Lib. v. de Rep. p. 451—457.

§ Ἐπίπλες ἄρετῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἰσχυρῶν. || De Cura Rei Fam. l. i. c. 3. ¶ De Administr. Dom. p. 839.

This allotment far from degrading or lessening the woman, is really for her advantage and honour, in confiding to her a kind of domestic empire and government, administered only by gentleness, reason, equity, and good nature; and in giving her frequent occasions to exert the most valuable and excellent qualities under the inestimable veil of modesty and submission. For it must ingenuously be owned, that at all times, and in all conditions, there have been women who by a real and solid merit, have distinguished themselves above their sex; as there have been innumerable instances of men; who by their defects have dishonoured theirs. But these are only particular cases, which form no rule, and which ought not to prevail against an establishment founded in nature, and prescribed by the Creator himself.

NINYAS. This prince was in no respect like those from whom he descended, and to whose throne he succeeded. Wholly intent upon his pleasures, he kept himself shut up in his palace, and seldom showed himself to his people. To keep them in their duty, he had always at Nineveh a certain number of regular troops, furnished every year from the several provinces of his empire, at the expiration of which term they were succeeded by the like number of other troops on the same conditions; the king placing a commander at the head of them, on whose fidelity he could depend. He made use of this method, that the officers might not have time to gain the affection of the soldiers, and so form any conspiracies against him.*

His successors for thirty generations followed his example, and even exceeded him in indolence. Their history is absolutely unknown, no vestige of it remaining.

In Abraham's time, the Scripture speaks of Amraphael, king of Sennaar, the country where Babylon was situated, who, with two other princes, followed Chedorlaomer, king of the Elamites, whose tributary he probably was, in the war carried on by the latter against five kings of the land of Canaan.†

It was under the government of these inactive princes, that Sesostris, king of Egypt, extended his conquests so far in the East. But as his power was of short duration, and not supported by his successors, the Assyrian empire soon returned to its former state.‡

Plato a curious observer of antiquities, makes the kingdom of Troy, in the time of Priam, dependent on the Assyrian empire. Ctesias says, that Teutamus, the twentieth king after Ninias, sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, at the time when the Assyrian empire had subsisted above a thousand years; which agrees exactly with the time wherein I have placed the foundation of that empire.§ But the silence of Homer concerning so mighty a people, and which must necessarily have been well known, renders this fact exceedingly doubtful. And it must be owned, that whatever relates to the times of the ancient history of the Assyrians is attended with great difficulties, into which my plan does not permit me to enter.

PUL. The Scripture informs us that Pul, king of Assyria, being come into the land of Israel, had a thousand talents of silver given him by Menahem, king of the ten tribes, to engage him to lend him assistance, and secure him on his throne.||

This Pul is supposed to be the king of Nineveh, who repented, with all his people at the preaching of Jonah.

He is also thought to be the father of Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians called, according to the custom of the eastern nations, Sardan-pul; that is to say Sardan the son of Pul.

SARDANAPALUS.¶ This prince surpassed all his predecessors in effeminacy, luxury, and cowardice. He never went out of his palace, but spent all of his time among a company of women, dressed and painted like them, and employed like them at the distaff. He placed all his happiness and glory in the possessions of immense treasures, in feasting and rioting, and indulging himself in all the most infamous and criminal pleasures. He ordered two verses to be put upon his tomb when he died, which imported, that he carried away with him all that he had eaten, all the pleasures he had enjoyed, but left all the rest behind him.

Hæc habeo quæ edi quæque exsaturata libido
Hausit: at illa jacent multa et præclara relicta.**

An epitaph says Aristotle, fit for a hog.

* Diod. l. ii. p. 103.

† A. M. 2092. Ant. J. C. 1912.

‡ A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.

§ A. M. 2820. Ant. J. C. 1184. De Leg. l. iii. p. 685.

|| A. M. 3233. Ant. J. C. 771. 2 Kings xv. 19.

¶ Diod. l. ii. p. 109—115. Ath. l. xii. p. 529, 530. Just. l. i. c. 3.

** Κοῖν' ἐχ' ὅσο' ἔφαγον, καὶ ἐφύερισα, καὶ μετ' ἐρωτῶς Τέρπν' ἔπαθον. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λήλεπται. Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in bovis, non in regissepulchro, inscriberes? Hæc habere se mortuum dicit, quæ ne vivis quidem diutius habebat, quam fruebatur.—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. n. 101.

Arbaces governor of Media, having found means to get into the palace, and with his own eyes to see Sardanapalus in the midst of an infamous seraglio, enraged at such a scene, and not able to endure that so many brave men should be subject to a prince more soft and effeminate than the women themselves, immediately formed a conspiracy against him. Belesis governor of Babylon, and several others, entered into it. On the first rumour of this revolt, the king hid himself in the inmost part of his palace. Being obliged afterwards to take the field with some forces which he had assembled, he was overcome and pursued to the gates of Nineveh; wherein he shut himself in hopes the rebels would never be able to take a city so well fortified, and stored with provisions for a considerable time: the siege proved indeed of very great length. It had been declared by an ancient oracle, that Nineveh could never be taken, unless the river became an enemy to the city. These words buoyed up Sardanapalus, because he looked upon the thing as impossible. But when he saw that the Tigris by a violent inundation, had thrown down twenty stadia* of the city wall, and by that means opened a passage to the enemy, he understood the meaning of the oracle, and thought himself lost. He resolved, however to die in such a manner, as, according to his opinion, should cover the infamy of his scandalous and effeminate life. He ordered a pile of wood to be made in his palace, and setting fire to it, burnt himself, his eunuchs, his women, and his treasures.† Athenæus makes these treasures amount to a thousand myriads of talents of gold,‡ and ten times as many talents of silver, which without reckoning any thing else, is a sum that exceeds all credibility. A myriad contains ten thousand; and one single myriad of talents of silver is worth thirty millions of French money, or about six millions two hundred and sixteen thousand dollars. A man is lost if he attempts to sum up the whole value; which induces me to believe that Athenæus must have very much exaggerated in his computation; we may, however, be assured from his account that the treasures were immensely great.

Plutarch, in his second treatise, dedicated to the praise of Alexander the Great, wherein he examines in what the true greatness of princes consists, after having shown that it can arise from nothing but their own personal merit, confirms it by two different examples, taken from the history of the Assyrians.§ Semiramis and Sardanapalus, says he, both governed the same kingdom; both had the same people, the same extent of country, the same revenues, the same forces and number of troops; but they had not the same dispositions, nor the same views. Semiramis raising herself above her sex, built magnificent cities, equipped fleets, armed legions, subdued neighbouring nations, penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, and carried her victorious arms to the extremities of Asia, spreading consternation and terror every where; whereas Sardanapalus, as if he had entirely renounced his sex, spent all his time in the heart of his palace, perpetually surrounded with a company of women, whose habit, and even manners he had taken, applying himself with them to the spindle and the distaff, neither understanding nor doing any thing else than spinning, eating, and drinking, and revelling in all manner of infamous pleasure. Accordingly, a statue was erected to him after his death, which represented him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription upon it, in which he addressed himself to the spectator in these words: *Eat, drink, and be merry; every thing else is nothing.*|| An inscription very suitable to the epitaph he himself had ordered to be put upon his monument.

Plutarch in this place judges of Semiramis, as almost all the prophane historians do of the glory of conquerors. But to judge correctly, it would be proper for us to ask, was the unbounded ambition of that queen much less culpable than the dissolute effeminacy of Sardanapalus? which of the two vices was most injurious to mankind?

We are not to wonder that the Assyrian empire should fall under such a prince; but undoubtedly it was not till after having passed through various augmentations, diminutions, and revolutions, common to all states, even to the greatest, during the course of several ages. This empire had subsisted about 1450 years.

Of the ruins of this vast empire, were formed three considerable kingdoms; that of the Medes, which Arbaces, the principal head of the conspiracy, restored to its liberty; that of the Assyrians of Babylon, which was given to Belesis, governor of that city; and that of the Assyrians of Nineveh, whose first king took the name of Ninus the Younger.

In order to understand the history of the second Assyrian empire, which is very obscure, and of which little is said by historians, it is proper, and even absolutely neces-

* Two miles and a half.
§ Page 335, 336.

† A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.

‡ About 86,216,000,000.

|| "Ἐσθίει, πίνει, ἀφ' ἑρῶδισίμζε. τὰ ἅλλα δὲ ἐξείν."

sary, to compare what is said of it by prophane authors with what we find in the Holy Scripture; that by the help of that double light we may have the clearer idea of the two empires of Nineveh and Babylon, which for some time were separate and distinct, but afterwards united and confounded together. I shall first treat of the second Assyrian empire, and then return to the kingdom of the Medes.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, BOTH OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON.

THIS second Assyrian empire continued two hundred and ten years, reckoning to the year in which Cyrus, who was become absolute master of the East, by the death of his father Cambyses, and his father-in-law Cyaxares, published the famous edict whereby the Jews were permitted to return into their own country, after a captivity of seventy years at Babylon.

KINGS OF BABYLON.

BELESIS. He is the same as Nabonassar, from whose reign began the famous astronomical epochs at Babylon, called from his name the era of Nabonassar. In the holy Scripture he is called Baladan. He reigned but twelve years, and was succeeded by his son.*

MERODACH-BALADAN.† This is the prince who sent ambassadors to king Hezekiah, to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, of which we shall speak hereafter. After him there reigned several other kings at Babylon, with whose story we are entirely unacquainted.‡ I shall therefore proceed to the kings of Nineveh.

KINGS OF NINEVEH.

TIGLATH-PILESER.§ This is the name given by the holy Scripture to the king who is supposed to be the first that reigned at Nineveh, after the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire. He is called Thilgamus by Ælian. He is said to have taken the name of Ninus the Younger, in order to honor and distinguish his reign by the name of so ancient and illustrious a prince.

Ahaz, king of Judah, whose incorrigible impiety could not be reclaimed, either by the divine favours or chastisements, finding himself attacked at once by the kings of Syria and Israel, robbed the temple of part of its gold and silver, and sent it to Tiglath-Pileser, to purchase his friendship and assistance; promising him, besides, to become his vassal, and to pay him tribute. The king of Assyria, finding so favourable an opportunity of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily accepted the proposal. Advancing that way with a numerous army, he beat Rezin, took Damaseus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, as God had foretold by his prophets Isaiah and Amos.|| From thence he marched against Facæa, and took all that belonged to the kingdom of Israel beyond Jordan, or in Galilee. But he made Ahaz pay very dear for his protection, still exacting of him such exorbitant sums of money, that for the payment of them he was obliged not only to exhaust his own treasures, but to take all the gold and silver out of the temple. Thus this alliance served only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Nineveh, who became so many instruments afterwards in the hand of God for the chastisement of his people.

SALMANASAR.¶ Sabacus, the Ethiopian, whom the Scripture calls So, having made himself master of Egypt, Hosea, king of Samaria, entered into an alliance with him, hoping by that means to shake off the Assyrian yoke. To this end, he withdrew from his dependence upon Salmanasar, refusing to pay him any farther tribute, or make him the usual presents.

Salmanasar, to punish him for his presumption, marched against him with a powerful army, and after having subdued all the plain country, shut him up in Samaria, where he kept him closely besieged for three years; at the end of which he took the city, loaded Hosea with chains, and threw him into prison for the rest of his days;

* A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. 2 Kings, xx. 12.

† Ibid.

‡ Can. Ptol.

§ A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. Lib. xii. Hist. Anim. c. 21. Castor. apud. Euseb. Chron. p. 49. 2 Kings, xv i: 7, &c.

|| Isa. viii. 4. Amos, i. 5.

¶ A. M. 3276. Ant. J. C. 723. 2 Kings, xvii.

carried away the people captive, and planted them in Halah and Habor, cities of the Medes. And thus was the kingdom of Israel, or of the ten tribes, destroyed, as God had often threatened by his prophets. This kingdom from the time of its separation from that of Judah, lasted about two hundred and fifty years.

It was at this time that Tobit, with Anna his wife, and his son Tobias, was carried captive into Assyria, where he became one of the principal officers to king Salmanasar.*

Salmanasar died, after having reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son.

SENNACHERIB.† He is also called Sargon in Scripture. As soon as this prince was settled on the throne, he renewed the demand of the tribute exacted by his father from Hezekiah. Upon his refusal, he declared war against him, and entered into Judea with a mighty army. Hezekiah, grieved to see his kingdom pillaged, sent ambassadors to him, to desire peace upon any terms he would prescribe. Sennacherib, seemingly pacified, entered into treaty with him; and demanded a very great sum of gold and silver. The holy king exhausted both the treasures of the temple, and his own coffers, to pay it. The Assyrian, regarding neither the sanction of oaths or treaties, still continued the war, and pushed on his conquests more vigorously than ever. Nothing was able to withstand his power; and of all the strong places of Judah, none remained untaken but Jerusalem, which was however reduced to the utmost extremity. At this very juncture, Sennacherib was informed that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had joined forces with the king of Egypt, was coming up to succour the besieged city. Now, it was contrary to the express command of God, as well as the remonstrances of Isaiah and Hezekiah, that the chief rulers at Jerusalem had required any foreign assistance. The Assyrian prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemy, after having written a letter to Hezekiah, full of blasphemy against the God of Israel, whom he insolently boasted he would speedily vanquish, as he had done all the gods of the other nations round about him. In short, he discomfited the Egyptians, and pursued them even into their own country, which he ravaged, and returned laden with spoil.‡

It was probably during Sennacherib's absence, which was pretty long, or at least some little time before, that Hezekiah fell sick, and was cured in a miraculous manner; and that, as a sign of God's fulfilling the promise he had made him of curing him so perfectly, that within three days he should be able to go to the temple, the shadow of the sun went ten degrees backwards upon the dial of the palace. Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, being informed of the miraculous cure of king Hezekiah, sent ambassadors to him with letters and presents, to congratulate him on that occasion, and to acquaint themselves with the miracle that had happened upon earth at this juncture, with respect to the sun's retrogradation ten degrees. Hezekiah was extremely sensible of the honour done him by that prince, and very forward to show his ambassadors the riches and treasures he possessed, and to let them see all the magnificence of his palace.§ Humanly speaking, there was nothing in this proceeding but what was allowable and commendable; but in the eyes of the Supreme Judge, which are infinitely more piercing and discriminating than ours, this action discovered a lurking pride, and secret vanity, with which his righteousness was offended. Accordingly, he instantly informed the king, by his prophet Isaiah, that the riches and treasures he had been showing to those ambassadors with so much ostentation, should one day be transported to Babylon, and that his children should be carried thither, to become servants in the palace of that monarch. This was then utterly improbable; for Babylon, at the time we are speaking of, was in friendship and alliance with Jerusalem, as appears by her having sent ambassadors thither; nor did Jerusalem then seem to have any thing to fear but from Nineveh, whose power was at that time formidable, and had entirely declared against her. But the fortune of those two cities was to change, and the word of God was literally accomplished.

But to return to Sennacherib: after he had ravaged Egypt, and taken a vast number of prisoners, he came back with his victorious army, encamped before Jerusalem, and again besieged it. The city seemed to be inevitably lost; it was without resource, and without hope from the hands of men, but had a powerful Protector in heaven, whose jealous ears had heard the impious blasphemies uttered by the king of Nineveh against his sacred name. In one single night a hundred and eighty-five thou-

* Tobit, ch. i.
† 2 Kings, xix. 9.

† A. M. 3287. Ant. J. C. 717. Isa. xx. 1. 2 Kings, xviii, xix.
§ 2 Kings, xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24-31.

sand men of his army perished by the sword of the destroying angel.* After so terrible a blow, this pretended king of kings, for so he called himself, this triumpher over nations, and conqueror of gods, was obliged to return to his own country, with the miserable remnant of his army, covered with shame and confusion; he survived his defeat only a few months, as a just retribution to an offended God, whose supreme majesty he had presumed to insult, and who now, to use the Scripture terms, having *put a ring into his nose, and a bit into his mouth*, as a wild beast, made him return in that humble afflicted condition, through those very countries which a little before had beheld him so haughty and imperious.

Upon his return to Nineveh, being enraged at his disgrace, he treated his subjects in a most cruel and tyrannical manner. The effects of his fury fell more heavily upon the Jews and Israelites, of whom he caused great numbers to be massacred every day, ordering their bodies to be left exposed in the streets, and suffering no man to give them burial.† Tobit, to avoid his cruelty, was obliged to conceal himself for some time, and suffer all his effects to be confiscated. In short, the king's savage temper rendered him so insupportable to his own family, that his two eldest sons conspired against him, and killed him in the temple, in the presence of his god Nisroch, as he lay prostrate before him.‡ But these two princes being obliged, after this parricide, to fly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Esar-haddon, their youngest brother.

ESAR-HADDON.§ We have already observed, that after Merodach-Baladan, there was a succession of kings at Babylon, of whom history has transmitted nothing but the names. The royal family becoming extinct, there was an interregnum of eight years, full of troubles and commotions. Esar-haddon, taking advantage of this juncture, made himself master of Babylon, and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires thirteen years.

After having reunited Syria and Palestine to the Assyrian empire, which had been rent from it in the preceding reign, he entered the land of Israel, where he took captive as many as were left there, and carried them into Assyria, except an inconsiderable number that escaped his pursuit. And that the country might not become a desert, he sent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. The prediction of Isaiah was then fulfilled; *within three score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be no more a people.*|| This was exactly the space of time that elapsed between the prediction and the event; and the people of Israel did then truly cease to be a visible nation, what was left of them being altogether mixed and confounded with other nations.

This prince, having possessed himself of the land of Israel, sent some of his generals with a part of his army into Judea, to reduce that country likewise under his subjection. These generals defeated Manasseh, and having taken him prisoner, brought him to Esar-haddon, who put him in chains, and carried him to Babylon. But Manasseh, having afterwards appeased the wrath of God by a sincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem.¶

Meantime, the colonies that had been sent into Samaria, in the room of its ancient inhabitants, were grievously infested with lions. The king of Babylon, being told that the cause of this calamity was their not worshipping the God of the country, ordered an Israelitish priest to be sent to them, from among the captives taken in that country, to teach them the worship of the God of Israel. But these idolaters, contented with admitting the true God among their ancient divinities, worshipped him jointly with their false gods. This corrupt worship continued afterwards, and was the source of the aversion entertained by the Jews against the Samaritans**

Esar-haddon, after a prosperous reign of thirty-nine years, over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, was succeeded by his son.

SAOSDUCHINUS.†† This prince is called in Scripture, Nebuchodonosor, which name was common to the kings of Babylon. To distinguish this from the others, he is called Nebuchodonosor I.

Tobit was still alive at this time, and dwelt among other captives at Nineveh. Perceiving his end approaching, he foretold to his children the sudden destruction of that city, of which there was not then the least appearance. He advised them to quit the city before its ruin came on, and to depart as soon as they had buried him and his wife.‡‡

* Kings, xix. 35—37.

† A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710. Cant. Ptol.

‡ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 13.

†† A. M. 3335. Ant. J. C. 669.

† Tobit, i. 13—24

‡ 2 Kings, xix. 37.

|| Isa. vii. 8.

** 2 Kings, xvii. 25—41.

‡‡ Tobit, xiv. 5—13.

The ruin of Nineveh is at hand, says the good old man, abide no longer here, for I perceive the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction. These last words are very remarkable, *the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction.* Men will be apt to impute the ruin of Nineveh to any other reason, but we are taught by the Holy Ghost, that her unrighteousness was the true cause of it, as it will be with other states that imitate her crimes.

Nebuchodonosor defeated the king of the Medes in a pitched battle, fought the twelfth year of his reign, upon the plain of Regau; he took Ecbatana, the capital of his kingdom; and returned triumphant to Nineveh.* When we come to treat of the history of the Medes, we shall give a more particular account of this victory.

It was immediately after this expedition, that Bethulia was besieged by Holofernes, one of Nebuchodonosor's generals; and that the famous enterprise of Judith was accomplished.

SARACUS otherwise called CHYNA-LADANUS.† This prince succeeded Saosduchinus, and having rendered himself contemptible to his subjects by his effeminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, Nabopolassar, a Babylonian by birth, and general of his army, usurped that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned over it one and twenty years.

NABOPOLASSAR.‡ This prince, the better to maintain his usurped sovereignty, made alliance with Cyaxares king of the Medes. With their joint forces they besieged and took Nineveh, killed Saracus, and utterly destroyed that great city. We shall treat more extensively of this great event when we come to the history of the Medes. From this time forward the city of Babylon became the only capital of the Assyrian empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes, having destroyed Nineveh, became so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Necho king of Egypt, was so alarmed at their power, that to stop their progress, he marched towards the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, and made several considerable conquests. See the history of the Egyptians for what concerns this expedition, and the consequences that attended it.

Nabopolassar finding that after the taking of Carchemish, by Necho, all Syria and Palestine had revolted from him, and neither his age nor infirmities permitting him to go in person to recover them, he made his son Nebuchodonosor partner with him in the empire and sent him away with an army, to reduce those countries to their former subjection.§

From this time the Jews began to reckon the years of Nebuchodonosor, viz. from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, or rather from the beginning of the fourth. But the Babylonians compute the reign of this prince only from the death of his father, which happened two years later.||

NEBUCHODONOSOR II. OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.¶ This prince defeated Necho's army near the Euphrates, and retook Carchemish. From thence he marched towards Syria and Palestine, and reunited those provinces to his dominions.

He likewise entered Judea, besieged Jerusalem, and took it; he caused Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a design to have him carried to Babylon; but being moved with his repentance, and affliction, he restored him to his throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and among them some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither all the treasures of the king's palace and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple, were likewise transported.** Thus was the judgment which God had denounced by the prophet Isaiah to King Hezekiah accomplished. From this famous epoch, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, we are to date the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so often foretold by Jeremiah. Daniel, then but eighteen years old, was carried captive among the rest, and Ezekiele some time afterwards.

Towards the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, Nabopolassar, king of Babylon died, after having reigned one and twenty years.†† As soon as his son Nebuchodonosor was informed of his death, he set out with all expedition for Babylon, taking the nearest way through the desert, attended only by a small retinue, leaving the main body of his army with his generals, to be conducted to Babylon with the captives and spoils. On his arrival, he received the government from the hands of those who had

* Judith. 1. 5. 0.

† A. M. 3356. Ant. J. C. 648. Alex. Polyhist.

‡ A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626.

§ Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. et con. Ap. l. i.

|| A. M. 3398. Ant. J. C. 696.

¶ Jer. xlyi. 2. 2 Kings, xxiv. 7.

** Dan. i. 1-7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7.

†† Can. Ptol. Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. et con. Ap. l. x.

carefully preserved it for him, and so succeeded to all the dominions of his father, which comprehended Chaldea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, over which according to Ptolemy, he reigned forty-three years.

In the fourth year of his reign he had a dream, at which he was greatly terrified, though he could not call it to mind.* He thereupon consulted the wise men and diviners of his kingdom, requiring of them to make known to him the substance of his dream. They all answered, that it was beyond the reach of their art to divine the thing itself, and that the utmost they could do was to give the interpretation of his dream, when he had made it known to them. As absolute princes are not accustomed to meet with opposition, but will be obeyed in all things, Nebuchodonosor, imagining that they dealt insincerely with him, fell into a violent rage, and condemned them all to death. Daniel and his three companions were included in the sentence, as being ranked among the wise men. But Daniel, having first invoked his God, desired to be introduced to the king, to whom he revealed the whole substance of his dream. "The thing thou sawest," said he, "was an image of an enormous size, and a terrible countenance. The head thereof was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the feet part of iron and part of clay. And as the king was attentively looking upon that vision, behold a stone was cut out of a mountain, without hands, and the stone smote the image upon his feet, and brake him to pieces; the whole image was ground as small as dust, and the stone became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." When Daniel had related the dream, he also gave the king the interpretation thereof, showing him that it signified the three great empires which were to succeed that of the Assyrians, namely, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, or according to some, that of the successors of Alexander the Great. "After these kingdoms" continued Daniel, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and this kingdom shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand for ever." By which Daniel plainly fortold the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The king ravished with admiration and astonishment, after having acknowledged and loudly declared, that the God of the Israelites was really the God of gods, advanced Daniel to the highest offices in the kingdom made him chief of the governors over all the wise men, ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and one of the principal lords of the council, that always attended the court. His three friends were also promoted to honour and dignities.

At this time Jehoiakim revolted from the kingdom of Babylon, whose generals that were still in Judea, marched against him, and committed all kinds of hostilities upon his country.† *He slept with his fathers*, is all the Scripture says of his death. Jeremiah had prophesied that he should neither be regretted nor lamented; but should *be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem*: this was no doubt fulfilled, though it is not known in what manner.

Jechonias‡ succeeded both to the throne and iniquity of his father. Nebuchadnezzar's lieutenants continuing the blockade of Jerusalem, in three months' time he, himself, came at the head of his army and made himself master of the city. He plundered both the temple and the king's palace of all their treasures, and sent them away to Babylon, together with all the golden vessels remaining, which Solomon had made for the use of the temple; he carried away, likewise, a vast number of captives, among whom were king Jechonias, his mother, his wives, with all the chief officers and great men of his kingdom. In the room of Jechonias, he set upon the throne his uncle Mattaniah, who was otherwise called Zedekiah.

This prince had as little religion and prosperity as his forefathers.§ Having made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the King of Babylon, the latter soon chastised him for it, and immediately laid siege to Jerusalem. The king of Egypt's arrival at the head of an army, gave the besieged some hopes; but their joy was of very short duration; the Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror returned to Jerusalem, and renewed the siege, which lasted nearly twelve months. At last the city was taken by storm, and a terrible slaughter ensued.|| Zedekiah's two sons, were, by Nebuchadnezzar's orders, killed before their father's face, with all the nobles and principal men of Judea: Zedekiah himself had both his eyes put out, was loaded with fetters, and carried to Babylon, where he was confined in prison as long as he lived. The city and temple were pillaged and burned, and all their fortifications demolished.

* A. N. 3401. Ant. J. C. 603. Dan. c. ii. † 2 Kings, xxiv. 1, 2.
§ 2 Kings, xxiv. 17—20, and xxv. 1—10.

† *Alias*, Jehoiachin. 2 Kings, xxiv. 6—18.
|| A. M. 3415. Ant. J. C. 539.

Upon Nebuchadnezzar's return to Babylon, after his successful war against Judea, he ordered a golden statue to be made sixty cubits high,* assembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, and commanded all his subjects to worship it, threatening to cast those that should refuse into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. It was upon this occasion, that the three young Hebrews, Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, who, with an invincible courage refused to comply with the king's impious ordinance, were preserved, after a miraculous manner, in the midst of the flames. The king, himself, a witness of this astonishing miracle, published an edict whereby all persons whatever were forbid, upon pain of death, to speak any thing against the god of Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. He likewise promoted these three young men to the highest honours and employments.†

Nebuchadnezzar, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the fourth after the destruction of Jerusalem, marched again into Syria, and besieged Tyre, under the reign of Ithobal. Tyre was a strong and opulent city, which had never been subject to any foreign power, and was then in great repute for its commerce, by which many of its citizens were become like so many princes in wealth, and magnificence.‡ It was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the temple of Jerusalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philistines of Ascalon, many of its inhabitants made their escape in ships, and founded the city of Tyre. And for this reason we find it called in Isaiah, *the daughter of Sidon*.§ But the daughter soon surpassed the mother in grandeur, riches, and power. Accordingly, at the time we are speaking of, she was in a condition to resist, thirteen years together, a monarch, to whose yoke all the rest of the East had submitted.

It was not till after so many years, that Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of Tyre.|| His troops suffered incredible hardships before it; so that, according to the prophet's expression, *every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled*.¶ Before the city was reduced to the last extremity, its inhabitants retired, with the greatest part of their effects, into a neighbouring isle, half a mile from the shore, where they built a new city; the name and glory of which extinguished the remembrance of the old one, which from thenceforward became a mere village, retaining the name of ancient Tyre.

Nebuchadnezzar and his army having undergone the utmost fatigues during so long and difficult a siege, and having found nothing in the place to requite them for the service they had rendered Almighty God, (it is the expression of the prophet,) in executing his vengeance upon that city, God was pleased to promise by the mouth of Ezekiel, that he would give them the spoils of Egypt as a recompense.** And indeed Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt soon after, as I have more fully related in the history of the Egyptians. When this prince happily finished all his wars, and was in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity, he put the last hand to the building, or rather to the embellishing of Babylon. The reader may see in Josephus,†† an account of the magnificent structures ascribed to this monarch by several writers. I have mentioned a great part of them in the description already given of that stately city.

While nothing seemed wanting to complete Nebuchadnezzar's happiness, a frightful dream disturbed his repose, and filled him with great anxiety. He dreamed "he saw a tree in the midst of the earth, whose height was great: the tree grew and was strong, and the height of it reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit much; and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof; and all flesh was fed of it. Then a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven and cried, hew down the tree, and cut off its branches, shake off its leaves, and scatter its fruit; let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from its branches.

Nevertheless, leave the stump of its roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let its portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him.

This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones, to the intent that the living may know, that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."‡‡

* Ninety feet.

† Dan. iii.

‡ Ezck. xxvi, and xxvii.

Isa. xxiii. 3. Just. i. xviii. c. 3.

§ Isa. xxiii. 12.

|| Jos. Ant. l. x. c. 11.

¶ Ap. l. i.

¶ Ezck. xxix. 18, 19.

** Ezck. xxix. 18—20.

†† Antiq. l. x. c. 11.

‡‡ Dan. iv.

The king, justly alarmed at this terrible dream, consulted all his wise men and magicians, but to no purpose. He was obliged to have recourse to Daniel, who expounded the dream, and applied it to the king's own person, plainly declaring to him, "That he should be driven from the company of men for seven years, should be reduced to the condition and fellowship of the beasts of the field, and feed upon grass like a bullock: that his kingdom nevertheless should be preserved for him, and he should repossess his throne, when he should have learned to know and acknowledge, that all power is from above, and cometh from heaven. After this, he exhorteth him to break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by showing mercy to the poor."

All these things came to pass upon Nebuchadnezzar, as the prophet had foretold. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of his buildings, he said, "is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?" Would a secret impulse of complacency and vanity in a prince, at the sight of such noble structures erected by himself, appear to us so very criminal? and yet, hardly were the words out of his mouth, when a voice came down from heaven, and pronounced his sentence: "In the same hour, his understanding went from him; he was driven from men, and did eat grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws."

After the expiration of the appointed time, he recovered his senses, and the use of his understanding: "He lifted up his eyes unto heaven," says the Scripture, "and blessed the Most High; he praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion, and whose kingdom is from generation to generation:" confessing, "that all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, what dost thou?" Now he recovered his former countenance and form. His courtiers went out to seek him; he was restored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than ever. Being affected with the most sincere gratitude, he caused, by a solemn edict, to be published through the whole extent of his dominions, what astonishing and miraculous things God had wrought in his person.

One year after this, Nebuchadnezzar died, having reigned forty-three years, reckoning from the death of his father. He was one of the greatest monarchs that ever reigned in the East. He was succeeded by his son,

EVIL-MERODACH.* As soon as he was settled on the throne, he released Jehonias, king of Judah, out of prison, where he had been confined near seven and thirty years.

In the reign of this Evil-Merodach, which lasted but two years, the learned place Daniel's detection of the fraud practised by the priests of Bel; the innocent artifice, by which he contrived to kill the dragon which was worshipped as a god; and the miraculous deliverance of the same prophet out of the den of lions, where he had victuals brought him by the prophet Habakkuk.

Evil-Merodach rendered himself so odious by his debauchery, and other extravagancies, that his own relations conspired against him, and put him to death.†

NERIGLISSAR, his sister's husband, and one of the chief conspirators, reigned in his stead.‡

Immediately on his accession to the crown, he made great preparations for war against the Medes, which made Cyaxares send for Cyrus out of Persia to his assistance. This story will be more particularly related by and by, where we shall find that this prince was slain in battle, in the fourth year of his reign.

LABOROSOARCHOD,§ his son, succeeded to the throne. This was a very wicked prince. Being naturally of the most vicious inclinations, he indulged them without restraint when he came to the crown; as if he had been invested with sovereign power, only to have the privilege of committing with impunity the most infamous and barbarous actions. He reigned but nine months; his own subjects, conspired against him, and put him to death. His successor was,

LABYNI, or **NABONID**.|| This prince had likewise other names, and in Scripture that of **Belshazzar**. It is reasonably supposed that he was the son of Evil-Merodach, by his wife Nitocris, and consequently grandson to Nebuchadnezzar, to whom, accord-

* A. M. 3441. Ant. J. C. 563. 2 Kings, xxv. 27—30.

A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560. Cyrop. l. i. § A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556.

† Beros. Megasthen.

|| A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.

ing to Jeremiah's prophecy, the nations of the East were to be subject, as also to his son, and his grandson after him: *all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land shall come.**

Nitocris raised many noble edifices in Babylon; she caused her own monument to be placed over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, with an inscription, dissuading her successors from touching the treasures laid up in it, without the most urgent and indispensable necessity. The tomb remained unopened till the reign of Darius, who, upon his breaking it open, instead of those immense treasures with which he had flattered himself, found nothing but the following inscription:

"If thou hadst not an insatiable thirst after money, and a most sordid, avaricious soul, thou wouldst never have broken open the monuments of the dead."†

In the first year of Belshazzar's reign, Daniel had the vision of the four beasts, which represented the four great monarchies, and the kingdom of the Messiah, which was to succeed them.‡ In the third year of the same reign, he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat, which prefigured the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution which Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, should bring upon the Jews.§ I shall hereafter make some reflections upon these prophecies, and give a more particular account of them.

Belshazzar, while his enemies were besieging Babylon, gave a great entertainment to his whole court, upon a certain festival, which was annually celebrated with great rejoicing.|| The joy of this feast was greatly disturbed by a vision, and still more so by the explication which Daniel gave of it to the king. The sentence written upon the wall imported, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. That very night, the city was taken; and Belshazzar killed.

This ended the Babylonish empire, after having subsisted two hundred and ten years, from the destruction of the great Assyrian empire.¶

The particular circumstances of the siege, and the taking of Babylon, shall be related in the history of Cyrus.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF THE MEDES.

I OBSERVED, in speaking of the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire,** that Arbaces, general of the Medes, was one of the chief authors of the conspiracy against Sardanapalus; and several writers believed that he then immediately became sovereign master of Media, and many other provinces, and assumed the title of king. Herodotus is not of this opinion. I shall relate what that celebrated historian says upon the subject.

The Assyrians, who had for many ages held the empire of Asia, began to decline in their power by the revolt of several nations. The Medes first threw off their yoke, and maintained for some time the liberty they had acquired by their valour; but that liberty degenerating into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy, worse than their former subjection. Injustice, violence and rapine, prevailed every where, because there was nobody that had either power enough to restrain them, or sufficient authority to punish the offenders. But all these disorders induced the people to settle a form of government, which rendered the state more flourishing than it ever was before.††

The nation of the Medes was then divided into tribes. Almost all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the son of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, erected the state into a monarchy. This person, seeing the great disorders that prevailed throughout all Media, resolved to take advantage of those troubles, and make them serve to exalt him to the royal dignity. He enjoyed great reputation in his own country, and passed for a man, not only regular in his conduct, but possessed of all the prudence and equity necessary for a governor.

As soon as he had formed the design of obtaining the throne, he laboured to make the good qualities that had been observed in him more conspicuous than ever; he succeeded so well, that the inhabitants of the village where he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himself with great prudence, and his cares were

* Jer. xxvii. 7. † Her. l. i. cap. 185, &c. ‡ Dan. vii. § Chap. viii. || Chap. v.
¶ A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536. ** A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. †† Herod. l. i. c. 95

attended with all the success expected from them, for he brought the people of that village to a sober and regular life. The inhabitants of other villages, who were perpetually in disorder, observing the regularity Dejoces had introduced in the place where he presided as judge, began to address themselves to him, and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity daily increasing, all such as had any affair of consequence, brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces, which they could meet with no where else.

When he found himself thus far advanced in his designs, he judged it a proper time to set his last engines to work for the accomplishment of his object. He therefore retired from business, pretended to be over-fatigued with the multitude of people that resorted to him from all quarters, and would not exercise the office of judge any longer, notwithstanding all the importunity of such as wished well to public tranquillity. Whenever any persons addressed themselves to him, he told them that his own domestic affairs would not allow him to attend to those of other people.

The licentiousness which had been for some time restrained by the management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than ever, as soon as he had withdrawn himself from the administration of affairs, and the evil increased to such a degree, that the Medes were obliged to assemble, and deliberate upon the means of curing so dangerous a disorder.

There are different sorts of ambition; some persons, violent and impetuous, carrying every thing as it were by storm, restrained by no kind of cruelty or murder; another sort, more gentle, like those we are speaking of, put on an appearance of moderation and justice, and yet by clandestine means, arrive at their point as surely as the other. Dejoces, who saw things succeeding according to his wish, sent his emissaries to the assembly, after having instructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for stopping the course of the public evils came to be proposed, these emissaries, speaking in their turn, represented, that unless the state of the republic was entirely changed, their country would become uninhabitable; that the only means to remedy the present disorders was to elect a king, who should have authority to restrain violence, and make laws for the government of the nation. Then every man could prosecute his own affairs in peace and safety; whereas the injustice that now reigned in all parts, would quickly force the people to abandon the country. This opinion was generally approved, and the whole company was convinced that no expedient could be devised more effectual for curing the present evil, than that of converting the state into a monarchy. The only thing then to be done, was to choose a king, which did not take long for deliberation. They all agreed there was not a man in Media so capable of governing as Dejoces, so that he was immediately, with common consent, elected king.

If we reflect in the least on the first establishment of kingdoms, in any age or country whatever, we shall find that the maintenance of order, and the care of the public good, was the original design of monarchy. Indeed, there would be no possibility of establishing order and peace, if all men were resolved to be independent, and would not submit to an authority which takes from them a part of their liberty, in order to preserve the rest. Mankind must be perpetually at war, if they will always be striving for dominion over others, or refuse to submit to the strongest. For the sake of their own peace and safety, they must have a master, and must consent to obey him. This is the human origin of government. And the Scriptures teach us, that Divine Providence has not only allowed the project, and the execution of it, but consecrated it likewise by an immediate communication of his own power.*

There is nothing certainly more noble and great than to see a private person, eminent for his merit and virtue, and fitted by his excellent talents for the highest employment, and yet, through inclination and modesty, preferring a life of obscurity and retirement; than to see such a man sincerely refuse the offer made to him of reigning over a whole nation, and at last consent to undergo the toil of government, from no other motive than that of being serviceable to his fellow-citizens. His first disposition, by which he declares that he is acquainted with the duties, and consequently with the dangers annexed to sovereign power, shows him to have a soul more elevated and great than greatness itself; or, to speak more justly, a soul superior to all ambition; nothing can show him so perfectly worthy of that important charge, as the opinion he has of his not being so, and his fears of being unequal to it. But when he gener-

* Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

ously sacrifices his own quiet and satisfaction to the welfare and tranquillity of the public, it is plain he understands what that sovereign power has in it really good, or truly valuable; which is, that it puts a man in a condition of becoming the defender of his country, of procuring it many advantages, and of redressing various evils; of causing law and justice to flourish, of bringing virtue and probity into reputation, and of establishing peace and plenty; and he comforts himself for the cares and troubles to which he is exposed, by the prospect of the many benefits resulting from them to the public. Such a governor was Numa at Rome, and such have been some other emperors whom the people have constrained to accept the supreme power.

It must be owned, I cannot help repeating it, that there is nothing more noble or great than such a disposition. But to put on the mask of modesty and virtue, in order to satisfy one's ambition, as Dejoces did; to affect to appear outwardly, what a man is not inwardly, to refuse for a time, and then accept with a seeming repugnancy, what a man earnestly desires, and what he has been labouring by secret underhand practices to obtain; has so much meanness in it, that it necessarily lessens our opinion of the person, and greatly eclipses his merit, be his talents at the same time ever so extraordinary.

DEJOCES reigned fifty-three years.* When Dejoces had ascended the throne, he endeavoured to convince the people that they were not mistaken in the choice they had made of him, for restoring order. At first, he resolved to have his dignity of king attended with all the marks that could inspire awe and respect for his person. He obliged his subjects to build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he strongly fortified, and chose out from among his people such persons as he judged most fit to be his guards.

After having thus provided for his own security, he applied himself to polish and civilize his subjects, who, having been accustomed to live in the country, and in villages, almost without laws and without polity, had contracted a savage disposition. To this end, he commanded them to build a city, himself marking out the place and circumference of the walls. This city was surrounded with seven distinct walls, all disposed in such manner, that the outermost did not hinder the parapet of the second from being seen, nor the second that of the third, and so of all the rest. The situation of the place was extremely favourable for such a design, for it was a regular hill, whose ascent was equal on every side. Within the last and smallest enclosure stood the king's palace, with all his treasures; in the sixth, which was next to that, there were several apartments for lodging the officers of his household; and the intermediate spaces, between the other walls, were appointed for the habitation of the people; the first and largest enclosure was about the size of Athens. The name of the city was Ecbatana.

The prospect of it was magnificent and beautiful; for, besides the disposition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheatre, the different colours wherewith the several parapets were painted, formed a delightful variety.

After the city was finished, and Dejoces had obliged part of the Medes to settle in it, he turned all his attention to composing laws for the good of the state. But being persuaded that the majesty of kings is most respected afar off, *major ex longinquo reverentia*,† he began to keep himself at a distance from his people, was almost inaccessible and invisible to his subjects, not suffering them to speak, or communicate their affairs to him but only by petitions, and the interposition of his officers. And even those that had the privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh nor spit in his presence.

This great statesman acted in this manner, in order the better to secure to himself the possession of the crown. For, having to deal with men yet uncivilized, and not very capable judges of true merit, he was afraid that too great a familiarity with him might induce contempt, and occasion plots and conspiracies against a growing power, which is generally looked upon with envy and discontent. But by keeping himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, and making himself known only by the wise laws he made, and the strict justice he took care to administer to every one, he acquired the respect and esteem of all his subjects.

It is said that from the innermost parts of his palace he knew every thing that was done in his dominions, by means of his emissaries, who brought him accounts, and informed him of all transactions. By this means, no crime escaped either the knowledge

* A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710. Her. l. i. 96—101.

† Tacitus.

of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment closely following the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stopped the course of violence and injustice.

Things might possibly pass in this manner to a certain degree, during this administration; but there is nothing more obvious than the great inconveniences necessarily resulting from the custom introduced by Dejoces, and wherein he has been imitated by the rest of the Eastern potentates; the custom, I mean, of living concealed in his palace, of governing by spies, dispersed throughout his kingdom, of relying solely upon their sincerity for the truth of facts, of not suffering truth, the complaints of the oppressed, and the just reasons of innocent persons, to be conveyed to him in any other way than through foreign channels, that is, by men liable to be prejudiced or corrupted; men that stopped up all avenues to remonstrances, or the reparation of injuries, and that were capable of doing the greatest injustice themselves, with so much more ease and assurance, as their iniquity remained undiscovered, and consequently unpunished. But besides all this, that very affectation in princes of being invisible, shows them to be conscious of their slender merit, which shuns the light, and dares not stand the test of a near examination.

Dejoces was so wholly taken up in humanizing and softening the manners, and making laws for the good government of his people, that he never engaged in any enterprise against his neighbours, though he reigned for the long period of fifty-three years.

PHRAORTES reigned twenty-two years.* After the death of Dejoces, his son Phraortes, otherwise called Aphraartes,† succeeded. The sole affinity between these two names, would make one believe, that this is the king called in Scripture Arphaxad; but that opinion has many other substantial reasons to support it, as may be seen in Father Montfaucon's learned dissertation, of which I have made great use in this treatise. The passage in Judith, *that Arphaxad built a very strong city, and called it Ecbatana*, has deceived most authors, and made them believe, that Arphaxad must be Dejoces, who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the vulgar translation renders *ædificavit*, only says, *that Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatana*.‡ And what can be more natural, than that the father not having entirely perfected so considerable a work, the son should put the last hand to it, and make such additions as were wanting?

Phraortes, being of a very warlike temper, and not contented with the kingdom of Media, left him by his father, attacked the Persians, and defeated them in a decisive battle, brought them under subjection to his empire. Then, strengthened by the accession of their troops, he attacked other neighbouring nations, one after another, till he made himself master of almost all Upper Asia, which comprehends all that lies north of Mount Taurus, from Media, as far as the river Halys.§

Elated with his success, he ventured to turn his arms against the Assyrians, at that time indeed, weakened through the revolt of several nations, but yet very powerful in themselves. Nebuchodonosor, their king, otherwise called Saosduchinus, raised a great army in his own country, and sent ambassadors to several other nations of the East, to require their assistance.|| They all refused him with contempt, and ignominiously treated his ambassadors, letting him see that they no longer dreaded that empire, which had formerly kept the greatest part of them in a slavish subjection.

The king, highly enraged at such insolent treatment, swore by his throne and his reign, that he would be revenged of all those nations, and put them every one to the sword. He then prepared for battle, with what forces he had, in the plain of Ragau. A great battle ensued there, which proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned, and thrown into disorder, and Nebuchodonosor gained a complete victory. Then, taking advantage of the defeat and confusion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on his conquests even to Ectabana, forced the towers and the walls by storm, and gave the city to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered it, and stripped it of all its ornaments.

The unfortunate Phraortes, who had escaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at last into the hands of Nebuchodonosor, who cruelly caused him to be shot to death with darts. After that, he returned to Nineveh with all his army, which was still very numerous, and for four months together, did nothing but feast and divert himself with those that had accompanied him in this expedition.

* A. M. 3347. Ant. J. C. 657. Her. c. 102.

† He is called so by Eusebius, Chron. Græc. and by Geor. Syncl. Judith. i. 1.

‡ Ἐρακκῶδης μῆσι ἐπὶ Ἐκβατανῶσι. Judith. Text. Gr.

§ The Greek text places these embassies before the battle.

¶ Herod. l. i. c. 102.

In Judith, we read, that the king of Assyria sent Holofernes, with a powerful army, to revenge himself of those that had refused him succours. The progress and cruelty of that commander, the general consternation of all the people, the courageous resolution of the Israelites to withstand him, in hopes that their God would defend them, the extremity to which Bethulia and the whole nation was reduced, the miraculous deliverance of that city by the courage and conduct of the brave Judith, and the complete overthrow of the Assyrian army, are all related in the same book.

CYAXARES I. reigned forty years.* This prince succeeded to the throne immediately after his father's death. He was a very brave, enterprising prince, and knew how to take advantage of the late overthrow of the Assyrian army. He first settled himself well in his kingdom of Media, and then conquered all Upper Asia. But his most ardent wish was to go and attack Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father by the destruction of that great city.

The Assyrians came out to meet him, having only the remains of the great army which was destroyed before Bethulia. A battle ensued, wherein the Assyrians were defeated, and driven back to Nineveh. Cyaxares, pursuing his victory, laid siege to the city, which was upon the point of falling into his hands, but that the time was not yet come when God designed to punish that city for her crimes, and for the calamities she had brought upon his people, as well as other nations. It was delivered from its present danger in the following manner.

A formidable army of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and was still marching under the conduct of king Madyes in pursuit of them. The Cimmerians had found means to escape from the Scythians, who were advancing into Medea. Cyaxares, hearing of this irruption, raised the siege of Nineveh and marched with all his forces against that mighty army, which, like an impetuous torrent, was about to over-run all Asia. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquished. The barbarians finding no other obstacle in their way, overspread not only Media, but almost all Asia. After that, they marched towards Egypt, from whence Psammeticus diverted their course by presents. They then returned into Palestine, where some of them plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon, the most ancient temple dedicated to that goddess. Some of these Scythians settled at Bethshean, a city in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which from them was afterwards called Scythopolis.

The Scythians for the space of twenty-eight years, were masters of Upper Asia; namely, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia; during which time they spread desolation wherever they came. The Medes had no way of getting rid of them, but by a treacherous stratagem. Under pretence of cultivating and strengthening the alliance they had made together, they invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was made in every family. Each master of the feast made his guests drunk, and in that condition the Scythians were massacred. The Medes then repossessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their ancient western boundary.

The remaining Scythians, who were not at the banquet, having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia to king Halyttes, who received them with great humanity.† This occasioned a war between those two princes. Cyaxares immediately led his troops to the frontiers of Lydia. Many battles were fought during the space of five years, with almost equal advantage on both sides. The battle fought in the sixth year was very remarkable, on account of an eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, when on a sudden the day was turned into a dark night. Thales, the Milesian, had foretold this eclipse. The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both sides, and made peace. Sinnesis, king of Cilicia, and Nebuchodonosor,‡ king of Babylon, were the mediators. To render the friendship more firm and inviolable, the two princes agreed to strengthen it by the tie of marriage, and agreed, that Halyttes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, eldest son of Cyaxares.

The manner those people had of contracting alliance with one another, is very remarkable. Besides other ceremonies, which they had in common with the Greeks,

* A. M. 3360. Ant. J. C. 635. Herod. l. i. c. 103—106.

† Herod. l. i. c. 74.

‡ In Herodotus he is called Labynetus.

the following was peculiar to themselves, namely, the two contracting parties made incisions in their own arms, and licked one another's blood.

The first care of Cyaxares, as soon as he found himself again in peace, was to resume the siege of Nineveh, which the irruptions of the Scythians had obliged him to raise. Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, with whom he had lately contracted a particular alliance, joined with him in the league against the Assyrians. Having, therefore, united their forces, they besieged Nineveh, took it, killed Saracus the king, and utterly destroyed that mighty city.*

God had foretold by his prophets, above a hundred years before, that he would bring vengeance upon that impious city for the blood of his servants, with which the kings thereof had gorged themselves, like ravenous lions; that he himself would march at the head of the troops that should come to besiege it; that he would cause consternation and terror to go before them; that he would deliver the old men, the mothers, and their children, into the merciless hands of the soldiers; that all the treasures of the city should fall into the hands of rapacious and insatiable plunderers; and that the city itself should be so totally and utterly destroyed, that not so much as a trace of it should be left; and that the people should ask hereafter, where did the proud city of Nineveh stand?

But let us hear the language of the prophets themselves; "woe to the bloody city, cries Nahum; it is all full of lies and robbery;† he that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and Israel.‡ I hear already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the bounding chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear.§ The shield of his mighty men is made red; the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightning.|| God is jealous; the Lord revengeth; and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence: who can stand before his indignation? And who can abide in the fierceness of his anger?¶ Behold I am with thee, saith the Lord of hosts; I will strip thee of all thy ornaments.** Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waste. Nineveh is destroyed; she is overthrown, she is desolate.†† The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved.‡‡ And Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves labouring upon their breasts.§§ I see a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcasses;||| and there is no end of their corpses; they stumble upon their corpses.¶¶ Where is the dwelling of lions, and the feeding place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses; and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine?***† The Lord shall destroy Assur. He shall depopulate that city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desert. It shall be a dwelling place for wild beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold; it shall be said, see that proud city, which was so stately, and so exalted; which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her, shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures.***†

The two armies enriched themselves with the spoils of Nineveh; and Cyaxares prosecuting his victories, made himself master of all the cities of the kingdom of Assyria, except Babylon and Chaldea, which belonged to Nabopolassar.

After this expedition, Cyaxares died, and left his dominions to his son Astyages: **ASTYAGES** reigned thirty-five years.*§ This prince is called in Scripture Ahasuerus. Though his reign continued no less than thirty-five years, yet we have no particulars recorded of it in history. He had two children, whose names are famous, namely, Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandana by a former marriage. In his father's lifetime, he married Mandana to Combyses, the son of Achemenes, king of Persia; from this marriage sprung Cyrus, who was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes.

* A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626. Herod. l. c. 206.

† Nahum, iii. 1.

‡ Chap. ii. 1, 2.

§ Chap. iii. 2, 3.

|| Chap. ii. 3, 4.

¶ Nahum, i. 2, 5, 6.

** Chap. iii. 5.

†† Chap. ii. 9, 10.

‡‡ The author in this place renders it, her temple is destroyed to the foundation. But I have chosen to follow our English Bible, though in the Latin it is *templum*.

§§ Nahum, ii. 6.

||| Chap. iii. 3.

¶¶ This is a noble image of the cruel avarice of the Assyrian kings, who pillaged and plundered all their neighbouring nations, especially Judea, and carried away the spoils of them to Nineveh.

***† Nahum, ii. 11, 12.

*† Zephan. ii. 13—15.

*§ A. M. 3409. Ant. J. C. 595.

CYAXARES II. This prince is in Scripture called Darius the Mede.

Cyrus, having taken Babylon, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, left it under his government. After the death of his uncle, and his father Cambyses, he united the kingdoms of the Medes and the Persians into one; in the sequel, therefore, of this discourse, they will be considered only as one empire. I shall begin the history of that empire with the reign of Cyrus; which will include also what was known of the reigns of his two predecessors, Cyaxares and Astyages. But I shall previously give some account of the kingdom of Lydia, because Cræsus, its king, has a considerable share in the events of which I am to speak.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE LYDIANS.

THE kings who first reigned over the Lydians, are by Herodotus, called Atyades; that is, descendants from Atys.* These he tells us, derived their origin from Lydus, the son of Atys; and Lydus gave the name of Lydians to that people, who, before his time, were called Mæonians.

These Atyades were succeeded by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, who possessed this kingdom for the space of five hundred and five years.

ARGO, great-grandson of Alcæus, son of Hercules, was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned in Lydia.†

The last was

CANDAULES. This prince was married to a lady of exquisite beauty, and being infatuated by his passion for her, was perpetually boasting of her charms to others. Nothing would serve him but that Gyges, one of his chief officers, should see and judge of them by his own eyes,‡ as if the husband's own knowledge of them was not sufficient for his happiness, or the beauty of his wife would have been impaired by his silence. For this purpose, the king placed Gyges secretly in a convenient place; but notwithstanding that precaution, the queen perceived him when he retired, yet took no manner of notice of it: judging, as the historian represents it, that the most valuable treasure of a woman is her modesty; she studied a signal revenge for the injury she had received, and to punish the fault of her husband, committed a still greater crime. Possibly a secret passion for Gyges had as great a share in that action as her resentment for the dishonour done her. Be that as it will, she sent for Gyges, and obliged him to expiate his crime either by his own death or the king's, at his own option. After some remonstrances to no purpose, he resolved upon the latter, and by the murder of Candaules, became master of his queen and his throne. By this means the kingdom passed from the family of the Heraclidæ into that of the Merminades.§

Arthiochus, the poet, lived at this time, and, as Herodotus informs us, spoke of this adventure of Gyges in his poems.

I cannot forbear mentioning in this place, what is related by Herodotus, that among the Lydians, and almost all other barbarians, it was considered shameful and infamous even for a man to appear naked. These instances of modesty, which are met with among pagans, ought to be greatly admired. We are assured, that among the Romans, a son, who was come to the age of maturity, never went into the baths with his father, nor even a son-in-law with his father-in-law; and this modesty and decency were looked upon them as a law of nature, the violation of which was criminal.|| It is astonishing, that among us, our magistrates take no care to prevent this disorder, which in the midst of Paris, at the season of bathing, is openly committed with impunity; a disorder so visibly contrary to the rules of common decency, so dangerous to young persons of both sexes, and so severely condemned by paganism itself.

Plato relates the story of Gyges in a different manner from Herodotus. He tells us that Gyges wore a ring, the stone of which, when turned towards him, rendered him invisible; so that he had the advantage of seeing others, without being seen himself; and that by means of that ring, with the concurrence of that queen, he de-

* Herod. l. i. c. 7—13.

† A. M. 2781. Ant. J. C. 1223.

‡ Non contentus voluptatum suarum tacita conscientia—prorsus quasi silentium damnun pulchritudinis esset.—Justin. l. i. c. 7.

§ A. M. 2386. Ant. J. C. 718.

|| Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filij, cum soceris generi, non laventur. Retinenda est igitur hujus generis verecundia, præsertim natura ipsa magistra et duce.—Cic. l. i. de Offic. n. 129.

Nudare se nefas esse credebatur.—Val. Max. l. ii. cap. 1.

prived Candaules of his life and throne. This probably signifies, that in order to compass his criminal design, he used all the tricks and stratagems the world calls subtle and refined policy, which penetrates into the most secret purposes of others, without making the least discovery of its own. The story, thus explained, carries in it a greater appearance of truth, than what we read in Herodotus.*

Cicero, after having related this fable of Gyges's famous ring, adds, that if a wise man had such a ring, he would not use it to any wicked purpose; because virtue considers what is honourable and just, and has no occasion for darkness.†

GYGES‡ reigned thirty-eight years. The murder of Candaules raised a sedition among the Lydians. The two parties, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphic oracle, who declared in favour of Gyges. The king made large presents to the temple at Delphos, which undoubtedly preceded, and had no little influence upon the oracle's answer. Among other things of value, Herodotus mentions six golden cups, weighing thirty talents, amounting to near a million of French money.§

As soon as he was in peaceable possession of the throne, he made war against Miletus, Smyrna, and Colophon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring states.

After he had reigned thirty-eight years, he died, and was succeeded by his son, ARDYS|| who reigned forty nine years. It was in the reign of this prince that the Cimmerians driven out of their country by the Scythian Nomades, went into Asia, and took the city of Sardis, but not the citadel.

SADYATTES¶ reigned twelve years. This prince declared war against the Milesians, and laid siege to their city. In those days the sieges, which were generally nothing more than blockades, were carried on very slowly, and lasted many years. This king died before he had finished that of Miletus, and was succeeded by his son.

HALYATTES** reigned fifty-seven years. This prince made war against Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewise drove the Cimmerians out of Asia. He attacked and took the cities Smyrna and Clazomenæ. He vigorously prosecuted the war against the Milesians, begun by his father, and continued the siege of their city, which had lasted six years under his father, and continued as many under him. It ended at length in the following manner: Halyattes, upon an answer he received from the Delphic oracle, had sent an ambassador into the city, to propose a truce for some months. Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, having notice of his coming, ordered all the corn, and other provisions, collected by him and his subjects for their support, to be brought into the public market, and commanded the citizens, that at the appearance of a given signal, there should be a general feasting and jollity. The thing was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambassador, at his arrival, was in the utmost surprise to see such a plenty in the market, and such cheerfulness in the city. His master, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never succeed, preferred peace to so fruitless a war, and immediately raised the siege.

CRÆSUS.†† His very name, which is become a proverb, carries in it an idea of immense riches. The wealth of this prince, to judge of it only by the presents he made to the temple of Delphos, must have been excessively great. Most of those presents were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus, and were worth several millions. We may partly account for the treasures of this prince, from certain mines that he had, situated, according to Strabo, between Pergamus and Atarnes; as also from the little river Pactolus, the sand of which was gold. But in Strabo's time this river had not the same advantage.‡‡

It is worthy of notice that this uncommon affluence, did not enervate or soften the courage of Cræsus. He thought it unworthy of a prince to spend his time in idleness and pleasure. On the contrary he was constantly engaged in war, made several conquests, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of all the contiguous provinces, as Phrygia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the country of the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. Herodotus observes, that he was the first conqueror

* Plato de Rep. l. ii. p. 359.

† Hunc ipsam annulum si habeat sapiens, nihilo plus sibi licere putet peccare, quam si non haberet. *Honestam enim bonis viris, non occulta quæerunt* — Lib. iii. de Offic. n. 38.

‡ A. M. 3286. Ant. J. C. 718. Herod. l. i. c. 13, 44.

§ About §213, 120.

|| A. M. 3324. Ant. J. C. 680. Herod. l. i. c. 15.

¶ A. M. 3373. Ant. J. C. 631. Herod. l. i. c. 16, 22.

** A. M. 3385. Ant. J. C. 619. Herod. c. 21, 22.

†† A. M. 3442. Ant. J. C. 562.

‡‡ Strab. l. xiii. p. 625, and l. xiv. p. 680.

of the Greeks, who till then had never been subject to a foreign power. Doubtless he must mean the Greeks settled in Asia Minor.*

But what is still more extraordinary in this prince, though he was so immensely rich, and so great a warrior, yet his chief delight, was in literature and the sciences. His court was the ordinary residence of those famous learned men, so revered by antiquity, distinguished by the name of the seven wise men of Greece.

Solon, one of the most celebrated among them, after having established new laws at Athens, thought he might absent himself for some years, and improve that time by travelling. He went to Sardis, where he was received in a manner suitable to the reputation of so great a man. The king, attended with a numerous court, appeared in all his regal pomp and splendour, dressed in the most magnificent apparel, enriched with gold, and glittering with diamonds. Notwithstanding the novelty of this spectacle to Solon, it did not appear that he was the least moved at it, or that he uttered a word which discovered the least surprise or admiration. On the contrary, people of sense might sufficiently discern from his behaviour, that he looked upon all his outward pomp as an indication of a little mind, which knows not in what true greatness and dignity consist. This coldness and indifference in Solon's first approach, gave the king no favourable opinion of his new guest.†

He afterwards ordered that all his treasures, his magnificent apartments, and costly furniture, should be exhibited to him; as if he expected, by the multitude of his fine vessels, diamonds, statues, and paintings, to conquer the philosopher's indifference.—But these things were not the king; and it was the king that Solon had come to visit, and not the walls or chambers of his palace. He had no notion of making a judgment of the king, nor an estimate of his worth, by these outward appendages, but by himself, and his own personal qualities. Were we to judge at present by the same rule, we should find many of our great men wretchedly naked and destitute.

When Solon had seen all, he was brought back to the king. Cræsus then asked him, which of mankind, in all his travels, he had found the most truly happy? "One Tellus," replied Solon, "a citizen of Athens, a very honest and good man, who lived all his days without indigence, had always seen his country in a flourishing condition, had children that were universally esteemed, with the satisfaction of seeing those children's children, and at last died gloriously in fighting for his country."

Such an answer as this, in which gold and silver were accounted as nothing, seemed to Cræsus to argue a strange ignorance and stupidity. However, as he flattered himself of being ranked in the second degree of happiness, he asked him, "who of all those he had seen, was the next in felicity to Tellus?" Solon answered, "Cleobis and Biton, of Argos, two brothers,‡ who had left behind them a perfect pattern of fraternal affection, and of the respect due from children to their parents. Upon a solemn festival, when their mother, a priestess of Juno, was to go to the temple, the oxen that were to draw her not being ready, the two sons put themselves to the yoke, and drew their mother's chariot thither, which was about five miles distant. All the mothers of the place, filled with admiration, congratulated the priestess on the piety of her sons. She, in the transports of her joy and thankfulness, earnestly entreated the goddess to reward her children with the best thing that heaven can give to man. Her prayers were heard. When the sacrifice was over, her two sons fell asleep in the very temple, and there died in a soft and peaceful slumber.§ In honour of their piety, the people of Argos consecrated statues to them in the temple of Delphos."

"What then," says Cræsus, in a tone that showed his discontent, "you do not reckon me in the number of the happy?" Solon, who was not willing either to flatter, or exasperate him any farther, replied calmly: "King of Lydia, besides many other advantages, the gods have given us Grecians a spirit of moderation and reserve, which has produced among us a plain, popular kind of philosophy, accompanied with a certain generous freedom, void of pride or ostentation, and therefore not well suited to the courts of kings; this philosophy, considering what an infinite number of vicissitudes and accidents the life of man is liable to, does not allow us either to glory in any prosperity we ourselves enjoy, or to admire happiness in others, which perhaps may prove only transient or superficial." From hence he took occasion to represent to him farther, "that the life of man seldom exceeds seventy years, which make up in all six thousand two hundred and fifty days, of which no two are exactly alike; so that

* Herod. l. i. c. 26—28.

† Herod. l. c. 29—33. Plut. in Solone, p. 93, 94.

‡ Φιλαδελφός και Φιλομήτορας διαφερόντως άνδρας.

§ The fatigue of drawing the chariot might be the cause of it.

the time to come is nothing but a series of various accidents which cannot be foreseen. Therefore, in our opinion," continued he, "no man can be esteemed happy, but he whose happiness God continues to the end of his life; as for others, who are perpetually exposed to a thousand dangers, we account their happiness as uncertain as the crown is to a person that is still engaged in battle, and has not yet obtained the victory." Solon retired, when he had spoken these words, which served only to mortify Cræsus, but not to reform him.*

Æsop, the author of the fables, was then at the court of this prince, by whom he was very kindly entertained. He was concerned at the unhandsome treatment Solon received, and said to him by way of advice,† "Solon, we must either not come near princes at all, or speak things that are agreeable to them." "Say rather," replied Solon, "that we should either never come near them at all, or else speak such things as may be for their good."

In Plutarch's time, some of the learned were of opinion, that this interview between Solon and Cræsus did not agree with the dates of chronology. But as those dates are very uncertain, that judicious author did not think this objection ought to prevail against the authority of several creditable writers, by whom this story is attested.

What we have now related of Cræsus is a very natural picture of the behaviour of kings and great men, who for the most part are seduced by flattery; and shows us, at the same time, the two sources from whence that blindness generally proceeds. The one is, a secret inclination which all men have, but especially the great, of receiving praise without any precaution, and judging favourably of all that admire them, or show an unlimited submission and complaisance to their humours. The other is, the great resemblance there is between flattery and a sincere affection, or a reasonable respect; which is sometimes counterfeited so exactly, that the wisest may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their guard.

Cræsus, if we judge of him by the character he bears in history, was a very good prince, and worthy of esteem in many respects. He had a great deal of good nature, affability, and humanity. His palace was a resort for men of wit and learning, which shows, that he himself was a person of learning, and had a taste for sciences. His weakness was, that he laid a great stress upon riches and magnificence, thought himself great and happy in proportion to his possessions; mistook regal pomp and splendour for true and solid greatness, and fed his vanity with the excessive submissions of those that stood in a kind of adoration before him.

Those learned men, those wits, and other courtiers, who surrounded this prince, eat at his table, partook of his pleasures, shared his confidence, and enriched themselves by his bounty and liberality, took care not to differ from the prince's taste, and never thought of undeceiving him with respect to his errors or false ideas. On the contrary, they made it their business to cherish and strengthen them in him, extolling him perpetually as the most opulent prince of his age, and never speaking of his wealth, or the magnificence of his palace, but in terms of admiration and rapture; because they knew this was the sure way to please him, and to secure his favour. For flattery is nothing else than a commerce of falsehood and lying, founded upon interest on one side, and vanity on the other. The flatterer desires to advance himself, and make his fortune; the prince to be praised and admired, because he is his own first flatterer, and carries within himself a more subtle and better prepared poison than any adulation can give him.

That saying of Æsop, who had formerly been a slave, and still retained somewhat of the spirit and character of slavery, though he had varnished it over with address of an artful courtier; "that we should either not come near kings, or say what is agreeable to them," shows us with what kind of men Cræsus had filled his court, and by what means he had banished all sincerity, integrity, and duty from his presence. Therefore we see he could not bear that noble and generous freedom in the philosopher, upon which he ought to have set an infinite value, as he would have done, had he but understood the worth of a friend, who, attaching himself to the person, and not to the fortune of a prince, has the courage to tell him disagreeable truths; truths unpalatable, and bitter to self-love at the present, but that may prove very salutary and serviceable for the future. *Dic illis, non quod volunt audire, sed quod audisse*

* Λυπήσας μὲν, ἢ νεβητήσας δὲ τὸν Κραῖσον.

† Ὁ Σόλων (ἔφη) τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δεῖ ὡς ἤμιστα ἢ ὡς ἠδίστα ἐμιλεῖν. Καὶ ὁ Σόλων. Μὴ Λί (εἴπεν) ἀλλ' ὡς ἤμιστα ἢ ὡς ἠδίστα. The jingle of the words ὡς ἤμιστα ἢ ὡς ἠδίστα, which is a beauty in the original, because it is founded in the sense, cannot be rendered into any other language.

semper volent. These are Seneca's own words, where he is endeavouring to show, of what great use a faithful and sincere friend may be to a prince; and what he adds farther seems to be written on purpose for Cræsus: "Give him," says he, "wholesome advice. Let a word of truth once reach those ears, which are perpetually fed and entertained with flattery. You'll ask me, what service can be done to a person arrived at the highest pitch of felicity? It will teach him not to trust in his prosperity; it will remove that vain confidence he has in his power and greatness, as if they were to endure for ever; make him understand, that every thing which belongs to and depends upon fortune, is as unstable as herself; and that there is often but the space of a moment between the highest elevation and the most unhappy downfall."*

It was not long before Cræsus experienced the truth of what Solon had told him. He had two sons; one of whom being dumb, was a perpetual subject of affliction to him; the other, named Atys, was distinguished by every good quality, and his great consolation and delight. The father dreamed one night, which made a great impression upon his mind, that this beloved son of his was to perish by iron. This became a new source of anxiety and trouble, and care was taken to remove out of the young prince's way every thing made of iron, as partisans, lances, javelins, &c. No mention was made of armies, wars, or sieges, before him. But one day there was to be an extraordinary hunting-match, for the killing of a wild boar, which had committed great ravage in the neighbourhood. All the young lords of the court were to be at this hunting. Atys very earnestly importuned his father, that he would give him leave to be present, at least as a spectator. The king could not refuse him that request, but let him go under the care of a discreet young prince, who had taken refuge in his court, and was named Adrastus. And this very Adrastus, as he was aiming to throw his javelin at the boar, unfortunately killed Atys. It is impossible to express either the affliction of the father, when he heard of this fatal accident, or of his unhappy prince, the innocent author of the murder, who expiated his fault with his blood, stabbing himself in the breast with his own sword, upon the funeral-pile of the unfortunate Atys.†

Two years were spent on this occasion in deep mourning, the afflicted father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loss he had sustained. But the growing reputation, and great qualities of Cyrus, who began to make himself known, roused him out of his lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a stop to the power of the Persians, which was enlarging itself every day. As he was very religious in his way, he would never enter upon any enterprise, without consulting the gods. But, that he might not act blindly, and to be able to form a certain judgment on the answers he should receive, he was willing to assure himself beforehand of the truth of the oracles: For which purpose, he sent messengers to all the most celebrated oracles both of Greece and Africa, with orders to inquire, every one at his respective oracle, what Cræsus was doing on such a day, and such an hour, before agreed on. His orders were punctually observed, and of all the oracles, none gave a true answer but that of Delphos. The answer was given in Greek hexameter verses, and was in substance as follows: *I know the number of the grains of sand on the sea-shore, and the measure of the ocean's vast extent. I can hear the dumb, and him that has not yet learned to speak. A strong smell of a tortoise boiled in brass, together with sheep's flesh, has reached my nostrils, brass beneath, brass above.* And indeed, the king, thinking to invent something that could not possibly be guessed at, had employed himself, on the day and hour set down, in boiling a tortoise and a lamb in a brass pot, which had a brass cover. St. Austin observes in several places, that God to punish the blindness of the pagans, sometimes permitted the devils to give answers conformably to the truth.‡

Cræsus, thus assured of the god's veracity, whom he designed to consult, offered three thousand victims to his honour, and ordered an infinite number of vessels, tripods, and golden tables, to be melted down, and converted into ingots of gold, to the number of a hundred and seventeen, to augment the treasures of the Delphic temple. Each of these ingots weighed at least two talents; besides which, he made several other presents: among them Herodotus mentions a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and two vessels of an extraordinary size, one of gold, which weighed eight talents

* *Plenas aures adulationibus aliquando vera vox intret; da consilium utile. Quæris, quid felici præstare possis? Effice, ne felicitatis næ credat. Parum in illum contuleris, si illi semel stultam fiduciam permissuræ semper potentie excusseris, docensque mobilia esse quæ dedit casus: ac sæpe inter fortunam maximam et ultimam nihil interesse.*—Sen. de Benef. l. vi. c. 33.

† Herod. l. i. c. 34, 35.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 46—56

and a half, and twelve minæ; the other of silver, which contained six hundred of the measures called amphoras. All these presents, and many more, which, for brevity's sake, I omit, were to be seen in the time of Herodotus.

The messengers were ordered to consult the god upon two points; first, whether Cræsus should undertake a war against the Persians; secondly, if he did, whether he should require the succour of any auxiliary troops. The oracle answered upon the first article, that if he carried his arms against the Persians, he would subvert a great empire; upon the second, he would do well to make alliances with the most powerful states of Greece. He consulted the oracle again to know how long the duration of his empire would be. The answer was, it should subsist till a mule came to possess the throne of Media; which he construed to signify the perpetual duration of his kingdom.

Pursuant to the direction of the oracle, Cræsus entered into an alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Pisistratus at their head, and with the Lacedæmonians, who were indisputably the two most powerful states of Greece.

A certain Lydian, much esteemed for his prudence, gave Cræsus on this occasion very judicious advice. "O prince," says he to him, "why do you think of turning your arms against such a people as the Persians, who, being born in a wild, rugged country, are inured from their infancy to every kind of hardship and fatigue; who being coarsely clad, and coarsely fed, can content themselves with bread and water; who are absolute strangers to all the delicacies and conveniences of life; who, in a word, have nothing to lose if you conquer them, and every thing to gain if they conquer you; and whom it would be very difficult to drive out of our country, if they should once come to taste the sweets and advantages of it? So far, therefore, from thinking of commencing a war against them, it is my opinion we ought to thank the gods, that they have never put it into the heads of the Persians to come and attack the Lydians." But Cræsus had taken his resolution, and would not be diverted from it.*

What remains of the history of Cræsus will be found in that of Cyrus, which I shall now commence.

* Herod. l. i. c. 71.

BOOK FOURTH.

THE
THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE
OF THE
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
BY CYRUS.
CONTAINING THE REIGNS OF
CYRUS, CAMBYSES AND SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

PLAN.

These three reigns will be the subject matter of the Fourth Book. But as the two latter are very short, and contain few important facts, this book, properly speaking, may be called the History of Cyrus.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF CYRUS.

THE history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as infinitely more worthy of credit in this respect than the former. As to those facts wherein they differ, I shall briefly relate what Herodotus says of them. It is well known that Xenophon served a long time under Cyrus the younger, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, who was of an inquisitive mind, often conversed, that he might acquaint himself by these means, with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*: "Having always looked upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure in informing myself of his birth, his natural temper, and education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince: and herein I advance nothing but what has been related to me."

As to what Cicero says, in his first letter to his brother Quintus, "that Xenophon's design, in writing the history of Cyrus, was not so much to follow truth, as to give a model of a just government;"* this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write the history of Cyrus, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the art of governing, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates are to be deemed true: and of this their conformity with the holy Scripture is of itself a sufficient proof. The reader may see the dissertation of the Abbé Banier upon this subject, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Polite Literature*.†

For greater perspicuity I have divided the history of Cyrus into three parts. The first will reach from his birth to the siege of Babylon; the second will comprehend the description of the siege, and the taking of that city, with every thing else that relates to that great event; the third will contain that prince's history, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

* *Cyrus ille a Xenophonte, non ad historicæ fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem justî imperiî.*

† *Vol. vi p. 400.*

ARTICLE I.

THE HISTORY OF CYRUS FROM HIS INFANCY TO THE SIEGE OF BABYLON.

This interval, besides his education, and the journey he made to his grand-father Astyages in Media, includes the first campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions subsequent to them.

SECTION I.—EDUCATION OF CYRUS.

CYRUS was the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, and of Mandana, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes.* He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandana.†

The Persians consisted at this time of twelve tribes, who inhabited only one province of that vast country which has since borne the name of Persia, and did not amount to more than one hundred and twenty thousand men. But this people having afterwards, through the wisdom and valour of Cyrus, acquired the empire of the East, the name of Persia extended itself with their conquests and fortune, and comprehended all that vast tract of land, which reaches from east to west, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to south, from the Caspian sea to the ocean.‡

Cyrus was beautiful in his person, and still more lovely for the qualities of his mind; was of a very sweet disposition, full of good-nature and humanity, and had a great desire to learn, and a noble ardour for glory. He was never afraid of any danger, nor discouraged by any hardship or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Persians, which were excellent in those days with respect to education.

The public good, the common benefit of the nation; was the only principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was looked upon as the most important duty, and the most essential part of government: it was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whose blind affection and fondness often render them incapable of that office; but the state took it upon themselves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform manner; where every thing was regulated, the place and length of their exercises, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of punishment. The only food allowed either the children or the young men, was bread, cresses, and water; for their design was to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety: besides, they considered, that a plain frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragouts, would strengthen the body, and lay such a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war to a good old age.§

Here boys went to school to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences; and the crime most severely punished among them, was ingratitude.

The design of the Persians, in all these wise regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced how much better it is to prevent faults than to punish them; and whereas, in other states, the legislators are satisfied with establishing punishments for criminals, the Persians endeavoured so to order it, as to have no criminals among them.

Till sixteen or seventeen years of age, the boys remained in the class of children, in which they learned to draw the bow, and to throw the dart or javelin; after which, they were received into the class of young men. In this class they were more narrowly watched, and kept in stricter subjection than before; because that age requires the closest inspection, and has the greatest need of restraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they passed all their nights in keeping guard, as well for the safety of the city, as to inure themselves to fatigue. In the day-time they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king in his hunting, or improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of men grown up, and formed; and in this they remained five and twenty years. Out of these, all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all such as were to fill the different posts and employments in the state, were chosen. When fifty years of age, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Besides these, there was a fourth or last class, from whence men of the greatest

* Xen. Cyrop. l. i. p. 3.

† Persia continued to occupy the same extent of territory, until the kingdom of Cabul was recently erected, from the eastern part.

† A. M. 3405. Ant J. C. 599.

§ Cyrop. l. i. p. 3—8.

wisdom and experience were chosen, for forming the public council, and presiding in the courts of judicature.

By these means every citizen might aspire to the chief posts in the government; but no one could arrive at them, till he had passed through all these several classes, and made himself capable of them by all these exercises. The classes were open to all; but generally such only as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, sent them thither.

Cyrus himself was educated in this manner, and surpassed all of his age, not only in aptness to learn, but in courage and address in executing whatever he undertook.*

JOURNEY OF CYRUS TO HIS GRANDFATHER ASTYAGES, AND HIS RETURN INTO PERSIA.

WHEN Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother, Madana, took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Astyages, who from the many things he had heard in favour of the young prince, had a great desire to see him. In this court, young Cyrus found very different manners from those of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence, reigned here universally. Astyages himself was richly clothed, had his eyes coloured,† his face painted, and his hair embellished with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life; to be dressed in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets; whereas the habits of the Persians were very plain and coarse. All this finery had no effect upon Cyrus, who, without criticising or condemning what he saw, was content to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his spriteliness and wit, and gained the favour of all by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may judge of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson unwilling to return home, made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was a vast plenty and profusion of every thing that was nice and delicate. Cyrus looked upon all this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation, with great indifference, and observing that it excited the surprise of Astyages, "The Persians," says he to the king, "instead of going such a round-about way to appease their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answered the purpose." Astyages desiring Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to show his resentment. Astyages manifesting some concern at the neglect of this officer, for whom he had a particular regard, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him; "Is that all, father?" replied Cyrus; "if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I will quickly obtain it; for I will take upon me to serve you better than he." Cyrus, immediately equipped as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace that charmed both Astyages and Madana. When he had done, he threw himself upon his grandfather's neck, and kissing him, cried out with great joy, "O Sacas, poor Sacas, thou art undone. I shall have thy place."‡ Astyages embraced him with great fondness, and said, "I am highly pleased, my dear child; nobody can serve with a better grace; but you have forgot one essential ceremony, which is that of tasting." And, indeed, the cup-bearer was used to pour some of the liquor into his left hand, and to taste it, before he presented it to the king. "No," replied Cyrus, "it was not through forgetfulness that I omitted that ceremony." "Why then," says Astyages, "for what reason did you not do it?" "Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor." "Poison, child! how could you think so?" "Yes, poison, father, for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to

* Cyrop. l. i. p. 8—22.

† The ancients in order to set off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexion, used to form their eye-brows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater lustre to their eyes, they made their eye-lashes of the same blackness. This artifice was much in use among the Hebrews. It is said of Jezebel, "Depinxit oculos suos stibio," 2 Kings, ix. 30. This drug had an astringent quality which shrunk up the eye-lids, and made the eyes appear the larger, which at that time was reckoned a beauty.—Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 6. From hence comes that epithet, which Homer so often gives to his goddesses,—Βρωπις "Hera; great eyed Juno.

‡ Ω Σάκκα, ἀπειλωλαρα, ἐκβαλω σὲ τῆς τιμῆς.

the lords of your court, after the guests had drunk a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned; they sung, made a noise, and talked they did not know what; you yourself, seemed to have forgot that you were king, and they, that they were subjects; and when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs." "Why," says Astyages, "have you never seen the same thing happen to your father?" "No, never," says Cyrus. "What then? How is it with him when he drinks?" "Why, when he has drunk, his thirst is quenched, and that is all."

We cannot too much admire the skill of the historian, in giving such an excellent lesson of sobriety in this story. He might have done it in a serious, grave way, and have spoken with the air of a philosopher; for Xenophon, although a great warrior, was as excellent a philosopher as his master Socrates. But instead of that, he puts the instruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a story, which in the original is told with all the wit and agreeableness imaginable.

Mandana being upon the point of returning to Persia, Cyrus joyfully complied with the repeated requests his grandfather had made to him to stay in Media; being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he was not yet master of, and which was not known in Persia, where the barrenness of the country, and its craggy mountainous situation, rendered it unfit for the breeding of horses.

During the time of his residence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and esteem. He was gentle, affable, beneficent, and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their solicitor. If the king had any subject of complaint against them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his, and he always managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, the son of the king of the Babylonians* (this was Evil-Merodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar,) at a hunting match a short time before his marriage, thought fit to show his bravery by making an irruption into the territories of the Medes; which obliged Astyages to take the field, to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved so well on this occasion, that the victory which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour.

The year after, his father recalling him, that he might accomplish his time in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately from the Court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occasion showed how much he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all sorts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horseback; and when the sad moment came that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.†

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-entered the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long residence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners. But when they saw that he was content with his ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this first class he passed into the second, which is the class of youths; and there it quickly appeared that he had not his equal in dexterity, address, patience and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the men's class, wherein he remained thirteen years; till he set out at the head of the Persian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

SECTION III. THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF CYRUS, WHO GOES TO SUCCOUR HIS UNCLE CYAXARES AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS.

ASTYAGES, king of the Medes, dying, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother.‡ Cyaxares was no sooner on the throne, than he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed that the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and among others, Cræsus, king of Lydia; that he had likewise sent ambassadors, to the king of India, to give him unjust impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union be-

* In Xenophon, this people are always called Assyrians; and in truth they are Assyrians, but Assyrians of Babylon, whom we must not confound with those of Nineveh, whose empire, as we have seen already, was utterly destroyed by the ruin of Nineveh, the capital city.

† A. M. 3421. Ant. J. C. 583.

‡ A. M. 3441. Ant. J. C. 560. Cyrop. l. i. p. 22-37.

tween two nations, already so powerful, might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power. Cyaxares, therefore despatched ambassadors to Cambyses, to desire succours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to send. This was readily granted. As soon as it was known that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, all infantry, for the Persians had as yet no cavalry; but they were all chosen men, and such as had been raised in a particular manner. First of all, Cyrus chose out of the nobility two hundred of the bravest officers, each of whom was ordered to choose out four more of the same sort, which made a thousand in all; and these were the officers that were called *Ομιττιμυτι*,* and who signalized themselves afterwards so gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten light-armed pikemen, ten slingers, and ten bowmen, which amounted in the whole to one and thirty thousand men.

Before they proceeded to this choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the two hundred officers, whom, after having highly praised for their courage, he inspired with the strongest assurance of victory and success. "Do you know," says he to them, "the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? They are soft, effeminate, enervated men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuousness, men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equally incapable of supporting the toil of war, or the sight of danger; whereas you, that are inured from your infancy to a sober and hard way of living; to you, I say hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce to your meals; fatigues are your pleasures, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and of glory your only passion. Besides, the justice of our cause is another considerable advantage. They are the aggressors. It is the enemy that attacks us, and they are our friends and allies that require our aid. Can any thing be more just than to repel the injury they would bring upon us? Is there any thing more honourable than to fly to the assistance of our friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of your confidence is that I do not engage in this expedition without having first consulted the gods, and implored their protection; for you know it is my custom to begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner."

Soon after Cyrus set out without loss of time; but before his departure he invoked the gods of the country a second time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterprise, great or small, without consulting the Divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyses has often taught him to consider, that the prudence of men is very short, and their views very limited, that they cannot penetrate into futurity, and that many times what they think must needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin; whereas the gods being eternal, know all things future as well as past, and inspire those they love to undertake what is most expedient for them, which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and granted only to those that invoke and consult them.†

Cambyses accompanied his son as far as the frontiers of Persia; and, in the way, gave him excellent instructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himself ignorant of nothing that relates to the business of war, after the many lessons he had received from the most able masters of that time. "Have your masters," says Cambyses to him, "given you any instructions concerning economy, that is to say, concerning the manner of supplying an army with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and preserving the health of the soldiers; of strengthening their bodies by frequent exercises; of exciting a generous emulation among them; of making yourself obeyed, esteemed, and beloved by your soldiers?" Upon each of these points, and upon several others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word spoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. "What is it then your masters have taught you?" "They have taught me to fence," replied the prince, "to draw the bow, to fling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops in order of battle, to review them, to see them march, file off, and encamp. Cambyses, smiling, gave his son to understand, that they had taught him nothing of what was most material and essential for a good officer, and an expert commander to know. And in one single conversation, which certainly deserves to be well studied by all young gentlemen designed for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all the celebrated masters had done, in the course of several years. I shall

* Men of the same dignity.

† A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559.

give but one short instance of this discourse, which may give the reader an idea of the rest.

The question was, what are the proper means of making the soldiers obedient and submissive? "The way to effect that," says Cyrus, "seems to be very easy, and very certain; it is only to praise and reward those that obey, and to punish and stigmatize such as fail in their duty." "You say well," replied Cambyses, "that is the way to make them obey you by force; but the chief point is to make them obey you willingly and freely. Now the sure method of affecting this, is to convince those you command, that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themselves; for all mankind readily submit to those of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle from whence that blind submission proceeds, which you see sick persons pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and a ship's company to their pilot. Their disobedience is only founded upon their persuasion that the physician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more skilful and knowing in their respective callings than themselves." But what shall a man do," says Cyrus to his father, "to appear more skilful and expert than others?" "He must be really so," replied Cambyses; "and in order to be so he must apply himself closely to his profession, diligently study all the rules of it, consult the most able and experienced masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprises; and, above all, he must have recourse to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wisdom, and all our success.

As soon as Cyrus had reached Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments had passed, was to inform himself of the quality and the number of the forces on both sides. It appeared by the computation made of them, that the enemy's army amounted to two hundred thousand foot, and sixty thousand horse; and that the united armies of the Medes and Persians scarcely amounted to half the number of foot; and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not so many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient, than to send for another body of troops from Persia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, besides that it would have taken too much time, appeared in itself impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed another, more sure and more expeditious, which was, that his Persian soldiers should change their arms. As they chiefly used the bow and the javelin, and consequently their manner of fighting was at a distance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was easily superior to the lesser; Cyrus was of opinion, that they should be armed with such weapons as should oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the superiority of their numbers useless. This project was mightily approved, and instantly put into execution.*

Cyrus established a wonderful order among the troops, and inspired them with a surprising emulation, by the rewards he promised, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. As for money, the only value he set upon it was to give it away. He was continually making presents to one or other, according to their rank or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a sword, or something of the same kind equally acceptable. By this generosity, this greatness of soul, and beneficent disposition, he thought a general ought to distinguish himself, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richness of his clothes, and still less by his haughtiness and imperious demeanour. † "A commander could not," he said, "give actual proofs of his munificence to every body, and for that very reason he thought himself obliged to convince every body of his inclination and good will; for though a prince might exhaust his treasures by making presents, yet he could not injure himself by benevolence and humanity, by being sincerely concerned in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making it appear that he is so." ‡

One day, as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him that some ambassadors being arrived from the king of the Indians, he desired his presence immediately. "For that purpose," says he, "I have brought you a rich garment, for the king desires you would appear magnificently dressed before the Indians, to do the nation honour." § Cyrus lost not a moment's time, but instantly set out with his troops, to wait upon the king, though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian fashion, and not as the Greek text has it, polluted or spoiled with any foreign ornament. || Cyaxares seeming at first a little dis-

* Cyrop. l. ii. p. 39—40.

† Cyrop. l. ii. p. 44.

‡ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 207.

§ Cyrop. l. ii. p. 66.

|| Εν τῇ Περσικῇστολή οὐδὲν τι ὑβρισμένῃ. A sine expression, but not to be rendered into any other language with the same beauty.

pleased at it: "If I had dressed myself in purple," says Cyrus, "and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that had been longer in coming, should I have done you more honour than I do now, by my expedition and the sweat of my face, and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and despatch your orders are obeyed?"

Cyaxares, satisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian Ambassadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was, that they were sent by the king, their master, to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians; and that they had orders, as soon as they heard what the Medes should say, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to allege on their part; to the end that the king, their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those who had right and justice on their side. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power: to be influenced only by justice, to consult no advantage from the division of neighbours, but to declare openly against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus answered, they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the sequel that he declared for the Medes.

The king of Armenia, who was vassal to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the formidable league formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of this occasion to shake off their yoke.* Accordingly, he refused to pay them the ordinary tribute, and to send them the number of troops he was obliged to furnish in time of war. This highly embarrassed Cyaxares, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himself exactly of the strength and situation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his design secret without which it was not likely to succeed. He therefore appointed a great hunting match on that side of the country; for it was his custom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's son, and the young noblemen of Armenia. On the day appointed, he set out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a distance, and were not to appear till a signal was given. After some days' hunting, when they had nearly reached the palace where the court resided, Cyrus communicated his design to his officers; and sent Chrysanthes with a detachment, ordering them to make themselves masters of a certain steep eminence, where he knew the king used to retire in case of an alarm, with his family and his treasures.

This being done, he sent a herald to the king of Armenia, to summon him to perform the treaty, and in the meantime ordered his troops to advance. Never was a court in greater surprise and perplexity. The king was conscious of the wrong he had done, and was not in a condition to support it. However, he did what he could to assemble his forces together from all quarters; and, in the meantime despatched his youngest son, called Stabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was most precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his scouts that Cyrus was closely pursuing, he entirely lost all courage, and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to secure what was dearest to him. Cyrus, seeing the country covered with people that were endeavouring to make their escape, sent them word, that no harm should be done them if they staid in their houses; but that as many as were taken running away should be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

On the other hand they that were conducting the princesses to the mountains, fell into the ambush Chrysanthes had laid for them, and were most of them taken prisoners. The queen, the king's son, his daughters, his eldest son's wife and his treasures, all fell into the hands of the Persians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence, where he was presently invested by the Persian army, and obliged to surrender. Cyrus ordered him, with all his family, to be brought to the midst of the army. At that very instant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldest son, who was just returned from a journey. At so moving a scene, he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus addressing himself to him, said, "Prince, you are come very seasonably to be present at the trial of your father." And immediately he assembled

* A. M. 3447. Ant. J. C. 557. Cyrop. l. ii. p. 58—61, and l. iii. p. 62—70.

the captains of the Persians and Medes, and called in also the great men of Armenia. Nor did he so much as exclude the ladies from this assembly, who were there in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and see all that passed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded silence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the questions he was going to propose to him, he would answer sincerely, because nothing could be more unworthy a person of his rank, than to use dissimulation or falsehood. The king promised he would. Then Cyrus asked him, but at different times, proposing each article separately, and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war upon Astyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in consequence of his defeat had concluded a treaty with Astyages; whether by virtue of that treaty he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furnish a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country? It was impossible for the king to deny any of these facts, which were all public and notorious. "For what reason, then," continued Cyrus, "have you violated the treaty in every article?" "For no other," replied the king, "than because I thought it a glorious thing to shake off the yoke, to live free, and to leave my children in the same condition." "It is really glorious," answered Cyrus, "to fight in defence of liberty; but if any one, after he is reduced to servitude, should attempt to run away from his master, what would you do with him?" "I must confess," says the king, "I would punish him." "And if you had given a government to one of your subjects, and he should be found to misbehave, would you continue him in his post?" "No, certainly: I would put another in his place." "And if he had amassed great riches by his unjust practices?" "I would strip him of them?" "But which is still worse, if he had held intelligence with your enemies, how would you treat him?" "Though I should pass sentence upon myself," replied the king, "I must declare the truth: I would put him to death." At these words, Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments: the women burst out into lamentations and outcries, as if sentence had actually passed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded silence, Tigranes addressed himself to the prince to this effect: "Great prince, can you think it consistent with your wisdom, to put my father to death, even against your own interest?" "How against my interest?" replied Cyrus. "Because he was never so capable of doing you service." "How do you make that appear? Do the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new title to consideration and favour?" "They certainly do, provided they serve to make us wiser. For wisdom is of inestimable value: are either riches, courage, or address, to be compared to it? Now, it is evident, this single day's experience has infinitely improved my father's wisdom. He knows how dear the violation of his word has cost him. He has proved and felt how much you are superior to him, in all respects. He has not been able to succeed in any of his designs; but you have happily accomplished all yours; and with such expedition and secrecy, that he has found himself surrounded and taken, before he expected to be attacked; and the very place of his retreat has served only to ensnare him." "But your father," replied Cyrus, "has yet undergone no sufferings that can have taught him wisdom." "The fear of evils," answered Tigranes, "when it is so well founded as this is, has a much sharper sting, and is more capable of piercing the soul, than the evil itself. Besides, permit me to say, that gratitude is a stronger and more prevailing motive than any whatever: and there can be no obligations in the world of a higher nature, than those you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, sceptre, life, wives, and children, all, restored to him with such a generosity: where can you find, illustrious prince, in one single person, so many strong and powerful ties to attach him to your service?"

"Well, then," replied Cyrus, turning to the king, "if I should yield to your son's entreaties, with what number of men, and what sum of money, will you assist us in the war against the Babylonians?" "My troops and treasures," says the Armenian king, "are no longer mine; they are entirely yours: I can raise forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and as to money, I reckon, including the treasure which my father left me, there are about three thousand talents ready money. All these are wholly at your disposal." Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country against the Chaldeans,* with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes, he doubled, and instead of fifty talents, exacted a hundred, and borrowed the like sum over and above in

* Xenophon never calls the people of Babylonia Chaldeans. But Herodotus, l. vii. c. 63, and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739, style them so. The Chaldeans meant in this place were a people adjoining to Armenia.

his own name. "But what would you give me," added Cyrus, "for the ransom of your wives?" "All that I have in the world," replied the king. "And for the ransom of your children?" "The same thing." "From this time, then you are indebted to me the double of all your possessions." "And you, Tigranes, at what price would you redeem the liberty of your lady?" Now he had but lately married her, and was passionately fond of her. "At the price," says he, "of a thousand lives, if I had them." Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. It is easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been upon this occasion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various subjects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often seen hunting with him, and for whom he had a particular esteem. "Alas!" says Tigranes, "he is no more; and I dare not tell you by what accident I lost him." Cyrus pressing him to tell him, "My father," continued Tigranes, "seeing I had a very tender affection for this governor, and that I was extremely attached to him, suspected it might be of some ill consequence, and put him to death. But he was so honest a man, that as he was ready to expire, he sent for me, and spoke to me in these words: "*Tigranes, let not my death occasion any disaffection in you towards the king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed from malice, but only from prejudices, and a false notion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.*"—"O the excellent man!" cried Cyrus, "never forget the last advice he gave you."

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all, as in token of a perfect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home, full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way; some extolling his wisdom, others his valour; some admiring the sweetness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his mien. "And you," says Tigranes, addressing himself to his lady, "what do you think of Cyrus's aspect and deportment?"—"I do not know," replied the lady, "I did not observe him."—"Upon what object, then did you fix your eyes?"—"Upon him that said he would give a thousand lives to ransom my liberty."

The next day the king of Armenia sent presents to Cyrus, and refreshments for his whole army, and brought him double the sum of money he was required to furnish. But Cyrus took only what had been stipulated, and restored him the rest. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days' time, and Tigranes desired to command them.

I have thought proper, for several reasons, to give so circumstantial an account of this affair; though I have so far abridged it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find in Xenophon.

In the first place, it may serve to give the reader an idea of the style of that excellent historian, and excite his curiosity to consult the original, whose natural and unaffected beauties are sufficient to justify the singular esteem, which persons of good taste have ever had for the noble simplicity of that author. To mention but one instance: what an idea of chastity and modesty, and at the same time, what a wonderful simplicity and delicacy of thought, are there, in the answer of Tigranes's wife, who has no eyes but for her husband!

In the second place, those short, close, and pressing interrogations, each of which demanded a direct, precise answer from the king of Armenia, discover the disciple and scholar of Socrates, and show in what manner he retained the taste of his master.

Besides, this relation will give us some idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's Cyropedia; the substance of which is true, though it is embellished with several circumstances, added by the author, and introduced expressly to grace his instructive lessons, and the excellent rules he lays down upon government. This much, therefore, in the event we are treating of, is real. The king of Armenia having refused to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attacked him suddenly, and before he suspected any designs were formed against him, made himself master of the only fortress he had, and took his family prisoners; obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to furnish his quota of troops; and, after all, so won upon him by his humanity and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the most faithful and affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The rest is inserted only by way of embellishment, and is rather to be ascribed to the historian than to the history.

I should never myself have found out what the story of the governor's being put to death by the father of Tigranes signified, though I was very sensible it was a kind of enigma, and figurative of something else.* A person of quality, one of the greatest

wits and finest speakers of the last age, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, explained it to me many years ago, which I have not forgotten, and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He supposed Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his master Socrates, of whom the state of Athens became jealous on account of the extraordinary attachment all the youth of the city had to him; which at last gave occasion to that philosopher's condemnation and death, which he suffered without murmur or complaint.

In the last place, I thought it proper not to miss this opportunity of manifesting such qualities in my hero, as are not always to be met with in persons of his rank; such as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would most contribute to the success of their designs. In most conquerors we find courage, resolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all such talents as make a noise in the world, and are apt to dazzle people by their glaring outside: but an inward stock of goodness, compassion, and gentleness towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and reserve, even in prosperity and victory, an insinuating and persuasive behaviour, the art of gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than interest; a constant and unalterable care always to have right on his side, and to imprint such a character of justice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere; and, lastly, such a clemency, as to distinguish those that offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them opportunity to return to their duty, these are qualities rarely found in the most celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but shone out most conspicuously in Cyrus.

To return to my subject. Cyrus, before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him some signal service. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring warlike people, who continually harassed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himself of their character, strength, and the situation of their strong holds, marched against them. On the first intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans possessed themselves of the eminences to which they were accustomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to assemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus expected no other from them, and had only placed them there, to bring the enemy the sooner to an engagement. And, indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Persians, they were not able to stand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken prisoners, and the rest were scattered and dispersed. Cyrus himself spoke to the prisoners, assuring them he was not come to injure them, or ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reasonable terms, and to set them at liberty. Deputies were immediately sent to him, and a peace was concluded. For the better security of both nations, and with their common consent, Cyrus caused a fortress to be built upon an eminence, which commanded the whole country; and left a good garrison in it, which was to declare against either of the two nations that should violate the treaty.*

Cyrus, understanding that there was frequent intercourse and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, desired that the latter would send persons to accompany and conduct his ambassador, whom he was preparing to send to the king of India. The purport of this embassy was, to desire some succours in money from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Persia, and promised that, if the gods crowned his designs with success, that potentate should have no reason to repent of having assisted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to second his request, which they could do the more advantageously, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The ambassador set out the next day, accompanied with some of the most considerable persons of Chaldea, who were directed by their master to act with the greatest dexterity, and to do all possible justice to the merit of Cyrus.

The expedition against the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country, to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thousand Chaldeans, the bravest of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promised him: so that he arrived in Media with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army than he had when he left it.

* *Cyrop.* l. iii. p. 70—76.

SECTION IV—THE EXPEDITION OF CYAXARES AND CYRUS AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS.

THE FIRST BATTLE.

BOTH parties had been employed during three years in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war.* Cyrus, finding their troops full of ardour, and ready for action, proposed to Cyaxares to lead them against Assyria. His reasons for it were, that he thought it his duty to relieve him, as soon as possible, from the care and expense of maintaining two armies; that it was better they should eat up the enemy's country, than Media; that so bold a step as that of going to meet the Assyrians, might be capable of spreading a terror among the enemy, and at the same time, inspire their own army with the greater confidence; that, lastly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyses his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number, as the valour of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his proposal.

As soon, therefore, as the customary sacrifices were offered, they begun their march. Cyrus in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire, beseeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inspire them with such a measure of courage and prudence as was necessary, and, in short, to bless their arms with prosperity and success. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterprises, with prayer; and indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himself, in the presence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Assyria; it was still their first care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and succour, after which they began to make incursions into the country, and carried off a great deal of spoil.

Cyrus, understanding that the enemy's army was about ten days' journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance and march up to them. When the armies came within sight, both sides prepared for battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open country; and according to their custom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompassed and fortified their camp with a large ditch, Cyrus, on the contrary, who wished to deprive the enemy, as much as possible, of the sight and knowledge of the smallness of his army, covered his troops with several little hills and villages. For several days nothing was done on either side, but looking at and observing one another. At length a numerous body of the Assyrians moving first out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, *Jupiter, protector and conductor.*† He then caused the ordinary hymn to be sounded in honour of Castor and Pollux, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardour, (*ἑσπερίων*) answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and a universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should command "For it is observable," says the historian, "in this place, that on these occasions, those who fear the Deity most are the least afraid of men" On the side of the Assyrians, the troops, armed with bows, slings, and darts, made their discharge, before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Assyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Cræsus, and their own king, to encourage them, were not able to sustain so impetuous a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed. The former warmly pursued them to the very camp, made a terrible slaughter, and Neriglossor, the king of the Babylonians, was killed in the action. Cyrus, not thinking himself in a condition to force their intrenchments, sounded a retreat.

The Assyrians, in the mean time, having lost their king, and the flower of their army, were in a dreadful consternation.‡ As soon as Cræsus found them in so great disorder, he fled, and left them to shift for themselves. The other allies likewise, seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their escape.§

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and as we have already observed, the Persians had none.

* A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556. Cyrop. l. iii. p. 78—87.

† I do not know whether Xenophon, in this place, does not call the Persian gods by the names of the gods of his own country.

‡ Cyrop. l. iv. p. 87, 104.

§ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 160.

He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him how dangerous it was to drive so powerful an enemy to extremities, whom despair would probably inspire with courage; that it was a part of wisdom to use good fortune with moderation, and not to lose the fruits of victory by too much eagerness; moreover, that he did not wish to compel the Medes, or to refuse them that repose to which their behaviour had justly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, desired his permission only to take as many of the horses as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily consented to this, and thought of nothing else now, but of passing his time with his officers in feasting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had obtained.

Cyrus marched away in pursuit of the enemy, and was followed by the greatest part of the Median soldiers. Upon the way he met some couriers, that were coming to him from the Hyrcanians,* who served in the enemy's army, to assure him, that as soon as he appeared, those Hyrcanians would come over to him; which in effect they did. Cyrus made the best use of his time; and, having marched all night, came up with the Assyrians. Cræsus had sent away his wives in the night-time, for coolness, for it was the summer season, and followed them himself with a body of cavalry. When the Assyrians saw the enemy so near them, they were in the utmost confusion and consternation. Many of those that ran away, being warmly pursued, were killed; all that staid in the camp surrendered; the victory was complete, and the spoil immense. Cyrus reserved all the horses they took in the camp for himself, resolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto had none. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares; and for the prisoners, he gave them all their liberty to go home to their own country, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they and their countrymen should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himself to defend them against their enemies, and to put them in a condition for cultivating their lands with entire security.

While the Medes and the Hyrcanians were still pursuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repast, and even baths prepared for them, that, at their return, they might have nothing to do but to sit down and refresh themselves. He likewise thought fit to defer the distribution of the spoil till then. It was on this occasion this general, whose thoughts nothing escaped, exhorted his Persian soldiers to distinguish themselves by their generosity, in regard to their allies, from whom they had already received great services, and of whom they might expect still greater. He desired they would wait their return, both for the refreshments, and the division of the spoil; and that they would show a preference of their interests and conveniencies before their own; giving them to understand, that this would be a sure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of securing a new harvest of victories to them over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wish, and make them an ample compensation for the voluntary losses they might sustain, for the sake of winning the affection of the allies. They all acceded to his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them sit down to the repast he had prepared for them, desiring them to send nothing but bread to the Persians, who were sufficiently provided, he said, with all they wanted either for their ragouts, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragout, and water from the river their only drink; for that was the way of living to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning came on the division of the spoils. Cyrus, in the first place, ordered the magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty which was most proper to be offered the gods on such an occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained among the whole army. They earnestly desired that the Persians might preside in the distribution, but the Persians absolutely refused; so that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

The very night that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy, Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity, and had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning, when he awaked, he was strangely surprised to find himself almost alone,

* These are not the Hyrcanians by the Caspian sea. From observing the encampments of Cyrus in Babylonia, one would be apt to conjecture, that the Hyrcanians here meant were about four or five days' journey south of Babylon.

and without troops. Immediately, full of resentment and rage, he despatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus severely; and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonable proceeding did not dismay Cyrus, who, in return, wrote him a respectful letter, in which, however, he expressed himself with a generous and noble feeling, justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him of taking as many Medes with him as were willing to follow him. At the same time Cyrus sent into Persia, for a reinforcement of his troops, designing to push his conquests still farther.*

Among the prisoners of war they had taken, there was a young princess, of most exquisite beauty, whom they reserved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Susiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her; for fear, as he said, such an object might engage his affection more than he desired, and divert him from the prosecution of the great designs he had in view.† This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received: for it was a principle among the Persians, never to speak before young people of any thing that tended or related to love, lest their natural inclination to pleasure, which is so strong and violent at that age of levity and indiscretion, should be awakened and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araspes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, but pretended that a man may be always master of himself. Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him a very prudent admonition: "I have seen a great many persons," says he, "who have thought themselves very strong, wretchedly overcome by that violent passion, in spite of all their resolution, who have afterwards owned, with shame and grief, that their passion was a bondage and slavery, from which they had not the power to redeem themselves; an incurable distemper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts; a kind of bond or necessity, more difficult to force than the strongest chains of iron."‡ "Fear nothing," replied Araspes, "I am sure of myself, and I will answer with my life, I shall do nothing contrary to my duty." Nevertheless, his passion for this young princess increased, and by degrees grew to such a height, that finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of using violence with her. The princess at length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately sent Artabazus to Araspes, with orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and with such a rigorous severity, as was enough to throw him into despair. Araspes, struck to the soul with grief and anguish, burst into a flood of tears; and being overwhelmed with shame and fear, thinking himself undone, had not a word to say for himself. Some days afterwards, Cyrus sent for him. He went to the prince, fearful and trembling. Cyrus took him aside, and instead of reproaching him with severity as he expected, spoke gently to him; acknowledging, that he himself was to blame for having imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy. By such an unexpected kindness, the young nobleman recovered both life and speech. But his confusion, joy, and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of tears. "Alas!" says he, "now I am come to the knowledge of myself, and find most plainly, that I have two souls; one that inclines me to good, another that excites me to evil. The former prevails, when you speak to me, and come to my relief: when I am alone, and left to myself, I give way to, and am overpowered by the latter." Araspes made advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus considerable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their measures and designs.§

The loss of so brave an officer, who, through discontent, was supposed to have gone over to the enemy, greatly affected the whole army. Panthea, who had occasioned it, promised Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit, meaning her husband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him he repaired to the camp of the Persians, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and handsomely she had been treated by the generous conqueror. "And how," cried out Abradates, "shall I be able to acknowledge so important a service?" "By behaving towards him," replied Panthea, "as he hath done towards me." Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and paying his respects to so great a benefactor, "you see before you," said he "the tenderest friend, the most devoted

* Cyrop. l. iv. p. 104—108;

† Δεδειμένους ἰσχυροτέρῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ, ἢ εἰ σιδήρῳ ἐδέδεντο.

† Cyrop. l. v. p. 114, 117. et l. vi. p. 153, 155.

§ Cyrop. l. i. p. 34.

servant, and the most faithful ally, you ever had; who, not being able otherwise to acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himself entirely to your service." Cyrus received him with such a noble and generous air, that whatever Panthea had said of the wonderful character of that great prince, was greatly short of the truth.*

The Assyrian noblemen, likewise, who designed, as Cyrus was informed to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary service. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and virtue. The late king of Assyria, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had resolved to get his daughter in marriage to his son, and for that reason had sent him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beast with his dart, which the king's son had missed. The latter who was of a passionate and savage temper, immediately struck the gentleman with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas besought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had not long been designed for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother.† This young king was called Laborosoachod; he reigned only nine months, and was succeeded by Nabonid, called also Balynit and Balthasar, who reigned seventeen years.‡

The other Assyrian nobleman was called Gadates. He was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne, because one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman whom he should choose for a wife.§

The expectation of this double succour was a strong inducement to Cyrus, and made him determined to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire he designed to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not intending to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself acquainted with it; to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations for the siege he meditated. He set out, therefore, with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he lived in, seemed to be an impregnable place, so advantageously was it situated, and so strongly fortified on all sides. This prince came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus to his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and gold cups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country; then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seemed greatly to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgment, which he took the liberty to offer him. "I willingly accept your gold and silver," says Cyrus, "and I make a present of it to your daughter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but among the nobles of my court, you will find a match suitable for her. It will neither be their own riches nor yours, which they will set their esteem upon. I can assure you, there are many among them, who would make no account of all the treasures of Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to their friends, formidable, to their enemies, and respectful to the gods." Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he steadfastly refused, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who staid and eat with him and his officers. The ground, and the green turf that was upon it, was the only bed or couch they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment corresponded. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit: and above all things he admired the ingenuous vein of humour, and the innocent cheerfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.||

Cyrus, always intent upon his great design, preceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadates, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood of this, there

* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 155, 156.

† Cyrop. l. iv. p. 111, 113.

‡ A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.

§ Cyrop. l. v. p. 123, 124.

|| Cyrop. l. v. p. 119, 123.

was a strong citadel, which commanded the country of the Sacæ* and the Cadusians, where a governor for the king of Babylon resided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadates, whose intelligence with the Persians was as yet kept secret, by Cyrus's advice, offered himself, to the Governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. He was accordingly admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of the citadel made him master of the Sacæ and the Cadusians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his service. The Cadusians raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and the Sacæ furnished ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse archers.

The king of Assyria took the field, in order to punish Gadates for this rebellion; but Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great slaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After this exploit, the conqueror employed some time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving to all of them liberty to return home to their habitations, had spread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily surrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then, advancing near the city of Babylon, he sent the king of Assyria a personal challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a single combat; but his challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence, he made a kind of truce, or treaty, with the king of Assyria, by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be molested, but should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore after having viewed the country, examined the situation of Babylon, acquired a considerable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.†

When he came to the frontiers, he sent a messenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit so great an army into his country, an army that was about to receive a farther augmentation of forty thousand men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus, who likewise advanced to meet him with his cavalry, which were very fine and numerous. The sight of those troops rekindled the jealousy and dissatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid the receiving of his salute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into a conversation with his uncle, for explaining himself with the more freedom. He spoke to him with so much moderation, submission, and reason; gave him such strong proofs of his integrity, respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispelled all his suspicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opinion. They embraced each other, and tears were shed on both sides. How great was the joy of the Persians and Medes who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horses, and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the sign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of the other nations their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes, who came to salute him, and to bring him presents, some of their own accord, and others by the direction of Cyrus. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the Medes had the same affection for him as before.‡

Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Cræsus and the Babylonians. In the council, held the next day, in the presence of Cyaxares and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.§

Not finding in Xenophon any date that precisely fixes the years wherein the several events he relates happened, I suppose, with Usher, though Xenophon's relation does not seem to favour this conjecture, that between the two battles against Cræsus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides, for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

† Cyrop. l. v. p. 124—140.

* Not the Sacæ of Seythia.

† Cyrop. l. v. p. 141—147.

§ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 145—151.

Cyrus, then, about this time, had thought of making a tour into his own country, about six or seven years after his departure, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares, on this occasion, gave him a signal testimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male issue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage to Cyrus, with an assurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion.* Cyrus had a grateful sense of this advantageous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgments of it; but thought himself not at liberty to accept it till he had the consent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respectful submission and entire dependence, which all children ought to show to their parents on the like occasions, of whatever age they may be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.†

When the marriage solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare, in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies, for accomplishing the great design he had formed.

Forseeing, says Xenophon, that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitched his camp in a convenient and healthy place, and fortified it very strongly. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise as if the enemy had been always in sight.‡

They undertook by deserters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded, that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey, only to raise up some new enemy against him; and therefore laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great number of chariots of war built after a new form, having found great inconveniences in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

In this interval, ambassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large sum of money for Cyrus from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and, if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that, in short, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost respect, and made them noble presents; and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in effect to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves in it with great ability.§

I do not recognise, in this last circumstance, the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant, that it was an open violation of the laws of nations to send spies to an enemy's court, under the title of ambassadors; which is a character that will not suffer those invested with it, to act so mean a part or to be guilty of such treachery?

Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle, like a man who had nothing but great objects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation among his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, throw a dart or shoot an arrow the most dexterously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them with him in hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived that the captains took particular care of their men, he praised them publicly, and showed them all possible favour. When he made them any feast, he never proposed any other diver-

* Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above sixty years of age, and the princess not much less, and as it is improbable that either of them should wait till that age, before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date. Besides, at any rate, Cambyses would have been but seven years old when he came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when he died; which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the rest of his history. Perhaps Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do, but I follow the chronology of Archbishop Usher. I have also left out what is related in the Cyropædia, l. viii. p. 228, that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grand-father Astyages, the young princes had said she would have no other husband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirty years old.

† Cyrop. l. viii. p. 228, 229.

‡ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 151.

§ Cyrop. p. 156, 157.

sions than military exercises, and always gave considerable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited a universal ardour throughout his army. In a word, he was a general, who in repose as well as action, nay, even in his pleasures, his meals, conversation, and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the service. It is by such methods a man becomes an able and complete warrior.*

In the mean time, the Indian ambassadors, having returned from the enemy's camp, brought word, that Cræsus was chosen generalissimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necessary sums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great succour was marching consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Assyrians were likewise come up with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Æolians, and most of the Greeks living in Asia, had been obliged to join them; that Cræsus had likewise sent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was assembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbria, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by the accounts brought in, both by the prisoners and the spies.†

Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news. But that prince having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispelled their fears, and revived their courage.‡

Cyrus had taken proper measures for providing his army with all necessaries, and had given orders, as well for their march as for the battle he was preparing to fight; in doing which, he descended to an astonishing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very lowest subaltern officers; for he knew very well, that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through the neglect of the smallest circumstances; in the same manner, as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines, is stopped through the disorder of a single wheel, however small.§

This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names; and making use of a common, but significant comparison, he used to say, "He thought it strange that an artificer should know the names of all his tools, and a general should be so indifferent as not to know the names of all his captains, which are the instruments he must make use of in all his enterprises and operations." Besides he was persuaded, that such an attention had something in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe they are both known and esteemed by their general.||

When all the preparations were finished, Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who staid in Media, with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless.¶

Cyrus, who understood how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the seat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forward to meet them in their territories, that he might both consume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition, and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march, he came up with the enemy at Thymbria, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country; and they were strangely surprised to see him come, before they had time to lay up the provisions necessary for the subsistence of their numerous army, or to assemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

SECTION V.—THE BATTLE OF THYMBRIA, BETWEEN CYRUS AND CRÆSUS.

THIS battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, since it decided upon the empire of Asia between the Assyrians of Babylon and the Persians. It was this consideration that induced M. Freret, one of my brethren in the Academy of Politic Literature, to examine it with particular care and exactness; and the rather, as he observes, because it is the first pitched battle of which we have any full or particular account.** I have assumed the privilege of making use of the labours and learning of

* Cyrop. l. vi. 157.

† Cyrop. p. 158

‡ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 159.

§ Cyrop. p. 158—163.

|| Cyrop. l. v. p. 131, 132.

¶ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 160, 161.

** Vol. VI. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 532.

other persons, but without robbing them of the glory, or denying myself the liberty of making such alterations as I might judge necessary. I shall give a more ample and particular description of this battle than I usually do of such matters, because Cyrus being looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the profession may be glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action: moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war, and fought battles, is an essential part of their history.

In Cyrus's army, the companies of foot consisted of a hundred men each, exclusive of the captain. Each company was subdivided into four parts or platoons, which consisted of four-and-twenty men each, not including the person who commanded. These subdivisions were again divided into two files, consisting of twelve men each. Every ten companies had a particular superior officer to command them, corresponding with the present rank of colonel; and ten of these bodies were under another superior commander, whom we may call a brigadier.*

I have already observed, that Cyrus, when he first came at the head of the thirty thousand Persians, to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the arms of his troops. Two-thirds of them, till then, only made use of javelins, or bows, and consequently could only fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers, and swords, or battle-axes, and left few of his soldiers in light armour.†

The Persians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horseback. Cyrus, who was convinced that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle as cavalry, was sensible of the great disadvantage he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design, and by degrees formed a body of Persian cavalry, which amounted to ten thousand men, and were the best troops of his army.‡

I shall speak elsewhere of the other change he introduced, with respect to the chariots of war. It is now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together several scattered passages of Xenophon; that author having omitted the material circumstance of acquainting us precisely with their numbers, which appears surprising in a man so expert in military affairs as that historian was.

Cyrus's army amounted, in the whole, to one hundred and ninety-six thousand men, horse and foot. Of these there were seventy thousand native Persians, viz. ten thousand cuirassiers of horse, twenty thousand cuirassiers of foot, twenty thousand pikemen, and twenty thousand light-armed soldiers. The rest of the army, to the number of one hundred and twenty-six thousand men, consisted of twenty-six thousand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and one hundred thousand foot of the same nation.

Besides these troops, Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were shot-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.§

He had likewise ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a larger size, on each of which was placed a tower, of about eighteen or twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by sixteen oxen yoked abreast.||

There was, moreover, a considerable number of camels, upon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back, so that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.¶

The army of Cræsus was more than twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thousand men, sixty thousand of which were cavalry. The troops consisted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellespont, and of Egyptians, to the number of three hundred and sixty thousand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of one hundred and twenty thousand. They had bucklers that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and short but very broad swords. The rest of the army was made up of Cyprians, Cilicians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.**

Cræsus had arranged his army in order of battle in one line, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horse, were thirty men deep; but the Egyptians, who, as we have noticed, were one hundred and

* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 167.

† Cyrop. l. ii. p. 39, 40.

‡ Cyrop. l. iv. p. 99, 100. et l. v. p. 138.

§ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 152, 253, 154.

|| Cyrop. p. 157.

¶ Cyrop. p. 153, 158.

** Cyrop. p. 158.

twenty thousand in number, and who were the principal strength of his infantry, in the centre of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or square battalions, of ten thousand men each, having one hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval or space between every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and, without interfering with one another. Cræsus would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an extensive plain, which gave room for extending their wings to right and left; and the design of Cræsus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle to which they had been accustomed. His army being thus drawn out in one line, took up nearly forty stadia, or five miles in length.*

Araspes, who, under the pretence of discontent, had retired to Cræsus's army, and had particular orders from Cyrus to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus, in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four-and-twenty men in depth. But Cyrus thought fit to change that disposition. It was necessary to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his phalanx, to prevent his army's being enclosed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuirasses, partizans, battle-axes, and swords; and, provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe that the Lydian phalanx, armed with only light bucklers and javelins, could support the charge. Cyrus, therefore, thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chrysanthes, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army occupied but thirty-two stadia, or four miles in extent; and consequently was at each flank nearly four stadia, or half a mile, short of the enemy's front.†

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus placed the spear-men, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other, were covered by the soldiers in their front, over whose heads they could throw their javelins, and shoot their arrows at the enemy.

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their duty was, to have their eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to sustain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill as traitors those that fled; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could possibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and served not only to annoy the enemy by the constant discharges of the archers that were in them, but also as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Persian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women, and such other persons as were unfit for service.

To close all these lines, and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all, two thousand infantry, two thousand horse, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.‡

Cyrus's design in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the enemy, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into three bodies, of one hundred each. One of the bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of Susiana,§ was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies, as they were drawn out and stationed the day before the engagement.

* Cyrop. p. 166.

† Cyrop. l. vi. p. 167.

‡ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 166.

§ Or Sushan.

The next day, very early in the morning, Cyrus made a sacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the soldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was there a more beautiful and magnificent sight; coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to admire most; men and horses all finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.*

When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirass, which was only of quilted linen, according to the fashion of his country, his wife Panthea came and presented him with a helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that her present might be the more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when she dressed him in this armour, she shed some tears. But notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not signalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. "Our obligations," says she, "to that prince are infinitely great. I was his prisoner, and as such was set apart for his pleasure; but when I came into his hands, I was neither used like a captive, nor had any dishonorable conditions imposed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife, and in return, I assured him, you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness." "O Jupiter!" cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, "grant that on this occasion I may prove myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of so generous a benefactor." Having said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea not being able to embrace him any longer, was ready to kiss the chariot he rode in; and when she had pursued him with her eyes as far as she possibly could, she retired.†

As soon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice, given his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage which is due to the gods, every man went to his post.‡ Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals; he eat a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed among those that were about him. He took a little wine likewise, and poured out a part of it as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide, and come to his assistance; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.§

As he was considering on which side he would direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out, "Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee."|| And that instant he set forwards, having Chrysanthes on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arsamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them above all things to take care of the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle on the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out. The same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He ordered his army to halt three times before they reached the enemy; and after having marched about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, and the enemy had observed how much the front of theirs exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the centre of their army halt, while the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with design to enclose Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every side at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, "Jupiter, leader and protector," he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately, and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the soldiers; and he who, on all other occasions, was so modest, and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was assured of victory; "Follow me, comrades," said he; "the victory is certainly ours; the gods are for us." He observed that many of his officers, and even Abradates himself, were uneasy at the motion which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: "These troops alarm you," says he; "believe me, these are the very troops that will be the first routed; and to you, Abradates, I give that as a signal of the time when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots." The event happened exactly as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary every where, he returned to the right wing of his army.¶

* Cyrop. p. 169.

† Cyrop. p. 169, 170.

‡ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 170.

§ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 172.

|| He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.

¶ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 173-176.

When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended, Cræsus gave the signal to the main body of his army, to march up directly to the front of the Persian army, while the two wings, that were wheeling round upon their flanks, advanced on each side: so that Cyrus's army was enclosed on three sides, as if it had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon says, looked like a small square drawn within a great one.*

In an instant, on the first signal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every side, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to sing the hymn of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse, briskly followed by a body of the foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank; and having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do, put them in great disorder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, completed their defeat.

In the same moment the troops on the left flank, knowing by the noise, that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewise, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as they were sensible of the approach of those animals, for horses cannot endure the smell of camels, began to snort and prance, to run upon and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. While they were in this confusion, a small body of horse commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying; and the chariots armed with scythes falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed, with a dreadful slaughter.

This being the signal which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots. Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge, but gave way, and were dispersed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, who being covered with their bucklers, and marching in such close order, that the chariots had not room to pierce among them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, had it not been for the violence of the horses that trod upon them. It was a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses, overturned chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the sharp scythes, which cut every thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariot having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed, after they had signalized their valour in an extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forward in close order, and covered with their bucklers, obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met with a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the moving towers; and the battalions of the Persian rearguard advancing sword in hand, hindered their archers and spearmen from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.†

Cyrus in the mean time, having put both the horse and foot to flight, on the left of the Egyptians, did not amuse himself in pursuing the fugitives, but, pushing on directly to the centre, had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way; and, rightly judging that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining farther ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell upon their rear; the cavalry came up at the same time, and the enemy was pushed with great fury. The Egyptians, being attacked on all sides, faced about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, sinking under him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, says Xenophon, of seeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his soldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they saw their leader, ran headlong into the thick forest of pikes, to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions if they would surrender, letting them know at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions, and, as they were no less eminent in point of fidelity than in courage, they stipulated, that

* Cyrop. p. 176.

† Cyrop. l. vii. p. 177.

they should not be obliged to carry arms against Cræsus, in whose service they had been engaged. From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.*

Xenophon observes, that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larissa and Cyllene, near Cuma, upon the sea-coast, as also other inland places, which were inhabited by their descendants even in his time; and he adds, that these places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation of Xenophon, as also many others in several parts of his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, shows plainly, that he meant that work as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the main substance of it, and the greatest part of the facts and transactions. This judicious reflection on the passage in Xenophon belongs to Mons. Freret.†

The battle lasted till evening. Cræsus retreated as fast as he could with his troops to Sardis. The other nations, in like manner, that very night directed their course each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.‡

In describing this battle, I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin translation of which is not always faithful. Some military men, to whom I have communicated this description, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus disposed of his troops in order of battle, as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to sustain his armed chariots, and to oppose the two bodies of troops which Cræsus had detached to fall upon the flanks of his army. It is possible such a circumstance might escape Xenophon in describing this battle.

It is allowed, that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry, which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which, till his time, they had been entirely ignorant. The chariots armed with scythes did good service, and the use of them was ever afterwards retained among the Persians. The camels, too, were not unservicable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them; and observes, that in his time they made no other use of them than for carrying the baggage.§

I do not undertake to write a panegyric upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is sufficient to take notice, that in this affair we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in him. Before the battle, an admirable sagacity and foresight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures: an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army should be provided with every thing necessary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his soldiers and to inspire them with confidence and ardour; in the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders, as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, at the same time, what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed! We shall see by and by, what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the rest, is the constant care he took on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the Deity which he thought belonged to him. Doubtless the reader has been surprised to see, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in sight of his army, makes mention of the gods, offers sacrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them by prayer and invocation, and implores their succour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military person, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession, to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame, then, and a reproach would it be to a Christian officer or general, if, on a day of battle, he should blush to appear as religious and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hosts, the god of armies, whom he acknowledges as such, should make a less impression upon his mind, than a respect for the false deities of paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus!

As for Cræsus he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is said of him in the whole engagement. But that profound silence which Xenophon observes in regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

But let us return to the camp of the Persians. It is easy to imagine, that Panthea must have been in the utmost affliction and distress, when the news was brought to her of the death of Abradates. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and

* *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 178.† *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 179.‡ *Cyrop.* p. 180.§ *Cyrop.* p. 180.

holding it upon her knees, quite out of her senses, with her eyes steadfastly fixed upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief, and indulging her misery, with the sight of that dismal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathized with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he possibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shown to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very spot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.*

SECTION VI.—THE TAKING OF SARDIS AND OF CRÆSUS.

THE next day, in the morning, Cyrus marched towards Sardis.† If we may believe Herodotus, Cræsus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces to meet him and to give him battle. According to that historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could neither endure the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both side; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city; which Cyrus quickly besieged, causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But while he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already began to disperse themselves.

To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them as it were, by a single command, in a city abounding with riches as Sardis did, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Cræsus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.‡

When Cyrus had given all necessary orders concerning the city, he had a particular conversation with the king, of whom he asked, among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphos, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom, it was said, he had always had a great regard? Cræsus first acknowledged, that he had justly incurred the indignation of that god, for having shown a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason to complain of him, for that having consulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead a happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness, when he once came to the knowledge of himself. "For want of this knowledge," continued he, "and believing myself, through the excessive praises that were lavished upon me, to be something very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in a war against a prince, infinitely my superior in all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, and begin to know myself, I believe I am about to commence being happy; and if you prove favourable to me, for my fate is in your hands, I shall certainly be so." Cyrus, touched with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from so great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under such a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to say, he discharged him, as Cræsus acknowledged himself, from

* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 184—186.

† Herod. l. i. c. 79—84.

‡ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 180.

all the burdensome part of regal power, and truly unabled him to lead a happy life, exempted from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, and to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more secure of his person.*

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this story with the addition of some very remarkable circumstances, which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithstanding they seem to be much more wonderful than true.

I have already observed, that the only son Cræsus had living, was dumb. This young prince, seeing a soldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a stroke upon the head with his scimitar, made such a violent effort and struggle, out of fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that he broke the strings of his tongue, and cried out, "soldier, spare the life of Cræsus."†

Cræsus being a prisoner, was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive. Accordingly, the funeral-pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince being laid thereon, and just upon the point of execution, recollecting the conversation he had formerly had with Solon,‡ was wofully convinced of the truth of that philosopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof, cried out aloud three times, "Solon, Solon, Solon!" Cyrus, who, with the chief officers of his court, was present at this spectacle, was curious to know why Cræsus pronounced that celebrated philosopher's name with so much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reason, and reflecting upon the uncertain state of all sublunary things, he was touched with commiseration at the prince's misfortune, caused him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and respect.§ Thus had Solon the glory, with a single word, to save the life of one king, and give a wholesome lesson of instruction to another.||

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Cræsus to engage in the war which proved so fatal to him. The one was, that he, Cræsus, was to believe himself in danger, when the Medes should have a rule to reign over them; the other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the first of these oracular answers he concluded, considering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the second, he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found that things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he despatched messengers to Delphos, in order to make a present to the god, in his name, of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having so basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding all the vast presents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Cræsus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by such false and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, imposed upon mankind in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answer to those that consulted him, in such ambiguous and doubtful terms, that, let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

When the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprised of Cyrus's having subdued the Lydians, they sent ambassadors to him at Sardis, to desire he would receive them as his subjects; upon the same conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who, before his victory, had solicited, them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel them to it by force, answered them only by a fable of a fisherman, who having played upon his pipe, in order to make the fish come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them, but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of succeeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded their succour. The Lacedæmonians, thereupon sent deputies to Cyrus to let him know, that they would not suffer him to undertake any thing against the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at such a message, and warned them in his turn to take care, and put themselves into a condition to defend their own territories.¶

The nations of the isles had nothing to apprehend from Cyrus, because he had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, nor had the Persians any shipping.

* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 181—184.

† Herod. l. i. c. 85.

‡ This conversation is already related in this volume, p. 301, 302.

§ Herod. c. 86—91. Plut. in Solon.

|| Καὶ δὲ ζῶν ἴσχυον ὁ Σίλων ἐνὶ λόγῳ τὸν μὲν σώσας, τὸν δὲ παιδιᾶσας τῶν Βασιλείων. Plut.

¶ Herod. l. i. c. 141, 152, 153.

ARTICLE II.

THE HISTORY OF THE BESIEGING AND TAKING OF BABYLON BY CYRUS

CYRUS staid in Asia Minor, till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it, into subjection, from the Ægean sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he also subdued. After which he entered into Assyria; and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the East that stood out against him.*

The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design. But despairing to take the place by storm or assault, he made the inhabitants believe he designed to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch: and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himself, as so much unprofitable labour.

SECTION I.—PREDICTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON, AS THEY ARE SET DOWN IN DIFFERENT PLACES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

As the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in ancient history, and as the principal circumstances with which it was attended, were foretold in the holy Scriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the profane writers say of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

I. THE PREDICTION OF THE JEWISH CAPTIVITY, AT BABYLON AND THE TIME OF ITS DURATION.

God Almighty was pleased not only to cause the captivity which his people were to suffer at Babylon to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and an eternal destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. "And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years." Jer. xxv. 11.

II. THE CAUSE OF GOD'S WRATH AGAINST BABYLON.

WHAT kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. Her insupportable pride; 2. Her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and, 3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. *Her pride.* She believed herself to be invincible. She says in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness or widowhood. Eternity is written in my destiny, according the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it.

2. *Her cruelty.* It is God himself that complains of it. I was willing, says he, to punish my people in such a manner as a father chastiseth his children. I sent them for a time into banishment at Babylon, with a design to recall them as soon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and her prince had converted my paternal chastisement into such a cruel and inhuman treatment, as my clemency abhors. Their design has been to destroy: mine was to save. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shown no compassion or regard either to age, or infirmity, or virtue.

3. *The sacrilegious impiety of her king.* To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors, Belshazzar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the true and only God, but imagining himself likewise to have vanquished his power, because he was possessed of the vessels which had be-

* Herod. l. i. c. 177. Cyrop. l. vii. p. 186—188.

longed to his worship; and, as if he meant to affront him, he affected to apply these holy vessels to profane uses. This was the provoking circumstances that brought down the wrath of God upon him.

III. THE DECREE PRONOUNCED AGAINST BABYLON, PREDICTION OF THE CALAMITIES THAT WERE TO FALL UPON HER, AND OF HER UTTER DESTRUCTION.

“MAKE bright the arrows, gather the shields;” it is the prophet that speaks to the Medes and Persians. “The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple.”*

“Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate.†—Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria.”‡

“Shout against her round about. Recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her; and spare ye not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host.§—Every one that is found shall be thrust through, and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold I will stir up the Medes against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eyes shall not spare children.|| Oh daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be, that taketh thy children, and dasheth them against the stones.”¶

“And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldee’s excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in, from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there; and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces.** I shall also make it a possession of the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts. The lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.”††

IV. CYRUS CALLED TO DESTROY BABYLON, AND TO DELIVER THE JEWS.

CYRUS, whom Divine Providence was to make use of, as an instrument for the executing of his design of goodness and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the Scripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born. And, that the world might not be surprised at the prodigious rapidity of his conquests, God was pleased to declare in very lofty and remarkable terms, that he himself would be his guide; and that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him. “Thus saith the lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel; for Jacob my servant’s sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.‡‡

V. GOD GIVES THE SIGNAL TO THE COMMANDERS, AND TO THE TROOPS, TO MARCH AGAINST BABYLON.

“LIFT ye up a banner,” saith the Lord, “upon the high mountain,” that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. “Exalt the voice unto them” that are able to hear you. “Shake the hand,” and make a sign to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops “go into the gates of the nobles,” into the pavilions of

* Jer. li. 11.

† Isa. xiii. 6, 9.

‡ In the destruction of Nineveh. Jer. i. 18.

§ Jer. i. 15, 29, and li. 3.

|| Isa. xii. 15, 18.

¶ Psal. cxxxvii. 8, 9.

** Isa. xiii. 19, 22.

†† Isa. xiv. 23, 24.

‡‡ Isa. xlv. 1—4.

their kings. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and make haste to offer him their service, and to go into his tent, which is already set up.*

"I have commanded my sanctified ones;"† I have given my orders to those whom I sanctified for the execution of my designs: and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It is I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made several nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my designs by their ministration. "I have called my mighty ones for mine anger."‡ I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they are invincible, it is because they serve me: every thing gives way, and trembles before them, because they are the ministers of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, "they rejoice in my highness." The honour they have of being under my command, and of being sent to deliver a people that I love, inspires them with ardour and cheerfulness: behold, they triumph already in a certain assurance of victory.

The prophet, a witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is astonished at the rapidity with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he cries out, "the noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together. The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of battle:§ They come from a far country, from the end of heaven,"|| where the voice of God, their Master and Sovereign, has reached their ears.

But it is not with the sight of the formidable army, or of the kings of the earth, that I am now struck; it is God himself that I behold; all the rest are but his retinue, and the ministers of his justice. "It is even the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land."

"A grievous vision is declared unto me:" The impious Belshazzar, king of Babylon, continues to act impiously;¶ "the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth."*** To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia: Go up, O Elam:" and thou prince of the Medes, besiege thou Babylon: "Besiege, O Media; all the sighing which she was the cause of, have I made to cease." The wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

VI. PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES SET DOWN, RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

THERE is nothing, perhaps, that can be more proper to raise a profound reverence in us for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but several ages, before it happened.

1. We have already seen, that the army, by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way that she did not at all expect: "Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it riseth."†† She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she did not foresee: "Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know.‡‡ In a word, she shall be taken, as it were, in a net or a gin, before she perceiveth that any snares have been laid for her: "I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware."§§

3. Babylon was confident that the Euphrates alone was sufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being so advantageously situated, and defended by so deep a river: "O thou that dwellest upon many waters."||| It is God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus, by a stratagem, of which there never had been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it since, shall divert the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city: "I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry. A drouth is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up."¶¶ Cyrus shall take possession of the keys of the river; and the waters, which rendered Babylon inaccessible, shall be dried up, as if they had

* Isa. xiii. 2.

† Isa. xiii. 4.

†† Isa. xlvii. 11.

‡ Isa. xiii. 9.

§ Isa. xiii. 5.

‡‡ Ibid.

§ Lat. vers. *in ira mea.* Heb. *in iram meam.*

¶ This is the sense of the Hebrew word.

§§ Jer. l. 24.

|| Jer. li. 13.

** Isa. xxi. 2.

¶¶ Jer. l. 38. li. 36.

been consumed by fire; "the passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire.*"

4. She shall be taken in the night time, upon a day of feasting and rejoicing, even while her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: "In her heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord."† It is remarkable that it is God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon: "I have laid a snare for thee;‡ who drieth up the waters of the river; "I will dry up her sea;" and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes; "I will make drunk her princes."§

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with incredible terror and perturbation of mind: "my loins are filled with pain; pangs have taken hold on me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it; my heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me; the night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me."|| This is the condition Belshazzar was in, when, in the middle of the entertainment, he saw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon it, as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more especially when Daniel declared to him, that those characters imported the sentence of his death: "Then," says the Scripture, "the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another."¶ The terror, astonishment, fainting and trembling of Belshazzar, are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add immediately after the description of Belshazzar's consternation, the following words: "prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink."** The prophet foresees, that Belshazzar, though terribly dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his courage and spirit again, through the exhortation of his courtiers; but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen, his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears, and unnecessary alarms; "Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed."†† They exhorted him, therefore, to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of the sentinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recall that gayety and joy, which his excessive fears had banished from the table; "Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink."

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his: "Arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield."‡‡ It is God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine, and buried in sleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the troops with which it is filled shall not keep their ground nor stand firm any where, neither at the palace, nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatever; that they shall desert and leave one another, without thinking of any thing but making their escape, that in running away they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or of sheep is dispersed and scattered when they are affrighted: "And it shall be as a chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up."§§ The second circumstance is, that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonian service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conquerors; because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: "They shall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land."|||

8. Lastly, not to mention the dreadful slaughter which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shown either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already taken notice of; the last circumstance which the prophet foretells, is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the

* Jer. li. 32.

† Jer. li. 39.

‡ Jer. li. 39.

§ Jer. li. 57.

|| Isa. xxi. 3, 14.

¶ Dan. v. 6.

** Isa. xxi. 5.

†† Dan. v. 10.

‡‡ Isa. xxi. 14.

§§ Isa. xiii. 14.

||| Isa. xiii. 14.

royal family; both which calamities are described in the Scripture, after a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. "But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch. Thou shalt not be joined with them (thy ancestors) in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people."* That king is justly forgot, who has never remembered that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, living or dead, he ought to have no place among them. He was like unto the wild beasts of the field, and like them he shall be buried: and since he had no humanity himself, he deserves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the sentence which God himself pronounceth against Belshazzar: and the malediction extends itself to his children, who were looked upon as his associates in the throne, and as the source of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers, but the pleasing prospect and ideas of their future grandeur. "Prepare slaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers: that they do not rise, nor possess the land. For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord."†

SECTION II.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

AFTER having seen the predictions of every thing that was to happen to impious Babylon, it is now time to come to the completion and accomplishment of those prophecies; and in order thereto, we must resume the thread of our history, with respect to the taking of that city.

As soon as Cyrus saw that the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finished, he began to think seriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence soon furnished him with as fit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed, that in the city, on a certain day, a great festival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians, on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

Belshazzar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other, and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom and the ladies of the court. In the heat of his wine he ordered the gold and silver vessels, which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem to be brought out; and, as an insult upon the God of Israel, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of those sacred vessels. God, who was provoked at such insolence and impiety, in the very action, made him sensible who it was that he offended, by a sudden apparition of a hand, writing certain characters upon the wall. The king, terribly surprised and affrighted at this vision, immediately sent for all the wise men, his diviners, and astrologers, that they might read the writing to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the characters.‡ It is probably in relation to this occurrence, that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon, that she should be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, "stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee," Isa. xvlii. 12, 13. The queen-mother, Nitocris, a princess of great merit, coming upon the noise of this prodigy into the banqueting-room, endeavoured to compose the spirit of the king, her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.§

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather, Nebuchadnezzar, and the crying abuse he made of his power, when he acknowledged no law but his own will and thought himself master to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death where-soever he would, because such was his will and pleasure.|| "And thou his son," says

* Isa. xiv. 19, 20.

† Isa. xiv. 21, 22.

‡ The reason why they could not read this sentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not understand. § Dan. v. 1—29.

|| "Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down." Dan. v. 19.

he to the king, "hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee; and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know; and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written. *MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.† This is the interpretation of the thing; MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." This interpretation, one would think should have enhanced the king's trouble; but some way or other, they found means to dispel his fears, and make him easy; probably upon the persuasion, that the calamity was not denounced as present or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This, however, is certain, that for fear of disturbing the general joy of the present festival, they put off the discussion of serious matters to another time; and sat down again to their mirth and liquor, and continued their revellings to a very late hour.

Cyrus, in the meantime, well informed of the confusion that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered into the city, and another part on that side where it went out, and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them that he marched under the conduct of the gods; in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both sides of the town, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadates, and advanced towards each other without meeting with any obstacle. The invisible Guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and disorder of that riotous night subservient to his design, by leaving open the gates of brass, which were made to shut up the descents from the quays to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were sufficient to have defeated the whole enterprise. Thus did these two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors, to know what noise it was they heard without, the soldiers rushed in and quickly made themselves masters of it. And meeting the king, who came up to them sword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to succour him, they killed him and put all those that attended him to the sword. The first thing the conquerors did afterwards, was to thank the gods for having at last punished that impious king. These words are Xenophon's, and are very remarkable, as they so perfectly agree with what the Scriptures have recorded of the impious Belshazzar.‡

The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from the beginning of Nabonassar's reign, who was the founder thereof. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished, just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished those predictions which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important and the most incredible of them all, and yet the Scripture has set it down in the strongest terms, and marked it out with the greatest exactness; a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points, the proof of which still actually subsists, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be contested. What I mean is, the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or footsteps should be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accomplishment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to speak of what followed the taking of Babylon.§

* These three words signify *number, weight, division.*
 † Cyrop. l. vii. p. 189—192.

‡ Or Peres.

§ A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538.

SECTION III.—THE COMPLETION OF THE PROPHECY WHICH FORETOLD THE TOTAL RUIN AND DESTRUCTION OF BABYLON.

THIS prediction we find recorded in several of the prophets, but particularly in Isaiah, in the 13th chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verse, and in the 23d and 24th verses of the 14th chapter. I have already inserted it at large, page 336, &c. It is there declared, that Babylon should be utterly destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as set up their tents there; that neither herdsman nor shepherd shall come thither even to rest his herd or his flock; that it shall become a dwelling-place for wild beasts, and a retreat for the birds of the night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, or fen, so that no mark or footstep shall be left to show where Babylon had been. It was God himself who pronounced this sentence, and it is for the service of religion, to show how exactly every article of it has been successively accomplished.

1. In the *first* place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Shusan, Ecbatana, Persepolis, or any other place, and did themselves destroy a great part of Babylon.

2. We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians did not only neglect it, and forbear to make any embellishments, or even reparations in it, but that moreover they built *Selucia in the neighbourhood, on purpose to draw away its inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted.† Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold, "It shall not be inhabited." Its own masters endeavour to depopulate it.

3. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building Ctesiphon,‡ which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that, from the time the anathema was pronounced against that city, it seems as if those very persons that ought to have protected her were become her enemies: as if they had all thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of solitude, though by indirect means, and without using any violence; that it might the more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

4. She was so totally forsaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition was she reduced at the time when Pausanias wrote his remarks upon Greece.§ *Illa autem Babylon, omnium quas unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nihil habet reliqui.* Paus. in Arcad. p. 509.||

5. The kings of Persia, finding the place deserted, made a park of it, in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling-place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man; or for timorous animals, that flee before him. Instead of citizens it was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, savage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkness. "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and "dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces."¶

St. Jerome has transmitted to us the following valuable remarks, which he had from a Persian monk, that had himself seen what he related to him, *Didicimus a quodum fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exegit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone, et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus ambitu tantum contineri.*—In cap. Isa. xiii. 22.**

6. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals, which served for pleasure to the Persian kings, abandoned the place; serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way; so that, in Theodoret's time, there was but a very little

* Partem urbis Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit, et Macedonum negligentia; maxime postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, stadiis tantum trecentis a Babylone dissitam.—Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

† In solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciae; ob id conditæ a Nicatore intra nonagesimum (or quadragesimum) lapidem.—Plin. l. vi. c. 26. † A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

‡ Pro illa Seleuciam et Ctesiphontem urbes Persarum inclitas fecerunt.—S. Hieron. in cap. xlii. Isa.

§ He wrote in the reign of Antoninus, successor to Adrian.

|| A. D. 96.

¶ Isa. xiii. 21, 22.

** A. D. 400.

stream of water left, which ran across the ruins, and, not meeting with a descent or free passage, necessarily expanded into a marsh.*

In the time of Alexander the Great, the river had left its ordinary channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; these outlets, being ill stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work.† But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who declared he would destroy even to the very remains and traces of Babylon, “I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant,‡ defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. It is easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold, “I will make it pools of water.”§ And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

7. By means of all these changes, Babylon became an utter desert, and all the country round fell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the ablest geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood.|| In this manner God’s prediction was literally fulfilled; “I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.”¶ I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every trace of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, who am the Lord, have abolished. “I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.”

8. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought fit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. “The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.”** But if we should take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon, or to its inhabitants, or to the princes who reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world; it is the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be separated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the good and the wicked. The Scriptures, that have foretold it, shall subsist till the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited, as it were, in the publick archives of religion. “The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.”

What I have said of this prophecy concerning Babylon, is almost entirely taken out of an excellent treatise upon Isaiah, which is still in manuscript.

SECTION IV.—WHAT FOLLOWED UPON THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

CYRUS having entered the city after the manner we have described, put all to the sword that were found in the streets; then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison, which kept the citadel, being surprised that the city was taken, and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the strongest place in the world.††

The first thing he did was to thank the gods for the success they had given him. And then, having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired, was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overthrown by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their

* Euphrates quondam urbem ipsam mediam dividebat; nunc autem fluvius conversus est in aliam viam, et per rudera minimus aquarum meatus fluit.—Theod. in cap. 1. Jerem. 38 et 39.

† Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. viii.

‡ Isa. xvi. 22.

§ Isa. xvi. 28.

¶ Isa. xiv. 22.

|| Nunc omnino destructa, ita ut vix ejus supersint rudera.—Pandran.

** Isa. xiv. 24.

†† Cyrop. l. vii. p. 192.

ancient glory, it behooved them to keep up among the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and, for that end, to take particular care to give their children education. This, says he, will necessarily engage us daily to make farther advances in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples; nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing among us but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.*

Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications: but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers, and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependence upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantage of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of business, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and so on, till, by these different degrees and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not stand idle in the midst of all this motion, but was, as it were, the soul to the body of the state, which by this means, he governed with as much ease as a father governs his private family.†

When he afterwards sent governors, called *satraps*, into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, nor the commanding officers of the troops maintained for the security of the country, to depend upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; that if any of the *satraps*, elated with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his mal-administration within his own government. For there was nothing he so carefully avoided, as the trusting any one man with an absolute power, knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent his having exalted one person so high, that all others are thereby abased and kept under.‡

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all such as distinguished themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any respect whatever. He preferred clemency far before martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and desolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and useful.§ He was sensible, that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preserving of good manners; but, in his opinion, the prince, by his example, was to be a living law to his people:¶ nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unless he was more wise and virtuous than those he governed:‡ he was also persuaded, that the surest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of such as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or say any thing before them, contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.**

He looked upon liberality as a virtue truly royal; nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others.†† “I have prodigious riches,” says he to his courtiers, “I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use, and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, if I desired it. No; the chief end I aim at, is to have it in my power to reward those who serve the public faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities.”‡‡

Cresus one day represented to him, that by continual giving, he would at last make himself poor; whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the world. “And to what sum,” replied Cyrus, “do you think those treasures might have amounted?” Cresus named a certain sum, which was im-

* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 197—200.

† Cyrop. p. 202.

‡ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 229.

§ Cyrop. p. 209.

¶ Cyrop. p. 204.

¶ Cyrop. p. 205.

** Cyrop. p. 204.

†† Cyrop. l. viii. p. 209.

‡‡ Cyrop. p. 225.

mensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a short note to be written to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them, that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him than Cræsus had mentioned. "Look here," says Cyrus to him, "here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affections of my subjects."^{*}

But as much as he esteemed liberality, he still laid a greater stress upon kindness and condescension, affability and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary, as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was a worship of the gods, and a respect for religion. Upon this, therefore, he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of magi, to sing daily a morning-service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised among them in succeeding ages.†

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians, who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed, that by serving the gods as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: besides, they were sensible that it was the surest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus, on the other hand, was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments of religion, being convinced, that whoever sincerely fears and worships God, will at the same time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

Cyrus being resolved to settle his chief residence at Babylon, a powerful city, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it necessary to be more cautious than he had been hitherto, in regard to the safety of his person. The most dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the most likely for treasonable attempts upon their lives, are those of bathing, eating, and sleeping. He determined, therefore, to suffer nobody to be near him at those times, but those persons on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; because as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and besides were generally despised on account of the meanness of their birth, and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by all sorts of reasons to an entire attachment to their master, on whose life their whole fortune depended, and on whose account alone it was, that they were of any consideration. Cyrus therefore filled all the offices of his household with eunuchs; and as this had been the practice before his time, from henceforth it became the general custom of all the eastern countries.‡

It is well known, that in after times this usage prevailed also among the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning, all powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. It was very natural for the prince, after having confided his person to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity, and merit, to intrust them also with the management of affairs, and by degrees to give himself up to them. These expert courtiers knew how to improve those favourable moments, when sovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men, and familiarize themselves with their officers. And by this policy having got possession of their masters' minds and confidence, they came to be in a great credit at court, to have the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of employments and honours, and to arrive, themselves, at the highest offices and dignities of the state.

But the good emperors, such as Alexander Severus, held the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures sold and attached only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; persons, whose only view was to get possession of the prince's mind, to keep all persons of merit from him, to conceal affairs as much as possible from his knowledge, and to keep him shut up and imprisoned in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire ascen-

^{*} Cyrop. p. 210.

† Cyrop. p. 204.

‡ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 196.

dant and dominion over him: *Claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.**

When Cyrus had given orders about every thing relating to the government, he resolved to show himself publicly to his people, and to his new-conquered subjects, in a solemn, august ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods, in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought fit to display all possible splendour and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the first time that this prince ever aimed at procuring a respect to himself, not only by the attractions of virtue, says the historian, but by such an external pomp as was proper to attract the multitude, and work like a charm or enchantment upon their imaginations.† He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and allies to attend him, and gave each of them a suit of clothes of the Median fashion, that is to say, long garments which hung down to the feet.—These clothes were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroidered with gold and silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers.‡ It was on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the manner of the Medes, and began to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more lively, and in painting their faces, in order to beautify their complexions.§

When the time appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and two thousand on the two sides of it, ranged in the same order. All the cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one side, and half on the other. As soon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquisite beauty were led out by four and four: these were to be sacrificed to Jupiter and other gods according to the ceremonies prescribed by the magi. Next followed the horses that were to be sacrificed to the Sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt, this was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorned in the same manner, to be offered to the Sun. After these followed a third, the horses of which were caparisoned with scarlet housings. Behind came the men who carried the sacred fire in a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself made his appearance upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with the royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered. A little below him sat the master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the stature of the latter appeared still more advantageously. As soon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipped him: whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many awful circumstances of majesty and splendour. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thousand guards began to march; the other two thousand moved at the same time, and placed themselves on each side of the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's household, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them were led two hundred horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroidered furniture and bits of gold. Next came the Persian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four abreast, brought up the rear, and closed the procession.

When they came to the fields consecrated to the gods, they offered their sacrifices first to Jupiter, and then to the Sun. To the honour of the first, bulls were burnt, and to the honour of the second, horses. They likewise sacrificed some victims to the Earth, according to the appointment of the Magi; then to the demi-gods, the patrons and protectors of Syria.||

* Lamprid. in vita Alex. Sever.

‡ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 213, 220:

§ Cyrop. p. 206.

† Ἄλλὰ καὶ καταγοιτεύειν ὡς το χορὴν αὐτῶν.

|| Among the ancients, Syria is often put for Assyria.

In order to recreate the people after this grave and solemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot races. The place where they were, was large and spacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out about the distance of five stadia,* and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately, and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for nobody was so complete a horseman as he. The chariots ran but two at a time, one against another.

This kind of racing continued a long time afterwards among the Persians, except only that it was not always attended with sacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the same order.

Some days after, Cyrus to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment of all his chief officers, as well strangers as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen any thing of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast he made every one a noble present; so that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude; and all powerful as he was, master of all the East, and so many kingdoms, he did not think it descending from his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners and behaviour of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.†

ARTICLE III.

THE HISTORY OF CYRUS FROM THE TAKING OF BABYLON TO THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

CYRUS, finding himself master of all the East by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life, to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a constant application to the duties of his high station.

SECTION I.—CYRUS TAKES A JOURNEY INTO PERSIA. AT HIS RETURN FROM THENCE TO BABYLON, HE FORMS A PLAN OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE WHOLE EMPIRE. DANIEL'S CREDIT AND POWER.

WHEN Cyrus judged he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon, he thought proper to take a journey into Persia.‡ In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried magnificent presents, telling him, at the same time, that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, ready prepared for him, whenever he should please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in co-partnership with him, though he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. This is the Cyaxares, who is called in Scripture, Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations.§ It appears, that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, was accompanied by Cyaxares to Babylon.

When they arrived there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. They divided it into a hundred and twenty provinces.|| And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition, Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the couriers, that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible despatch.¶ The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most, and rendered him the greatest service in the war.** Over these governors were appointed three superintendents, who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account, from time to time, of every thing that passed in their respective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and instructions; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the great affairs of the whole empire. Of these three Daniel was made chief.†† He highly deserved such a preference,

* A little more than half a mile.
 † A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538.
 ** Cyrop. p. 230.

† Cyrop. l. viii. p. 220—224.
 ‡ Dan. vi. 1.

§ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 227.
 ¶ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232.

†† Dan. vi. 2, 3.

not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the East, and had appeared in a distinguished manner at Belshazzar's feast, but likewise on account of his great age, and consummate experience. For at that time it was fully sixty-seven years, from the fourth of Nuchodonosor, since he had been employed as prime minister of the kings of Babylon.

As this distinction had made him the second person in the empire, and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceived so great a jealousy of him, that they conspired to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it was on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask any thing whatever, for the space of thirty days, either of any god or any man, save of the king; and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused; and cast into the den of lions. But being miraculously preserved, and coming out safe and unhurt, his accusers were thrown in, and immediately devoured by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.*

Towards the end of the same year, which was reckoned the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel, knowing by the computation he made, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, he prayed earnestly to God, that he would remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the sanctuary he had placed therein.— Upon which the angel Gabriel assured him in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance much more considerable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, that were to elapse from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of four hundred and ninety years; for, taking each day for a year, according to the language sometimes used in holy Scripture, those seventy weeks of years made up exactly four hundred and ninety years.†

Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. When he had furnished the garrisons with as many of them as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries, as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Ethiopia.‡

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously delivered from them, as we have just related.

Perhaps in the same interval also were those famous pieces of gold coined, which are called Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which for their fineness and beauty, were for several ages preferred to all other money throughout the East.

SECTION II.—THE BEGINNING OF THE UNITED EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS AND MEDES.
THE FAMOUS EDICT OF CYRUS. DANIEL'S PROPHECIES.

HERE, properly speaking, begins the empire of the Persians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomanus, who was vanquished by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of two hundred and six years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674. But in this volume I propose to speak only of the first three kings; and little remains to be said of the founder of this new empire.

CYRUS. § Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyses likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the new empire.

The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently. Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make the duration of it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time when, by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, he became sole monarch of the whole empire.||

In the first of these seven years precisely, expired the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were per-

* *Cyrop.* vi. 4—27.

† *Dan.* ix. 1—27.

‡ *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 233.

§ *A. M.* 3468. *Ant. J. C.* 536.

|| *Cic. l. i. de Div.* n. 46.

mitted to return to Jerusalem.* There is no question but this edict was obtained by the care and solicitations of Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him his request, he showed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah, wherein, above two hundred years before his birth, he was marked out by name, as a prince appointed by God to be conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and, at the same time, to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossessed by their ancient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper, in this place, to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be presumed God had endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blessed him with such an uninterrupted series of victories and success.

“Now in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, (that the word of the Lord, by the mouth of Jeremiah, might be fulfilled,) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the *true* God) which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, besides the free-will-offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem.”†

Cyrus at the same time restored to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nebuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god Baal. Shortly after, the Jews departed under the conduct of Zorobabel, to return into their own country.

The Samaritans, who had formerly been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevailed by bribes and secret dealings with the ministers and other officers concerned therein, to obstruct the execution of it, so that for several years the building went on very slowly.‡

It seems to have been out of grief to see the execution of this decree so long retarded, that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together.§ He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I shall soon speak.

By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter, we have reason to conjecture that he died soon after; and, indeed, his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for, at this time, he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried into Babylon with the other captives. From that early age he had given proofs of something more than human wisdom, in the judgment of Susannah. He was ever afterwards very much esteemed by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.||

Daniel's wisdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. Josephus speaks of a famous edifice built by him at Susa,¶ in the manner of a castle, which he says still subsisted in his time, finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been but lately built.** Within this palace the Persian and Parthian kings were usually buried; and for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to his time. It was a common tradition in those parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that city,†† and there they show his monument even to this day. It is certain, that he used to go thither from time to time, and he himself tells us, that “he did the king's business there;”‡‡ that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

* Isa. xlv. and xlv. † Ezra ii. 1-7. ‡ Ezra iv. 1-5. § A. M. 3470. Ant: J. C. 534: Dan. x. 1-3.

|| “But go thou thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.” Dan.

xii. 13. ¶ So it ought to be read, according to St. Jerom, who relates the same fact; Com. in Dan. viii. 2, and not Eebatana, as it is now read in the text of Josephus.

** Antiq. l. x. cap. 12.

†† Now called Tuster.

‡‡ Dan. viii. 27.

REFLECTIONS ON DANIEL'S PROPHECIES.

I HAVE hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchadnezzar, and foretold in what manner, for the punishment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years, restored again to his understanding and to his throne. It is well known, the thing happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction; the king himself relates it in a declaration, addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine; to speak of it, as a thing sent into all the provinces, if nobody had seen it; and in the midst of Babylon, that was full both of Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of so important a matter, and so injurious to the king, and of which the falsehood must have been notorious to all the world?*

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which signify the succession of four great empires, and which for that reason have an essential and necessary relation to the subject matter of this work, which is only the history of those very empires.

The first of these prophecies was occasioned by the dream Nebuchadnezzar had, of an image composed of different metals, gold, silver, brass, and iron; which image was broken in pieces, and beat as small as dust, by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude.† This dream I have already spoken of at large.‡

About fifty years after, the same Daniel saw another vision, very like that which I have just been speaking of:§ this was the vision of the four large beasts, which came out of the sea. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings: the second was like a bear: the third was like a leopard, which had four heads: the fourth and last, still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet. From the midst to the ten horns which this beast had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater than the others: the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days, that is, the everlasting God, came, and sitting upon his throne, surrounded with a thousand millions of angels, pronounced an irreversible judgment upon the four beasts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of Man power over all the nations and all the tribes, an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed, that these two visions, the one of the image composed of different metals, the other of the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed, that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and of the Romans.|| This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but He only who is the master of times and monarchies, who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who, by a supernatural revelation, imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleases?¶

In the following chapter, this prophet still speaks with greater clearness and precision.** For after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beasts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plainest manner. The ram which hath two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Persians; the goat which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel see, that the Persian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Persians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foresee the rapi-

* Dan. iv.

† Dan. ii.

‡ Page 264 of this volume.

§ This was the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon. Dan. vi.

|| Some interpreters, instead of the Romans, put the kings of Syria and Egypt, Alexander's successors.

¶ "He changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth and setteth up kings; he revealeth the deep and secret things; and the light dwelleth with him." Dan. ii. 21, 22.

** Dan. viii.

dity of Alexander's conquests, which he so aptly describes, by saying, that "he touched not the ground?" How did he learn, that Alexander should not have any successor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise the most powerful? By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover, that Alexander would have no son to succeed him; that his empire would be dismembered, and divided into four principal kingdoms, and his successors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly formed, several states would be established, of which some would be in the east, others in the west, some in the south, and others in the north?

The particulars of the fact foretold in the remainder of the eight, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less astonishing. How could Daniel in Cyrus's reign, foretell,† that the fourth of Cyrus's successors‡ should gather together all his forces, to attack the Grecian states? How could this prophet, who lived so long before the times of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the persecutions which Antiochus should bring upon the Jews; the manner of his abolishing the sacrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem; the profanation of that holy place, by setting up an idol therein, and the vengeance which God would inflict upon him for it? How could he, in the first year of the Persian empire, foretell the wars which Alexander's successors would make in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invasions of one another's territories, their insincerity in their treaties and their marriage alliances, which could only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious designs?§

I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the conclusion which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel; for they are so clear and express, that Porphyry, a professed enemy of the Christian religion, could find no other way of disputing the divine original of them, than by pretending that they were written after the events, and rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.||

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must desire the reader to remark, what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put between the empires of the world, and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former, every thing appears great, splendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majesty, seem to be their natural attendants. In them we easily discern those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror every where, and whom nothing could withstand. But then they are represented as wild beasts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to destroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors? How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires, as of their founders or governors!

In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us consider its origin and first rise, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find, that weakness and meanness, if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been its striking characteristics. It is the leaven, the grain of mustard-seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet, in reality, there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The end of his reign is the salvation of mankind; it is to make them eternally happy, and to form to himself a nation of saints and just persons, who are all of them so many kings and conquerors. It is for their sakes only, that the whole world doth subsist: and when the number of them shall be complete, "then," says St. Paul, "cometh the end and consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power."¶

Can a writer who sees, in the prophecies of Daniel, that the several empires of the world, after having subsisted the time determined for them by the sovereign Disposer of kingdoms, do all terminate and centre in the empire of Jesus Christ;—can a writer, I say, amid all these profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then

* "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion: and his kingdom shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled. Dan. xi. 3, 4. "Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power."—Dan. viii. 22.

† "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings of Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."—Dan. xi. 2.

‡ Xerxes.

§ Dan. xi. 4—45.

|| S. Hieron. in Proem. ad Com. in Dan.

¶ 1 Cor. xv. 24.

towards that great and divine one, and not have it always in view, at least at a distance, as the end and consummation of all others?

SECTION III.—THE LAST YEARS OF CYRUS. THE DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.

LET us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and by those of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine Seas, on the west by the Ægean Sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the Sea of Arabia. He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months of the year at Babylon in the winter season, because the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in the spring, and two months at Ecbatana during the heat of the summer.*

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Persia, which was the seventh time from his accession to the whole monarchy, which shows that he used to go regularly into Persia once a year. Cambyses had now been dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had passed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very last he enjoyed a vigorous state of health, which was the fruit of his sober and temperate life.† And as they who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery often feel all the infirmities of age, even while they are young, Cyrus, on the contrary, at a very advanced age, enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the state, to be assembled about him; and after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldest son, Cambyses, his successor, and left the other, whose name was Tanaxares, several very considerable governments. He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them, that the main strength and support of the throne, was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches, but a due respect for the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. "I conjure you, therefore," said he, "my dear children, in the name of the gods, to respect and love one another, if you would retain any desire to please me for the future. For I do not think you will esteem me to be no longer any thing, because you will not see me after my death. You never saw my soul to this instant; you must have known, however, by its actions, that it really existed. Do you believe, that honours would still be paid to those whose bodies are now but ashes, if their souls had no longer any being or power? No, no, my sons; I could never imagine that the soul only lived while in a mortal body, and died when separated from it. But if I mistake, and nothing of me shall remain after death, at least fear the gods, who never die, who see all things, and whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to do, any thing contrary to religion and justice. Next to them fear mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in obscurity, but have exposed you upon this great theatre to the view of the whole universe. If your actions are guiltless and upright, be assured they will augment your glory and power. For my body, my sons, when life has forsaken it, enclose it neither in gold nor silver, nor any other matter whatever. RESTORE IT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EARTH. Can it be more happy than in being blended, and in a manner incorporated, with the benefactress and common mother of mankind?" After having given his hand to be kissed by all that were present, finding himself at the point of death, he added these last words: "Adieu, dear children; may your lives be happy; carry my last remembrance to your mother. And for you, my faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this last farewell, and may you live in peace!" After having said this, he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people.‡

The order given by Cyrus to restore his body to the earth, is very remarkable. He would have thought it disgraced and injured, if enclosed in gold or silver. RESTORE

* Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233, &c.

† Cyrus, quidem, apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, eum admodum senex esset, negat se unquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliores factam, quam adolescentia fuisset -- Cic. de Sen. n. 30.

‡ A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529.

IT TO THE EARTH, SAYS HE. Where did that prince learn, that it was from thence it derived its original? Behold one of those precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of the human race, to perpetuate that good, in some measure, even after his death.

CHARACTER AND EULOGY OF CYRUS.

CYRUS may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince, to be found in profane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing men's tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of every branch of the military art as far as that age had carried it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and an equal steadiness and prudence for executing the greatest designs.

It is very common for those heroes who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonished, when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean actions they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealousy, and governed by interest; how disagreeable and even odious they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the most indifferent matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable, and easy of access: and whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending, humble demeanor, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantages may result from a single word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a command tempered with reason, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a refusal with expressions of concern and good will. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a sort of wealth which most sovereigns want, who are possessed of every thing but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendour and affluence with which they are surrounded. Cyrus was beloved, because he himself had a love for others; for, has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing affects us more, than to see in Xenophon, the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and socially with persons of merit, though of an inferior station.*

The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command, to tell him whatever they thought.† And though he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook any thing without asking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make changes in the army, or to form a new enterprise, he would always have every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own; so different was he from the person mentioned by Tacitus, who thought it a sufficient reason for rejecting the most excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himself: *Consilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipse non afferet, inimicus.*‡

Cicero observes, that, during the whole time of Cyrus's government, he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word: *Cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit.*§ What a high encomium for a prince is comprehended in that short sentence! Cyrus must have had a very great command of himself, to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of so-

* Habes amicos, quia amicus ipse es.—Paneg. Trajan.

‡ Hist. l. i. c. 26.

† Plut. l. iii. de Leg. p. 694.

§ Cic. l. i. Epist. 21. ad Q. Fratrem.

vereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure, that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents, should ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But, what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his steadfast persuasion that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people; and that it was not by the splendour of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and to secure the public welfare and tranquillity.* He said himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to consider himself as a shepherd,† the image under which both sacred and profane antiquity represented good kings, and that he ought to exercise the same vigilance, care, and goodness. "It is his duty," says he, "to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to charge himself with anxieties, and cares, that they may be exempt from them: to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person in their defence and protection. This," says he, "is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable, at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable, that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock."

Indeed, to be the guardian of the commonwealth, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their sovereign, is but one and the same thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and foundation of the condition of princes is, not to be for themselves; the very characteristic of their greatness is, that they are consecrated to the public good. They may properly be considered as a light, which is placed on high, only to diffuse and shed its beams on every thing below. Are such sentiments as these any disparagement to the dignity of the regal state?

It was by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus founded such an extensive empire in so short a time; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conquests for many years; that he made himself so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; that after his death he was universally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not, indeed, to be surprised that Cyrus was so accomplished in every virtue (it will be readily understood, that I speak only of pagan virtues,) because we know it was God himself, who had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious designs towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any sensible miracle, nor that he immediately made him such as we admire in the accounts we have of him in history. God gave him a happy genius, and implanted in his mind the seeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart at the same time to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But above all, he took care that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great designs for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in Cyrus were owing to his education, where the confounding of him, in some sort, with his subjects, and the keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride which is so natural to princes; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command; inured him to hardship and toil; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety; and, in a word, rendered him such as we have seen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate; an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more so to flattery.

It must be confessed, that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts that heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation, that all good kings are the gift of God, and that such a gift includes many others; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears

* Cyp. l. i. p. 27.

† "Thou shalt feed my people," said God to David, 2 Sam. v. 2. Προμίνε λαόν, says Homer in many places.

the most perfect resemblance to the Deity; and the noblest image of the Deity is a just, moderate, chaste, and virtuous prince, who rules with no other view than to establish the reign of justice and virtue. This is the portraiture which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great resemblance to that of Cyrus. *Nullum est præstabilius et pulchrius Dei munus erga mortales, quam castus, et sanctus, et Deo simillimus princeps.**

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, there seems to have been one circumstance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly; I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue tried by some sudden reverse of fortune. I know, indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piso, told him that the stings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity; and that the former put the soul to a much severer trial than the latter: *Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti: secundæ res acrioribus stimulis explorant animos.†* And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon a man's soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her strength to bear up the burden; whereas prosperity, attacking the mind secretly or insensibly, leaves it all its weakness, and insinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle: *Quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.*

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity; as a greatness of mind, independent of every thing without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune; an intrepidity of soul animated at the sight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients, improving even from crosses and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views, and provides against every thing; and lastly, a firmness of soul, that not only suffices to support itself, but is capable of supporting others.

Cyrus wanted this kind of glory.‡ He himself informs us, that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident: and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us, at the same time, with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admired; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the changes and misfortunes that might happen: and this prudent fear was not only a preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.§

There remains one point more to be examined, with regard to this prince's reputation and character; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests, upon which I shall touch but lightly. If these were founded only upon ambition, injustice and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to mankind,|| who acknowledged no right but that of force; who looked upon the common rules of justice, as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings; who set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions, than their incapacity of carrying them any farther; who sacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition; who made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction, like fires and torrents; and who reigned as bears and lions would if they were masters.¶

This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes whom the world admires; and by such ideas as these, we ought to correct the impressions made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the sentiments of many, deceived by his false images of greatness.

I do not know whether I am not biassed in favour of Cyrus, but he seems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors, whom I have just now described. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the soul of all his undertakings; but he

* Paneg. Trag.

† Tac. Hist. l. i. c. 15.

‡ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 234.

§ Οὐκ εἶα μέγα φρονεῖν, δὲ ἐν σφαιρίσθαι ἰκπεπταμένως.

|| Id in summa fortuna æquius quod validius. Et sua retinere, private domus: de alienis certa, regiam laudem esse.—Facit. Annal. Jib. xv. cap. 1.

¶ Quæ alia vita esset, si leones ursique regnarent?—Sen. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 26.

certainly revered the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, which render him who wantonly provokes them, accountable for all the blood that is shed. Now, every war is of this sort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his neighbours.

Cyrus, as we have seen, at the beginning of the war, founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put their arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjustly oppressed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquests, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Croesus, king of Lydia, who was master of the greatest part of Lesser Asia; and over the king of Babylon, who was master of all upper Asia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggressors.*

With good reason, therefore, is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which it could not be, unless justice had been the basis and foundation of it: *Cyrus a Xenophonte scriptus ad justî effigiem imperii.*†

SECTION IV.—WHEREIN HERODOTUS AND XENOPHON DIFFER IN THEIR ACCOUNTS OF CYRUS.

HERODOTUS and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in the substance and most essential part of the history of Cyrus, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests, yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give a succinct account of what Herodotus relates as to these points.

He tell us, as Justin does after him, that Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the son who was to be born of his daughter would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandane to a Persian of obscure birth and fortune, whose name was Cambyses: this daughter being delivered of a son, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers to destroy the infant. He, instead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child, being miraculously preserved, and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards known to be the same by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Persia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast, and entertained with the flesh of his own son. Several years after, young Cyrus, being informed by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, came to a battle, and defeated him, and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.‡

The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming so great a conqueror. This prince, according to him, carried his arms against the Scythians; and, after having attacked them, in the first battle, feigned a flight, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to seize the booty. When they had drank freely, and were asleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, among whom was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young captive prince, whom Cyrus refused to restore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure his captivity, killed himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians a second battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and killed about two hundred thousand of their men, together with their king Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, she flung it into a vessel full of blood, insulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words,§ “Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable.”||

* Cyrop. l. i. p. 25.

† Cic. l. i. Epist. l. ad Q. Fratrem.

‡ Her. l. i. c. 107—130. Justin. l. i. c. 4, 6.

§ Satia te, inquit, sanguine, quem sitisti, cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti.—Justin. l. i. c. 8.

|| Her. l. i. c. 205—214. Justin. l. i. c. 8.

The account given by Herodotus of the infancy of Cyrus, and his first adventures has much more the air of a romance than of a history. And as to the manner of his death, what probability is there that a prince, so experienced in war, and no less renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambuscade laid for him by a woman? What the same historian relates concerning his hasty, violent passion, and his childish revenge upon the river Gyndes, in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and which he immediately caused to be cut by his army into three hundred and sixty channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, who was a prince of extraordinary moderation and temper.* Besides, is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardour of his troops in such an unprofitable piece of work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river instead of carrying it against his enemies.†

But what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between his narrative and the holy Scripture; where we see, that instead of Cyrus's having raised the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes, as Herodotus relates it, those two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence, then, could so great a difference as there is between these two historians proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us, that even at that time those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleased him best; for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and was very credulous. Xenophon was of a graver disposition and of less credulity; and in the very beginning of his history informs us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education and character.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF CAMBYSES.

As soon as Cambyses was seated on the throne, he resolved to make war against Egypt, for a particular affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have received from Amasis, of which I have already given an account. But it is more probable, that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself, by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.‡

Cambyses, in order to carry on the war with success, made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Cypriots and Phœnicians furnished him with ships. As for his land army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnassus, who, being the commander of some auxiliary Greeks in the service of Amasis, and being in some manner dissatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyses, and gave him such intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. It was particularly by his advice, that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories lay between the confines of Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during his march through the desert that lay between those two countries: which agreement that prince fulfilled, by sending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyses could never have marched his army that way.§

Having made all these preparations, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign.|| When he arrived upon the frontiers, he was informed that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammenitus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in collecting all his forces, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyses could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on the side where he invaded it. Now Pelusium was so strong a place, that in all probability it must have stopped him a great

* Herod. l. i. c. 129.

† A. M. 5475. Ant. J. C. 529. Herod. l. iii. c. 1--3.

‡ Sen. l. iii. de Ira, c. 21.

§ Herod. l. iii. c. 4--9. || Herod. l. iii. c. 10.

while. But, according to Polyænus, to facilitate this enterprise, Cambyses adopted the following stratagem. Being informed that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city by storm. The soldiers of the garrison, not daring either to fling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of those animals, Cambyses became master of the place without opposition.*

When Cambyses had got possession of the city. Psammenitus advanced with a great army to stop his progress; and a considerable battle ensued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks, who were in the army of Psammenitus, in order to be revenged of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, cut their throats between the two camps, and in presence of the two armies drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Persians, enraged at so horrid a spectacle, fell upon them with great fury, quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, the greatest part of which were killed upon the spot. Those that could save themselves escaped to Memphis.†

On the occasion of this battle, Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, of which he himself was a witness. The bones of the Persians and Egyptians were still in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from one another.—The skulls of the Egyptians were so hard, that a violent stroke of a stone would hardly break them; and those of the Persians so soft, that you might break them, or pierce them through, with the greatest ease imaginable. The reason of this difference was, that the former, from their infancy, were accustomed to have their heads shaved, and to go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always covered with their tiaras, which is one of their principal ornaments.‡

Cambyses, having pursued the fugitives to Memphis, sent a herald into the city, in a vessel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis stood, to summon the inhabitants to surrender. But the people, transported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. Cambyses, having soon after taken the place, fully revenged the indignity, causing ten times as many Egyptians, of the first nobility, as there had been of his people, massacred, to be publicly executed.—Among these was the eldest son of Psammenitus. As for the king himself, Cambyses was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only spared his life, but appointed him an honorable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind usage, did what he could to raise new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a punishment for which, he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign lasted but six months, after which all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. On the news of this success, the Lydians, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all sent ambassadors with presents to Cambyses, to offer him their submissions.§

From Memphis he went to the city of Sais, which was the burying place of the kings of Egypt. As soon as he entered the palace, he caused the body of Amasis to be taken out of his tomb; and, after having exposed it to a thousand indignities in his own presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire and burnt, which was a thing equally contrary to the customs of the Persians and Egyptians. The rage this prince testified against the dead carcase of Amasis, shows to what a degree he hated his person. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, it seems to have been one of the chief motives Cambyses had for carrying his arms into Egypt.||

The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved to make war in three different countries; against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was obliged to lay aside, because the Phœnicians, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to succour him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.¶

But, being determined to invade the other two nations, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who, under that character, were to act as spies for him, to learn the state and strength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They carried presents along with them, such as the Persians were used to make, as purple, golden bracelets, perfumes, and wine. These presents, among which there was nothing useful or ser-

* Polyæn. l. vii.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 11.

‡ Idem. c. 12.

§ Idem. c. 13.

¶ Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

¶ Idem. c. 17, 19.

viceable to life, except the wine, were despised by the Ethiopians; neither did they make much more account of his ambassadors, whom they took for what they really were, spies and enemies in disguise. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing, after his manner, to make a present to the king of Persia; and taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarcely lift it, he drew it in presence of the ambassadors, and told them: "This is the present and the counsel the king of Ethiopia gives the king of Persia. When the Persians shall be able to use a bow of this size and strength, with as much ease as I have now bent it, then let him come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring more troops with him than Cambyses is master of. In the mean time, let them thank the gods for not having put it into the hearts of the Ethiopians to extend their dominions beyond their own country."*

This answer having enraged Cambyses, he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering, that he neither had provisions, nor any thing necessary for such an expedition: but he left the Grecians behind him, in his newly conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.†

As soon as he arrived at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, he detached fifty thousand of his men against the Ammonians, ordered them to ravage the country, and to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was famous there. But, after they had made several days' march in the desert, a violent wind blowing from the south, brought such a vast quantity of sand upon the army, that the men were all overwhelmed and buried under it.‡

In the mean time, Cambyses marched forward like a madman against the Ethiopians, notwithstanding his being destitute of all sorts of provisions, which quickly caused a terrible famine in his army. He had still time, says Herodotus, to remedy this evil; but Cambyses would have thought it a dishonour to have desisted from his undertaking, and therefore proceeded in his expedition. At first his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees: but, coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burden.—At last they were brought to such a cruel extremity, as to be obliged to eat one another; every tenth man upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as meat for his companions; a meat, says Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itself: *Decimum quemque sortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame scævius.*§ Notwithstanding all this, the king still persisted in his design, or rather in his madness, nor did the miserable desolation of his army make him sensible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid for his own person, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops, (who would believe it?) there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and camels were still reserved to carry his kitchen furniture, and the instruments of his luxury: *Servabantur illi interim generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehabantur, cum sortirentur milites ejus quis male periret, quis pejus viveret.*||

The remainder of his army, of which the greatest part was lost in this expedition, he brought back to Thebes, where he succeeded much better in the war declared against the gods, whom he found more easy to be conquered than men. Thebes was full of temples, that were incredibly rich and magnificent. All these Cambyses pillaged, and then set them on fire. The richness of these temples must have been vastly great; since the very remains, saved from the flames, amounted to an immense sum, three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver.¶ He likewise carried away at this time the famous circle of gold, that encompassed the tomb of Ozymandias, being three hundred and fifty-five cubits in circumference, and in which were represented all the motions of the several constellations.**

From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he dismissed all the Greeks, and sent them to their respective homes; but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicings, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this to have been for the ill success of his expedition. He therefore called the magistrates before him, to know the meaning of these public rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was because they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death as impostors that insulted him and his misfortunes. And then he sent for the priests, who made him the same answer; upon which he replied, that since their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But when instead

* Idem. c. 20—24.

† De Ira, l. iii. c. 20.

‡ Idem. c. 25.

§ Idem. c. 25, 26.

¶ Diad. Sic. l. i. p. 43.

‡ De Ira, l. iii. c. 20.

** Idem. p. 46.

of a god he saw a calf, he was strangely astonished, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and run it into the thigh of the beast; and then, upbraiding the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute for a god, ordered them to be severely whipped, and all the Egyptians in Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languished of his wound for some time, and then died.*

The Egyptians say, that after this fact, which they reckoned to have been the highest instance of impiety that ever was committed among them, Cambyses grew mad. But his actions showed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various instances: among the rest are these following.†

He had a brother, the only son of Cyrus, besides himself; and born of the same mother: his name, according to Xenophon; was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He accompanied Cambyses in his Egyptian expedition. But, being the only person, among all the Persians, that could draw the bow which the ambassadors of Cambyses brought him from the king of Ethiopia, Cambyses from hence conceived such a jealousy against him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after, dreaming that somebody told him that Smerdis sat on the throne, he conceived a suspicion that his brother aspired to the throne, and sent after him into Persia, Prexaspes, one of his chief confidants, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed.‡

This murder was the cause of another, still more criminal. Cambyses had with him in the camp his youngest sister, whose name was Meroe. Herodotus informs us in what a strange manner his sister became his wife. As the princess was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyses absolutely resolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Persian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them, whether there was any law that would allow a brother to marry his sister. The judges, being unwilling on the one hand directly to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper should they contradict him, endeavoured to find out a subterfuge, and gave him this crafty answer: that they had no law indeed which permitted a brother to marry a sister, but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. This answer, serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them, carried so far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant soever it be to modesty and good order. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being Meroe he gave it to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it, having advanced thus far in his wild march against the Ethiopians. The circumstance that gave occasion to his murdering this princess, was as follows. One day Cambyses was diverting himself in seeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog; the lion having the better, another dog, brother to him that was engaged, came to his assistance, and helped him to master the lion. This adventure mightily delighted Cambyses, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her husband the reason of her weeping, confessed that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not the same good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithstanding her being with child, such a blow with his foot on the belly that she died of it. So abominable a marriage deserved no better end.§

He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some one or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaspes, one of his principal officers and favourites, to declare to him what his Persian subjects thought and said of him. "They admire, Sir," says Prexaspes, "a great many excellent qualities they see in you, but they are somewhat mortified at your immoderate love of wine." "I understand you," replied the king, "that is, they pretend that wine deprives me of my reason; you shall be judge of that immediately." Upon which he began to drink excessively, pouring it down in larger quantities than he had even done before. Then ordering Prexaspes's son, who was his chief cup-bearer, to stand upright at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and levelled it at him; and declaring that he aimed at his heart, let fly, and actually shot him in the heart. He then ordered his side to be opened, and showing the father the heart of his son, which the arrow had pierced, asked him, in an insult-

* Herod. l. iii. c. 27—29.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 30.

‡ Ibid.

§ Herod. l. iii. c. 31, 32.

ing, scoffing manner, if he had not a steady hand? The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining, after a stroke like this, was so mean-spirited as to reply, "Apollo himself could not have shot better." Seneca, who copied this story from Herodotus, after having shown his detestation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns still more the cowardly and monstrous flattery of the father: *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est, quam missum.**

When Cræsus took upon him to advise Cambyses against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his order, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferred the execution, he caused them all to be put to death, because they had not obeyed his commands, though at the same time he expressed great joy that Cræsus was alive.†

It was about this time, Oretes, one of the *satraps* of Cambyses, who had the government of Sardis, after a very strange and extraordinary manner, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The story of this Polycrates is of so singular a nature, that the reader will not be displeased if I repeat it here.

This Polycrates was a prince, who, through the whole course of his life, had been perfectly prosperous and successful in all his affairs, and had never met with the least disappointment, or unfortunate accident, to disturb his felicity. Amasis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally, thought himself obliged to send him a letter of admonition upon that subject. In this letter he declared to him, that he had terrible apprehensions concerning his condition; that such a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity was to be suspected; that some malignant invidious god, who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly, sooner or later, bring ruin and destruction upon him; and, in order to prevent such a fatal stroke, he advised him to procure some misfortune to himself by some voluntary loss, that he was persuaded would prove a sensible mortification to him.‡

The tyrant followed his advice. Having an emerald ring which he highly esteemed, particularly for its curious workmanship, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys with his courtiers, he threw it into the sea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, some fishermen, having caught a fish of an extraordinary size, made a present of it to Polycrates. When the fish was opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His surprise was very great, and his joy still greater.

When Amasis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He wrote another letter to Polycrates, telling him, that to avoid the mortification of seeing his friend and ally fall into some grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendship and alliance. A strange, whimsical notion! as if friendship was merely a name, or a title destitute of all substance and reality.

Be that as it will, the thing did really happen as the Egyptian king apprehended. Some years after, about the time Cambyses fell sick, Oretes, who, as I said before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach which another *satrap* had cast upon him, in a private quarrel, for his not having yet conquered the isle of Samos, which lay so near his government, and would be so commodious to his master, Oretes, upon this resolved, at any rate, to destroy Polycrates, that he might get possession of the island. The way he took to effect his design was this. He feigned an inclination, upon some pretended discontent, to revolt from Cambyses, and in order, he said, to secure his treasures and effects, he was determined to deposit them in the hands of Polycrates, at the same time to make him a present of one half of them, which would enable him to conquer Ionia and the adjacent islands, a project he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and passionately coveted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait upon him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not rashly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himself more surely of the truth of the matter, and to that end sent a messenger of his own to Sardis. When he came there, Oretes showed him a vast number of bags full of gold as he said, but in truth filled with stones, and having only the mouth of them covered with gold coin. As soon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and seize his prey, set out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends, and, took along with him Democedes, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival, Oretes had him arrested as an

* Idem. c. 34, 35. Sen. l. iii. de Ira, c. 14.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 36.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 39—43.

enemy to the state, and as such caused him to be hanged. In such an ignominious and shameful manner did he end a life, which had been but one continued series of prosperity and good fortune.*

Cambyses, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt in order to return into Persia. When he reached Syria, he found a herald there, sent from Susa to the army, to let them know that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, was proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in the following manner. Cambyses, at his departure from Susa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patisithes, one of the chief of the Magi. This Patisithes had a brother strongly resembling Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and who, perhaps, for that reason was called by the same name. As soon as Patisithes was fully assured of the death of that prince, which was concealed from the public, knowing, at the same time, that Cambyses indulged his extravagance to such a degree, that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and immediately despatched heralds into all the parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's accession, and to require all the subjects thereof to pay him obedience.†

Cambyses caused the herald that came with these orders into Syria to be arrested; and having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexaspes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he who had usurped the throne was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to destroy his own brother; and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the usurper. But as he was mounting his horse for this expedition, his sword slipped out of its scabbard, and gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died soon after. The Egyptians remarking, that it was upon the same part of the body where he had wounded their god Apis, looked upon it as a judgment upon him for that sacrilegious impiety.‡

While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Buto, which was famous in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana; understanding this of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria; for the town where he lay sick of this wound was also called Ecbatana. On this being made known to him, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chiefs of the Persians together, and representing to them that it was Smerdis the Magian who had usurped the throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that impostor, nor suffer the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. The Persians, thinking he had said all this out of hatred to his brother, paid no regard to it, but upon his death, quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.§

Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. In Scripture he is called Ahasuerus. When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made their addresses directly to him, desiring him to prevent the building of their temple. And their application was not in vain. Indeed, he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of some remains of respect for his memory, but in a great measure frustrated its intent, by the many discouragements he laid the Jews under; so that the work went on very slowly during his reign.||

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

THIS prince is called in Scripture Artaxerxes. As soon as he was settled on the throne, by the death of Cambyses,¶ the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him, setting forth what a turbulent, seditious, and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter, they obtained an order from the king, prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any farther in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was suspended till the second year of Darius, for about the space of two years.

* Herod. l. iii. c. 120—125.
 § Herod. l. iii. c. 64—66.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 61.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 62—64.

|| 1 Esd. iv. 4, 6. ¶ A. M. 3482. Ant. J. C. 522. 1 Esd. iv. 7—14.

The Magian, sensible how important it was for him that the imposture should not be discovered, affected, according to the custom of the eastern monarchs in those times, never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there transact all his affairs by the intercourse of his eunuchs, without admitting any, but his most intimate confidants, to his presence.

And, the better to secure himself in the possession of the throne he had usurped, he studied, from his first accession, to gain the affections of his subjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military service for three years; and did so many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by the generality of the Persians, on the revolution that happened afterwards.*

But the very precautions he made use of, to keep himself out of the way of being discovered either by the nobility or the people, did but make it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among them Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma, a daughter of Otanes, a noble Persian of the first quality. This nobleman sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her whether the king was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or some other man. She answered, that having never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then, by a second message, desired her to inquire of Atossa, who could not but know her own brother, whether this was he or not. Whereupon she informed him, that the present king kept all his wives apart, so that they never could converse with one another, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa, to ask this question of her. He sent her a third message, whereby he directed her that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity when he was fast asleep, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime, he told her, that if the person she lay with had ears, she might satisfy herself that he was Smerdis the son of Cyrus; but if not, he was Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to; and finding that the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word of it to her father, whereby the fraud was discovered.†

Otanes immediately entered into a conspiracy with five more of the chief Persian nobility; and Darius, an illustrious Persian nobleman, whose father, Hystaspes, was governor of Persia,‡ coming very seasonably, as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the association, and vigorously promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great secrecy, and the very day fixed, lest it should be discovered.§

While they were concerting their measures, an extraordinary occurrence, which they had not the least expectation of, strangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all suspicion, they had proposed to Prexaspes, and obtained a promise from him, that he would publicly declare before the people, who were to be assembled for that purpose, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the son of Cyrus.||

When the people were assembled, which was on the very same day, Prexaspes spoke from the top of a tower, and, to the great astonishment of all present, sincerely declared all that had passed; that he had with his own hand killed Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, by order of Cambyses; that the person who now possessed the throne, was Smerdis the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed, by compulsion and against his will. Having said this, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. It is easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

The conspirators, without knowing any thing of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were suffered to enter unsuspected, for the outer guard, knowing them to be persons of the first rank at court, did not so much as ask them any questions. But coming near the king's apartment, and finding the officers there unwilling to give admittance, they drew their scimitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their passage. Smerdis the Magian and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the affair of Prexaspes, hearing a sudden uproar, snatched up their arms, made the best defence they could, and wounded some of the conspirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed, the other fled into a distant room to save himself, but was pursued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having seized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark in that place, Darius was afraid to kill him, lest, at the same time, he should kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it

* Herod. l. iii. c. 67.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 70—73.

‡ Idem. c. 69.

§ The province so called.

|| Herod. l. iii. c. 74, 75.

was that restrained him, obliged him to run his sword through the Magian's body, though he should happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with so much dexterity and good fortune, that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.*

In the same instant, with their hands all besmeared with blood, they went out of the palace, exposed the heads of the false Smerdis and his brother Patisithes to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. Upon this, the people grew so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon their whole sect and slew as many of them as they could find. For this reason, the day on which this was done, became thenceforward an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called *The slaughter of the Magi*; none of that sect venturing to appear in public upon that festival.†

When the tumult and disorder, inseparable from such an event, were appeased, the lords who had slain the usurper entered into consultation among themselves, what sort of government was most proper for them to establish. Otanes, who spoke first, declared directly against monarchy, strongly representing and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniences to which that form of government was liable, chiefly flowing, according to him, from the absolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the most virtuous man is almost unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded, by declaring upon a popular government. Megabyzus, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had said against a monarchical government, confuted his reasons for a democracy. He represented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and passion. "A king," said he, "knows what he does; but the people neither know nor hear any thing, and blindly give themselves up to those who know how to manage them." He therefore declared for an aristocracy, wherein the supreme power is confided to a few wise and experienced persons. Darius, who spoke last, showed the inconveniences of an aristocracy, otherwise called oligarchy, wherein reign distrust, envy, dissensions, and ambition, all natural sources of faction, sedition, and murder, for which there is usually no other remedy than submitting to one man's authority: and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the most commendable, the safest, and the most advantageous; the good that can be done by a prince, whose power is equal to the goodness of his inclinations, being inexpressibly great. "In short," said he, "to determine this point by a fact which to me seems decisive and undeniable, to what form of government is the present greatness of the Persian empire owing? Is it not that which I am now recommending?" The opinion of Darius was embraced by the rest of the lords, and they resolved, that the monarchy should be continued on the same footing whereon it had been established by Cyrus.

The next question was to know, which of them should be king, and how they should proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly, they agreed to meet the next morning, by sun-rise, on horse-back, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city, and he whose horse first neighed should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the Persians, they imagined, that taking this course would be giving him the honour of the election. The groom of Darius, hearing of the agreement, made use of the following artifice to secure the crown to his master. He carried, the night before, a mare into the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his master's horse. The lords assembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no sooner was Darius's horse come to the place where he had smelt the mare, than he began to neigh, whereupon Darius was saluted king by the others, and placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a Persian by birth, and of the royal family of Achæmenes.‡

The Persian empire being thus restored and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges. They had access to his person whenever they would, and in all public affairs were the first to deliver their opinions. And whereas the Persians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backward, except the king, who wore his erect; these lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forward, because, when they attacked the Magi, they had bent theirs in that manner, the better to know one another in the hurry and confusion. From that time forward the Persian kings of this family always had seven counsellors, honoured with the same privilege.§

* Herod. l. iii. c. 76—78.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 84—87.

‡ Idem. c. 79.

§ Herod. l. iii. c. 84—87.

Here I shall conclude the history of the Persian empire, reserving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, LYDIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS.

I SHALL give, in this place, an account of the manners and customs of these several nations jointly, because they agree in several points; and if I was to treat them separately, I should be obliged to make frequent repetitions; besides that, excepting the Persians, the ancient authors say very little of the manners of the other nations. I shall reduce what I have to say of them to these four heads:

- I. Their government.
- II. Their art of war.
- III. Their arts and sciences. And,
- IV. Their religion.

After which I shall lay down the causes of the declension and ruin of the great Persian empire.

ARTICLE I.

OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

AFTER a short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I shall proceed to consider these four things: their public council, wherein the affairs of state were considered; the administration of justice; their care of the provinces; and the good order observed in their revenues.

SECTION I.—THEIR MONARCHIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE RESPECT THEY PAID TO THEIR KINGS. THE MANNER OF EDUCATING THEIR CHILDREN.

MONARCHIAL, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the most ancient, the most universal, the best adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and the least exposed to the revolutions and vicissitudes incident to states. For these reasons, the wisest writers among the ancients, as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and, especially Herodotus, have thought fit to prefer this form of government to all others. It is likewise the only form that ever was established among the eastern nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

Those people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne, because in his person they respected the character of the Deity, whose image and vicegerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the Supreme Governor of the world, and clothed with his authority and power, in order to be the minister of his providence, and the dispenser of his goodness towards the people.* In this manner did the pagans themselves in old times both think and speak: *Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice sua fungatur.*†

These sentiments are very laudable and just. For certainly the most profound respect and reverence are due to the supreme power, because it cometh from God, and is entirely appointed for the good of the public: besides, it is evident, that an authority not respected according to the full extent of its commission, must thereby either become useless, or at least very much limited in the good effects which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganism, these honours and homages, though just and reasonable in themselves, were often carried too far; the Christian being the only religion that has known how to keep within bounds in that particular. We honour the emperor said Tertullian in the name of all the Christians; but in such a manner, as is lawful for us, and proper for him; that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no superior but God alone.‡ For this reason he calls, in another place, the emperor a second majesty, inferior to nothing but the first: *Religio secundæ majestatis.*§

Among the Assyrians, and more particularly among the Persians, the prince used to be styled, "The great king, the king of kings." Two reasons might induce those

* Plut. in Themist. p. 125. ad Princ. indoc. p. 780.

† Colimus Imperatorem, sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipsi expedit; ut hominem a Deo secundum, et quicquid est, a Deo consecutum, et solo Deo minorem.—Tertul. L. ad Scap.

‡ Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

§ Apolog. c. i. p. 35.

princes to take that ostentatious title. The one, because their empire was formed of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head; the other, because they had several kings, their vassals, either in their court, or dependent upon them.

The crown was hereditary among them, descending from father to son, and generally to the oldest. When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, and all manner of public rejoicing; and his birth-day was thenceforward an annual festival and day of solemnity for all the Persians.*

The manner of educating the future master of the empire is admired by Plato, and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince's education.†

He was never wholly committed to the care of the nurse, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition: but from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the household, some of the most approved merit and probity were chosen, to take care of the young prince's person and health, till he was seven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as soon as his strength would permit, and to exercise him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain some maturity, four of the wisest and most virtuous men of the state were appointed to be his preceptors. The first, says Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worship of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the law of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasdes; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second was to accustom him to speak truth, and to administer justice. The third was to teach him not to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be truly a king, and always free, master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify him against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those who are born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his way, and was eminent in that part of education assigned to him. One was particularly distinguished for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing; another for his love of truth and justice; this for his moderation and abstinence from pleasures, that for a superior strength of mind and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know, whether such a diversity of masters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different interests in view was proper to answer the end proposed; or whether it was possible, that four men should agree together in the same principles, and harmoniously pursue the same end. Probably, the reason of having so many was, that they apprehended it impossible to find any one person possessed of all the qualities they judged necessary for giving a right education to the presumptive heir of the crown; so great an idea had they, even in those corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all his care, as Plato remarks in the same place, was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of attendants, that paid him a servile submission; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure, and the inventing of new diversions, seemed to engross all attention: dangers which the most excellent disposition could never surmount. The corrupt manners of the nation, therefore, quickly debauched the prince, and drew him into the reigning pleasures, against which no education is a sufficient defence.

The education here spoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes, in whose time lived Alcibiades, who is introduced in the dialogue from whence this observation is taken. For Plato, in another passage, which we shall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus nor Darius, ever thought of giving the princes, their sons, a good education; and what we find in history concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, give us reason to believe, that he was more careful than his predecessors in the point of educating children, but was not closely imitated in that respect by his successors.

SECTION II.—THE PUBLIC COUNCIL, WHEREIN THE AFFAIRS OF STATE WERE CONSIDERED.

As absolute as the regal authority was among the Persians, yet it was, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the

* Plut. in Alcib. c. i. p. 121.

† Plut. in Alcib. e. i. p. 121

state; a council which consisted of seven of the princes, or chieflords of the nation, no less distinguished for their wisdom and abilities, than for their extraction. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into an association against Smerdis the Magian, and killed him.

The Scripture relates, that Ezra was sent into Judea, in the name and by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors; "inasmuch as thou art sent of the king and of his seven counsellors."* The same Scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us, that these counsellors were well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted any thing, or determined any affair of importance, without their advice.

This last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place, the king there spoken of, that is, Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reigned in Persia, and one of the most deserving, on account of his wisdom and prudence; though he had his failings. It is to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are ascribed, which have ever since subsisted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now, this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of council; nor did he apprehend, that the joining of a number of assistants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding: by which proceeding, he really showed a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and supposes a great fund of merit. For a prince of slender talents, and narrow capacity, is generally full of himself; and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable is he generally. He thinks it want of respect, to offer to discover any thing to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted, if you seem to doubt that he, who is supreme in power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice: *Illorum faciebat cuncta consilio.*

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and however jealous he might be of his prerogative, did not think he derogated from either, when he instituted that council; for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to govern by the laws: to make them the rule of his will and desire; and to think nothing allowable for him, which they prohibit.†

In the third place, this council, which every where accompanied the king, was a perpetual standing council, consisting of the greatest men, and the best heads in the kingdom; who, under the direction of the sovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the source of public order, and the principle of all the wise regulations and transactions at home and abroad. By this council the king discharged himself of several weighty cares, which must otherwise have overburdened him; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved on. It was by means of this standing council, that the great maxims of the state were preserved; the knowledge of its true interest perpetuated; affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and oversights, prevented. For in a public and general council, things are discussed by unsuspected persons; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in public matters are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration; because, though, as to the executive part, they move only in one particular sphere of business, yet they are obliged to inform themselves in all affairs relating to the public, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mentioned in Scripture, that the persons of which this council consisted, were thoroughly acquainted with the customs, laws, maxims, and rights of the kingdom.

Two things, which, as the Scripture informs us, were practised by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. The first was, their having public registers, wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the public,

* Ezra. vii. 14.

† Regimur a te, et subjecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus, sumus.---Plin. Paneg. Troj

and all the favours conferred upon particular persons, were entered and recorded.*—The second was, the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulations established, and services done by particular persons, were exactly entered.† These annals were carefully preserved, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past; might have a clear and true idea of the state of the kingdom; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct; maintain a uniformity in the course of affairs; and in short, acquire such light from the perusal of these books, as should qualify them to govern the state with wisdom.

SECTION III.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

To be king, and to be judge, is but one and the same thing. The throne is but a tribunal, and the sovereign power is the highest authority for administering justice. "God has made you king over his people," said the queen of Sheba to Solomon, "to the end that you should judge them, and render justice and judgment unto them." God hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them in a condition of fearing none but him. His design, in making them independent, was to give them the more inviolable attachment to justice. That they might not excuse themselves on pretence of inability, or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them masters of all the means requisite for restraining injustice and oppression, that iniquity should tremble in their presence, and be incapable of hurting any person whatever.

But what is that justice which God hath put into the hands of kings, and of which he hath made them depositaries? Surely it is nothing else than order; and order consists in observing a universal equity, and that force may not usurp the place of law; that one man's property be not exposed to the violence of another; that the common band of society be not broken: that artifice and fraud may not prevail over innocence and simplicity; that all things may rest in peace under the protection of the laws, and the weakest among the people may find his sanctuary in the public authority.

We learn from Josephus, that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons.‡ And it was to qualify them for the due discharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them instructed, from their tenderest youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their public schools, as we have already mentioned in the history of Cyrus, they were taught equity and justice, in the same manner as rhetoric and philosophy are taught in other places.

These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reasonable, and absolutely necessary, that the prince be assisted in the execution of that august function, as he is in others: but to be assisted is not to be deprived, or dispossessed. He continues judge, as long as he continues king. Though he communicates his authority, yet does he not resign or divide it. It is therefore absolutely necessary for him to bestow some time upon the study of equity and justice; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himself with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing justice, and of speaking wisely upon important points. For this reason, the kings of Persia never ascended the throne, till they had been for some time under the care and instruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that science of which they were the only masters and professors, as well as of theology.

Now, since to the sovereign alone is committed the right of administering justice; and since, within his dominions, there is no other power of administering it, than what is delegated by him; how greatly does it behoove him to take care into what hands he commits a part of so great a trust; to know whether those he places so near the throne are worthy to partake of such a prerogative; and strictly to keep all such at a distance from it, as he judges unworthy! We find that in Persia, their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. One of their royal judges, for so they called them, having suffered himself to be corrupted by bribery, was condemned by Cambyses to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat where he used to sit and give judgment, and where his son, who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place whence he gave judgment should remind him of his duty.§

Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men, into which none

* 1 Esd. v. 17. and vi. 2.

† Antiq. Juda. c. l. xi. c. 3.

‡ Esd. iv. 15. and Esth. vi. 1.

§ Herod. l. v. c. 28.

were admitted till the age of fifty years; so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion, that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which disposed of the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow-citizens.*

Among them, it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death, or for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.†

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice: nor was it just, in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. Upon this principle it was that Darius, having condemned a judge to death for some prevarication in his office, and afterwards calling to mind the important services he had rendered both the state and the royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment in which it was to be executed,‡ and acknowledged that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.§

But one important and essential rule which they observed in their judgments, was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without confronting him with his accuser, and without giving him time, and all other means necessary, for defending himself against the articles laid to his charge: and, in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the very same punishment upon the accuser, as the other was to have suffered, had he been found guilty. Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the just rigour which ought to be exercised on such occasions. One of the king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place possessed by one of his best officers, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer; and to that end, sent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king, from the great credit he had with his majesty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without further examination. For, such is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light; they make it their business to shut out the innocent from all access to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themselves. The officer was imprisoned; but he desired the king before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king complied with his request: and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had written against him, he was cleared, and his innocence fully justified by the three commissioners that sat upon his trial. All the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuser, who had thus attempted to abuse the favour and confidence of his royal master.|| This prince, was very wise, and knew that one of the true signs of a prudent government, was to have the subjects stand more in fear of the law than of informers.¶ He thought, that to act otherwise, would be a violation of the common rules of natural equity and humanity; it would be opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge; it would be exposing the honest simplicity of faithful subjects to the malice of detestable informers, and arming these with the sword of public authority:** in a word, it would divest the throne of the most noble privilege belonging to it, namely, of being a sanctuary for innocence and justice, against violence and calumny.

There is upon record a still more memorable example of firmness and love of justice, in another king of Persia, before Artaxerxes; in him, I mean, whom the Scripture calls Ahasuerus, and who is thought to be the same as Darius the son of Hystaspes, from whom Haman had, by his earnest solicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Persian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Esther, opened his eyes, he made haste to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the impostor who had deceived him; but, which is more, by a public acknowledgment of his error; which should be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them, that far from debasing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure them both the more respect. After declaring, that it is but too common for calumniators to impose, by their misrepresentations and craftiness, on the goodness of their princes, whom their natural

* Xenoph. Cyrop. l. i. p. 7.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 194.

‡ Diod. l. xv. p. 333--336.

§ Herod. l. i. c. 137.

¶ Γυνὸς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοωτέρη λεγασαμένος εἶναι, ἔλυσε.

¶ Non jam delatores, sed leges timentur.--Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

** Princeps, qui delatores non castigat, irritat.--Sueton. in Vit. Domit. c. ix.

sincerity induces to judge favourably of others; he is not ashamed to acknowledge, that he had been so unhappy as to suffer himself to be prejudiced by such means against the Jews, who were his faithful subjects, and the children of the Most High God, through whose goodness he and his ancestors had attained to the throne.*

The Persians were not only enemies of injustice, as we have now shown, but also abhorred lying, which always was deemed among them as a mean and infamous vice. What they esteemed most pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon trust, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life seemed to them idle, ignominious, servile, and the more despicable, because it makes people liars.†

SECTION IV.—THE CARE OF THE PROVINCES.

It seems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magistrates and judges is nearly inspected, and the very sight of the throne is capable of keeping the subjects in awe. The case is otherwise with respect to the provinces, where the distance from the sovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occasion many misdemeanours on the part of the magistrates and officers, as well as great licentiousness and disorder on that of the people. In this the Persian policy exerted itself with the greatest care; and we may also say, with the greatest success.

The Persian empire was divided into a hundred and twenty-seven governments,‡ the governors of which were called *satraps*. Over them were appointed three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their several provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the same to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, *Cyaxares*, or rather *Cyrus* in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. These *satraps* were, by the very design of their office, each in his respective district, to have the same care and regard for the interests of the people, as for those of the prince: for it was a maxim with *Cyrus*, that no difference ought to be admitted between these two interests, which are necessarily linked together; since neither the people can be happy, unless the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince truly powerful, unless his people be happy.

These *satraps* being the most considerable persons in the kingdom, *Cyrus* assigned them certain funds and revenues proportionable to their station, and the importance of their employments. He was willing they should live nobly in their respective provinces, that they might gain the respect of the nobility and common people within their jurisdiction; and for that reason their retinue, their equipage, and their table, should be answerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He, himself, was their model in this respect, as he desired they should be to all persons of distinguished rank within the extent of their authority: so that the same order which reigned in the prince's court, might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the *satraps*, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent, as far as possible, all abuses which might be made of so extensive an authority as that of the *satraps*, the king reserved to himself alone the nomination of them, and caused the governors of places, the commanders of the troops, and other such like officers, to depend immediately upon the prince himself; from whom alone they were to receive their orders and instructions, that if the *satraps* were inclined to abuse their power, they might be sensible those officers were so many overseers and censors of their conduct. And, to make this correspondence by letters the more sure and expeditious, the king caused post-houses to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers, who travelled night and day, and made wonderful despatch. I shall speak more particularly on this article at the end of this section, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

The care of the provinces, however, was not entirely left to the *satraps* and governors; the king himself took cognizance of them in his own person, being persuaded, that the governing only by others is but to govern by halves. An officer of the household was ordered to repeat these words to the king every morning when he waked, "Rise, Sir, and think of discharging the duties for which *Oromasdes* has placed you upon the throne."§ *Oromasdes* was the principal god anciently worshipped by the Persians. A good prince, says *Plutarch*, in the account he gives of this cus-

* *Esth.* c. iii. &c.

† *Herod.* l. i. c. 138.

‡ Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces.—*Xenoph. Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 229, 232.

§ *Plut. ad. Princ. indoct.* p. 730.

tom, has no occasion for an officer to give him this daily admonition; his own heart, and the love he has for his people, are sufficient monitors.

The king of Persia thought himself obliged, according to the ancient custom established in that country, from time to time, personally to visit all the provinces of his empire;* being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people see their common father; "to reconcile the dissensions and mutual animosities of rival cities; to calm commotions or seditions among the people, and that not so much by the dint of power and severity, as by reason and temper; to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates; and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity: in a word, like a beneficent planet, to shed his salutary influence universally; or rather like a divinity, to be present every where, to see, to hear, and know every thing, without rejecting any man's petitions or complaint."†

When the king was not able to visit the provinces himself, he sent, in his stead, some of the greatest men of the kingdom, such as were the most eminent for wisdom and virtue. These persons were generally called the eyes and the ears of the prince, because by their means he saw and was informed of every thing. When these or any other of his great ministers, or the members of his council, were said to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should lie still and be idle, but act by their means; and to the ministers, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of the whole body politic.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king, or the commissioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of admiration, and shows how well they understood in those days wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. The attention of the king and his ministers was not only employed upon great objects, as war, the revenue, justice, and commerce; but matters of less importance, as the security and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient dwelling of the inhabitants, the preparations of high roads, bridges, causeways, the keeping of woods and forests from being laid waste and destroyed, and, above all, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting of all sorts of trades, even to the lowest and meanest of handicraft employments; every thing, in short, came within the sphere of their policy, and was thought to deserve their care and inspection. And, indeed, whatever belongs to the subjects, as well as the subjects themselves, is a part of the trust committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the commonwealth is universal. It extends itself to all matters, and takes in every thing; it is the support of private persons, as well as of the public.‡ Every province, every city, every family, has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attention and regard.

I have already said, that agriculture was one of the main things on which the Persians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed, one of the prince's first cares was to make husbandry flourish; and those satraps, whose provinces were the best cultivated, enjoyed the most of his favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of the government, so were there likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and economy. Indeed these two employments had a near relation, the business of the one being to guard the country, and of the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both with almost the same degree of affection, because both concurred, and were equally necessary for the public good. Because if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and security; so neither can the soldiers, on the other hand, be fed and maintained without the labour of the husbandmen, who cultivate the ground. It was with good reason, therefore, that the prince, since it was impossible for himself to see into every thing, caused an exact account to be given him, how every province and canton was cultivated; that he might know whether each country brought forth abundantly such fruits as it was capable of producing; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, as to inform himself, whether the private

* Xenoph. Œconom. p. 228.

† Reconciliare æmulas civitates, tumentesque populos non imperio magis quam ratione compescere, intercedere iniquitatibus magistratum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit: postremo, velocissimi sideris more, omnia invisere, omnia audire, et undecumque invocatum, statim, velut numen, adesse et adistere.—Plin. in Panegyrr. Traj.

‡ Is, cui curæ sunt universæ, nullam non reip, partem tanquam sui nutrit.—Sen. c. lib. de Clem. c. xiii.

gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the superintendents and overseers, whose provinces or cantons were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence, of those idle persons who did not labour and improve their grounds. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a spirit of industry among his subjects, which is the surest means of preventing that increase of drones and idlers, that are such a burden upon the public, and a dishonour to the state.*

Xenophon, in the next passage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a speaker, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he represents as an employment the most worthy of man, the most ancient, and the most suitable to his nature; as the common nurse of persons of all ages and conditions of life; as the source of health, strength, plenty, riches, and a thousand sober delights and honest pleasures; as the mistress and school of sobriety, temperance, justice, religion; and in a word, of all kinds of virtues, both civil and military. After which he relates the fine saying of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth that he himself had planted several of the trees he was looking at, made the following answer: that the world had reason to extol the happiness of Cyrus, whose virtue was as eminent as his fortune, and who in the midst of the greatest affluence, splendour, and magnificence, had yet preserved a taste so pure, and so conformable to right reason.† “Cum Cyrus respondisset, Ego ista sum dimensus, mer sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum meâ manu sunt satæ: tum Lysandrum, inuentem ejus purpuram, et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: †RECTE VERO TE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI TUE FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST.”§ How much is it to be wished, that our young nobility, who, in the time of peace, do not know how to employ themselves, had the like taste for planting and agriculture, which surely, after such an example as that of Cyrus, should be thought no dishonour to their quality, especially if they would consider that for several ages, it was the constant employment of the bravest and most warlike people in the world! The reader may easily perceive that I mean the ancient Romans.

THE INVENTION OF POSTS AND COURIERS.

I PROMISED to give some account, in this place, of the invention of posts and couriers. This invention is ascribed to Cyrus; nor, indeed, can I find any mention of such an establishment before his time. As the Persian empire after its last conquests, was of a vast extent, and Cyrus required that all his governors of provinces, and the chief commanders of his troops, should write to him, and give an exact account of every thing that passed in their several districts and armies; in order to render that correspondence the more sure and expeditious, and to put himself in a condition of receiving speedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and of sending his orders thereupon with expedition, he caused post-houses to be built, and messengers to be appointed in every province. Having computed how far a good horse with a brisk rider, could go in a day, without being spoiled, he had stables built in proportion, at equal distances from each other, and had them furnished with horses, and grooms to take care of them. At each of these places he likewise appointed a postmaster, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horses that had performed their stage, and to find fresh ones. Thus the post went continually, night and day, with extraordinary speed; nor did either rain or snow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the weather, interrupt its progress.|| Herodotus speaks of the same sort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.¶

These couriers were called, in the Persian language, “*Ἀγγαρεῖ*.”** The superintendency of the posts became a considerable employment. Darius, the last king of the ancient Persians, had it before he came to the crown.†† Xenophon takes notice, that this establishment subsisted in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is re-

* Xenoph. Œcon. p. 327---380.

† Xenoph. Œcon. p. 830---833.

‡ In the original Greek there is still a greater energy; *Δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς, ὡς Κύρε, εὐδαιμονῶν εἶ ναι. ἄγγαρεῖς γὰρ ὄν ἄνθε εὐδαιμονοῦσι*. Thou art worthy, Cyrus, of that Happiness thou art possessed of: because, with all thy affluence and prosperity, thou art also virtuous.

§ Cic. de Senect. num. 59.

|| Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232.

¶ Herod. l. viii. c. 98.

** “*Ἀγγαρεῖ* is derived from a word which, in that language, signifies a service rendered by compulsion. It is from thence the Greeks borrowed their verb *ἀγγαρεύειν*, compellere, cogere; and the Latins, *angariare*. According to Suidas, they were likewise called *Astandæ*.”

†† Plut. l. i. de Fortun. Alex. p. 674. ubi. pro *Ἀγγαρέων*, legendum *Ἀστάνων*.

lated in the book of Esther, concerning the edict published by *Ahasuerus* in favour of the Jews; which edict was carried through that vast empire with a rapidity that would have been impossible, without these posts established by *Cyrus*.

People are justly surprised to find, that this establishment of posts and couriers, first invented in the east by *Cyrus*, and continued for many ages afterwards by his successors, especially considering the usefulness of it to a government, should never have been imitated in the west, particularly by people so expert in politics as the Greeks and Romans.

It is more astonishing, that where this invention was put in execution, it was not farther improved, and that the use of it was confined only to the affairs of state, without considering the many advantages the public might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correspondence, as well as the business of merchants and tradesmen of all kinds: by the expedition it would have procured to the affairs of private persons; the despatch of journeys which required haste; the easy communication between families, cities, and provinces; and by the safety and conveniency of remitting money from one country to another. It is well known what difficulty people at a distance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news, or to treat of affairs together; being obliged either to send a servant on purpose, which could not be done without great charge and loss of time; or to wait for the departure of some other person, that was going into the province or country whither they had letters to send; which method was liable to numberless disappointments, accidents and delays.

At present we enjoy this general conveniency at a small expence; but we do not thoroughly consider the advantage of it; the want thereof would make us fully sensible of our happiness in this respect. France is indebted for it to the university of Paris, which I cannot forbear observing here: I hope the reader will excuse the digression. The university of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of scholars resorting to her from all parts of the country, did, for their sakes and conveniency, establish messengers, whose business was, not only to bring clothes, silver, and gold, for the students, but likewise to carry bags of law proceedings, informations, and inquests; to conduct all sorts of persons, indifferently, to or from Paris, finding them both horses and diet; as also to carry letters, parcels, and packets, for the public as well as the university. In the university-registers of the four nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, these messengers are often styled *Nuntii volantes*, to signify the great speed and despatch they were obliged to make.

The state, then, is indebted to the university of Paris for the invention and establishment of these messengers and letter-carriers. And it was at her own charge and expence that she erected these offices, to the satisfaction both of our kings and the public. She has, moreover, maintained and supported them since the year 1576, against all the various attempts of the farmers, which has cost her immense sums. For there never was any ordinary royal messengers, till *Henry III.*, first established them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the same cities as the university had theirs in, and granting them the same rights and privileges as the kings, his predecessors, had granted the messengers of the university.

The university never had any other fund or support, than the profits arising from the post-office. And it is upon the foundation of the same revenue, that *King Louis XV.* by his decree of the council of state, of the 14th April, 1719, and by his letters-patent, bearing the same date, registered in parliament, and in the chamber of accounts, has ordained, that in all the colleges of the said university the students shall be taught *gratis*; and has to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the university an eighth-and-twentieth part of the revenue arising from the general lease or farm of the posts and messengers of France; which eighth-and-twentieth part amounted that year to the sum of one hundred and eighty-four thousand livres, or thereabouts.*

It is not, therefore, without reason, that the university, to whom this regulation has restored a part of her ancient lustre, regards *Louis XV.* as a kind of new founder, whose bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and shameful necessity of receiving wages for her labours; which in some measure dishonoured the dignity of her profession, as it was contrary to that noble, disinterested spirit, which becomes it. And, indeed, the labour of masters and professors, who instruct others, ought

* About £37,740.

not to be given for nothing; but neither ought it to be sold. *Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.**

SECTION V.—ADMINISTRATION OF THE REVENUES.

THE prince is the sword and buckler of the state; by him are the peace and tranquillity thereof secured. But, to enable him to defend it, he has occasion for arms, soldiers, arsenals, fortified towns, and ships; and all these things require great expenses. It is, moreover, just and reasonable, that the king have wherewithal to support the dignity of the crown, and the majesty of empire; as also to procure reverence and respect to his person and authority. These are the two principal reasons that have given occasion for the exacting of tribute and the imposition of taxes. As the public advantage, and the necessity of defraying the expenses of the state, have been the first cause of these burdens, so ought they likewise to be the constant standard of their use. Nor is there any thing in the world more just and reasonable than such impositions, since every private person ought to think himself very happy, that he can purchase his peace and security at the expense of so slender a contribution.

The revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in moneys imposed upon the people, and partly in their being furnished with several of the products of the earth in kind, as corn and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded.† Strabo relates, that the satrap of Armenia sent regularly every year to the king of Persia, his master, twenty thousand young colts.‡ By this we may form an estimate of the other levies in the several provinces. But we are to consider, that the tributes were only exacted from the conquered nations; for the natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all impositions. Nor was the custom of imposing taxes, and determining the sums each province was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius; at which time the pecuniary impositions, as nearly as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to nearly forty-four millions, French money.§

The place in which the public treasure was kept was called, in the Persian language, Gaza.¶ There were treasures of this kind at Susa, at Persepolis, at Pasagarda, at Damascus, and other cities. The gold and silver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occasion. The money chiefly used by the Persians was of gold, and called *Daric*, from the name of Darius,¶ who first caused them to be coined, with his image on one side, and an archer on the reverse. The *Daric* is sometimes also called *Stater Aureus*, because the weight of it, like that of the *Attic Stater*, was two drachms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty drachms of silver, and consequently were worth ten livres of French money.

Besides these tributes, which were paid in money, there was another contribution made in kind, by furnishing victuals and provision for the king's table and household, grain, forage, and other necessaries for the subsistence of his armies, and horses for his cavalry. This contribution was imposed upon the one hundred and twenty satrapies, or provinces, each of them furnishing such a part as they were severally taxed at. Herodotus observes, that the province of Babylon, the largest and wealthiest of them all, alone, furnished the whole contribution for the space of four months, and consequently bore a third part of the burden of the whole imposition, while the rest of Asia together contributed the other two thirds.**

By what has been already said on this subject, we see that the kings of Persia did not exact all their taxes and impositions in money, but were content to levy only a part of them in money, and take the rest in such products and commodities as the several provinces afforded; which is a proof of the great wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt, it had been observed how difficult it often is for the people, especially in countries at a distance from commerce, to convert their goods into money, without suffering great losses; whereas nothing can tend so much to the rendering of taxes easy, and to shelter the people from vexation, trouble, and expense, as taking in payment from each country, such fruits and commodities as that country produces; by which means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

* Quintil. l. xii. c. 7.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 89—97.

‡ Herod. l. xi. p. 530.

§ About 8,880,000.

¶ Curt. l. iii. c. 12.

¶ Darius the Mede, otherwise called Cyaxares, is supposed to have been the first who caused this money to be coined. Value, one dollar, eighty-seven and a half cents.

** Herod. l. iii. c. 91—97. et l. i. c. 192.

There were likewise certain cantons assigned and set apart for maintaining the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and so on for the rest of her vestments: and these districts, which were of a great extent, since one of them contained as much ground as a man could walk over in a day; took their names from their particular use, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly called, one the Queen's Girdle, another the Queen's Veil, and so on. In Plato's time, the same custom continued among the Persians.*

The way in which kings gave pensions in those days to such persons as they had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have observed concerning the queens. We read, that the king of Persia assigned the revenue of four cities to Themistocles; one of which was to supply him with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his clothes and furniture.† Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the same manner with Pytharchus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a particular consideration, and to whom he gave the revenues of seven cities.‡ In following times, we find many instances of like nature.

ARTICLE II.

OF THEIR WAR.

The people of Asia in general were naturally of a warlike disposition, and did not want courage; but in time they all grew effeminate through luxury and pleasure. When I say all, I must be understood to except the Persians, who, even before Cyrus, as well as in his reign, had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The situation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one reason of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a thing of no little importance for the forming of good soldiers. But the good education which the Persians gave their youth, was the chief cause of the courage and martial spirit of that people.

With respect, therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we must make some distinction between the different nations of Asia. So that in the following account of military affairs, what perfection and excellence appear in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Persians, as they were in the reign of Cyrus; the rest belongs to the other nations of Asia, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians likewise, after they had degenerated from their ancient valour, which happened not long after Cyrus, as will be shown in the sequel.

I. THEIR ENTERING INTO THE SERVICE, OR INTO MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

THE Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises.§ Generally speaking, they served in the armies, from the age of twenty to fifty years. And whether they were in peace or war, they always wore swords as our gentlemen do, which was never practised among the Greeks or Romans. They were obliged to enlist themselves at the time appointed; and it was esteemed a crime to desire to be dispensed with in that respect, as will be seen hereafter, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes to two young noblemen, whose fathers had desired, as a favour, that their sons might be permitted to stay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.||

Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, which were called Immortal, because this body, which consisted of ten thousand, perpetually subsisted, and was always complete; for as soon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place.¶ The establishment of this body probably began with the ten thousand men sent for by Cyrus out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished from all the other troops by the richness of their armour, and still more by their singular courage. Quintus Curtius also mentions this body of men, and likewise another body consisting of fifteen thousand, designed in like manner to be a guard to the king's person: the latter were called doryphori, or lancers.**

II. THEIR ARMOUR.

The ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scimitar, *acinaces*, as it is called in Latin; a kind of a dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; a javelin, or half spike, having a sharp pointed iron at the end.

* Plut. in Alcib. c. i. p. 123.

† Plut. in Them. p. 127.

‡ Athen. l. i. p. 30.

§ Strab. l. xv. p. 734. Am. Mar. 1 xxiii. sub. finem.

|| Herod. l. iv. c. vi. Sen. de Ira, l. iii. c. 16, 17.

¶ Herod. l. vii. e. 83.

** Herod. l. iii. c. 3.

It seems that they carried two javelins, or lances, one to throw, and the other to fight with. They made great use of the bow, and of the quiver, in which they carried their arrows. The sling was not unknown among them; but they did not set much value upon it.

It appears from several passages in ancient authors, that the Persians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they called *tiras*; this is particularly said of Cyrus the younger, and his army.* And yet the same authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we must conclude, that their custom had changed according to the times.

The foot, for the most part, wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artfully fitted to their bodies, that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or other pieces of armour, which covered the arms, thighs, and legs of the horsemen. Their horses themselves for the most part had their faces, breasts, and flanks, covered with brass. These are what are called *equi cataphracti*, barbed horses.

Authors differ very much about the form and fashion of their shields. At first they used very small and light ones; made only of twigs of osier, *gerra*. But it appears from several passages, that they had also shields of brass, which were of a great length.

We have already observed, that in the first ages the light-armed soldiers, that is, the archers, slingers, &c. composed the bulk of the armies among the Persians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience, that such troops were only fit for skirmishing, or fighting at a distance, and who thought it most advantageous to come directly to close fight, made a change in his army, and reduced those light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the rest of the army.

III. CHARIOTS ARMED WITH SCYTHES.

CYRUS introduced a considerable change likewise with respect to the chariots of war.† These had been in use a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the sacred writings. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast, with two men in each; one of distinguished birth and valour, who fought, and the other only for driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little service: since, for the equipping of three hundred chariots, were required twelve hundred horses and six hundred men, of which there were but three hundred who really fought, the other three hundred, though all men of merit and distinction, and capable of doing great service if otherwise employed, serving only as charioteers or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots and doubled the number of the fighting men that rode in them, by putting the drivers in a condition to fight, as well as the others.

He caused the wheels of the chariots to be made stronger, that they should not be so easily broken; and their axle-trees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and steady. At each end of the axle-tree he caused scythes to be fastened that were three feet long, and placed horizontally; and caused other scythes to be fixed under the same axle-tree with their edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men or horses, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots should overturn. It appears from several passages in authors, that in after-times, besides all this, they added two long iron spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they armed the hinder part of the chariot with several rows of sharp knives, to hinder any one from mounting behind.‡

These chariots were in use for many ages in all the eastern countries. They were looked upon as the principal strength of the armies, as the most certain causes of victory, and as an apparatus the most capable of all others to strike the enemy with consternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the inconveniences of them were discovered, and at length they were laid aside. For, to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary to fight in large plains, where the soil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gullies, woods, nor vineyards.

In after-times several methods were invented to render these chariots absolutely useless. It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately stopped their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes in the battle which

* De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 262.

† Xenoph. Cyrop. l. vi. p. 152.

‡ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 41.

Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of slingers, archers, and spearmen, who, spreading themselves on all sides, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances, upon them, and at the same time begin shouting so loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horses, and occasioned such disorder and confusion, as often made them turn upon their own forces.* At other times they would render the chariots ineffectual and inactive, only by marching over the space which separated the two armies, with an extraordinary swiftness, and advancing suddenly upon the enemy. For the strength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their course, which was what gave that impetuosity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and insignificant. It was after this manner that the Romans under Sylla, at the battle of Chæronea, defeated and put to flight the enemy's chariots, by raising loud peals of laughter, as if they had been at the games of the circus, and by crying out to them to send more.†

IV. THEIR DISCIPLINE IN PEACE AS WELL AS IN WAR.

Nothing can be imagined more perfect, than the discipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The methods used by that great prince, as is fully related in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, in order to form his troops by frequent exercises, to inure them to fatigue, by keeping them continually active and employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battle by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and resolution by exhortations, praises, and rewards, all present a perfect model for those who have the command of troops, to whom, generally speaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely pernicious; for a relaxation of discipline, which usually ensues, enervates the vigour of the soldiers; and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies, greatly sharpen and excite. A prudent foresight ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever will be needful in time of war.‡

Whenever the Persian armies marched, every thing was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactness as on a day of battle; not a soldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the custom among all Asiatics, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp surrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being surprised by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage against their inclinations. They usually contented themselves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of these ditches; though sometimes they fortified them with strong palisadoes, and long stakes driven into the ground.§

By what has been said of their discipline in time of peace, and of their manner of marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of their exactness on a day of battle. Nothing can be more wonderful than the account we have of it in several parts of the *Cyropædia*. No single family could be better regulated, or pay a more ready and exact obedience to the first signal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accustomed them to that prompt obedience, on which the success of all enterprises depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At first he had used some severity, which is necessary in the beginning; in order to establish a good discipline; but this severity was always accompanied with reason, and tempered with kindness. The example of their leader, who was the first upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his discourse, and softened the rigour of his commands.|| The unalterable rule he laid down to himself, of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refusing every thing to favour, was a sure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. For there is nothing more discouraging to persons of that profession, even to those who love their prince and their country, than to see the rewards to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have spilt, entitle them, conferred upon others.¶ Cyrus had the art of inspiring even his common soldiers with a zeal for discipline and order, by first inspir-

* Ibid.

† Plut. in Syll. p. 463.

‡ In pace, ut sapiens, antant idonea bello.—Hor. Satyr. ii. 1, 2.

§ Diocl. l. i. p. 24, 25.

|| Dux, culta levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adesse, laudem strenuis, solatium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere.—Tacit. Annal. l. xiii. c. 35.

¶ Cecidisse in irritum labores, si præmia periculorum soli assequantur, qui periculis non affurunt.—Tacit. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 53.

ing them with a love of their country, for their honour, and their fellow-citizens; and above all, by endearing himself to them by his bounty and liberality. These are the true methods of establishing and supporting military discipline in full force and vigour.

V. THEIR ORDER OF BATTLE.

As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little else than field expeditions; for which reason that wise prince found out, by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to victory than a numerous and good cavalry; and that the gaining of a single pitched battle was often attended with the conquest of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we see, that having found the Persian army entirely destitute of that important and necessary succour, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying the defect, and so far succeeded, by his great application and activity, as to form a body of Persian cavalry, which became superior to that of his enemies, in goodness at least, if not in number. There were several breeds of horses in Persia and Media: but in the latter province, those of a place called Nisea were the most esteemed; and it was from thence the king's stable was furnished.* We shall now examine what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbra may serve to give us a just notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to show how far their ability extended, either in the use of arms or disposition of armies.

They knew, that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition, the flanks of the foot were covered, and the horse were at liberty to act and extend themselves, as occasion should require.

They likewise understood the necessity of drawing out an army into several lines, in order to support one another; because otherwise, as one single line might easily be pierced through and broken, it would not be able to rally, and consequently the army would be left without resource. For which reason, they formed the first line of foot, heavily armed, twelve men deep,† who, on the first onset, made use of the half pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came close together, engaged the enemy hand to hand with their swords, or scimitars.

The second line consisted of such men as were lightly armed, whose manner of fighting was to throw their javelins over the heads of the first. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, pointed with iron, and were thrown with great violence. The design of them was to put the enemy into disorder, before they came to close fight.

The third line consisted of archers, whose bows being bent with the utmost force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. These archers were sometimes mixed with slingers, who slung great stones with a terrible force; but, in aftertimes, the Rhodians, instead of stones, made use of leaden bullets, which the slings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line formed of men in the same manner as those of the first, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the support of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in case they gave way. It served likewise for a rear-guard, and a body of reserve to repulse the enemy, if they should happen to penetrate so far.

They had, besides, moving towers, carried upon huge wagons, drawn by sixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whose business was to discharge stones and javelins. These were placed in the rear of the whole army, behind the body of reserve, and were used to support their troops when they were driven back by the enemy, and to favour their rallying when in disorder.

They made great use, too, of their chariots armed with scythes, as we have already observed. These they generally placed in the front of the battle, and some of them at certain times upon the flanks of the army, or when they had any reason to fear their being surrounded.

Thus far, and not much farther, did the ancients carry their knowledge in the military art, with respect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find that they had any skill in choosing advantageous posts, in seasonably possessing themselves of a favourable spot, or bringing the war into a close country; of making use of defiles and narrow passes, either to molest the enemy in their march, or to cover themselves from their attacks; of laying artful ambuscades; of protracting a cam-

* Herod. l. vii. c. 40. Strab. l. xi. p. 530.

† Before Cyrus's time it was twenty-four men.

paign to a great length by wise delays; of not suffering a superior enemy to force them to a decisive action, and of reducing him to the necessity of preying upon himself through the want of forage and provisions. Neither do we see that they had much regard to the defending of their right and left rivers, marshes, or mountains, and by that means to make the front of a smaller army equal to that of another much more numerous, and to put it out of the enemy's power to surround or flank them.

Yet, in Cyrus's first campaign against the Armenians, and afterwards against the Babylonians, they seemed to have made their first advances and essays in this art; but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in those days. Time, reflection, and experience, made the great commanders in after ages acquainted with these precautions and subtleties of war; and we have already shown, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what use Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations, made of them.

VI. THEIR MANNER OF ATTACKING AND DEFENDING STRONG PLACES.

THE ancients both devised and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as also from the force and variety of engines then in use, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

I. THEIR WAY OF ATTACKING PLACES.

THE first method of attacking a place was by blockade. They invested the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper distances, were made redoubts and magazines; and between the wall and the town they dug a deep trench, which they strongly fenced with pallsadoes, to hinder the besieged from going out, as well as to prevent succours or provisions from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the sieges related by the ancients; as that of Troy,* which lasted ten years; that of Azoth by Psammeticus, which lasted twenty; that of Nineveh, where we find Sardanapalus defended himself for the space of seven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where a stock of provisions for twenty years had been laid in, if he had not devised a different method of taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of scaling, which was done by raising a great number of ladders against the walls, by means of which a great many files of soldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of scaling impracticable, or at least ineffectual, they made the walls of their cities extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flanked, still considerably higher, that the ladders of the besiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out some other way of getting to the top of the ramparts; and this was, building moveable towers of wood, still higher than the walls, and by approaching them with these wooden towers. On the top of these towers, which formed a kind of platform, was placed a competent number of soldiers, who with darts and arrows, and the assistance of their balistæ and catapultæ, scoured the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders; and then, from a lower stage of the tower, they let down a kind of draw-bridge, which rested upon the wall, and gave the soldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely shortened the length of their sieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and opened themselves a passage into the places besieged. This battering-ram was a vast thick beam of timber, with a strong head of iron or brass at the end of it, which was pushed with the utmost force against the walls. There were several kinds of them; but I shall give a more ample and particular account of these, as well as other war-like engines, in another place.

They had still a fourth method of attacking places, which was, that of sapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways, that is, either to carry a subterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and so open themselves a passage and entrance into it; or else, after they had sapped the foundation of the wall, and put supporters under it, to fill the space with all sorts of combustible matter, and then to set that matter on fire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

* Homer makes no mention of the battering-ram, or any warlike engine.

2. THEIR MANNER OF DEFENDING PLACES.

WITH respect to the fortifying and defending of towns, the ancients made use of all the fundamental principles and essential rules now practised in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made their ditches deep, and of a steep ascent, and fenced them round with pallisadoes, to make the enemy's ascent or descent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with stone or brick-work, that the battering-ram should not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them should be equally impracticable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions derive their origin, for their flanking of the curtains; they ingeniously invented different machines for shooting arrows, throwing darts and lances, and hurling great stones with vast force and violence; they had parapets and battlements in the walls for the security of the soldiers, and covered galleries, which, going quite round the walls, served as subterraneous passages; they had intrenchments behind the breaches and necks of the towers; they made their sallies, too, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers, and to set their engines on fire; as also counter-mines to defeat the mines of the enemy; and lastly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in case of extremity, to serve as the last resource to a garrison upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these methods of defending places against those that besieged them, were known in the art of fortification, as it was practised among the ancients; and they are the very same as are now in use among the moderns, allowing for such alteration as the difference of arms has occasioned.

I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortified towns, as also to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine, that, because new names are now given to the same things, the things themselves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gun-powder, cannon indeed have been substituted in the place of the battering-ram, and musket-shot instead of balistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, javelins, slings, and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are changed? By no means. The ancients made as much use of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanic powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

VII. THE CONDITION OF THE PERSIAN FORCES AFTER THE TIME OF CYRUS.

I HAVE already observed, more than once, that we must not judge of the merit and courage of the Persian troops at all times, by what we see of them in Cyrus's reign. I shall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, on that subject. He observes, that after the death of that prince, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the great advantages which result from severity, order, and discipline; from skill in drawing up an army, order in marching and encamping, and that happiness of conduct which moves those great bodies without disorder or confusion. Full of a vain ostentation of their power and greatness, and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary, when they had drawn together immense numbers of people, who fought indeed with resolution but without order, and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons in the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to such a height was their luxury grown, that they would have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same pleasures and delights, in the army, as in the king's court; so that in their wars, the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and in short, all the equipage and utensils required in so voluptuous a life. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, had the additional load of vast multitudes of such as did not fight. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert; their orders never reached them in time; and in action, every thing went on at random, as it were, without the possibility of any commander's preventing disorder. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity: because such a vast body of people, greedy not only for the necessaries of life; but of such things also as were re-

quisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed all that could be met with in a very short time; nor indeed is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

With all this vast train, however, the Persians astonished those nations that were not more expert in military affairs than themselves; and many of those that even excelled them, were yet overcome, being either weakened or distressed by their own divisions, or overpowered by the enemy's numbers. By this means, Egypt, as proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of her Sesostris, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer Lesser Asia, and such Greek colonies as the luxury of Egypt had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robust and active by wrestling and other exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies, indeed, were but small; but they were like those strong, vigorous bodies, that seem to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part; at the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that it seemed as if all the soldiers had been actuated by one soul, so perfect a harmony was there in all their motions.

ARTICLE III.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I do not pretend to give an account of the eastern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the old Testament. These precious fragments are sufficient to let us know the origin of poesy, its true design, the use that was made of it by those inspired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfection, and sing the wonderful works of God; as also the dignity and sublimity of style which ought to accompany it, adapted to the majesty of the subject it treats. The discourses of Job's friends, who lived in the east, as he himself did, and were distinguished among the Gentiles as much by their learning as their birth, may likewise give us some notion of eastern eloquence in those early ages.

What the Egyptian priests said of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular, according to Plato,* that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with respect to arts and sciences, of which they have falsely ascribed the invention to chimerical persons, long posterior to the deluge. The holy Scriptures inform us, that before that epoch, God had discovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents; of spinning wool and flax, and weaving it into stuffs and linen; of forging and polishing iron and brass; and putting them to numberless uses, that are necessary and convenient for life and society.†

We learn from the same Scriptures, that, very soon after the deluge, human industry had made several discoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of spinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with stuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it, to gild wood and other materials. 3. The secret of casting metals, as brass, silver, or gold, and of making all sorts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of representing different kinds of objects, and of making an infinite variety of vessels of those metals, for use and ornament. 4. The art of painting, or carving upon wood, stone, or marble: and 5. To name no more, that of dying their silks and stuffs, or giving them the most exquisite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Asia that men first settled after the deluge, it is easy to conceive that Asia must have been the nurse, as it were of arts and sciences, the remembrance of which had been preserved by tradition, and which were afterwards revived and restored, by means of men's wants and necessities, which put them upon all methods of industry and application.

SECTION I.—ARCHITECTURE.

THE building of the tower of Babel, and shortly after, of those famous cities, Babylon and Nineveh, which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of royal and other palaces, divided into numerous halls and apartments, and adorned with every thing that either decency or conveniency could require; the regu-

* In *Timæo*, p. 22.

† *Gen. vi.*

larity and symmetry of the pillars and vaulted roofs, raised and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickness of their ramparts; the height and strength of their towers, their large and commodious quays on the banks of their great rivers; and their curious bold bridges built over them; all these things, I say, with many other works of the like nature, show to what a degree of perfection architecture was carried in those ancient times.

Yet I cannot say, whether, in those ages, this art arose to that degree of perfection which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy; or whether those vast structures in Asia and Egypt, so much boasted of by the ancients were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity, as they were for their magnitude and spaciousness. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite: but we never hear of an Asiatic or Egyptian order, which gives us reason to doubt whether symmetry, measures, and proportion of pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly observed in those ancient structures.

SECTION II.—MUSIC.

It is no wonder, if in a country like Asia, addicted to voluptuous and luxurious living, music, which is in a manner the soul of such enjoyments, was in high esteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal styles of ancient music, which the modern has still preserved, namely, the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, sufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin, or at least, where it was improved and brought to perfection. We learn from holy Scripture, that in Laban's time, instrumental music was much in use in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Mesopotamia; since, among the other reproaches he makes to his son-in-law, Jacob, he complains, that by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family, "with mirth and with song, with tabret and with harp."* Among the booty that Cyrus had ordered to be set apart for his uncle Cyaxares, mention is made of two famous female musicians,† very skilful in their profession, who accompanied a lady of Susa, and were taken prisoners with her.‡

To determine what degree of perfection, music was carried to by the ancients, is a question which very much puzzles the learned. It is the more difficult to be decided, because, to determine justly upon it, it seems necessary we should have several pieces of music composed by the ancients, with their notes, that we might examine both with our eyes and our ears. But unhappily, it is not with music, in this respect, as with ancient sculpture and poetry, of which we have so many noble monuments remaining; whereas, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their composition in the other science, by which we can form a certain judgment of it, and determine whether the music of the ancients was as perfect as ours.

It is generally allowed, that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments in concert.

It is also agreed, that they excelled in what relates to rhythmus. What is meant by rhythmus, is the assemblage or union of various times in music, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To understand this definition, it is to be observed, that the music we are speaking of, was always set and sung to the words of certain verses, in which every syllable was distinguished into long and short; that the short syllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former was reckoned to make up but one time, while the latter made up two; and consequently the sound which answered to this was to continue twice as long as the sound which answered to the other; or, which is the same thing, it was to consist of two times or measures, while the other comprehended but one; that the verses which were sung consisted of a certain number of feet, formed by the different combinations of these long and short syllables; and that the rhythmus of the song regularly followed the march of these feet. As these feet, of whatever nature or extent, were always divided into two equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called *ἄρσις*, elevation or rising, and the latter *σισις*, depressing or falling; so the rhythmus of the song, which answered to every one of these feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally, by what we now call a *beat*, and rest or intermission. The scrupulous regard the ancients had to the quantity of their syllables in their

* Gen. xxxi. 27.

† Μουσική; δύο τὰς κέρτι, ας.

‡ Cypri. l. iv. p. 13.

vocal music; made their rhythmus much more perfect and regular than ours; for our poetry is not formed upon the measure of long and short syllables; but, nevertheless, a skillful musician among us, may in some manner express, by the length of the sounds, the quantity of every syllable. This account of the rhythmus of the ancients I have copied from one of the dissertations of Monsieur Burette, which I have done out of regard for young students, to whom this little explanation may be of great use for the understanding of several passages in ancient authors. I now return to my subject.

The principal point in dispute among the learned, concerning the music of the ancients, is, to know whether they understood music in several parts; that is a composition consisting of several parts, and in which all those different parts form each by itself a complete piece, and at the same time, have a harmonious connexion; as it is in our counterpoint or concert, whether simple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever else relates to the music of the ancients, I refer him to the learned dissertations of the above-mentioned M. Burette, inserted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the memoirs of the Royal Academy *des Belles Lettres*, which show the profound erudition, and exquisite taste of that writer.

SECTION III.—PHYSIC.

WE likewise discover, in those early times, the origin of physic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were very rude and imperfect. Herodotus, and after him Strabo, observe, that it was a general custom among the Babylonians, to expose their sick persons to the view of passengers, in order to learn from them whether they had been afflicted with the like distemper, and by what remedies they had been cured.* From hence several people have pretended, that physic is nothing else than a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made upon the nature of different diseases, and upon such things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It must be confessed, that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not sufficient. The famous Hippocrates made great use of it in his practice; but he did not entirely rely upon it. The custom was, in those days, for all persons that had been sick, and were cured, to put up a tablet dedicated to Æsculapius, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had restored them to health. That celebrated physician caused all these inscriptions and memorials to be copied out, which were of great advantage to him.

Physic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great use and esteem.† Æsculapius, who flourished at that time, is looked upon as the inventor of that art; and had even then brought it to great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great skill in medicinal preparations and surgical operations; for in those days these several branches were not separated from one another; but were all included under the denomination of Physic.

The two sons of Æsculapius, Podalirius and Machaon, who commanded a certain number of troops at the siege of Troy, were both most excellent physicians and brave officers, and rendered as much service to the Grecian army by their skill in their medical, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity.‡ Nor did Achilles himself, or even Alexander the Great, in after-times, think the knowledge of this science improper for a general, or beneath his dignity.¶ On the contrary, he learned it himself of Chiron, the centaur, and afterwards instructed his friend Patroclus in it, who did not disdain to exercise the art, in healing the wound of Euryпилus. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately assuaged the pain, and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physic which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and almost the only branch of the science used in those early times. Virgil, speaking of a celebrated physician, who was instructed in this art by Apollo himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples: *Scire potestates herbarum, usumque medendi maluit.*¶ It was nature itself that offered those innocent and salutary remedies, and seemed to invite mankind to make use of them. Their gardens, fields, and woods, supplied them with an infinite plenty and variety.** As yet no use was made of minerals, treacles, and other compositions, since discovered by closer and more inquisitive researches into nature.††

* Herod. l. i. c. 197. Strab. l. 16. p. 746.

† Plin. l. xxix. c. 1. Strab. l. viii. p. 374.

‡ Diod. l. v. p. 34L.

§ Hom. Il. ad. l. v. v. 821—847.

¶ Plut. in Alex. p. 668.

¶ Æn. l. xii. v. 396.

** Plin. xx. i. c. 1.

†† Plin. l. xxiv. c. 7.

Pliny says, that physic, brought by Æsculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay in a manner buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its ancient honour and credit.* This may be true with respect to Greece; but in Persia we find it always cultivated, and constantly held in great reputation. The great Cyrus, as is observed by Xenophon, never failed to take a certain number of excellent physicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard.† He farther remarks, that in this, Cyrus only followed a custom that had been anciently established among their generals; and that the younger Cyrus acted in the same manner.‡

It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that it was Hippocrates who carried this science to its highest perfection; and though it is certain, that several improvements and new discoveries have been made in that art since his time, yet he is looked upon, by the ablest physicians, as the first and chief master of the faculty, and as the person whose writings ought to be the chief study of those who would distinguish themselves in that profession.

Men thus qualified, who, besides their having studied the most celebrated physicians, as well ancient as modern, besides the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of simples, the principles of natural philosophy, and the constitution and contexture of human bodies, have had a long practice and experience, and to that have added their own serious reflections; such men as these, in a well-ordered state, deserve to be highly rewarded and distinguished, as the Holy Spirit itself signifies to us in the sacred writings: "The skill of the physician shall lift up his head; and in the sight of great men he shall be the admiration:"§ since all their labours, lucubrations, and watchings, are devoted to the people's health, which of all human blessings is the dearest and most valuable. And yet this blessing is what mankind are the least careful to preserve. They do not only destroy it by riot and excess, but, through a blind credulity, they foolishly intrust with persons of no skill or experience, who impose upon them by their imprudence and presumption, or seduce them by their flattering assurances of infallible recovery.||

SECTION IV.—ASTRONOMY.

As much as the Grecians desired to be esteemed the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The advantageous situation of Babylon, which was built upon a wide extended flat country, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seemed to be intended for an observatory; all these circumstances were strong motives to engage this people in a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies and the regular course of the stars.¶ The abbé Renaudot, in his Dissertation upon the Sphere, observes, that the plain which in Scripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same that is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almanon, the seventh of the Habbassides, in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caused the astronomical observations to be made, which for several ages directed all the astronomers of Europe; and that the sultan Gelaeddin Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides, caused a course of the like observations to be made, near three hundred years afterwards, in the same place: from whence it appears, that this place was always reckoned one of the most suitable in the world for astronomical observations.**

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection, for want of the help of telescopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years, to render our astronomical inquiries more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a great and credible author, according to Pliny, speaks of observations made for the space of seven

* Lib. xxix. c. 9. † Cyrop. l. i. p. 29 et l. viii. p. 212. ‡ De Exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 31.

§ Eccles. xxxviii. 3.

¶ Palam est, ut quisque inter istos, quando polleat, imperatorem illico vite nostræ necisque fieri.—Ad eò blanda est sperandi prosè cuique dulcedo.—Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.

¶ A principio Assyrii propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum, quas incolebant, cum cælum ex omni parte patens et apertum antehrentur, trajectorum motusque stellarum observaverunt.—Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 2.

** Memoirs of the Academy des Belles Lettres, Vol. I. Part. ii. p. 2.

hundred and twenty years, and imprinted upon squares of brick: which if it be true, must reach back to a very early antiquity.* Those of which Calisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's court, makes mention, and of which he gave Aristotle an account, include 1903 years, and consequently must commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.†

We are certainly under great obligations, for which our acknowledgments are due, to the labours and curious inquiries of those who have contributed to the discovery or improvement of so useful a science; a science not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular course of the stars, and of the wonderful, constant, and uniform proportion of days, months, seasons, and years, but even to religion itself; with which, as Plato shows, the study of that science has a very close and necessary connexion; as it directly tends to inspire us with great reverence for the Deity, who, with an infinite wisdom, presides over the government of the universe, and is present and attentive to all our actions.‡ But, at the same time, we cannot sufficiently deplore the misfortune of those very philosophers, who, by their successful application and astronomical inquiries, came very near the Creator, and were yet so unhappy as not to find him, because they did not serve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.§

SECTION V.—JUDICIAL ASTROLOGY.

As to the Babylonians and other eastern philosophers, the study of the heavenly bodies was so far from leading them, as it ought to have done, to the knowledge of Him who is both their creator and governor, that for the most part it carried them into impious practices, and the extravagances of judicial astrology. So we term that deceitful and presumptuous science, which pretends to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the stars, and to foretell events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects. A science justly looked upon as a madness and folly by all the most sensible writers among the pagans themselves. *O delirationem incredibilem!* cries Cicero, in refuting the extravagant opinions of those astrologers, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country that first produced them; who, in consequence of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors upon all past events for the space *only* of four hundred and seventy thousand years, pretend to know assuredly, by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets, at the instant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the constitution of his body, his actions, and, in a word, all the events, with the duration of his life. He details a thousand absurdities of this opinion, which are sufficient to expose it to ridicule and contempt; and asks, why of all that vast number of children that are born in the same moment, and without doubt, exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two of them whose lives and fortunes resemble each other? He puts this farther question, whether that great number of men that perished at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the same death, were all born under the same constellations?||

It is hardly credible, that so absurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and imposture, *fraudentissima, artium*, as Pliny calls it, should ever acquire so much credit as this has done, throughout the whole world and in all ages. What has supported and brought it into such repute, continues that author, is the natural curiosity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them: *Nullo non avido futura de se sciendi*; attended with a superstitious credulity, which is agreeably flattered by the grateful and magnificent promises of which those fortune-tellers are never sparing. *Ita blandissimis desideratissimisque promissis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maxime, etiamnum caligat humanum genus.*¶

Modern writers, and among others, two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendi, and Rohault, have inveighed against the folly of that pretended science, with the same energy, and have demonstrated it to be equally void of principle and experience.**

As for its principles. The heavens, according to the system of the astrologers, are divided into twelve equal parts; which parts are taken, not according to the poles of the world, but according to those of the zodiac: these twelve parts or proportions of

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 56.

† Porphy. apud. Simplic. in l. ii. de celo.

‡ In Epinom. p. 989—992.

§ *Magna industria, magna solertia: sed ibi Creatorem scrutati sunt positum non longe a se, et non invenerunt*—quia querere neglexerunt.—August. de Verb. Evang. Matth. Serm. lxxviii. c. 1.

¶ Lib. ii. de Div. n. 87. 99.

¶ Plin. Procem. l. xxx.

** Gassendi Phys. sect. ii. l. 6. Rohault's Phys. part ii. ch. 27.

heaven, have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, &c. The most important and decisive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the ascendant, because it is ready to ascend and appear above the horizon when a man comes into the world. The planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixed: the aspects of these planets, which are only certain distances from one another, are likewise either happy or unhappy. I say nothing of several other hypotheses, which are all equally arbitrary; and I ask, whether any man of common sense can believe them upon the bare words of these impostors, without any proofs, or even without the least shadow of probability? The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the stars no influence during the nine months of pregnancy? Or is it possible, considering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be sure of hitting the precise determinate moment, without the least variation, more or less, which is sufficient to overthrow all? A thousand other objections of the same kind might be made, which are altogether unanswerable.

As for experience, they have still less reason to flatter themselves on that side. Whatever they have of that, must consist in observations founded upon events that have always come to pass in the same manner, whenever the planets were found in the same situation. Now, it is unanimously agreed by astronomers, that several thousand years must pass before any such situation of the stars as they would imagine, can twice happen; and it is very certain, that the state in which the heavens will be to-morrow, has never yet been since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the two philosophers above mentioned, particularly Gassendi, who has more copiously treated this subject. But such, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole structure of judicial astrology is built.

But what is astonishing, and argues an absolute want of all reason, is, that certain pretended wits, who obstinately harden themselves against the most convicting proofs of religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest and most certain prophecies upon the word of God, do sometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of those astrologers and impostors.

St. Austin, in several passages of his writings, informs us, that this stupid and sacrilegious credulity is a just chastisement from God, who frequently punishes the voluntary blindness of men, by inflicting a still greater blindness; and who suffers evil spirits, that they may keep their servants still more in their nets, sometimes to foretell things which do really come to pass, and of which the expectation very often serves only to torment them.*

God, who alone foresees future contingencies and events, because he alone is the sovereign disposer and director of them, does often in Scripture revile the ignorance of the Babylonian astrologers, so much boasted of, calling them forgers of lies and falsehood: he moreover defies all the false gods to foretell any thing whatever; consents, if they do, that they should be worshipped as gods. Then addressing himself to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumstances of the miseries with which she shall be overwhelmed, above two hundred years after that prediction; and that none of her prognosticators, who had flattered her with the assurances of a perpetual grandeur they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgment, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment.† Indeed, how should they? since at the very time of its execution, when Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, Chaldeans, and, in a word, all the pretended sages of the country, were not able so much as to read the writing.‡ Here, then, we see astrology and magic convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were most in practice, and on an occasion when it was certainly their interest to display their science and whole power.

* His omnibus consideratis, non immerito creditur, cum astrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent, occulto instinctu fieri spirituum bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas et noxias opiniones de astralibus fati inserere humanis mentibus atque firmare, non horoscopi notati et inspecti aliqua arte, quæ nulla est.—De Civ. Dei. l. v. c. 7.

† “Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth: if so be, thou shalt be able to profit, if so be, thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble: the fire shall burn them: they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame.”—Isa. xlvi. 11—14.

‡ Dan. v. 2.

ARTICLE IV.

RELIGION.

THE most authentic and general idolatry in the world, is that wherein the sun and moon were the objects of divine worship. This idolatry was founded upon a mistaken gratitude; which, instead of ascending up to the Deity, stopped short at the veil, which both covered and discovered him. With the least reflection or penetration, they might have discerned the Sovereign who commanded, from the minister who did but obey.*

In all ages, mankind have been sensibly convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man: and adoration supposes God to be both attentive to man's desires, and capable of fulfilling them. But the distance of the sun and of the moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore, foolish men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their hands upon their mouths, and then lifting them up in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to those false gods, but that they could not.† This was that impious custom so prevalent throughout all the East, from which Job esteemed himself happy to have been preserved: "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand."‡

The Persians adored the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the most profound veneration, to whom they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with horses of the greatest beauty and value, as we have seen in Cyrus's stately cavalcade.§ (This same ceremony was practised by the Babylonians; of whom some impious kings of Judah borrowed it, and brought it into Palestine.) Sometimes they likewise sacrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known among them by the name of Mithra.||

By a natural consequence of the worship they paid to the sun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire, always invoked it first in the sacrifices,¶ carried it with great respect before the king in all his marches; intrusted the keeping of their sacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the Magi; and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, if it had been suffered to go out.** History informs us, that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Persians, demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved till that time, which occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country.†† The Persians likewise honoured water, the earth, and the winds, as so many deities.‡‡

The cruel ceremony of causing children to pass through the fire, was undoubtedly a consequence of the worship paid to that element; for this fire-worship was common to the Babylonians and Persians. The Scripture positively says of the people of Mesopotamia, who were sent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that "they caused their children to pass through the fire." It is well known how common this barbarous custom became, in many provinces of Asia.

Besides these, the Persians had two gods of a more extraordinary nature, namely, Oromasdes and Arimanius.§§ The former they looked upon as the author of all the blessings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I shall give a large account of these deities hereafter.

The Persians erected neither statues nor temples, nor altars to their gods, but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places.|||| It was in the open field that Cyrus acquitted himself of that religious duty, when he made the pompous and solemn procession already spoken of.¶¶ It is supposed to have been through the advice and instigation of the Magi, that Xerxes, the Persian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, esteeming it injurious to the majesty of God, to shut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world should be reckoned as a house or a temple.*†

Cicero thinks, that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wisely than the

* Among the Hebrews, the ordinary name for the sun signifies a minister.

† Superstitiosus vulgus manum ori admovens, osculum labiis pressit.—Minuc. p. 2. From thence comes the word *adorare*; that is to say, *ad os manum admovere*.

‡ The text is a kind of oath. Job, xxxi. 26, 27.

§ 2 Kings, xxiii. 11. Strab. l. xv. p. 732. ¶ Ibid. ** Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 215. Am. Mar. l. xxiii.

†† Zouar. Annal. Vol. II.

‡‡ Herod. l. i. c. 131.

§§ Plat. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 369.

¶¶ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233.

*† Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciæ dicitur, quod partibus includerunt deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset et domus.—Cic. lib. ii. de Legi^b.

Persians, in that they erected temples within their cities, and thereby supposed their gods to reside among them, which was a proper way to inspire the people with sentiments of religion and piety.* Varro was not of the same opinion: St. Austin has preserved that passage of his works.† After having observed that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues or images for above a hundred and seventy years, he adds, that, if they had still preserved that ancient custom, their religion would have been the more pure and free from corruption; *Quod si adhuc mansisset, castius dii observarentur*; and to confirm his sentiment, he cites the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifices to any private or domestic interest. This was a fine way of attaching all particular persons to the public good, by teaching them that they ought never to sacrifice for themselves only, but for the king and the whole state, wherein every man was comprehended with the rest of his fellow-citizens.

The Magi were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to their worship; and it was to them the people had recourse, in order, to be instructed therein, and to know on what days, to what gods, and after what manner, they were to offer their sacrifices. As these Magi were all of one tribe, and as none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any strangers in these matters, without the king's permission. It was granted in favour of Themistocles, and was, according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great consideration for that distinguished person.‡

This knowledge and skill in religious matters, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, *ἡ δὲν μαγεία*, gave the Magi great authority, both with the prince and the people, who could offer no sacrifice without their presence and ministration.

And before a prince in Persia could come to the crown, he was obliged to receive instruction for a certain time from some of the Magi, and to learn of them both the art of reigning, and that of worshipping the gods after a proper manner.§ Nor did he determine any important affair of state, when he was upon the throne, without first taking their advice and opinion; for which reason Pliny says, that even in his time they were looked upon, in all the eastern countries, as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who styled themselves the king of kings.||

They were the sages, the philosophers, and men of learning in Persia, as the Gymnosophists and Brachmans were among the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation invited people from the most distant countries to be instructed by them in philosophy and religion; and we are assured it was from them that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that learning, by which he acquired so much veneration and respect among the Greeks, excepting only his doctrine of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debased the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

It is generally agreed that Zoroaster was the original author and founder of this sect; but authors are considerably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. What Pliny says upon this head, may reasonably serve to reconcile that variety of opinions, as is very judiciously observed by Dr. Prideaux.¶ We read in that author, that there were two persons named Zoroaster, between whose lives there might be the distance of 600 years. The first of them was the founder of the Magian sect about the year of the world 2900, and the latter, who certainly flourished between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the East, and the end of Darius's, son of Hytaspes, was the restorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the eastern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal sects; that of the Sabeans, who adored images; and that of the Magi, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rise among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of astronomy, and their particular application to the study of the several planets, which they believed to be inhabited by so many intelligences, who were to those orbs

* *Melius Græci atque nostri, qui, ut auferent pietatem in deos, easdem illos urbes, quas nos incolere voluerunt. Adfert enim hæc opinio religionem utrius civitatibus.*—Cic. lib. ii. de Legib.

† Lib. iv. de Civ. Dei. n. 31.

‡ In Them. p. 126.

§ *Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse, qui non ante Magnum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit.* Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 91.

|| *In tantum fastigii adolevit (auctoritas Magorum) ut hodieque etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat, et in oriente regum r'gibus imperet.*—Plin. l. xxx. c. 1.

¶ Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1.

what the soul of man is to his body, were induced to represent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by so many images or statues, in which they imagined those pretended intelligences, or deities, were as really present as in the planets themselves. In time, the number of their gods increased; this image-worship, from Chaldea, spread itself throughout all the East; from thence passed to Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the western nations.

To this sect of the Sabeans, that of the Magi, which also took its rise in the same eastern countries, was diametrically opposite. The Magi utterly abhorred images, and worshipped God only under the form of fire; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtlety, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the most perfect symbol or representation of the Deity. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, where they remain even to this day. The chief doctrine was, that there were two principals; one the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols. The good god they named Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil god, Ahraman. The former is by the Greeks called Oromasdes, and the latter Arimanius. And therefore, when Xerxes prayed that his enemies might always resolve to banish their best and bravest citizens as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromasdes their good god.*

Concerning these two gods, they had this difference of opinion, that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, others contended that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world: that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have a world to himself; that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world with the wicked.

The second Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform some articles in the religion of the Magian sect, which for several ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians; but, since the death of Smerdis and his chief confederates, and the massacre of their adherents and followers, was fallen into great contempt. It is thought this reformer made his first appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion, was in the first principle of it. For whereas before, they had held as a fundamental principle the being of the two supreme first causes; the first, light, which was the author of all good, and the other, darkness, the author of all evil: and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principal, superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness; and who, out of these two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleasure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one Supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author of all evil; that these two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that exist; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works. After which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness, the punishment of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive, in everlasting light, the reward due to their good deeds; that after this, they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. All this the remainder of that sect, which is now in Persia, and India, do, without any variation, after so many ages, still hold even to this day.

It is needless to inform the reader, that almost all these tenets, though altered in many circumstances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy Scriptures;

* Plut. in Themist. p. 126.

with which it plainly appears the two Zoroasters were well acquainted, it being easy for both of them to have had an intercourse or personal acquaintance with the people of God; the first of them in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people were carried captive, and where Zoroaster might confer with Daniel himself, who was in very great power and credit in the Persian court.

Another reformation made by Zoroaster in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he caused temples to be built, wherein their sacred fires were carefully and constantly preserved; and especially that which he pretended himself to have brought down from heaven. Over this the priest kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguished.

Whatever relates to the sect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in dean Prideaux's *Connexions of the Old and New Testament, &c.* from whence I have taken this short extract.

THEIR MARRIAGES, AND MANNER OF BURYING THE DEAD.

HAVING said so much of the religion of the eastern nations, which is an article I thought myself obliged to enlarge upon, because I look upon it as an essential part of their history, I shall be forced to treat of their other customs with the greater brevity: among which their marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

There is nothing more horrible, or that gives us a greater idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the public prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorized by law, but even commanded by the religion of their country, upon a certain festival of the year, celebrated in honour of the goddess Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whose temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel, or place of debauchery.* This wicked custom was still existing when the Israelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admonish them against so abominable a scandal.†

Nor had the Persians any better notion of the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution, than the Babylonians. I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their seraglios, and of whom they were as jealous as if they had but one wife, keeping them shut up in separate apartments, under a strict guard of eunuchs, without suffering them to have any communication with one another, much less with persons without doors.‡ It strikes one with horror to read how far they neglected the most common laws of nature. Even incest with a sister was allowed among them by their laws, or at least authorized by their Magi, those pretended sages of Persia, as we have seen in the history of Cambyses.§ Nor did even a father respect his own daughter, or a mother the son of her own body. We read in Plutarch, that Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who strove in all things to please the king her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent passion for one of his own daughters, called Atossa, was so far from opposing his unlawful desire, that she herself advised him to marry her, and make her his wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which declared such marriage to be unlawful. "For" says she to him, carrying her flattery to a monstrous excess, "are not you yourself set by God over the Persians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?"||

This detestable custom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having become master of Persia by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an express law to suppress it. These enormities may serve to teach us from what an abyss the gospel has delivered us; and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes.

I shall finish this article by saying a word or two upon their manner of burying the dead. It was not the custom of the eastern nations, and especially of the Persians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to consume their bodies in the flames.¶ Accordingly we find that Cyrus,** when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he

* Herod. l. i. c. 199.

† Baruch. vi. 42, 43.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 135.

§ Philo. lib. de Special. Leg. p. 778. Diog. Laert. in Proœna. p. 6.

|| In Artax. p. 1023.

¶ Herod. l. iii. c. 19.

** Ac mihi quidem anti quissimum sepulturæ genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Radditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur. — Cic. lib. ii. d. Leg. n. 56.

makes use of; by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent from whence he sprung, and to which he ought to return.* And when Cambyses had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis, king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all, by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of the latter to wrap up their dead in wax,† in order to keep them the longer from corruption.‡

I thought proper to give a full account, in this place, of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel. The treatise of Barnabas Brisson,§ president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, save a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with matter of erudition, that costs him little, and yet often does him great honour.

ARTICLE V.

THE CAUSE OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, AND OF THE CHANGE THAT HAPPENED IN THEIR MANNERS.

WHEN we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus, and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his successors, we can hardly believe they were the same people; and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners, in any state, is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

Among many other causes that brought about the declension of the Persian empire, the four following may be looked upon as the principal: their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths, and engagements.

SECTION I.—LUXURY AND MAGNIFICENCE.

WHAT caused the Persian troops, in Cyrus's time, to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life to which they were accustomed from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their ordinary food, the ground, or something as hard, to lie upon; inuring themselves to the most painful exercises and labours, and esteeming the greatest dangers as nothing.

The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous, and woody, might somewhat contribute to their hardiness; for which reason Cyrus would never consent to the project of transplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate.|| The excellent manner of educating the ancient Persians, of which we have already given a sufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and fancies of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates, and regulated upon principles of the public good: this excellent education prepared them for observing, in all places and at all times, a most exact and severe discipline. Add to this the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to surpass all his subjects in regularity, was the most abstemious and sober in his manner of life, the plainest in his dress, the most inured and accustomed to hardships and fatigues, as well as the bravest and most intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from soldiers so formed and so trained up? By them, therefore, we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories, he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipse the glory they had acquired, but carefully preserve that simplicity, sobriety, temperance, and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know, whether Cyrus himself did not, at that very time, sow the first seeds of that luxury, which soon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, which we have already described at large, and on which he first showed himself in public to his new-conquered subjects; he thought proper, in order to heighten the splendour of his

* Cyrop. l. viii. p. 238.

† Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant: Persæ jam cæra circum litos condiunt, ut quam maxime permaneant diuturna corpora.—Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i. n. 102.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

§ Barnab. Brissonius de Regio Persarum Principatu, &c. Argentorati, an. 1710.

|| Plut. in Apophth. p. 171.

regal dignity, to make a pompous display of all the magnificence and show that could be contrived to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things, he changed his own apparel, as also that of his officers, giving them all garments made after the fashion of the Medes, richly shining with gold and purple, instead of their Persian clothes, which were very plain and simple.

This prince seemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, increases the natural inclination all men have to value and esteem what pleases the eye, and makes a fine show, how glad they are to distinguish themselves above others by a false merit, easily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees, a general, predominant taste for extravagance and luxury.

This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess, as was little better than downright madness. The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars: and what an equipage such a troop must be attended with is easy to judge. All his generals and officers followed his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for so doing was, that the sight of what they held most dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to fight with greater resolution; but the true reason was the love of pleasure, by which they were overcome and enslaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.*

Another instance of their folly was, that they carried their luxury and extravagance in the army, with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible, than they did in their cities. The most exquisite meats, the rarest birds, and the most costly dainties, must needs be found for the prince, in whatever part of the world he was encamped. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number; † instruments of luxury, says a certain historian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him. ‡

I do not see what reason Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last seven years of his life. It must be owned, indeed, that the station of kings requires a suitable grandeur and magnificence, which may, on certain occasions, be carried even to a degree of pomp and splendour. But princes, possessed of a real and solid merit, have a thousand ways of making up what they may seem to lose by retrenching some part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found, by experience, that a king is more sure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct, than by the greatness of his expenses; and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person, than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for vanity and expense first prevailed at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain, indisputable maxim, that wherever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms; and the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate the truth of this maxim.

What is this subtle, secret, poison, then, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleasure, and is capable of enervating, at the same time, both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? It is not very difficult to comprehend why it has this terrible effect. When men are accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for suffering the rigour of the seasons; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without sleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniences, and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements that endear it to them, and which,

* Xenoph. *Cyrop.* l. iv. p. 91—99.

† Senec. l. iii. de *Ira*, c. 20.

‡ Non belli sed *Luxuriæ* apparatus—*Acie*m Persarum aure purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat Alexander, prædan, non arma gestantem.—Q. Curt.

by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and deter them from exposing themselves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all those things wherein they place their felicity.

SECTION II.—THE ABJECT SUBMISSION AND SLAVERY OF THE PERSIANS.

WE are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And, indeed, what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number, but the vigour and courage of their armies; and, as it was finely said by one of the ancients, "from the day a man loseth his liberty, he loseth one half of his ancient virtue."* He is no longer concerned for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien; and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent about the success of public affairs, about the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not altered nor improved. It may truly be said, that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; he did not think that despotic power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of slaves. His tent was always open, and free access allowed to every one that desired to speak to him. He did not live retired, but was visible, accessible, and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observed and rewarded merit; invited to his table, not only his general officers, and prime ministers, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies of soldiers. The simplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently.† His aim therein was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may be truly called the art of reigning and commanding.

In reading Xenophon, with what pleasure do we observe, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting and raillery, but at the same time that amiable cheerfulness and gayety, which enlivened their entertainments, from which all vanity and luxury were banished, and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity which was so far from lessening their respect for the prince, that it gave such life and spirit to it, as nothing but real affection and tenderness could produce. I may venture to say, that by such conduct as this, a prince doubles and trebles his army at a small expense. Thirty thousand men of this sort are preferable to millions of such slaves as the Persians became afterwards. In time of action, on a decisive day of battle, this truth is most evident; and the prince is more sensible of it than any body else. At the battle of Thymbria, when Cyrus's horse fell under him, Xenophon takes notice how much it concerns a commander to be loved by his soldiers. The danger of the king's person became the danger of the army; and his troops on that occasion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the same manner under the greatest part of his successors. Their only care was to support the pomp of sovereignty. I must confess, their outward ornaments and ensigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered, and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads, with an imperial diadem round it, a golden sceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and shining court, a multitude of officers and guards; these things must needs conduce to heighten the splendour of royalty; but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality, who loses all his merit and his dignity, when he puts off his ornaments?

Some of the eastern kings, to procure the greater reverence to their persons, generally kept themselves shut up in their palaces, and seldom showed themselves to their subjects. We have already seen that Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his accession to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common in all the eastern countries. But it is a great mistake, that a prince cannot descend from his grandeur, by a sort of familiarity, without debasing or lessening his greatness. Artaxerxes did not think so: and Plutarch observes that that prince,

* Hom. Odys. v. 322.

† *Tantas vires habet frugalitas principis, ut tot impendiis tot erogationibus sola sufficiat.*—Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

and queen Statira his wife, took a pleasure in being visible and easy of access to their people, and by so doing were but the more respected.*

Among the Persians, no subject whatever was allowed to appear in the king's presence without prostrating himself before him: and this law, which Seneca, with good reason, calls a Persian slavery, *Persicam servitatem*, extended also to foreigners.† We shall find afterwards, that several Grecians refused to comply with it, looking upon such a ceremony as derogatory to men born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some of them, less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great reluctance; and we are told, that one of them, in order to cover the shame of such a servile prostration, purposely let fall his ring, when he came near the king, that he might have occasion to bend his body on another account.‡ But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to hesitate or deliberate about a homage which the king exacted from them with the utmost rigour.

What the Scripture relates of two sovereigns,§ on one hand, one of whom commanded all his subjects, on pain of death, to prostrate themselves before his image; and the other, on the same penalty, suspended all acts of religion, with regard to the gods in general, except to himself only; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran altogether, upon the first signal, to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king, exclusively of all the powers of heaven: all this shows to what an extravagant excess the eastern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and servitude.

So great was the distance between the Persian king and his subjects that the latter, of whatever rank or quality, whether satraps, governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were only looked upon as slaves; whereas the king himself was always considered, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, but as a kind of divinity. In a word, the peculiar character of the Asiatics, and the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude and slavery;|| which made Cicero say, that the despotic power, which some were endeavouring to establish in the Roman commonwealth, would be an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.¶

It was therefore this arrogant haughtiness of the princes, on the one hand, and this abject submission of the people on the other, which, according to Plato, were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by dissolving all the ties wherewith a king is united to his subjects, and the subjects to their king.** Such a haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former; and such an abject state of slavery, leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Persian kings governed and commanded only by threats and menaces, and the subjects neither obeyed nor marched, but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them, in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men so dispirited and depressed by slavery, as the Persians were, and reduced to such an abject servitude! which, to use the words of Longinus, is a kind of imprisonment, wherein a man's soul may be said, in some sort to grow little and contracted!‡‡

I am unwilling to say it, but I do not know, whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute to introduce among the Persians, both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject submission and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have several times mentioned, that the Persians, till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a shameful prostitution of it by any mean behaviour or servile compliances, first bent the knee before their prince, and stooped to a posture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance; for Xenophon intimates clearly enough, that Cyrus, who desired to have that homage paid him, had appointed persons on purpose to begin it; whose example was accordingly followed by the multitude, and by the Persians, as well as the other nations.‡‡ In these little tricks and stratagems, we no longer discern that nobleness and greatness of soul, which had ever been conspicuous in that prince till this occasion; and I should be apt to think, that being arrived at the utmost pitch of glory and power, he could no longer resist those violent attacks, with which prosperity is always assaulting even the best of princes, *Secundæ res sapientum animos fatigant*;§§

* In Artax. p. 1013.

† Ælian. l. i. Var. Hist. c. xxi.

‡ Plut. in Apophth. p. 213.

†† Cap. xxxv.

† Lib. iii. de Benef. c. 12. et lib. iii. de Ira, c. 17.

§ Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. c. iii. and Darius the Mede, Dan. c. vi.

¶ Lib. x. Epist. ad Attic.

** Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 697.

‡‡ Cyrop. l. ii. p. 215.

§§ Sallust.

and that at last pride and vanity, which are almost inseparable from sovereign power, forced him, and in a manner tore him from himself, and his own natural inclination: *Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus*.*

SECTION III.—THE WRONG EDUCATION OF THEIR PRINCES, ANOTHER CAUSE OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

It is Plato, still the prince of philosophers, who makes this reflection; and we shall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in question, how solid and judicious it is, and how inexcusable Cyrus's conduct was in this respect.†

Never had any man more reason than Cyrus to be sensible, how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience.‡

What he most earnestly recommended to his officers, in that fine discourse he made to them after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the same manner as they knew they were educated in Persia, and to preserve themselves in the practice of the same manners as were practised there.

Would one believe, that a prince who spoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himself wholly about his conquests, he left that care entirely to women, that is, to princesses, brought up in a country where vanity, luxury, and voluptuousness, reigned in the highest degree; for the queen his wife was of Media. And in the same taste and manner were the two young princes Cambyses and Smerdis educated. Nothing they asked was ever refused them; nor were their desires only granted, but prevented. The great maxim was, that their attendants should cross them in nothing, never contradict them, nor ever make use of reproofs or remonstrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their presence, but to praise and commend what they said and did. Every one cringed and stooped, and bent the knee before them; and it was thought essential to their greatness, to place an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. It is Plato that informs us of all these particulars: for Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says not one word of the manner in which these princes were brought up, though he gives us so ample an account of the education of their father.

What surprises me the most is, that Cyrus did not, at least, take them along with him in his last campaigns, in order to draw them out of that soft and effeminate course of life, and to instruct them in the art of war, for they must have been of sufficient years; but perhaps the women opposed his design, and overruled him.

Whatever the obstacle was, the effect of the education of these princes was such as ought to be expected from it. Cambyses came out of that school, what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excesses of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the causing of his own brother to be murdered in consequence of a dream; in a word, a furious, frantic madman, who, by his ill conduct, brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

His father, says Plato, left him at his death many vast provinces, immense riches, with innumerable forces by sea and land; but he had not given him the means of preserving them, by teaching him the right use of such power.

This philosopher makes the same reflection with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the son of a king; had not been brought up in the same effeminate manner as princes were, but ascended the throne with a long habit of industry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferior to that of Cyrus, and by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than him, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predecessor, in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his son Xerxes was little better than a second Cambyses.

From all this, Plato, after having shown what numberless rocks and quicksands, almost unavoidable, lie in the way of persons bred in the arms of wealth and greatness, concludes, that one principal cause of the declension and ruin of the Persian empire, was the bad education of their princes; because those first examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of rule to, all their successors, under whom every thing degenerated more and more, till their luxury exceeded all bounds and restraints.

* Tacit. Annal. l. vi. p. 48.

† Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 694, 695.

‡ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 200.

SECTION IV.—THEIR BREACH OF FAITH, OR WANT OF SINCERITY.

WE are informed by Xenophon, that one of the causes, both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was their want of public faith.* Formerly, says he, the king, and those that governed under him, thought it an indispensable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to observe all treaties, into which they had entered with the solemnity of an oath, and that even with respect to those that had rendered themselves most unworthy of such treatment, through their perfidiousness and insincerity; and it was by this true policy and prudent conduct that they gained the absolute confidence, both of their own subjects, and of their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the historian to the Persians, which undoubtedly belongs to the reign of the great Cyrus; though Xenophon applies it likewise to that of the younger Cyrus, whose grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith upon any pretence whatever, with regard either to any word he had given, any promise made, or any treaty he had concluded. These princes had a just idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged, that if probity and truth were renounced by the rest of mankind, they ought to find a sanctuary in the heart of a king, who, being the bond and centre, as it were, of society, should also be the protector and avenger of plighted faith; which is the very foundation whereon the other depends.†

Such sentiments as these, so noble, and so worthy of persons born for government, did not last long. A false prudence, and a spurious, artificial policy, soon succeeded in their place. Instead of faith, probity, and true merit, says Xenophon,‡ which heretofore the prince used to cherish and distinguish, all the chief offices of the court began to be filled with those pretended zealous servants of the king, who sacrifice every thing to his humour and supposed interest; who hold it as a maxim, that falsehood and deceit, perfidiousness and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the shortest and surest expedients for bringing about his enterprises and designs; who looked upon a scrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of pusillanimity, incapacity, and want of understanding; and whose opinion, in short, is, that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer reasons and considerations of state before the exact observation of treaties, though concluded in ever so solemn and sacred a manner.§

The Asiatic nations, continues Xenophon, soon imitated their prince, who became their example and instructor in double-dealing and treachery. They soon gave themselves up to violence, injustice, and impiety; and from thence proceeds that strange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as also the contempt they conceived for their sovereigns, which is both the natural consequence and punishment of the little regard princes pay to the most sacred and awful solemnities of religion.

Surely the oath by which treaties are sealed and ratified, and the Deity brought in, not only as present, but as guarantee of the conditions stipulated, is a most sacred and august ceremony, very proper for the subjecting of earthly princes to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge them, and for the keeping all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to stand in fear of the Supreme Being, how will they be able to secure their respect and reverence to themselves? When once that fear comes to be distinguished in the subject as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and on what foundations shall the throne be supported? Cyrus had good reason to say, that he looked upon none as good servants and faithful subjects, but such as had a sense of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: nor is it at all astonishing that the contempt which an impious prince, who has no regard to the sanctity of oaths, shows of God and religion, should shake the very foundations of the firmest and best-established empires, and sooner or later occasion their utter destruction.|| Kings, says Plutarch, when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of the unfaithfulness and disloyalty of their subjects; but they do them wrong, and forget that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by showing no regard to justice and fidelity, which, on all occasions, they had sacrificed, without scruple, to their own particular interests.¶

* Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

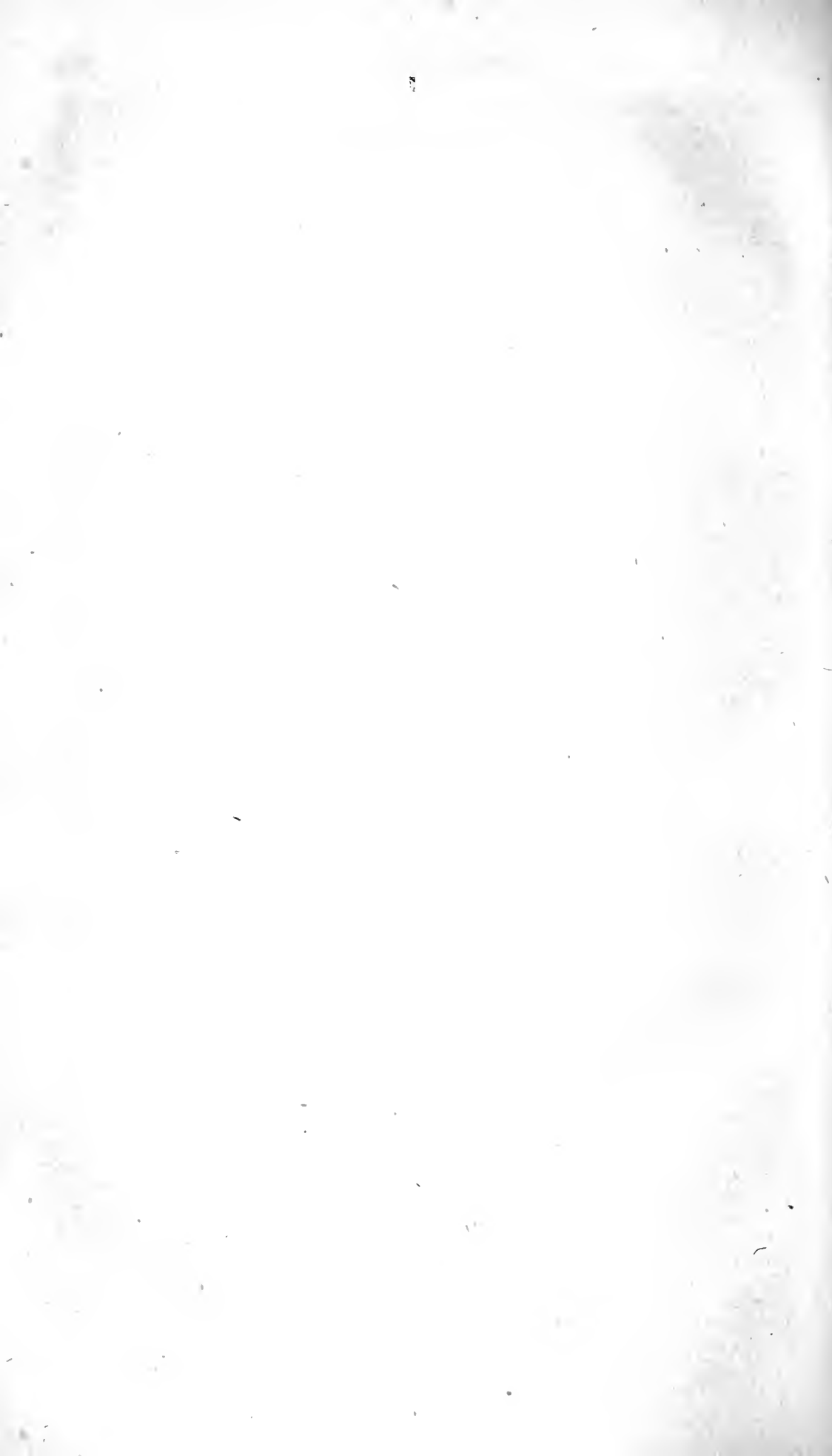
† De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 267.

‡ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

§ Ἐπὶ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοῖν, συντομωτάτην ὁδὸν ὡς οἶνε διὰ τῶ ἐπιτοκῆν τε, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἰζαπιτῶν, τὸ δὲ ἄπλάν τε καὶ ἄληθες, τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ληθίῳ εἶναι.—De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 292.

|| Cyrop. l. viii. p. 204.

¶ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390.



BOOK FIFTH.

THE
HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND SETTLEMENT
OF THE SEVERAL
STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF
G R E E C E.

OF all the countries of antiquity, none have been so highly celebrated, or furnished history with so many valuable monuments and illustrious examples, as Greece. In whatever light she is considered, whether for the glory of her arms, the wisdom of her laws, or the study and improvement of arts and sciences, we must allow that she carried them to the utmost degree of perfection; and it may truly be said, that in all these respects, she has, in some measure been the school of mankind.

It is impossible not to be very much affected with the history of such a nation; especially when we consider, that it has been transmitted to us by writers of extraordinary merit, many of whom distinguished themselves as much by their swords, as by their pens, and were as great commanders and able statesmen, as excellent historians. I confess, it is a vast advantage to have such men for guides; men of an exquisite judgment and consummate prudence; of a just and perfect taste in every respect; and who furnish not only the facts and thoughts, as well as the expressions wherewith they are to be represented; but, what is more important, the proper reflection that are to accompany those facts, and which are the great advantages resulting from history. These are the rich sources from whence I shall draw all that I have to say, having previously, however, inquired into the first origin and establishment of the Grecian states. As this inquiry must be dry, and not capable of affording much delight to the reader, I shall be as brief as possible. But before I enter upon that, I think it necessary to draw a kind of short plan of the situation of the country, and of the several parts that compose it.

ARTICLE I.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT GREECE.

ANCIENT Greece, which is now the south part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the east by the Ægean sea, now called the Archipelago: on the south by the Cretan, or Candian sea; on the west by the Ionian sea, and on the north by Illyria and Thrace.

The constituent parts of ancient Greece are, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Greece properly so called, Thessaly, and Macedonia.

EPIRUS. This province is situated to the west, and divided from Thessaly and Macedonia by Mount Pindus and the Acroceraunian mountains.

The most remarkable inhabitants of Epirus are, the MOLOSSIANS, whose chief city is Dodona, famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter. The CHAONIANS, whose principal city is Oricum. The THESPROTIANS, whose city is Buthrotum, where was the palace and residence of Pyrrhus. The ACARNANIANS, whose city was Ambracia, which gives its name to the gulf. Near to this stood Actium, famous for the victory of Augustus Cæsar, who built opposite to that city, on the other side of the gulf, a city named Nicopolis. There were two little rivers in Epirus, very famous in fabulous story, Cocytus and Acheron.

Epirus must have been very well peopled in former times; as Polybius relates, that Paulus Æminius, after having defeated Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, destroyed seventy cities in that country, the greatest part of which belonged to the Molossians;

and that he carried away from thence no less than a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners.*

PELOPONNESUS. This is a peninsula, now called the Morea, joined to the rest of Greece, only by the Isthmus of Corinth, which is but six miles broad. It is well known that several princes have attempted in vain to cut through this Isthmus.

The parts of Peloponnesus are **ACHAIA**, properly so called, whose chief cities are, Corinth, Sicyon, Patræ, &c. **ELIS**, in which is Olympia, otherwise called Pisa, seated on the river Alpheus, upon the banks of which the Olympic games used to be celebrated. **MESSENIA**, in which are the cities of Messene, and Pylos, the birth-place of Nestor and Corona. **ARCADIA**, in which was Cyllene, the mountain where Mercury was born, the cities of Tegea, Stymphalus, Mantinea, and Megalopolis, the native place of Polybius. **LACONIA**, wherein stood Sparta, or Lacedæmon, and Amyclæ; Mount Taygetus; the river Eurotas, and the cape of Tenarus. **ARGOLIS**, in which was the city of Argos, called also Hippium, famous for the temple of Juno; Nemea, Mycenæ, Nauplia, Træzene, and Epidaurus, wherein was the temple of Æsculapius.

GREECE, properly so called. The principal parts of this country were, **ÆTOLIA**, in which were the cities of Chalcis, Calydon, and Olenus. **DORIS**. **LOCRI**, inhabited by the **OZOLÆ**. Naupactum, now called Lepanto, famous for the defeat of the Turks in 1571. **PHOCIS**. Anticyra. Delphos, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, famous for the oracles delivered there. In this country also was Mount Helicon. **BEOTIA**. Mount Cithæron, Orchomenus. Thespia. Chæronea, Plutarch's native country. Plataea, famous for the defeat of Mardonius. Thebes. Aulis, famous for its port, from whence the Grecian army set sail for the siege of Troy. Leuctra, celebrated for the victory of Epaminondas. **ATTICA**. Megara. Eleusis. Decelia. Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Persian army. Athens, whose ports were Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerus. The mountain Hymettus, famous for its excellent honey. **LOCRI**.

THESSALY. The most remarkable towns of this province were Gomphi, Pharsalia, near which Julius Cæsar defeated Pompey. Magnesia. Methone, at the siege of which Philip lost his eye. Thermopylæ, a narrow strait, famous for the defeat of Xerxes's numerous army by the vigorous resistance of three hundred Spartans. Phthia. Thebes. Larissa. Demetrias. The delightful valleys of Tempe, near the banks of the river Peneus. Olympus, Pelion, and Ossa, three mountains celebrated in fabulous story for the battle of the giants.

MACEDONIA. I shall only mention a few of the principal towns of this country. Epidamnus, or Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. Apollonia. Pella, the capital of the country, and the native place of Philip, and of his son Alexander the Great. **Ægæa**. **Ædessa**. Pallene. Olinthus, from whence the Olynthiacs of Demosthenes took their name. Torone. Arcanthus. Thessalonica, now called Salonichi. Stagira, the place of Aristotle's birth. Amphipolis. Philippi, famous for the victory gained there by Augustus and Anthony over Brutus and Cassius. Scotussa. Mount Athos; and the river Strymon.

THE GRECIAN ISLES.

THERE are a great number of islands, contiguous to Greece, that are very famous in history. In the Ionian sea, Coreyra, with a town of the same name, now called Corfu. Cephalene and Zacynthus, now Cephalonia and Zante. Ithaca, the country of Ulysses, and Dulichium. Near the promontory Malea, opposite to Laconia, is Cythera. In the Saronic gulf, are Ægina and Salamin, so famous for the naval battle between Xerxes and the Grecians. Between Greece and Asia lie the Sporades, and the Cyclades, the most noted of which are Andros, Delos, and Paros, anciently famous for fine marble. Higher up in the Ægean sea is Eubœa, now Negropont, separated from the main land by a small arm of the sea called Euripus. The most remarkable city of this isle was Chalcis. Towards the north is Skyros, and beyond is Lemnos, now called Stalimene; and still farther, Samothrace. Lower down is Lesbos, whose principal city was Mitylene, from whence the isle has since taken the name of Metelin. Chios, now Scio, renowned for excellent wine; and lastly, Samos. Some of these last-mentioned isles are reckoned to belong to Asia.

The island of Crete, now Candia, is the largest of all the isles contiguous to Greece. It has to the north the Ægean sea, or the Archipelago; and to the south the African

* Apnd. Strab. l. vii. p. 322.

ocean. Its principal towns were, Gortyna, Cydon, Gnossus; its mountains, Dicte, Ida, and Corycus. Its labyrinth is famous throughout the world.

The Grecians had colonies in most of these isles.

They had likewise settlements in Sicily, and in part of Italy towards Calabria,* which places are for that reason called Græcia Magna.

But their grand settlement was in Asia Minor, and particularly in Æolis, Ionia, and Doris.† The principal towns of Æolis, are Cumæ, Chocæa, Elea. Of Ionia, Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, and Ephesus. Of Doris, Halicarnassus and Cnidos.

They had also a great number of colonies in different parts of the world, of which I shall give some account as occasion shall offer.

ARTICLE II.

DIVISION OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY INTO FOUR SEVERAL AGES.

THE Grecian history may be divided into four different ages, noted by so many memorable epochs, all which together include the space of 2154 years.

The first age extends from the foundation of the several petty kingdoms of Greece, beginning with that of Sicyon, which is the most ancient, to the siege of Troy, and comprehends about a thousand years, namely, from the year of the world 1820 to the year 2820.

The second begins at the taking of Troy and reaches to the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, at which period the Grecian history begins to be intermixed with that of the Persians, and contains the space of six hundred and sixty-three years, from the year of the world 2820 to the year 3483.

The third is dated from the beginning of the reign of Darius to the death of Alexander the Great, which is the finest part of Grecian history, and takes in the term of one hundred and ninety-eight years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3681.

The fourth and last age commences from the death of Alexander, at which time the Grecians began to decline, and continues to their final subjection by the Romans. The epoch of the utter ruin and downfall of the Greeks may be dated, partly from the taking and destruction of Corinth by the consul L. Mummius in 3858, partly from the extinction of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ in Asia, by Pompey, in the year of the world 3939; and of the kingdom of the Lagidæ in Egypt, by Augustus, A. M. 3974. This last age includes, in all, two hundred and ninety-three years.

Of these four distinct ages, I shall in this place only touch upon the two first in a very succinct manner, just to give the reader some general idea of that obscure period; because those times, at least a great part of them, partake more of fable than of real history: and are wrapped up in darkness and obscurity, which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to penetrate: and I have often declared already, that such a dark and laborious inquiry, though very useful for those that are entering deep into history, does not come within the plan of my design.

ARTICLE III.

THE PRIMITIVE ORIGIN OF THE GRECIANS.

IN order to arrive at any certain knowledge concerning the derivation of the Grecian nations, we must necessarily have recourse to the account we have of it in the holy Scriptures.

Javan or Ion, for in the Hebrew the same letters differently pointed, form these two different names, the son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, was certainly the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks, though he has been looked upon as the father of the Ionians only, which were but one particular nation of Greeks.‡ But the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, Arabians, and others, give no other appellation to the whole body of the Grecian nations, than that of Ionians. And for this reason, Alexander, in the predictions of Daniel,§ is mentioned under the name of the king of Javan.||

Javan had four sons, Elisha, Tarsis, Chittim, and Dodanim.¶ As Javan was the

* Strab. l. vi. p. 253.

† Plin. l. vi. c. 2.

‡ Gen. x. 2.

§ Dan. viii. 21.

¶ Hircus caprarum rex Græciæ; in the Hebrew, rex Javan.

¶ Gen. x. 4.

original father of the Grecians in general, no doubt but his four sons were the heads and founders of the chief tribes and principal branches of that nation, which became, in succeeding ages, so renowned for arts and arms.

Elisha is the same as Ellas, as it is rendered in the Chaldee translation; and the word *Ἑλλήνιστος*, which was used in the common appellation of the whole people, in the same manner as the word *Ἑλλάς* was of the whole country, has no other derivation. The city of Elis, very ancient in Peloponnesus, the Elysian fields, the river Elissus, or Ilissus, have long retained the marks of their being derived from Elisha, and have contributed more to preserve his memory, than the historians themselves of the nation, who were inquisitive after foreign affairs, and but little acquainted with their own original; because, as they had little or no knowledge of the true religion, they did not carry their inquiries so high. Upon which account, they themselves derived the words Hellenes and Iones from another source, as we shall see in the sequel; for I think myself obliged to give some account of their opinions also in this respect.

Tarsis was the second son of Javan. He settled, as his brethren did, in some parts of Greece, perhaps in Achaia or the neighbouring provinces, as Elisha did in Peloponnesus.

It is not to be doubted but that Chittim was the father of the Macedonians, according to the authority of the first book of the Maccabees,* in the beginning of which it is said, that Alexander, the son of Philip, the Macedonian, went out of his country, which was that of Cethim,† or Chitem, to make war against Darius, king of Persia. And in the eighth chapter, speaking of the Romans and their victories over the last kings of Macedonia, Philip and Perseus,‡ the two last-mentioned princes are called kings of the Cetheans.

Dodanim. It is very probable, that Thessaly and Epirus were the portion of the fourth son of Javan. The impious worship of Jupiter of Dodona, as well as the city of Dodona§ itself, are proofs that some remembrance of Dodanim had remained with the people, who derived their first establishment from him.

This is all that can be said with any certainty concerning the true origin of the Grecian nation. The holy Scripture, whose design is not to satisfy our curiosity, but to cherish and improve our piety, after scattering these few rays of light, leaves us in utter darkness concerning the rest of their history, which therefore can only be collected from profane authors.

If we may believe Pliny, the Grecians were so called from the name of an ancient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition.|| Homer, in his poems, calls them Hellenes, Danai, Argives, and Achaians. It is observable, that the word *Grecus* is not once used in Virgil.

The exceeding rusticity of the first Grecians would appear incredible, if we could call in question the testimony of their own historians upon that article. But a people so vain of their origin, as to adorn it with fiction and fable, we may be sure, would never think of inventing any thing to its disparagement. Who would imagine, that the people to whom the world is indebted for all her knowledge in literature and the sciences, should be descended from mere savages, who knew no other law than force, and were ignorant even of agriculture?¶ And yet this appears plainly to be the case, from the divine honours they decreed to Pelasgus, who first taught them to feed upon acorns, as a more delicate and wholesome nourishment than herbs. There was still a great distance from this first improvement to a state of urbanity and politeness. Nor did they indeed arrive at the latter, till after a long process of time.

The weakest were not the last to understand the necessity of living together in society, in order to defend themselves against violence and oppression. At first they built single houses at a distance from one another, the number of which insensibly increasing, formed in time, towns and cities. But the bare living together in society was not sufficient to polish such a people. Egypt and Phœnicia had the honour of doing this. Both these nations contributed to instruct and civilize the Grecians, by the colonies they sent among them. The latter taught them navigation, writing, and commerce; the former the knowledge of their laws and polity, gave them a taste for arts and sciences, and initiated them into their mysteries.**

Greece, in her infant state, was exposed to great commotions and frequent revolu-

* Maccab. i. 1.

† Philippum et Persennm, Cetheorum reges.—V. 5.

‡ Lib. iv. c. 7.

¶ Herod. l. v. c. 53. et l. v. c. 52—60.

† Egressus de terra Cethim.

‡ Δαδωνη απο Δαδωνη τη Διδης και Ευρωπης.—Ste.

¶ Pausan. l. viii. p. 455, 456.

Plin. l. v. c. 12. et l. vii. c. 56.

tions; because, as the people had no settled correspondence, and no superior power to give laws to the rest, every thing was determined by force and violence. The strongest invaded those lands of their neighbours, which they thought most fertile and delightful, and dispossessed the lawful owners, who were obliged to seek new settlements elsewhere. As Attica was a dry and barren country, its inhabitants had not the same invasions and outrages to fear, and therefore consequently kept themselves in possession of their ancient territories; for which reason they took the name of *αὐτόχθονες*, that is, men born in the country where they lived, to distinguish themselves from the rest of the nations, that had almost all transplanted themselves from place to place.*

Such were in general the first beginnings of Greece. We must now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the establishment of the several different states, which constituted the whole country.

ARTICLE IV.

THE DIFFERENT STATES INTO WHICH GREECE WAS DIVIDED.

IN those early times, kingdoms were but inconsiderable, and of very small extent, the title of kingdom being often given to a single city, with a few leagues of land depending upon it.

SICYON.† The most ancient kingdom of Greece was that of Sicyon, whose commencement is dated by Eusebius one thousand three hundred and thirteen years before the first Olympiad. Its duration is believed to have been about a thousand years.

ARGOS.‡ The kingdom of Argos in Peloponnesus, began one thousand and eighty years before the first Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The first king of it was **INACHUS**. His successors were, his son **PHORONEUS**, **APIS**, **ARGUS**, from whom the country took its name; and after several others, **GLEANOR**, who was dethroned and expelled his kingdom by **DANAUS** the Egyptian.§ The successors of this last were first, **LYNCEUS**, the son of his brother **Ægyptus**, who alone, of fifty brothers, escaped the cruelty of the **Danai**des; then **ABAS**, **PROETUS**, and **ACRISIUS**.

Of Danaë, daughter of the last, was born Perseus, who having, when he was grown up, unfortunately killed his grandfather Acrisius, and not being able to bear the sight of Argos, where he committed that involuntary murder, withdrew to Mycenæ, and there fixed the seat of his kingdom.

MYCENÆ. Perseus then translated the seat of the kingdom from Argos to Mycenæ. He left several sons behind him; among others, **Alcæus**, **Sthenelus**, and **Electryon**. Alcæus was the father of **Amphitryon**, **Sthenelus** of **Eurystheus**, and **Electryon** of **Alemena**. **Amphitryon** married **Alcmena**, upon whom Jupiter begat **Hercules**.

Eurystheus and **Hercules** came into the world the same day; but as the birth of the former was, by Juno's management, antecedent to that of the latter, **Hercules** was forced to be subject to him, and was obliged, by his order, to undertake the twelve labours, so celebrated in fable.

The kings who reigned at Mycenæ after Perseus, were, **ELECTRYON**, **STHENELUS**, and **EURYSTHEUS**. The last, after the death of **Hercules**, declared open war against his descendants, apprehending they might some time or other attempt to dethrone him, which, as it happened, was done by the **Heraclidæ**; for having killed **Eurystheus** in battle, they entered victorious into Peloponnesus, and made themselves master of the country. But, as this happened before the time determined by fate, a plague ensued, which, with the direction of an oracle, obliged them to quit the country. Three years after this, being deceived by the ambiguous expression of the oracle, they made a second attempt, which likewise proved fruitless. This was about twenty years before the taking of **Troy**.

ATREUS, the son of **Pelops**, uncle by the mother's side to **Eurystheus**, succeeded the latter. And in this manner the crown came to the descendants of **Pelops**, from whom Peloponnesus, which before was called **Apia**, derived its name. The bloody hatred of two brothers, **Atreus** and **Thyestes**, is known to all the world.

PLISTHENES, the son of **Atreus**, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Mycenæ, which he left to his son **AGAMEMNON**, who was succeeded by his son **Orestes**. The

* Thucyd. l. i. p. 3.

† A. M. 2148. Ant. J. C. 1356. Euseb. in Chron.

‡ A. M. 1915. Ant. J. C. 2089.

§ A. M. 2530. Ant. J. C. 1474.

kingdom of Mycenæ was filled with enormous and horrible crimes, from the time it came into the family of Pelops.

TISAMENES and **PENTHILUS**, sons of Orestes, reigned after their father, and were at last driven out of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ.

ATHENS.* **CECROPS**, a native of Egypt, was the founder of this kingdom. Having settled in Attica, he divided all the country subject to him into twelve districts. He also established the Areopagus.

This august tribunal, in the reign of his successor **CRANAUS**, adjudged the famous dispute between Neptune and Mars. In this time happened Deucalion's flood. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more ancient, being a thousand and twenty years before the first Olympiad, and consequently in the year of the world 2208.

AMPHICTYON, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy between twelve nations, which assembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, there to offer their common sacrifices, and to consult together upon their affairs in general, as also upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was called the Assembly of the Amphictyons.

The reign of **ERECTHEUS** is remarkable for the arrival of Ceres in Attica, after the rape of her daughter Proserpine, as also for the institution of the mysteries at Eleusis.

The reign of **ÆGEUS**, the son of Pandion, is the most illustrious period of the history of the heroes.† In his time are placed the expedition of the Argonauts; the celebrated labours of Hercules; the war of Minos, second king of Crete, against the Athenians; the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

THESEUS succeeded his father Ægeus. Cecrops had divided Attica into twelve boroughs, or districts, separated from each other. Theseus brought the people to understand the advantages of a common government, and united the twelve boroughs into one city, or body politic, in which the whole authority was united.

CODRUS was the last king of Athens; he devoted himself to death for his people.

After him the title of king was extinguished among the Athenians.‡ **MEDON**, his son, was set at the head of the commonwealth with the title of archon, that is to say, president or governor. The first archons were for life; but the Athenians growing weary of a government which they still thought bore too great resemblance to royal power, made their archons elective every ten years, and at last reduced it to an annual office.

THEBES.§ Cadmus, who came by sea from the coast of Phœnicia, that is, from about Tyre and Sidon, seized upon that part of the country which was afterwards called Bœotia. He built there the city of Thebes, or at least a citadel, which from his own name he called Cadmæa, and there fixed the seat of his power and dominion.

The fatal misfortune of Laius, one of his successors, and of Jocasta his wife, of Œdipus their son, of Eteocles and Polynices, who were born of the incestuous marriage of Jocasta with Œdipus, have furnished ample matter for fabulous narration and theatrical representations.

SPARTA, OF LACEDÆMON. It is supposed that **LELEX**, the first king of Laconia, began his reign about one thousand five hundred and sixteen years before the Christian era.

TYNDARUS, the ninth king of Lacedæmon, had, by Leda, Castor and Pollux, who were twins, besides Helena, and Clytemnestra, the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Having survived his two sons, the twins, he began to think of choosing a successor, by seeking a husband for his daughter Helena. All the pretenders to this princess bound themselves by oath to abide by, and entirely submit to the choice which the lady herself should make, who determined in favour of Menelaus. She had not lived above three years with her husband, before she was carried off by Alexander or Paris, son of Priam, king of the Trojans, which rape was the cause of the Trojan war. Greece did not properly begin to know or experience her united strength, till the famous siege of that city; where Achilles, the Ajaxes, Nestor, and Ulysses, gave Asia sufficient reasons to forebode her future subjection to their posterity. The Greeks took Troy after a siege of ten years, much about the time that Jephtha governed the people of God, that is, according to Bishop Usher, in the year of the world 2820, and 1184 before Jesus Christ. This epoch is famous in history, and should be carefully remembered, as well as that of the Olympiads.

* A. M. 2443. Ant. J. C. 1556.
 † A. M. 2934. Ant. J. C. 1070.

‡ A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284.
 § A. M. 3549. Ant. J. C. 1455.

An Olympiad is the revolution of four complete years from one celebration of the Olympic games to another. We shall elsewhere give an account of the institution of these games, which were celebrated every four years, near the town of Pisa, otherwise called Olympia.

The common era of the Olympiads begins in the summer of the year of the world 3228, seven hundred and seventy-six years before Jesus Christ, from the games in which Chorebus won the prize in the foot-race.

Eighty years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ re-entered the Peloponnesus, and seized Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, began to reign together, and from their time the sceptre always continued jointly in the hands of the descendants of those two families. Many years after this, Lycurgus instituted that body of laws for the Spartan state, which rendered both the legislature and the republic so famous in history. I shall speak of them at large in the sequel.

CORINTH.* Corinth began later than the other cities I have been speaking of to be governed by particular kings. It was at first subject to those of Argos and Mycenæ; at last Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, made himself master of it. But his descendants were dispossessed of the throne by the Heraclidæ, about one hundred and ten years after the siege of Troy.

The regal power after this came to the descendants of Bacchis, under whom the monarchy was changed into an aristocracy, that is, the reins of the government were in the hands of the elders, who annually chose from among themselves a chief magistrate, whom they called Prytanis. At last Cypselus having gained the people, usurped the supreme authority, which he transmitted to his son Periander, who was ranked among the Grecian sages, on account of the love he bore to learning, and the protection and encouragement he gave to learned men.

MACEDONIA.† It was a long time before the Greeks had any great regard to Macedonia. Her kings living retired in woods and mountains, seemed not to be considered as a part of Greece. They pretended, that their kings, of whom CARANUS was the first, were descended from Hercules. Philip and his son Alexander raised the glory of this kingdom to a very high degree. It had subsisted four hundred and seventy-one years before the death of Alexander, and continued one hundred and fifty-five more, till Perseus was beaten and taken by the Romans; in all, six hundred and twenty-six years.

ARTICLE V.

COLONIES OF THE GREEKS SENT INTO ASIA MINOR.

WE have already observed, that eighty years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponnesus, after having defeated the Pelopidæ, that is, Tisamenes and Penthilus, sons of Orestes; and that they divided the kingdoms of Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon, among them.

So great a revolution as this almost changed the face of the country, and made way for several very famous transmigrations; which, the better to understand, and to have the clearer idea of the situation of the Grecian nations, as also of the four dialects, or different idioms of speech, that prevailed among them, it will be necessary to look a little farther back into history.

Deucalion, who reigned in Thessaly, and under whom happened the flood that bears his name, had by Pyrrha, his wife, two sons, Helenus and Amphycton. This last, having driven Cranaus out of Athens, reigned there in his stead. Helenus, if we may believe the historians of his country, gave the name of Helenes to the Greeks: he had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus.‡

Æolus, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and, besides Thessaly, had Locris and Bœotia added to his dominions. Several of his descendants went into Peloponnesus with Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, from whom Peloponnesus took its name, and settled themselves in Laconia.

The country contiguous to Parnassus fell to the share of Dorus, and from him was called Doris.

Xuthus, compelled by his brothers, upon some particular disgust, to quit his country, retired into Attica, where he married the daughter of Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion.

* A. M. 2628. Ant. J. C. 1376.

† A. M. 3191. Ant. J. C. 813.

‡ Strab. l. viii. p. 383, &c. Pausan. l. vii. p. 396, &c.

An involuntary murder, committed by Achæus, obliged him to retire to Peloponnesus, which was then called Egialæa, of which one part was from him called Achaia. His descendants settled at Lacedæmon.

Ion, having signalized himself by his victories, was invited by the Athenians to govern their city, and gave the country his name; for the inhabitants of Attica were likewise called Ionians. The number of the citizens increased to such a degree, that the Athenians were obliged to send a colony of the Ionians into Peloponnesus, who likewise gave the name to the country they possessed.

Thus all the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, though composed of different people, were united under the names of Achæans and Ionians.

The Heraclidæ, eighty years after the taking of Troy, resolved seriously to recover Peloponnesus, which of right belonged to them. They had three principal leaders, sons of Aristomachus, namely, Timenes, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus; the last dying, his two sons, Euristhenes and Procles, succeeded him. The success of their expedition was as happy as the the motive was just, and they recovered the possession of their ancient dominion. Argos fell to Timenes, Messenia to Cresphontes, and Laconia to the two sons of Aristodemus.

Such of the Achæans as were descended from Æolus, and had hitherto inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who accompanied the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, after some wandering, settled in that part of Asia Minor, which from them took the name Æolis, where they founded Smyrna, and eleven other cities; but the town of Smyrna came afterwards into the hands of the Ionians. The Æolians became likewise possessed of several cities of Lesbos.

As for the Achæans of Mycenæ and Argos, being compelled to abandon their country to the Heraclidæ, they seized upon that of the Ionians, who dwelt at that time in a part of Peloponnesus. The latter fled at first to Athens, their original country, from whence they sometime afterwards departed under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, both sons of Codrus, and seized upon that part of the coast of Asia Minor which lies between Caria and Lydia, and from them was named Ionia; here they built twelve cities, Ephesus, Clazomenæ, Samos, &c.

The power of the Athenians, who had then Codrus for their king, being very much augmented by the great number of refugees that were fled into their country, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppose the progress of their power, and for that reason made war upon them. The latter were defeated in a battle, but still remained masters of Megaris, where they built Megara, and settled the Dorians in that country in the room of the Ionians.*

One part of the Dorians continued in the country after the death of Codrus, another went to Crete; the greatest number settled in that part of Asia Minor, which from them was called Doris, where they built Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and other cities, and made themselves masters of the island of Rhodes, Cos, &c.†

THE GRECIAN DIALECTS.

It will now be more easy to understand what we have to say concerning the several Grecian dialects. These were four in number; the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and the Æolic. They were in reality four different languages, each of them perfect in its kind, and used by a distinct nation; but yet all derived from, and founded upon the same original tongue. And this diversity of languages is by no means wonderful in a country where the inhabitants consisted of different nations, but did not depend upon one another, but had each its particular territories.

1. The Attic dialect is that which was used in Athens and the country round about. This dialect has been chiefly used by Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Demosthenes.

2. The Ionic dialect was almost the same with the ancient Attic; but after it had passed into several towns of Asia Minor, and into the adjacent islands which were colonies of the Athenians, and of the people of Achaia, it received a sort of new tincture, and did not come up to that perfect delicacy, which the Athenians afterwards attained to. Hippocrates and Herodotus wrote in this dialect.

3. The Doric was first in use among the Spartans, and the people of Argos; it passed afterwards into Epirus, Libya, Sicily, Rhodes, and Crete. Archimedes and Theocritus, both of them Syracusans, and Pindar, followed this dialect.

4. The Æolic dialect was at first used by the Bœotians and their neighbours, and

* Strab. p. 393.

† Strab. p. 653.

then in Æolis, a country in Asia Minor, between Ionia and Mysia, which contained ten or twelve cities that were Grecian colonies. Sappho and Alcæus, of whose works very little remains, wrote in this dialect. We find also a mixture of it in the writings of Theocritus, Pindar, Homer, and many others.

ARTICLE VI.

THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT ALMOST GENERALLY ESTABLISHED THROUGHOUT GREECE.

THE reader may have observed, in the little I have said about the several settlements of Greece, that the primordial ground of all those different states was monarchical government, which was the most ancient of all forms, the most universally received and established, the most proper to maintain peace and concord, and which, as Plato observes, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion which fathers exercise over their families.*

But, as the state of things degenerated by degrees, through the injustice of usurpers, and severity of lawful masters, the insurrections of the people, and a thousand accidents and revolutions that happened in those states, a different spirit seized the people, which prevailed throughout Greece, kindled a violent desire of liberty, and brought about a general change of government every where, except in Macedonia; so that monarchy gave way to a republican government, which, however, was diversified into almost as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people.

There still, however, remained a kind of tincture or spirit of the ancient monarchical government, which frequently inflamed the ambition of private citizens, and made them desire to become masters of their country. In almost every state of Greece, some private persons arose, who, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election of the citizens, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence; and who, without any respect for the laws, or regard to the public good, exercised a sovereign authority, with a despotic empire and arbitrary sway. In order to support their unjust usurpations in the midst of distrust and alarms, they thought themselves obliged to prevent imaginary, or to suppress real conspiracies, by the most cruel proscriptions; and to sacrifice to their own security all those whom merit, rank, wealth, zeal for liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to a suspicious and unsettled government, which found itself hated by all, and was sensible it deserved to be so. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these men so odious, and brought upon them the appellation of tyrants,† and which furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

All these cities and districts of Greece that seemed so entirely different from one another, in their laws, customs, and interests, were nevertheless formed and combined into one sole, entire, and united body; whose strength increased to such a degree, as to make the formidable power of the Persians under Darius and Xerxes tremble; and which even then, perhaps, would have entirely overthrown the Persian greatness, had the Grecian states been wise enough to have preserved that union and concord among themselves, which afterwards rendered them invincible. This is the scene which I am now to open, and which certainly merits the reader's whole attention.

We shall see, in the following volumes, a small nation confined within a country not equal to the fourth part of France, disputing empire with the most powerful throne then upon the earth; and we shall see this handful of men, not only making head against the innumerable army of the Persians, but dispersing, routing, and cutting them to pieces, and sometimes reducing the Persian pride so low, as to make them submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered as glorious for the conquerors.

Among all the cities of Greece, there were two that particularly distinguished themselves, and acquired an authority and a kind of superiority over the rest, by their merit and conduct; these two were Lacedæmon and Athens. As these cities make a considerable figure, and act an illustrious part in the ensuing history, before I enter upon particulars, I think I ought to give the reader some idea of the genius, character,

* Plat. l. iii. de Leg. p. 630.

† This word originally signified no more than king, and was anciently the title of lawful princes.

manners, and government of their respective inhabitants. Plutarch, in the Lives of Lycurgus and Solon, will furnish me with the greatest part of what I have to say upon this head.

ARTICLE VII.

THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT. LAWS ESTABLISHED BY LYCURGUS.

THERE is perhaps nothing in profane history better attested, and at the same time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta, and the discipline established in it by Lycurgus. This legislator was the son of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta.* It would have been easy for Lycurgus to ascend the throne after the death of his eldest brother, who left no son behind him; and in effect he was king for some days. But as soon as his sister-in-law was found to be with child, he declared that the crown belonged to her son, if she had one, and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom only as his guardian. In the meantime, the widow sent to him secretly, that if he would promise to marry her when he was king, she would destroy the fruit of her womb. So detestable a proposal struck Lycurgus with horror; however, he concealed his indignation, and amusing the woman with different pretences, so managed it, that she went out her full time, and was delivered. As soon as the child was born, he proclaimed him king, and took care to have him brought up and educated in a proper manner. This prince, on account of the joy which the people testified at his birth, was named Charilaus.

The state was at this time in great disorder, the authority, both of the king and the laws, being absolutely despised and unregarded. No curb was strong enough to restrain the audaciousness of the people, which every day increased.†

Lycurgus was so courageous as to form the design of making a thorough reformation in the Spartan government; and to be the more capable of making wise regulations, he thought fit to travel into several countries, in order to acquaint himself with the different manners of other nations, and to consult the most able and experienced persons he could meet with, in the art of government. He began with the island of Crete, whose rigid and austere laws were very famous; from thence he passed into Asia, where quite different customs prevailed; and, last of all, he went into Egypt, which was then the seat of science, wisdom, and good counsels.

His long absence only made his country the more desirous of his return; and the kings themselves importuned him to that purpose, being sensible how much they stood in need of his authority to keep the people within bounds, and in some degree of subjection and order. When he came back to Sparta, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being persuaded that a few particular laws would produce no great effect.‡

But before he put his design in execution, he went to Delphos to consult the oracle of Apollo; where, after having offered his sacrifice, he received that famous answer, in which the priestess called him, "A friend of the gods, and rather a god than a man." And as for the favour he desired, of being able to frame a set of good laws for his country, she told him, the gods had heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to establish would be the most excellent state in the world.

On his return to Sparta, the first thing he did, was to bring over to his designs the leading men of the city, whom he made acquainted with his views; when he was assured of their approbation and concurrence, he went into the public market-place, accompanied with a number of armed men, in order to astonish and intimidate those who might desire to oppose his undertaking.

The new form of government which he introduced into Sparta, may properly be reduced to three principal institutions.

INSTITUTION I.—THE SENATE.

Of all the new regulations or institutions made by Lycurgus, the greatest and most considerable was that of the senate; which, by tempering and balancing, as Plato observes, the too absolute power of the kings, by an authority of equal weight and influence with theirs, became the principal support and preservation of the state.§ For whereas before, it was ever unsteady, and tending one while towards tyranny, by the violent proceeding of the kings; at other times towards democracy, by the excessive power of the people; the senate served as a kind of counterpoise to both, which kept

* Plut. in Vit. Lye. p. 40.

† Idem, p. 41.

‡ Idem, p. 42.

§ Plut. in Vit. Lyeurg. p. 42.

the state in a due equilibrium, and preserved it in a firm and steady situation; the twenty-eight senators* of which it consisted siding with the king, when the people were grasping at too much power: and, on the other hand, espousing the interests of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

Lycurgus having thus tempered the government, those that came after him thought the power of the thirty that composed the senate still too great and absolute; and therefore, as a check upon them, they devised the authority of the Ephori,† about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. The Ephori were five in number, and remained but one year in office. They were all chosen out of the people, and in that respect considerably resembled the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority extended to arresting and imprisoning the persons of their kings, as it happened in the case of Pausanias. The institution of the Ephori began in the reign of Theopompus, whose wife reproached him, that he would leave to his children the regal authority in a worse condition than he had received it; on the contrary, said he, I shall leave it to them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and lasting.

The Spartan government, then, was not purely monarchical. The nobility had a great share in it, and the people were not excluded. Each part of this body politic, in proportion as it contributed to the public good, found in it their advantage; so that, in spite of the natural restlessness and inconstancy of man's heart, which is always thirsting after novelty and change, and is never cured of its disgust to uniformity, Lacedæmon persevered for above seven hundred years in the exact observance of her laws.

INSTITUTION II.—THE DIVISION OF THE LANDS, AND THE PROHIBITION OF GOLD AND SILVER MONEY.

THE second and the boldest institution of Lycurgus was the division of the lands, which he looked upon as absolutely necessary for establishing peace and good order in the commonwealth. The major part of the people were so poor, that they had not one inch of land of their own, while a small number of particular persons were possessed of all the lands and wealth of the country: in order, therefore, to banish insolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two other distempers of the state still greater and more ancient than these, I mean extreme poverty and excessive wealth, he persuaded the citizens to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in a perfect equality, and that no pre-eminence or honours should be given, but to virtue and merit alone.‡

This scheme, extraordinary as it may seem, was immediately executed. Lycurgus divided the lands of Loconia into thirty thousand parts, which he distributed among the inhabitants of the country; and the territories of Sparta into nine thousand parts, which he distributed among an equal number of citizens. It is said, that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and passing through the lands of Laconia in the time of harvest, and observing, as he went along, the perfect equality of the reaped corn, he turned towards those that were with him, and said smiling, "Does not Laconia look like the possession of several brothers, who have just been dividing their inheritance among them?"

After having divided their immovables, he undertook likewise to make the same equal division of all their movable goods and chattels, that he might utterly banish from among them all manner of inequality. But, perceiving that this would be more difficult if he went openly about it, he endeavoured to effect it by sapping the very foundation of avarice. For, first, he cried down all gold and silver money, and ordained that no other should be current than that of iron, which he made so very heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to carry home a sum of ten minæ,§ and a whole chamber to keep it in.

The next thing he did, was to banish all useless and superfluous arts from Sparta. But if he had not done this, most of them would have sunk of themselves, and disappeared with the gold and silver money; because the tradesmen and artificers would have found no vent for their commodities, and this iron money had no currency among any other Grecian states who were so far from esteeming it, that it became the subject of their banter and ridicule.

* This council consisted of thirty persons, including the two kings.

† The word signifies comptroller or inspector.

‡ Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 44.

§ Five hundred French livres, 883, 80.

INSTITUTION 3.—OF PUBLIC MEALS.

LYCURGUS, being desirous to make a yet more effectual war upon effeminacy and luxury, and utterly to extirpate the love of riches, made a third regulation, which was that of public meals. That he might entirely suppress all the magnificence and extravagance of expensive tables, he ordained, that all the citizens should eat together, of the same common victuals which the law prescribed, and expressly forbade all private eating at their own houses.*

By this settlement of public and common meals, and this frugality and simplicity in eating, it may be said, that he made riches in some measure change their very nature, by putting them out of a condition of being desired or stolen, or of enriching their possessors; for there was no way left for a man to use or enjoy this opulence, or even to make any show of it, since the poor and the rich ate together in the same place, and none were allowed to appear at the public eating-rooms, after having taken care to fill themselves with other diet: because every body present took particular notice of any one that did not eat or drink, and the whole company was sure to reproach him with the delicacy and intemperance that made him despise the common food and public table.†

The rich were extremely enraged at this regulation; and it was upon this occasion that a tumult of the people, a young man named Alexander struck out one of the eyes of Lycurgus. The people provoked at such an outrage, delivered the young man into Lycurgus's hands, who knew how to revenge himself in a proper manner; for, by the extraordinary kindness and gentleness with which he treated him, he made the violent and hot-headed young man, in a little time, become very moderate and wise. The tables consisted of about fifteen persons each, where none could be admitted but with the consent of the whole company. Each person furnished, every month, a bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a small sum of money, for preparing and cooking the victuals. Every one, without exception of persons, was obliged to be at the common meal; and a long time after the making of these regulations, king Agis, at his return from a glorious expedition, having taking the liberty to dispense with that law, in order to eat with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and punished.

The very children ate at these public tables, and were carried thither as to a school of wisdom and temperance. There they were sure to hear grave discourses upon government, and to see nothing but what tended to their instruction and improvement. The conversation was often enlivened with ingenious and spritely railery, but never mixed with any thing vulgar or shocking; and if their jesting seemed to make any person uneasy, they never proceeded any farther. Here their children were likewise trained up and accustomed to great secrecy: as soon as a young man came into the dining-room, the oldest person of the company used to say to him, pointing to the door, "Nothing spoken here must ever go out there."

The most exquisite of all their eatables was what they called their black broth, and the old men preferred it before all that was set upon the table.‡ Dionysius the tyrant, when he was at one of those meals, was not of the same opinion, and what was a ragout to them, was to him very insipid. I do not wonder, said the cook, for the seasoning is wanting. What seasoning? replied the tyrant. Running, sweating, fatigue, hunger, and thirst; these are the ingredients, said the cook, with which we season all our food.

IV. OTHER ORDINANCES.

WHEN I speak of the ordinances of Lycurgus, I do not mean written laws; he thought proper to leave very few of that kind, being persuaded, that the most powerful and effectual means of rendering communities happy, and people virtuous, is by the good example, and the impression made on the mind by the manners and practice of the citizens: for the principles thus implanted by education remain firm and immoveable, as they are rooted in the will, which is always a stronger and more durable tie than the yoke of necessity; and the youth, that have been thus nurtured and educated, become laws and legislators to themselves. These are the reasons why Lycurgus, instead of leaving his ordinances in writing, endeavoured to imprint and enforce them by practice and example.§

* Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 45.

† Τὸν πλεῖτον ἕσυχον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐζήλον, καὶ ἕπλευτον ἀπειργάσατο.—Plut.

‡ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. γ. n. 98.

§ Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 47.

He looked upon the education of youth as the greatest and most important object of a legislator's care. His grand principle was, that children belonged more to the state than to their parents; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their humours and fancies, but would have the state intrusted with the general care of their education, in order to have them formed upon constant and uniform principles, which might inspire them betimes with the love of their country and virtue.

As soon as a boy was born, the elders of each tribe visited him; and if they found him well made, strong, and vigorous, they ordered him to be brought up, and assigned him one of the nine thousand portions of land for his inheritance.* if, on the contrary, they found him to be deformed, tender, and weakly, so that they could not expect that he would ever have a strong and healthful constitution, they condemned him to perish, and caused the infant to be exposed.†

Children were accustomed betimes not to be nice or difficult in their eating; not to be afraid in the dark, or when they were left alone; not to give themselves up to peevishness and ill-humour, to crying and bawling; to walk bare-foot, that they might be inured to fatigue: to lie hard at night; to wear the same clothes winter and summer, in order to harden them against cold and heat.‡

At the age of seven years they were put into the classes, where they were all brought up together under the same discipline.§ Their education, properly speaking, was only an apprenticeship of obedience.|| The legislature having rightly considered, that the surest way to have citizens submissive to the law and to the magistrates, in which the good order and happiness of a state chiefly consists, was to teach children early, and to accustom them from their tender years to be perfectly obedient to their masters and superiors.

While they were at table, it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys by proposing them questions.¶ They would ask them, for example, Who is the most honest man in the town? What do you think of such or such an action? The boys were obliged to give a quick and ready answer, which was also to be accompanied with a reason and a proof, both expressed in a few words: for they were accustomed betimes to the Laconic style, that is, to a close and concise way of speaking and writing. Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value, and their language, on the contrary, very pithy and short; a great deal of sense comprised in a few words.

As for literature, they only learned as much as was necessary.** All the sciences were banished out of their country; their study only tended to know how to obey, to bear hardship and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. The superintendent of their education was one of the most honorable men of the city, and of the first rank and condition, who appointed over every class of boys, masters of the most approved wisdom and probity.

There was one kind of theft only, and that too more a nominal than a real one, which the boys were allowed, and even ordered to practise.†† They were taught to slip, as cunningly and cleverly as they could, into the gardens and public halls, in order to steal away herbs or meat; and if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. We are told of one who, having stolen a young fox, hid it under his robe, and suffered the animal to gnaw into his belly, and tear out his very bowels, till he fell dead upon the spot, rather than be discovered. This kind of theft, as I have said, was but nominal, and not properly a robbery; since it was authorized by the law and the consent of the citizens. The intent of the legislature in allowing it, was to inspire the Spartan youth, who were all designed for war, with the greater boldness, cunning, and address; to inure them betimes to the life of a soldier; to teach them to live upon a little, and to be able to shift for themselves. But I have already given an account of this matter more at large in another treatise.

The patience and constancy of the Spartan youth most conspicuously appeared in a certain festival, celebrated in honour of Diana, surnamed Orthia,‡‡ where the children, before the eyes of their parents, and in presence of the whole city, suffered them-

* I do not comprehend how they could assign to every one of these children one of the nine thousand portions, appropriated to the city, for his inheritance. Was the number of citizens always the same? Did it never exceed nine thousand? It is not said in this case, as in the division of the Holy Land, that the portions allotted to a family always continued in it, and could not be entirely alienated.

† Xen. de Lac. Rep. p. 667.

‡ Plut. in Lyc. p. 50.

§ Ωστε την παιδείαν είναι μελέτην ευπειθείας.

¶ Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 48.

‡‡ Plut. in Lyc. p. 51.

** Plut. in Lyc. p. 52.

† Idem. institut. Lacen. p. 237.

†† Man. d'Etud. Vol. III. p. 471.

selves to be whipped till the blood ran down upon the altar of this cruel goddess, where sometimes they expired under the strokes, and all this without uttering the least cry, or so much as a groan or sigh: and even their own fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution.* Plutarch assures us, that he had seen with his own eyes a great many children lose their lives on these cruel occasions. Hence it is, that Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, *Patiens Lacedæmon*;† and another author makes a man, who had received three strokes of a stick without complaining, say, *Tres plagas Spartana nobilitate concovi*.

The most usual occupation of the Lacedæmonians was hunting, and other bodily exercise. They were forbid to exercise any mechanic art. The *Elotæ*, who were a sort of slaves, tilled their land for them, for which they paid them a certain revenue.‡

Lycurgus would have his citizens enjoy a great deal of leisure: they had large common balls, where the people used to meet to converse together: and though their discourses chiefly turned upon grave and serious topics, yet they seasoned them with a mixture of wit and facetious humour, both agreeable and instructive. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees, always together, always about their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and of the public good was their predominant passion: they did not imagine they belonged to themselves, but to their country. *Pedaretus* having missed the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank of distinction in the city, went home extremely pleased and satisfied, saying, "he was overjoyed there were three hundred men in Sparta more honourable and worthy than himself."§

At Sparta every thing tended to inspire the love of virtue, and the hatred of vice; the actions of the citizens, their conversations, public monuments, and inscriptions. It was hard for men brought up in the midst of so many living precepts and examples, not to become virtuous, as far as heathens were capable of virtue. It was to preserve these happy dispositions, that Lycurgus did not allow all sorts of persons to travel, lest they should bring home foreign manners, and return infected with the licentious customs of other countries, which would necessarily create, in a little time, an aversion for the life and maxims of Lacedæmon. On the other hand, he would suffer no strangers to remain in the city, who did not come thither to some useful and profitable end, but out of mere curiosity; being afraid they should bring along with them the defects and vices of their own countries; and being persuaded, at the same time, that it was more important and necessary to shut the gates of the town against depraved and corrupt manners, than against infectious distempers. Properly speaking, the very trade and business of the Lacedæmonians was war: every thing with them tended that way: arms were their only exercise and employment: their life was much less hard and austere in the camp, than in the city; and they were the only people in the world, to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment, because then the reins of that strict and severe discipline, which prevailed at Sparta, were somewhat relaxed, and the men were indulged in a little more liberty.|| With them the first and most inviolable law of war, as *Demaratus* told *Xerxes*, was never to fly, or turn their backs, whatever superiority of numbers the enemy's army might consist of; never to quit their post; never to deliver up their arms; in a word, either to conquer or to die on the spot.¶ This maxim was so important and essential in their opinion, that when the poet *Archilochus* came to Sparta, they obliged him to leave their city immediately; because they understood, that in one of his poems, he had said, "It was better for a man to throw down his arms, than to expose himself to be killed."***

Hence it is, that a mother recommended to her son, who was going to make a campaign, that he should return either with or upon his shield;†† and that another, hearing that her son was killed in fighting for his country, answered very coldly, "I brought him into the world for no other end."‡‡ This humour was general among the Lacedæmonians. After the famous battle of *Leuctra*, which was so fatal to the Spartans, the parents of those that died in the action congratulated each other upon it, and went to the temples to thank the gods that their children had done their

* Cic. *Tusc. Quest. lib. ii. n. 34.*

† *Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 54.*

‡ *Herod. l. vii. cap. 104.*

§ *Idem, p. 55.*

† *Ode vii. lib. 1.*

|| *Idem, p. 56.*

** *Plut. in Lacon. Institut. p. 239.*

†† * *Ἄλλα προσαναδύλασα τῷ παιδί τὴν ἄσπίδα, καὶ παρακελευμένη. Τέκνον, (ἔφη) ἢ τὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τας.*—*Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 241.* Sometimes they that were slain were brought home upon their shields.

‡‡ *Cic. l. i. Tusc. Quest. n. 102. Plut. in Vit. Ages. p. 612.*

duty; whereas the relations of those who survived the defeat, were inconsolable. If any of the Spartans fled in battle, they were dishonoured and disgraced for ever. They were not only excluded from all posts and employments in the state, from all assemblies and public diversions; but it was thought scandalous to make any alliances with them by marriage: and a thousand affronts and insults were publicly offered them with impunity.

The Spartans never went to fight without first imploring the help of the gods by public sacrifices and prayers; and, when that was done, they marched against the enemy with a perfect confidence and expectation of success, as being assured of the divine protection; and to make use of Plutarch's expression, "As if God were present with, and fought for them." *ὡς τὸν Θεοῦ συμπυρηνεῖται.*

When they had broken and routed their enemy's forces, they never pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory; after which they retired, as thinking it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces and destroy an enemy that yielded and fled. And this proved as useful as honourable to the Spartans; for their enemies, knowing that all who resisted them were put to the sword, and that they spared none but those who fled, generally chose rather to fly than to resist.*

When the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by practice, and the form of government he had established, seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself; as Plato says of God, that after he had finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced when he saw it revolve and perform its first emotions with so much justness and harmony;† so the Spartan legislator, pleased with the greatness and beauty of his laws, felt his joy and satisfaction redouble, when he saw them, as it were, walk alone, and go forward so happily.‡

But desiring, as far as depended on human prudence, to render them immortal and unchangeable, he signified to the people, that there was still one point remaining to be performed, the most essential and important of all, about which he would go and consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time he made them all take an oath, that till his return they would inviolably maintain the form of government which he had established. When he was arrived at Delphos, he consulted the god, to know whether the laws he had made were good, and sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy and virtuous. The priestess answered, that nothing was wanting to his laws; and that as long as Sparta observed them, she would be the most glorious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta; and then thinking he had fulfilled his ministry, he voluntarily died at Delphos, by abstaining from all manner of sustenance. His idea was, that even the death of great persons and statesmen should not be useless and unprofitable to the state, but a kind of supplement to their ministry, and one of their most important actions, which ought to do them as much or more honour than all the rest. He therefore thought, that in dying thus, he should crown and complete all the services which he had rendered his fellow-citizens during his life; since his death would engage them to a perpetual observance of his institutions, which they had sworn to maintain inviolably till his return.

Although I represent the sentiments of Lycurgus upon his own death, in the light wherein Plutarch has transmitted them to us, I am very far from approving them; and I make the same declaration with respect to several other facts of the like nature, which I sometimes relate without making any reflections upon them, though I think them very unworthy of approbation. The pretended wise men of the heathens had, as well concerning this article as several others, but very faint and imperfect ideas; or, to speak more properly, remain in great darkness and error. They laid down this admirable principle, which we meet with in many of their writings, that man, placed in the world as in a certain post by his general, cannot abandon it without the express command of him upon whom he depends, that is, of God himself. At other times, they looked upon man as a criminal condemned to a melancholy prison, from whence, indeed, he might desire to be released, but could not lawfully attempt to be so, but by the course of justice, and the order of the magistrate; and not by break-

* Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. p. 54.

† This passage of Plato is in his *Timæus*, and gives us reason to believe this philosopher had read what Moses says of God, when he created the world: "Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona."—Gen. i. 31.

‡ Idem, p. 57.

ing his chains, and forcing the gates of his prison.* These ideas are beautiful, because they are true; but the application they made of them was wrong, namely, as they took that for an express order of the Deity, which was the pure effect of their own weakness or pride, by which they were led to commit suicide, either that they might deliver themselves from the pains or troubles of this life, or immortalize their names, as was the case with Lycurgus, Cato, and a number of others.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA, AND UPON THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

I. THINGS COMMENDABLE IN THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

THERE must needs have been, to judge only by the event, a great fund of wisdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus; since, as long as they were observed in in Sparta, which was above five hundred years, it was a most flourishing and powerful city. It was not so much, says Plutarch, speaking of the laws of Sparta, the government and polity of a city, as the conduct and regular behaviour of a wise man, who passes his whole life in the exercise of virtue: or rather, continues the same author, as the poets feign, that Hercules, only with his lion's skin and club, went from country to country to free the world of robbers and tyrants; so Sparta, with a slip of parchment† and an old coat, gave laws to all Greece, which willingly submitted to her dominion; suppressed tyrannies and unjust authority in cities; put an end to wars as she thought fit, and appeased insurrection; and all this generally without moving a shield or a sword, and only by sending a simple ambassador among them, who no sooner appeared, than all the people submitted, and flocked about him like so many bees about their queen: so much respect did the justice and good government of this city imprint upon the minds of all their neighbours.

I. THE NATURE OF THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT.

WE find at the end of Lycurgus's life a single reflection made by Plutarch, which of itself comprehends a great encomium upon that legislator. He there says, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all those who have treated of the establishment of a political state or government, took their plans from the republic of Lycurgus; with this difference, that they confined themselves wholly to words and theory; but Lycurgus, without dwelling upon ideas and theoretical systems, did really and effectually institute an inimitable polity, and form a whole city of philosophers.

In order to succeed in this undertaking, and to establish the most perfect form of a commonwealth that could be, he melted down, as it were, and blended together what he found best in every kind of government, or most conducive to the public good; thus tempering one species with another, and balancing the inconveniences to which each of them in particular is subject, with the advantages that result from their being united together. Sparta had something of the monarchical form of government, in the authority of her kings. The council of thirty, otherwise called the senate, was a true aristocracy; and the power vested in the people of nominating the senators, and of giving sanction to the laws, resembled a democratical government. The institution of the Ephori afterwards served to rectify what was amiss in those previous establishments, and to supply what was defective. Plato, in more places than one, admires the wisdom of Lycurgus in his institution of the senate, which was equally advantageous both to the king and people; because by this means the law became the only supreme ruler of the kings, and the kings never became tyrants over the law.‡

2. EQUAL DIVISION OF THE LANDS: GOLD AND SILVER BANISHED FROM SPARTA.

THE design formed by Lycurgus of making an equal distribution of the lands among the citizens, and of entirely banishing from Sparta all luxury, avarice, law-suits, and dissensions; by abolishing the use of gold and silver, would appear to us a

* Vetat Pythagoras, injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de præsidio et statione vitæ decedere.—Cic. de Senect. n. 73. Cato sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille, in nobis Deus injussu hinc nos suo demigrare. Cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sæpe multis; ne ille, medius fidius, vir sapiens, lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit. Nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vetant: sed, tanquam a magistratu aut, ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a Deo evocatus atque emissus, exierit.—Id. i. Tusc. Quæst. n. 74.

† This was what the Spartans called a scytale, a thong of leather or parchment, which they twisted round a staff in such a manner, that there was no vacancy or void space left upon it. They wrote upon this thong, and when they had written they untwisted it, and sent it to the general for whom it was intended. This general, who had another stick of the same size with that on which the thong was twisted and written upon, wrapt it round that staff in the same manner, and, by that means, found out the connexion and the right placing of the letters, which otherwise were so displaced and out of order, that there was no possibility of their being read.—Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 444.

‡ Νόμος ἐπειδὴ κύριος ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲν νόμον.—Plat. Epist. vii.

scheme of a commonwealth finely conceived for speculation, but utterly incapable of execution, did not history assure us, that Sparta actually subsisted in that condition for many ages.

When I place the transaction I am now speaking of among the laudable parts of Lycurgus's laws, I do not pretend it to be absolutely unexceptionable; for I think it can scarcely be reconciled with that general law of nature which forbids the taking away one man's property to give it to another; and yet this is what was really done upon this occasion. Therefore in this affair of dividing the lands, I consider only so much of it as was truly commendable in itself, and worthy of admiration.

Can we possibly conceive, that a man could persuade the richest and most opulent inhabitants of a city, to resign all their revenues and estates, in order to level and confound themselves with the poorest of the people; to subject themselves to a new way of living, both severe in itself, and full of restraint; in a word, to debar themselves of the use of every thing, wherein the happiness and comfort of life is thought to consist? And yet this is what Lycurgus actually effected in Sparta.

Such an institution as this would have been less wonderful, had it subsisted only during the life of the legislator; but we know that it lasted many ages after his decease. Xenophon, in the encomium he has left us of Agesilaus, and Cicero, in one of his orations, observed, that Lacedæmon was the only city in the world that preserved her discipline and laws for so considerable a term of years unaltered and inviolate. *Soli*, said the latter, speaking of the Lacedæmonians, *toto orbe terrarum septingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt*.* I believe that though in Cicero's time the discipline of Sparta, as well as her power, was very much relaxed and diminished, yet, however all historians agree, that it was maintained in all its vigour till the reign of Agis, under whom Lysander, though incapable of being blinded or corrupted with gold, filled his country with luxury and the love of riches, by bringing into it immense sums of gold and silver, which were the fruits of his victories, and thereby subverting the laws of Lycurgus.

But the introduction of gold and silver money was not the first wound given by the Lacedæmonians to the institutions of the legislator. It was the consequence of the violation of another law still more fundamental. Ambition was the vice that preceded, and made way for avarice. The desire of conquests drew on that of riches, without which they could not propose to extend their dominions. The main design of Lycurgus, in the establishing his laws, and especially that which prohibited the use of gold and silver, was, as Polybius and Plutarch have judiciously observed, to curb and restrain the ambition of the citizens; to disable them from making conquests, and in a manner to force them to confine themselves within the narrow bounds of their own country, without carrying their views and pretensions any farther.† Indeed, the government which he established was sufficient to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was not calculated for elevating her to a dominion over other cities.

The design, then, of Lycurgus, was not to make the Spartans conquerors.‡ To remove such thoughts from his fellow-citizens, he expressly forbade them, though they inhabited a country surrounded with the sea, to meddle in maritime affairs; to have any fleets, or ever to fight upon the sea. They were religious observers of this prohibition for many ages, and even till the defeat of Xerxes: but upon that occasion they began to think of making themselves masters at sea, that they might be able to keep that formidable enemy at the greater distance. But having soon perceived, that these maritime, remote commands, corrupted the manners of their generals, they laid that project aside without any difficulty, as we shall observe when we come to speak of king Pausanias.

When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with shields and lances, it was not to enable them to commit wrongs and outrages with impunity, but only to defend themselves against the invasions and injuries of others. He made them indeed a nation of warriors and soldiers: but it was only that under the shadow of their arms they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, by being content with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and by being persuaded, that no city or state, any more than a single person, can ever hope for solid and lasting happiness, but from virtue only.§ Men of a depraved taste, says Plutarch farther, on the same subject, who think nothing so desirable as riches, and a large extent of do-

† Polyb. l. vi. p. 491.

* Pro. Flac. num. lxxiii.

‡ Plut. in Moribus Laced. p. 239.

§ Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. p. 59.

minion, may give preference to those vast empires that have subdued and enslaved the world by violence; but Lycurgus was convinced, that a city had occasion for nothing of that kind, in order to be happy. His policy, which has justly been the admiration of all ages, had no farther views, than to establish equity, moderation, liberty, and peace; and was an enemy to all injustice, violence, and ambition, and the passion of reigning and extending the bounds of the Spartan commonwealth.*

Such reflections as these, which Plutarch agreeably intersperses in his Lives, and in which their greatest and most essential beauties consist, are of infinite use towards the giving us true ideas of things, and making us understand wherein consists the solid and true glory of a state, that is really happy; as also to correct those false ideas we are apt to form of the vain greatness of those empires which have swallowed up kingdoms, and of those celebrated conquerors who owe all their fame and grandeur to violence and usurpation.

3. THE EXCELLENT EDUCATION OF THEIR YOUTH.

THE long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly very wonderful: but the means he made use of to succeed therein, are no less worthy of admiration. The principal of these was the extraordinary care he took to have the Spartan youth brought up in an exact and severe discipline: for, as Plutarch observes, the religious obligation of an oath, which he exacted from the citizens, would have been a feeble tie, had he not by education infused his laws, as it were, into the minds and manners of the children, and made them suck in, almost with their mothers' milk, an affection for his institutions. This was the reason why his principal ordinances subsisted above five hundred years, having sunk into the very temper and hearts of the people like a strong and good die, that penetrates thoroughly.† Cicero makes the same remark, and ascribes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their own natural disposition, as to their excellent education: *Cujus civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus, non solum natura corroborata, verum etiam disciplina putatur.*‡ All this shows of what importance it is to a state, to take care that their youth be brought up in a manner proper to inspire them with a love for the laws of their country.

The great maxim of Lycurgus, which Aristotle repeats in express terms, was that as children belong to the state, their education ought to be directed by the state, and the views and interests of the state only considered therein.§ It was for this reason he desired they should be educated all in common, and not left to the humour and caprice of their parents, who generally, through a soft and blind indulgence, and a mistaken tenderness, enervate at once both the bodies and minds of their children. At Sparta, from their tenderest years, they were inured to labour and fatigue, by the exercises of hunting and racing, and accustomed betimes to endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold; and, what it is difficult to make mothers believe, all these hard and laborious exercises tended to promote their health, and make their constitutions more vigorous and robust, able to bear the hardships and fatigues of war, for which they were all designed from their cradles.

4. OBEDIENCE.

BUT the most excellent thing in the Spartan education, was its teaching young people so perfectly how to obey. It was from hence the poet Simonides gives that city such a magnificent epithet, which denotes, that they alone knew how to subdue the passions of men, and to render them tractable and submissive to laws, as horses are taught to obey the spur and the bridle, by being broken and managed while they are young.|| For this reason, Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, that they might learn there the noblest and greatest of all sciences, that is, how to command and how to obey.¶

5. RESPECT TOWARDS THE AGED.

ONE of the lessons most frequently and strongly inculcated upon the Lacedæmonian youth, was, to bear a great reverence and respect to old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occasions, by saluting them, by making way for them, and by giving them place in the streets, by rising up to show them honour in all companies and public assemblies; but above all, by receiving their advice, and even their reproofs, with docility and submission.** By these characteristics a Lacedæmonian was known

* Item, et in Vit. Agesil. p. 614.

† Ὁσπερ βουξὶς ἀκούει καὶ ἰσχυρῶς καταψαμένῃ.—Plut. Ep. iii.

‡ Orat. pro Flac. n. 68.

§ Polyb. l. viii. Politic.

|| Διαισιμώτερος, that is to say, Tamer of men.

¶ Μαλιστέρηνος τῶν μαζιμῶτων τὸ καλλίστον, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν.

** Plut. in Lacon. Institut. p. 237.

wherever he went; if he had behaved otherwise, it would have been looked upon as a reproach to himself, and a dishonour to his country. An old man of Athens going into a theatre once to see a play, none of his own countrymen offered him a seat; but when he came near the place where the Spartan ambassadors and the gentlemen of their retinue were sitting, they all rose up out of reverence to his age, and seated him in the midst of them. Lysander, therefore, had reason to say, that old age had no where so honourable an abode as in Sparta; and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.*

II. DEFECTS IN THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

IN order to perceive the defects in the laws of Lycurgus, we have only to compare them with those of Moses, which we know were dictated by more than human wisdom. But my design in this place is not to enter into an exact examination of the particulars, wherein the laws and institutions of Lycurgus are faulty; I shall content myself with making some slight reflections only, which probably may have already occurred to the reader in the perusal of those ordinances, among which there are some with which he will have been justly offended.

I. THE CHOICE MADE OF THE CHILDREN THAT WERE EITHER TO BE BROUGHT UP OR EXPOSED.

To begin, for instance, with that ordinance relating to the choice they made of their children, which of them were to be brought up, and which exposed to perish; who would not be shocked at the unjust and inhuman custom of pronouncing sentence of death upon all such infants as had the misfortune to be born with a constitution that appeared too weak to undergo the fatigue and exercises to which the commonwealth destined all her subjects? Is it then impossible, and without example, that children, who are tender and weak in their infancy, should ever alter as they grow up, and become in time, of a robust and vigorous constitution? Or, suppose it was so, can a man no way serve his country but by the strength of his body? Is there no account to be made of his wisdom, prudence, counsel, generosity, courage, magnanimity, and, in a word, of all the qualities that depend upon the mind and intellectual faculties? *Omnino illud honestum quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quærimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.*† Did Lycurgus himself render less service, or do less honor to Sparta, by establishing his laws, than the greatest generals did by their victories? Agesilaus was of so small a stature, and so mean a figure, that at the first sight of him the Egyptians could not help laughing; and yet, small as he was, he made the great king of Persia tremble upon the throne of half the world.

But, what is yet stronger than all I have said, has any other person a right or power over the lives of men, than he from whom they received them, even God himself? And does not a legislator visibly usurp the authority of God, whenever he arrogates to himself such a power without his commission? That precept of the decalogue, which was only a renovation of the law of nature, *Thou shalt not kill*, universally condemns all those among the ancients, who imagined they had a power of life and death over their slaves, and even over their own children.

2. THEIR CARE CONFINED ONLY TO THE BODY.

THE great defect in the laws of Lycurgus, as Plato and Aristotle have observed, is, that they only tended to form a warlike and martial people. All that legislator's thoughts seemed wholly bent upon, was the means of strengthening the bodies of the people without any regard to the cultivation of their minds. Why should he banish from his commonwealth all arts and sciences, which, besides many other advantages, have this most happy effect, that they soften our manners, polish our understandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; such, in a word, as qualifies us for company and society, and makes the ordinary course of life agreeable?‡ Hence, it came to pass, that there was a degree of roughness and austerity in the temper and behaviour of the Spartans, and many times even something of ferocity; a failing that proceeded chiefly from their education, and that rendered them disagreeable and offensive to all their allies.

* Lysandrum Lacedæmonium dicere aiunt solitum, Lacedæmone esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis — Cic. de Sen. n. 63. Ἐν Δακεδαιμονίᾳ κάλλιστα γηρώσι. — Plut. in Mor. p. 795.

† Cic. l. ii. de Offic. n. 79. Idem, n. 76.

‡ Omnes artes quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet. — Cic. Orat. pro Arch.

3. THEIR BARBAROUS CRUELTY TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN.

It was an excellent practice in Sparta, to accustom their youth betimes to suffer heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and by many severe and laborious exercises to bring the body into subjection to reason, whose faithful and diligent minister it ought to be in the execution of all her orders and injunctions; which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all sorts of hardships and fatigues.* But was it rational in them to carry their severities so far, as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? And was it not utterly barbarous and brutal in the fathers and mothers, to see the blood trickling from the wounds of their children, nay, even to see them expiring under the lashes, without concern?

4. THE MOTHERS' INHUMANITY.

SOME people admire the courage of the Spartan mothers, who could hear the news of the death of their children slain in battle, not only without tears, but even with a kind of joy and satisfaction. For my part, I should think it much better, that nature should show herself a little more on such occasions, and that the love of one's country should not utterly extinguish the sentiments of maternal tenderness. One of our generals in France, who in the heat of battle was told that his son was killed, seemed by his answer to be much wiser. "Let us at present think," said he, "only of beating the enemy; to-morrow I will mourn for my son."

5. THEIR EXCESSIVE LEISURE.

NOR can I see what excuse can be made for that law, imposed by Lyeurgus upon the Spartans, which enjoined the spending so much of their time in idleness and inaction, and following no other business than that of war. He left all the arts and trades entirely to the slaves, and strangers that lived among them; and put nothing into the hands of the citizens, but the lance and the shield. Not to mention the danger there was in suffering the number of slaves that were necessary for tilling the land, to increase to such a degree as to become much greater than that of their masters, which was often an occasion of seditions and riots among them; how many disorders must men necessarily fall into, that have so much leisure upon their hands, and have no daily occupation or regular labour? This is an inconvenience still but too common among our nobility, and which is the natural effect of their faulty education. Except in the time of war, most of our gentry spend their lives in the most useless and unprofitable manner. They look upon agriculture, arts, and commerce, as beneath them, and derogatory to their gentility. They seldom know how to handle any thing but their swords. As for the sciences, they barely acquire just so much as they cannot well be without; and many have not the least knowledge of them, nor any manner of taste for books or reading. We are not to wonder, then, if gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual visits, and frivolous discourse, make up their whole occupation. What a life is this for men that have any parts or understanding!

6. THEIR CRUELTY TOWARDS THE HELOTS.

LYCURGUS would be utterly inexcusable, if he gave occasion, as he is accused of having done, for all the rigour and cruelty exercised towards the Helots in this republic. These Helots were the slaves employed by the Spartans to till the ground. It was their custom not only to make these poor creatures drunk, and expose them before their children, in order to give them an abhorrence for so shameful and odious a vice, but also to treat them with the utmost barbarity, as thinking themselves at liberty to destroy them by any violence or cruelty whatever, under pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain occasion related by Thucydides, two thousand of these slaves disappeared at once, without any body's knowing what was become of them.† Plutarch pretends, that this barbarous custom was not practised till after the time of Lyeurgus, and that he had no hand in it.

7. MODESTY AND DECENCY ENTIRELY NEGLECTED.

BUT the points wherein Lyeurgus appears to be the most culpable, and which best shows the great enormities and gross darkness in which the Pagans were plunged, is the little regard he showed for modesty and decency, in what concerned the education

* *Exercendum corpus, et ita afficiendum est, ut obedire consilio rationique possit in exequendis negotiis et labore tolerando.*—Lib. i. de Offic. n. 79.

† *Thucid. lib. iv.*

of girls, and the marriages of young women; which was without doubt the source of those disorders that prevailed in Sparta, as Aristotle has wisely observed. When we compare these indecent and licentious institutions of the wisest legislator that ever profane antiquity could boast, with the sanctity and purity of the evangelical precepts, what a noble idea does it give us of the dignity and excellence of the Christian religion!

Nor will it give us a less advantageous idea of this pre-eminence, if we compare the most excellent and laudable part of the institutions of Lycurgus with the laws of the gospel. It is, we must own, a wonderful thing, that the whole people should consent to a division of their lands, which set the poor upon an equal footing with the rich; and that by a total exclusion of gold and silver they should reduce themselves to a kind of voluntary poverty. But the Spartan legislator, when he enacted these laws, had the sword in his hand; whereas the Christian legislator says but a word, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," and thousands of the faithful through all succeeding generations renounce their goods, sell their lands and estates, and leave all, to follow Jesus Christ, their Master, in poverty and want.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS. THE LAWS OF SOLON. THE HISTORY OF THAT REPUBLIC, FROM THE TIME OF SOLON TO THE REIGN OF DARIUS THE FIRST.

I HAVE already observed, that Athens was at first governed by kings. But they were such as had little more than the name; for their whole power being confined to the command of the armies, vanished in time of peace. Every man was master in his own house, where he lived in an absolute state of independence. Codrus, the last king of Athens, having devoted himself to death for the public good, his sons Medon and Nileus quarrelled about the succession.* The Athenians took this occasion to abolish the regal power, though it did not much incommode them; and declared, that Jupiter alone was king of Athens, at the very same time that the Jews were weary of their theocracy, that is, having the true God for their king, and would absolutely have a man to reign over them.

Plutarch observes, that Homer, when he enumerated the ships of the confederate Grecians, gives the name of *people* to none but the Athenians; from whence it may be inferred, that the Athenians even then had a great inclination to a democratical government, and that the chief authority was at that time vested in the people.

In the place of their kings they substituted a kind of governors for life, under the title of archons. But this perpetual magistracy appeared still, in the eyes of this free people, as too lively an image of regal power, of which they were desirous of abolishing even the very shadow; for which reason they first reduced that office to the term of ten years, and then to that of one: and this they did with a view of resuming the authority the more frequently into their own hands, which they never transferred to their magistrates but with regret.

Such a limited power as this was not sufficient to restrain those turbulent spirits, who were grown excessively jealous of their liberty and independence, very tender and apt to be offended at any thing that seemed to break in upon their equality, and always ready to take umbrage at whatever had the least appearance of dominion or superiority. Hence arose continual factions and quarrels; there was no agreement or concord among them, either about religion or government.

Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, it being very happy for her that she could preserve herself from ruin in the midst of those long and frequent dissensions she had to struggle with.

Misfortunes instruct. Athens learned at length, that true liberty consists in a dependence upon justice and reason. This happy subjection could not be established, but by a legislator. She therefore placed her choice upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wisdom and integrity, for that employment. It does not appear that Greece had before his time, any written laws.† The first of that kind, then, were of his publishing; the rigour of which, anticipating as it were the Stoical doctrine, was so great, that it punished the smallest offence, as well as the most enormous crimes, equally with death. These laws of Draco, written, says Demades, not with ink, but with blood, had the same fate as usually attends all violent things. Sentiments of

* Codrus was cotemporary with Saul.

† A. M. 3330. Ant. J. C. 624.

humanity in the judges, compassion for the accused, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate than criminal, and the apprehensions the accusers and witnesses were under of rendering themselves odious to the people, all concurred to produce a remissness in the execution of the laws, which, by that means, in process of time, became as it were abrogated through disuse: and thus an excessive rigour paved the way for impunity.

The danger of relapsing into their former disorders, made them have recourse to fresh precautions; for they were willing to slacken the curb and restraint of fear, but not to break it. In order, therefore, to find out mitigations, which might make amends, for what they took away from the letter of the law, they cast their eyes upon one of the wisest and most virtuous persons of his age, I mean Solon, whose singular qualities, and especially his great meekness, had acquired him the affection and veneration of the whole city.*

His main application had been to the study of philosophy, and especially to that part of it which we call policy, and which teaches the art of government. His extraordinary merit placed him among the first of the seven sages of Greece, who rendered the age we are speaking of so illustrious. These sages often paid visits to each other. One day, that Solon went to Miletus to see Thales, the first thing he said to Thales was, that he wondered why he had never desired to have either wife or children. Thales made him no answer then; but a few days after he contrived, that a stranger should come into their company, and pretend that he had just arrived from Athens, from whence he had set out about ten days before. Solon hearing the stranger say this, asked him, if there was any news at Athens when he came away. The stranger, who had been taught his lesson, replied, that he had heard of nothing but the death of a young gentleman, whom all the town accompanied to the grave; because, as they said, he was the son of the worthiest man in the city, who was then absent. Alas! cried Solon, interrupting the man's story, how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! But pray, what is the gentleman's name? I heard his name replied the stranger, but I have forgot it. I only remember that the people talked much of his wisdom and justice. Every answer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to this inquisitive father, who was so justly alarmed. Was it not, said he at length, the son of Solon? The very same, replied the stranger. Solon at these words rent his clothes, and beat his breast, and expressing his sorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himself to the most sensible affliction. Thales, seeing this, took him by the hand, and said to him with a smile, comfort yourself, my friend, all that has been told you is a mere fiction. Now you see the reason why I never married: it is because I am unwilling to expose myself to such trials and afflictions.†

Plutarch has given us in detail, a refutation of Thales's reasoning, which tends to deprive mankind of the most natural and reasonable attachments in life, in lieu of which the heart of man will not fail to substitute others of an unjust and unlawful nature, which will expose him to the same pains and inconveniences. The remedy, says this historian, against the grief that may arise from the loss of goods, of friends, or of children, is not to throw away our estates, and reduce ourselves to poverty, to make an absolute renunciation of all friendship, or to confine ourselves to a state of celibacy; but, upon all such accidents and misfortunes, to make a right use of our reason.

Athens, after some time of tranquillity and peace, which the prudence and courage of Solon had procured, who was as great a warrior as he was a statesman, relapsed into her former dissensions about the government of the commonwealth, and was divided into as many parties as there were different sorts of inhabitants in Attica. For those that lived upon the mountains were fond of popular government; those in the low-lands were for an oligarchy; and those who dwelt on the sea-coasts, were for having a mixed government, compounded of these two forms blended together; and they hindered the other two contending parties, from getting any ground of each other. Besides these, there was a fourth party, which consisted only of the poor, who were grievously harassed and oppressed by the rich, on account of their debts, which they were not able to discharge. This unhappy party was determined to choose themselves a chief, who should deliver them from the inhuman severity of their creditors, and to make an entire change in the form of their government, by making a new division of the lands.‡

In this extreme danger, all the wise Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, who was

* A. M. 3400. Ant. J. C. 604.

† Plut. de Vit. Lyeurg. p. 81, 82.

‡ Plut. in Solon, p. 85, 86.

obnoxious to neither party; because he had never sided either with the injustice of the rich, or the rebellion of the poor; and they strongly solicited him to take the matter in hand, and to endeavour to put an end to these differences and disorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him so dangerous a commission: however, he was at last chosen Archon, and was constituted supreme arbiter and legislator with the unanimous consent of all parties; the rich liking him as he was rich; and the poor because he was honest. He now had it in his power to make himself king: several of the citizens advised him to it; and even the wisest among them, not thinking it was in the power of human reason to bring about a favourable change, consistent with the laws, were not unwilling that the supreme power should be vested in one man, who was so eminently distinguished for his prudence and justice. But notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made to him, and all the solicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refusal of the diadem as an effect of pusillanimity and meanness of spirit, he was still firm and unchangeable in his purpose, and would hearken to no other scheme than that of settling a form of government in his country, that should be founded upon the basis of a just and reasonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain disorders and evils, which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations or changes, than such as he thought he could persuade the citizens to comply with by argument and reason, or bring them into by the weight of his authority; wisely uniting, as he himself said, authority and power with reason and justice. Wherefore, when one afterwards asked him, if the laws which he had made for the Athenians were the best: "Yes," said he, "the best they were capable of receiving."

The soul of popular states is equality. But for fear of disgusting the rich, Solon did not venture to propose any equality of lands and wealth; whereby Attica, as well as Laconia, would have resembled a paternal inheritance, divided among a number of brethren. However, he went so far as to put an end to the slavery and oppression of those poor citizens, whose excessive debts and accumulated arrears had forced them to sell their persons and liberty, and reduce themselves to a state of servitude and bondage. An express law was made, which declared all debtors discharged and acquitted of all their debts.

This affair drew Solon into a troublesome difficulty, which gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he first determined to cancel the debts, he foresaw that such an edict, which had something in it contrary to justice, would be extremely offensive. For which reason, he endeavoured in some measure to rectify the tenor of it, by introducing it with a specious preamble, which set forth a great many very plausible pretexes, and gave a colour of equity and reason to the law, which in reality it had not. But in order hereto, he first disclosed his design to some particular friends whom he used to consult in all his affairs, and concerted with them the form and the terms in which this edict should be expressed. Now, before it was published, his friends, who were more interested than faithful, secretly borrowed great sums of money of their rich acquaintance, which they laid out in the purchase of lands, knowing they would not be affected by the edict. When this appeared, the general indignation that was raised by such a base and flagrant knavery, fell upon Solon, though in reality he had no hand in it.* But it is not enough for a man in office to be disinterested and upright himself; all that surround and approach him ought to be so too; wife, relations, friends, secretaries, and servants. The faults of others are charged to his account: all the wrongs, all the rapines, that are committed either through his negligence or connivance, are justly imputed to him; because it is his business, and one of the principal designs of his being put into such a trust, to prevent those corruptions and abuses.

This ordinance at first pleased neither of the two parties; it disgusted the rich, because it abolished the debts; and dissatisfied the poor, because it did not ordain a new division of the lands, as they had expected, and as Lycurgus had actually effected at Sparta. But Solon's influence at Athens fell very short of the power which Lycurgus had acquired in Sparta; for he had no other authority over the Athenians, than what the reputation of his wisdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity, had procured him.

However, in a little time afterwards, this ordinance was generally approved, and the same powers as before, were continued to Solon.

He repealed all the laws, that had been made by Draco, except those against mur-

* Plut. in Solon, p. 87.

der. The reason of his doing this, was the excessive rigour of these laws, which inflicted death alike upon all sorts of offenders: so that they who were convicted of sloth and idleness, or they who had only stolen a few herbs, or a little fruit out of a garden, were as severely punished as those that were guilty of murder or sacrilege.

He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich; for which reason he distributed all the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to the difference of their incomes and revenues, and according to the value and estimation of each particular man's estate. Those who were found to have five hundred measures a year, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the first class; those who had three hundred were placed in the second; and those who had but two hundred made up the third.

All the rest of the citizens, whose income fell short of two hundred measures, were comprised in a fourth and last class, and were never admitted into any employments.* But, in order to make them amends for this exclusion from offices, he left them a right to vote in the assemblies and judgments of the people; which at first seemed to be a matter of little consequence, but in time became extremely advantageous, and made them masters of all the affairs of the city; for most of the law-suits and differences returned to the people, to whom an appeal lay from all the judgments of the magistrates; and in the assemblies of the people, the greatest and most important affairs of the state, relating to peace or war, were also determined.

The Areopagus,† so called from the place where its assemblies were held, had been a long time established. Solon restored and augmented its authority, leaving to that tribunal, as the supreme court of judicature, a general inspection and superintendency over all affairs, as also the care of causing the laws, of which he was the guardian, to be observed and put in execution. Before his time, the citizens of the greatest probity and justice were made the judges of the Areopagus. Solon was the first who thought it convenient that none should be honoured with that dignity, except such as had passed through the office of archon. Nothing was so august as this senate; and its reputation for judgment and integrity became so very great, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal.‡

Nothing was regarded or attended to here but truth, and to the end that no external objects might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, or in the dark; and the orators were not allowed to make use of any exordium, digression, or peroration.

Solon, to prevent, as much as possible, the abuse which the people might make of the great authority he left them, created a second council, consisting of four hundred men, a hundred out of every tribe; and ordered all causes and affairs to be brought before this council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were proposed to the general assembly of the people; to whose judgment the sentiments of the other were to submit, and to which alone belonged the right of giving a final sentence and decision. It was upon this subject Anacharsis, whom the reputation of the sages of Greece had brought from the middle of Scythia, said one day to Solon, "I wonder you should empower the wise men only to deliberate and debate upon affairs, and leave the determination and decision of them wholly to fools."

Upon another occasion, when Solon was conversing with him upon some other regulations he had in view, Anacharsis, astonished that he could expect to succeed in his designs of restraining the avarice and injustice of the citizens by written laws, answered him in this manner: "give me leave to tell you, that your writings are just like spiders' webs; the weak and small flies may be entangled and caught in them, but the rich and powerful will break through them and despise them."

Solon, who was an able and prudent man, was very sensible of the inconveniences that attend a democracy or popular government; but having thoroughly studied, and being perfectly well acquainted with the character and disposition of the Athenians, he knew it would be a vain attempt to take the sovereignty out of the people's hands; and that, if they parted with it at one time, they would soon resume it at another, by force and violence. He therefore contented himself with limiting their power by the authority of the Areopagus, and the council of four hundred; judging that the state, being supported and strengthened by these two powerful bodies, as by two good

* Plut. in Solon, p. 83.

† This was a hill near the citadel of Athens, called Areopagus, that is to say, the hill of Mars; because it was there Mars had been tried for the murder of Haliarothius, the son of Neptune.

‡ Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1. Lucian. in Hermod. p. 535. Quintil. l. vi. c. 1.

anchors, would not be so liable to commotions and disorders as it had been, and that the people would be kept within due bounds, and enjoy more tranquillity.

I shall only mention some of the laws which Solon made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgment of the rest. In the first place, every particular person was authorized to espouse the quarrel of any one that was injured and insulted; so that the first comer might prosecute the offender, and bring him to justice for the outrage he had committed.*

The design of this wise legislator in this ordinance, was to accustom his fellow-citizens to have a fellow-feeling for one another's sufferings and misfortunes, as they were all members of one and the same body.

By another law, those persons who, in public differences and dissensions, did not declare themselves of one party or other, but waited to see how things would go before they determined, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual banishment, and to have all their estates confiscated.† Solon had learned from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich, the powerful, and even the wise and virtuous, are usually the most backward to expose themselves to the inconveniences which public dissensions and troubles produce in society; and that their zeal for the public good does not render them so active and vigilant in the defence of it, as the passions of the factious render them industrious to destroy it; that the just party, being thus abandoned by those that are capable of giving more weight, authority, and strength to it by their union and concurrence, becomes unable to contend with the audacious and violent enterprises of a few daring innovators. To prevent this misfortune, which may be attended with the most fatal consequences to a state, Solon judged it proper to force the well-affected, by the fear of greater inconveniences to themselves, to declare for the just party at the very beginning of seditions, and to animate the spirits and courage of the best citizens, by engaging with them in the common danger. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man almost as an enemy and a traitor, who should appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and sure resource against the sudden enterprises of wicked and profligate citizens.

Solon abolished the giving of portions in marriage with young women, unless they were only daughters, and ordered that the bride should carry no other fortune to her husband, than three suits of clothes, and some few household goods of little value;‡ for he would not have matrimony become a traffic, and a mere commerce of interest, but desired that it should be regarded as an honourable fellowship and society, in order to raise subjects to the state, to make the married pair live agreeably and harmoniously together, and to give continual testimony of mutual love and tenderness to each other.‡

Before Solon's time, the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills; the wealth of the deceased always devolved upon his children and family. Solon's law allowed every one that was childless, to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit; preferring, by that means, friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint, and rendering every man truly master of his own fortune, by leaving him at liberty to bestow it where he pleased. This law, however, did not authorize indifferently all sorts of donations; it justified and approved of none but those that were made freely, and without any compulsion; without having the mind distempered and intoxicated with drinks or charms, or perverted and seduced by the allurements and caresses of a woman; for this wise lawgiver was justly persuaded, that there is no difference to be made between being seduced and being forced, looking upon artifice and violence, pleasure and pain, in the same light, when they are made use of as means to impose upon men's reason, and to captivate the liberty of their understanding.

Another regulation he made, was to lessen the rewards of the victors at the Isthmian and Olympic games, and to fix them at a certain value, viz. a hundred drachms, which make about fifty livres, for the first sort;§ and five hundred drachms, or two hundred and fifty livres, for the second.|| He thought it a shameful thing, that athletæ and wrestlers, a sort of people not only useless but often dangerous to the state, should have any considerable rewards allotted to them, which ought rather to be reserved for the families of those persons who died in the service of their country; it being very just and reasonable, that the state should support and provide for such orphans, who probably might come in time to follow the good examples of their fathers.¶

* Plut. in Solon, p. 88.

† p. 89.

‡ Plut. in Solon, p. 89.

§ 89.

|| § 45.

¶ Plut. in Solon, p. 91.

Diog. Laërt. in Solon, p. 57.

In order to encourage arts, trades, and manufactures, the senate of the Areopagus was charged with the care of inquiring into the ways and means that every man made use of to get his livelihood: and of chastising and punishing all those who led an idle life. Besides the fore-mentioned view of bringing arts and trades into a flourishing condition, this regulation was founded upon two other reasons, still more important.

In the first place, Solon considered, that such persons as have no fortune, and make use of no methods of industry to get their livelihood, are ready to employ all manner of unjust and unlawful means for acquiring money; and that the necessity of subsisting some way or other disposes them for committing all sorts of misdemeanours, rapines, knaveries, and frauds; from which springs up a school of vice in the bosom of the commonwealth; and such an evil gains ground, as does not fail to spread its infection, and by degrees corrupt the manners of the public.

In the second place, the most able statesmen have always looked upon these indigent and idle people as a troop of dangerous, restless, and turbulent spirits, eager after innovation and change, always ready for seditions and insurrections, and interested in the revolutions of the state, by which alone they can hope to change their own situation and fortune. It was for all these reasons, that, in the law we are speaking of, Solon declared, that a son should not be obliged to support his father in old age or necessity, if the latter had not taken care to have his son brought up to some trade or occupation: all children that were spurious and illegitimate, were exempted from the same duty: for it is evident, says Solon, that whoever thus contemns the dignity and sanctity of matrimony has never had in view the lawful end we ought to propose to ourselves in having children, but only the gratification of a loose passion. Having satisfied his own desires, the end he proposed to himself, he has no proper right over the persons who may spring from him, upon whose lives, as well as births, he has entailed indelible infamy and reproach.

It was prohibited to speak any ill of the dead; because religion directs us to account the dead as sacred, justice requires us to spare those that are no more, and good policy should prevent hatreds from becoming immortal.*

It was also forbidden to affront, or give ill language to any body in the temples and courts of judicature, in public assemblies, and in the theatres during the time of representation, for to be no where able to govern our passions and resentments, argues too untractable and licentious a disposition; as to restrain them at all times, and upon all occasions, is a virtue beyond the mere force of human nature, a perfection reserved for the evangelical law.

Cicero observes, that this wise legislator of Athens, whose laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law against parricide; and being asked the reason why he had not, he answered, "that to make laws against, and ordain punishments for, a crime that had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it."† I omit several of his laws concerning marriage and adultery, in which there are remarkable and manifest contradictions, and a great mixture of light and darkness, knowledge and error, which we generally find among the very wisest of the heathens, who had no established principles or rules to go by.

After Solon had published his laws, and engaged the people by public oath to observe them religiously, at least for the term of a hundred years, he thought proper to remove from Athens, in order to give them time to take root, and to gather strength by custom; as also to rid himself of the trouble and impertunity of those who came to consult him about the sense and meaning of his laws, and to avoid the complaints and odium of others; for, as he said himself, in great undertakings, it is difficult if not impossible, to please all parties. He was absent ten years, in which interval of time we are to place his journey into Egypt, into Lydia to visit king Cræsus, and into several other countries. At his return he found the whole city in commotion and trouble; the three old factions were revived, and had formed three different parties: Lycurgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low-lands; Megacles, son of Alcmeon, was the leader of the inhabitants on the sea coast; and Pisistratus had declared for the mountaineers, to whom were joined the manufacturers and labourers who lived by their industry, and whose animosity was chiefly against the rich: of these three leaders, the two last were the most powerful and considerable.‡

* Plut. in Solon, p. 89.

† Spienter fecisse dicitur, cum de eo nihil sanxerit, quod antea commissum non erat; ne, non tam prohibere, quam admonere, videtur. — Pro Ros. Amer. n. 70.

‡ A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 552. Plut. in Solon, p. 94.

Megacles was the son of that Alceon, whom Cræsus had extremely enriched for a particular service he had done him. He had likewise married a lady who had brought him an immense portion; her name was Agarista, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Clisthenes was at this time the richest and most opulent prince in Greece. In order to be able to choose a worthy son-in-law, and to know his temper, manners, and character, from his own experience, Clisthenes invited all the young noblemen of Greece to come and spend a year with him at his house; for this was an ancient custom in that country. Several youths accepted the invitation, and there came from different parts to the number of thirteen. Nothing was seen every day but races, games, tournaments, magnificent entertainments, and conversations upon all sorts of questions and subjects. One of the gentlemen, who had hitherto surpassed all his competitors, lost the princess, by using some indecent gestures and postures in his dancing, with which her father was extremely offended. Clisthenes, at the end of the year, declared for Megacles, and sent the rest of the noblemen away, loaded with civilities and presents.*

Pisistratus was a well-bred man, of a gentle and insinuating behaviour, ready to succour and assist the poor;† wise and moderate towards his enemies; a most artful and accomplished dissembler; and one who had all the exterior of virtue, even beyond the most virtuous; who seemed to be the most zealous stickler for equality among the citizens, and who absolutely declared against innovations and change.‡

It was not very hard for him to impose upon the people, with all his artifice and address. But Solon quickly saw through his disguise, and perceived the drift of all his seeming virtue and fair pretences; however, he thought fit to observe measures with him in the beginning, hoping, perhaps, by gentle methods, to bring him back to his duty.

It was at this time Thespis began to change the Grecian tragedy;§ I say change, because it was invented long before.|| This novelty drew all the world after it. Solon went among the rest for the sake of hearing Thespis, who acted himself, according to the custom of the ancient poets. When the play was ended, he called to Thespis, and asked him, "Why he was not ashamed to utter such lies before so many people?" Thespis made answer, "that there was no harm in lies of that sort, and in poetical fictions, which were only made for diversion." "No," replied Solon, giving a great stroke with his stick upon the ground; "but if we suffer and approve of lying for our diversion, it will quickly find its way into our serious engagements, and all our business and affairs."

In the meantime, Pisistratus still pushed on his point; and in order to accomplish it, made use of a stratagem that succeeded as well as he could expect.¶

He gave himself several wounds; and in that condition, with his body all bloody, caused himself to be carried in a chariot into the market place, where he raised and inflamed the populace, by giving them to understand that his enemies had treated him in that manner, and that he was the victim of his zeal for the public good.**

An assembly of the people was immediately convened, and there it was resolved, in spite of all the remonstrances Solon could make against it, that fifty guards should be allowed Pisistratus for the security of his person. He soon augmented the number as much as he thought fit, and by their means made himself master of the citadel. All his enemies betook themselves to flight, and the whole city was in great consternation and disorder, except Solon, who loudly reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and folly, and the tyrant with his treachery. Upon his being asked, what it was that gave him so much firmness and resolution? "It is," said he, "my old age." He was indeed very old, and did not seem to risk much, as the end of his life was very near; though it often happens, that men grow fonder of life, in proportion as they have less reason and right to desire that it should be prolonged. But Pisistratus, after he had subdued all, thought his conquest imperfect, till he had gained Solon; and as he was well acquainted with the means that are proper to engage an old man, he caressed him accordingly; omitted nothing that could tend to soften and win upon

* Herod. l. vi. c. 125—131.

† We are not here to understand such as begged or asked alms; for in those times, says Isocrates, there was no citizen who died of hunger, or dishonoured his city by begging.—Orat. Areop. p. 309.

‡ Plut. in Solon, p. 95.

§ Plut. in Solon, p. 95.

|| Tragedy was in being a long time before Thespis; but it was only a chorus of persons that sung and said opprobrious things to one another. Thespis was the first that improved this chorus, by the addition of a personage or character, who, in order to give the rest time to take breath, and to recover their spirits, recited an adventure of some illustrious person. And this recital gave occasion afterwards for introducing the subjects of tragedies.

¶ Herod. l. i. c. 59—64.

** Plut. in Solon, p. 95, 96.

him, and showed him all possible marks of friendship and esteem, doing him all manner of honour, having him often about his person, and publicly professing a great veneration for the laws, which in truth he both observed himself, and caused to be observed by others. Solon, seeing it was impossible either to bring Pisistratus by fair means to renounce this usurpation, or to depose him by force, thought it a point of prudence not to exasperate the tyrant by rejecting the advances he made him; and hoped, at the same time, that by entering into his confidence and counsels, he might at least be capable of conducting a power which he could not abolish, and of mitigating the mischief and calamity which he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not survive the liberty of his country quite two years: for Pisistratus made himself master of Athens under the archon Comias, the first year of the 51st Olympiad, and Solon died the year following, under the archon Hegestratus who succeeded Comias.

The two parties, whose leaders were Lycurgus and Megacles, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of Athens; where he was soon recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. But a difference that arose upon occasion of this match having embroiled them afresh, the Alcæonidæ had the worst of it; and were obliged to retire. Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself. His artifices acquired him his power, and his moderation maintained him in it; and without doubt, his eloquence, which even in Tully's judgment was very great, rendered him very acceptable to the Athenians, who were but too apt to be affected with the charms of discourse, as it made them forget the care of their liberty.* An exact submission to the laws distinguished Pisistratus from most other usurpers; and the mildness of his government was such as might make many a lawful sovereign blush. For which reason the character of Pisistratus was thought worthy of being set in opposition to that of other tyrants. Cicero, doubting what use Cæsar would make of his victory at Pharsalia, wrote to his dear friend Atticus, "We do not yet know whether the destiny of Rome will have us groan under a Phalaris, or live under a Pisistratus.†

This tyrant, if indeed we are to call him so, always showed himself very popular and moderate, and had such a command of his temper, as to bear reproaches and insults with patience, when he had it in his power to revenge them with a word‡. His gardens and orchards were open to all the citizens; in which he was afterwards imitated by Cimon. It is said he was the first who opened a public library in Athens,§ which after his time was much augmented, and at last carried into Persia by Xerxes, when he took that city.|| But Seleucus Nicanor, a long time afterwards, restored it to Athens. Cicero thinks also, it was Pisistratus who first made the Athenians acquainted with the poems of Homer; who arranged the books in the order we now find them; whereas before they were confused, and not digested; and who first caused them to be publicly read at their feasts, called Panathenea.¶ Plato ascribes this honour to his son Hipparchus.**

Pisistratus died in tranquillity, and transmitted to his sons the sovereign power, which he had usurped thirty years before; seventeen of which he had reigned in peace.††

His sons were Hippias and Hipparchus.‡‡ Thucydides adds a third, whom he calls Thessalus. They seemed to have inherited from their father an affection for learning and learned men. Plato, who attributes to Hipparchus what we have said concerning the poems of Homer, adds that he invited to Athens the famous poet Anacreon, who was of Teos, a city of Ionia; and that he sent a vessel of fifty oars on purpose for him.§§ He likewise entertained at his house Simonides, another famous poet of the isle of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, to whom he gave a large pension, and made very rich presents. The design of these princes in inviting men of letters to Athens was, says Plato, to soften and cultivate the minds of the citizens, and to infuse into them a relish and love of virtue, by giving them a taste for learning and the sciences. Their care extended even to the instructing of the peasants and country people, by erecting, not only in the streets of the city,

* Pisistratus dicendo tantum valuisse dicitur, ut ei Athenienses regium imperium oratione capti permitterent. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

Quis doctior iisdem temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia literis instructior fuisse traditur, quam Pisistrati:—Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 137.

† Incertum est Phalarimne, an Pisistratum, sit imitaturus.—Ad. Attic. l. vii. Ep. xix.

‡ Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

§ Athen. l. xii. p. 532.

¶ Aul. Gcl. l. vi. c. 17.

¶¶ Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 137.

** In Hipparch. p. 228.

†† Arist. lib. de Rep. c. 12.

‡‡ A. M. 3473. Ant. J. C. 526.

§§ In Hip. p. 228, 229.

but in all the roads and highways, statues of stones, called Mercuries, with grave sentences carved upon them; in which manner those silent monitors gave instructive lessons to all passengers. Plato seems to suppose, that Hipparchus had the authority, or that the two brothers reigned together. But Thucydides shows that Hippias, as the eldest of the sons, succeeded his father in the government.*

Be this as it may, their reign in the whole, after the death of Pisistratus, was only of eighteen years duration, and ended in the following manner.

Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship. Hipparchus, angry with the former for a personal affront he pretended to have received from him, sought to revenge himself by a public affront to his sister, in obliging her shamefully to retire from a solemn procession, in which she was to carry one of the sacred baskets, alleging that she was not in a fit condition to assist at such a ceremony. Her brother, and still more his friend, being stung to the quick by so gross and outrageous an affront, formed, from that moment, a resolution to attack the tyrants. And to do it the more effectually, they waited for the opportunity of a festival, which they judged would be very favourable for their purpose: this was the feast of the Panathenea, in which the ceremony required that all the tradesmen and artificers should be under arms. For the greater security, they only admitted a very small number of the citizens into their secret; conceiving that, upon the first motion, all the rest would join them. The day being come, they went betimes into the market-place, armed with daggers. Hippias came out of the palace, and went to the Ceramicum, which was a place without the city, where the company of guards then were, to give the necessary orders for the ceremony. The two friends followed him thither, and coming near him, they saw one of the conspirators talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend they were betrayed. They could have executed their design that moment upon Hippias; but were willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of the affront they had received. They therefore returned into the city, where meeting with Hipparchus, they killed him; but being immediately apprehended, themselves were slain, and Hippias found means to dispel the storm.†

After this affair he regarded no measures, and reigned like a true tyrant putting to death a vast number of citizens. To guard himself for the future against a like enterprise, and to secure a safe retreat in case of any accident, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by a foreign support, and, to that end, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampsacus.

In the mean time, the Alcæonidæ, who, from the beginning of the revolution, had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus, and who saw their hopes frustrated by the bad success of the last conspiracy, did not however lose courage, but turned their views another way.‡ As they were very rich and powerful, they got themselves appointed by the Amphictyons, who were the heads of the grand or general council of Greece, superintendents for rebuilding the temple of Delphos, for the sum of three hundred talents, or nine hundred thousand livres.§ As they were naturally very generous, and besides had their reasons for being so on this occasion, they added to this sum a great deal of their own money, and made the whole front of the temple of Parian marble, at their private expense; whereas, by the contract made with the Amphictyons, it was only to have been made of common stone.

The liberality of the Alcæonidæ was not altogether a free bounty; neither was their magnificence towards the god of Delphos a pure effect of religion. Policy was the chief motive. They hoped, by this means, to acquire great credit and influence in the temple, which happened according to their expectation. The money which they had plentifully poured into the hands of the priestess, rendered them absolute masters of the oracle, and of the pretended god who presided over it, and who, for the future, becoming their echo, faithfully repeated the words they dictated to him, and gratefully lent them the assistance of his voice and authority. As often, therefore, as any Spartan came to consult the priestess, whether upon his own affairs, or upon those of the state, no promise was ever made him of the god's assistance, but upon condition that the Lacedæmonians should deliver Athens from the yoke of tyranny. This order was so often repeated to them by the oracle, that they resolved at last to make war against the Pisistratidæ, though they were under the strongest

* Thucyd. l. vi. p. 225.

† Herod. l. v. c. 62—96.

‡ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446—450.

§ About 8177,777.

engagements of friendship and hospitality with them; herein preferring the will of God, says Herodotus, to all human considerations.*

The first attempt of this kind miscarried; and the troops they sent against the tyrants were repulsed with loss. Notwithstanding, a short time after, they made a second, which seemed to promise no better an issue than the first; because most of the Lacedæmonians, seeing the siege they had laid before Athens likely to continue a great while, retired, and left only a small number of troops to carry it on. But the tyrant's children, who had been clandestinely conveyed out of the city, in order to be put in a safe place, being taken by the enemy, the father, to redeem them, was obliged to come to an accommodation with the Athenians, by which it was stipulated, that he should depart out of Attica in five days' time. Accordingly, he actually retired within the time limited, and settled at Sigæum, a town in Phrygia, seated at the mouth of the river Scamander.†

Pliny observes, that the tyrants were driven out of Athens the same year the kings were expelled from Rome.‡ Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Their names were infinitely respected at Athens in all succeeding ages, and almost held in equal reverence with those of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour that had never been rendered to any man before. The very sight of these statues, exposed to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and detestation of tyranny, and daily renewed their sentiments of gratitude to those generous defenders of their liberty, who had not scrupled to purchase it with their lives, and to seal it with their blood. Alexander the Great, who knew how dear the memory of these men was to the Athenians, and how far they carried their zeal in this respect, thought he did them a sensible pleasure in sending them the statues of those two great men, which he found in Persia after the defeat of Darius, and which Xerxes before had carried thither from Athens.§ This city, at the time of her deliverance from tyranny, did not confine her gratitude solely to the authors of her liberty; but extended it even to a woman, who had signalized her courage on that occasion. This woman was a courtesan, named Leona, who, by the charms of her beauty, and skill in playing on the harp, had particularly captivated Harmodius and Aristogiton. After their death, the tyrant, who knew they had concealed nothing from this woman, caused her to be put to the torture, in order to make her declare the names of the other conspirators. But she bore all the cruelty of their torments with an invincible constancy, and expired in the midst of them; gloriously showing to the world, that her sex is more courageous, and more capable of keeping a secret, than some men imagine. The Athenians would not suffer the memory of so heroic an action to be lost: and to prevent the lustre of it from being sullied by the consideration of her character as a courtesan, they endeavoured to conceal that circumstance, by representing her in the statue, which they erected to her honour, under the figure of a lioness without a tongue.||

Plutarch, in the life of Aristides, relates a thing which does great honour to the Athenians, and which shows to what a length they carried their gratitude to their deliverer, and their respect for his memory. They had learned that the granddaughter of Aristogiton lived at Lemnon, in very mean and poor circumstances, nobody being willing to marry her, upon account of her extreme indigence and poverty. The people of Athens sent for her, and marrying her to one of the richest and most considerable men of their city, gave her an estate in land in the town of Potamos for her portion.¶

Athens seemed, in recovering her liberty, to have also recovered her courage. During the reigns of her tyrants she had acted with indolence and indifference, knowing that what she did was not for herself, but for them. But after her deliverance from their yoke, the vigour and activity she exerted was of quite a different kind, because then her labours were her own.

Athens, however, did not immediately enjoy a perfect tranquillity. Two of her citizens, Clisthenes, one of the Alcæonidæ, and Isagoras, who were men of the greatest influence and power in the city, by contending with each other for superiority, created two considerable factions. The former, who had gained the people on his side, made an alteration in the form of their establishment, and instead of four tribes, whereof they consisted before, divided that body into ten tribes, to which he gave the

* Τὸ γὰρ τῆ Θεῶν προσεβύτερον ἰσχυροῦτο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

† A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.

‡ Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

§ Plin. l. vii. c. 23, et l. xxxiv. c. 8.

¶ Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 4.

¶ Page 335.

names of the ten sons of Ion, whom the Greek historians make the father and first founder of the nation. Isagoras, finding himself inferior to his rival, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta obliged Clisthenes to depart from Athens, with seven hundred families of his adherents. But they soon returned, and were restored to all their estates and fortunes.

The Lacedæmonians, stung with spite and jealousy against Athens, because she took upon her to act independent of their authority; and repenting also, that they had delivered her from her tyrants upon the credit of an oracle, of which they had since discovered the imposture, began to think of reinstating Hippias, one of the sons of Pisistratus; and to that end sent for him from Sigæum, to which place he had retired. They then communicated their design to the deputies of their allies, whose assistance and concurrence they proposed to use, in order to render their enterprise more successful.

The deputy of Corinth spoke first on this occasion, and expressed great astonishment, that the Lacedæmonians, who were themselves avowed enemies of tyranny, and professed the greatest abhorrence for all arbitrary government, should desire to establish it elsewhere; describing at the same time, in a lively manner, all the cruel and horrid effects of tyrannical government, which his own country, Corinth, had but very lately felt by woful experience. The rest of the deputies applauded his discourse, and were of his opinion. Thus the enterprise came to nothing; and had no other effect, than to discover the base jealousy of the Lacedæmonians, and to cover them with shame and confusion.

Hippias, defeated in his hopes, retired into Asia to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured, by every method, to engage in a war against Athens; representing to him, that the taking of so rich and powerful a city would render him master of all Greece. Artaphernes hereupon required of the Athenians, that they would reinstate Hippias in the government; to which they made no other answer than a downright and absolute refusal. This was the original ground and occasion of the wars between the Persians and the Greeks, which will be the subject of the the following volumes.

ARTICLE IX.

ILLUSTRIOUS MEN, WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I BEGIN with the poets, because the most ancient.

Homer, the most celebrated and illustrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the least knowledge, either with respect to the country where he was born, or the time in which he lived. Among the seven cities of Greece that contend for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna seems to have the best title.

Herodotus tells us, that Homer wrote four hundred years before his time, that is, three hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy; for Herodotus flourished seven hundred and forty years after that expedition.*

Some authors have pretended, that he was called Homer, because he was born blind. Velleius Paterculus rejects this story with contempt. "If any man," says he, "believes that Homer was born blind, he must be so himself, and even have lost all his senses."† Indeed, according to the observation of Cicero, Homer's works are rather pictures than poems, so perfectly does he paint to the life, and set the images of every thing he undertakes to describe before the eyes of the reader; and he seems to have been intent upon introducing all the most delightful and agreeable objects that nature affords, into his writings, and to make them, in a manner, pass in a review before his readers.‡

What is most astonishing in this poet is, that having applied himself the first, at least of those that are known, to that kind of poetry which is the most sublime and difficult of all, he should, however, soar so high, and with such rapidity, as to carry it at once to the utmost perfection; which seldom or never happens in other arts, but by slow degrees, and after a long series of years.§

* Lib. ii. c. 53. A. M. 3160. Ant. J. C. 844.

† Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbis est.—Paterc. l. i. c. 5.

‡ Tuscul. Quæst. l. v. n. 114.

§ Clarissimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, sine exemplo maximum: qui magnitudine operis, et fulgore carminum, solus appellari Poëta meruit. In quo hoc maximum est, quod neque ante illum, quem ille imitaretur; neque post illum, qui imitari eum possit, inventus est; neque quemquam alium, cujus operis primus auctor fuerit, in eo perfectissimum, præter Homerum et Archilochum reperiemus.—Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 5.

The kind of poetry we are speaking of, is the epic poem, so called from the Greek word *ἔπος*; because it is an action related by the poet. The subject of this poem must be great, instructive, serious, containing only one principal event, to which all the rest must refer and be subordinate; and this principal action must have passed in a certain space of time, which must not exceed a year at most.

Homer has composed two poems of this kind, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: the subject of the first is the anger of Achilles, so pernicious to the Greeks, when they besieged Ilion or Troy; and that of the second is, the voyages and adventures of Ulysses, after the taking of that city.

It is remarkable that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poems comparable to his; and that whoever have attempted any works of that kind, have taken their plan and ideas from Homer, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only succeeded in proportion to their success in copying him. The truth is, Homer was an original genius, and a fit model for the formation of others; *Fons ingeniorum Homerus*.*

The greatest men, and the most exalted geniuses, that have appeared for these two thousand and five or six hundred years, in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere; those, whose writings we are forced still to admire; who are still our masters, and who teach us to think, to reason, to speak, and to write; all these, says Madame Dacier, acknowledge Homer to be the greatest of poets, and look upon his poems as the model after which all succeeding poets should form their taste and judgment.† After all this, can there be any man so conceited of his own talents, be they ever so great, as reasonably to presume, that his decisions should prevail against such an universal concurrence of judgment in persons of the most distinguished abilities and characters?

So many testimonies, so ancient, so constant, and so universal, entirely justify the favourable judgment of Alexander the Great, of the works of Homer, which he looked upon as the most excellent and valuable production of human wit; *pretiosissimum humana animi opus*.‡

Quintilian, after having made a magnificent encomium upon Homer, gives us a just idea of his character and manner of writing in these few words: *Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superaverit. Idem lætus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis*. In great things, what a sublimity of expression! and in little, what a justness and propriety! diffusive and concise, pleasant and grave, equally admirable both for his copiousness and his brevity.§

HESIOD. The most common opinion is, that he was cotemporary with Homer. It is said, that he was born at Cumæ, a town in Æolia, but that he was brought up at Ascra, a little town in Bœotia, which has since passed for his native country. Thus Virgil calls him the old man of Ascra.|| We know little or nothing of this poet, but by the few remaining poems of his, all in hexameter verse; which are, 1st, "The Works and Days;" 2dly, "The Theogony;" or, the Genealogy of the gods; 3dly, "The Shield of Hercules;" which, by some, is doubted to have been written by Hesiod.

1. In the first of these poems, entitled "The Works and Days," Hesiod treats of agriculture, which requires, besides a great deal of labour, a prudent observation of times, seasons, and days. This poem is full of excellent sentences and maxims for the conduct of life. He begins it with a short but lively description of two sorts of disputes; the one fatal to mankind, the source of quarrels, discords and wars; and the other, infinitely useful and beneficial to man, as it sharpens their wits, excites a noble and generous emulation among them, and prepares the way for the invention and improvement of arts and sciences. He then gives an admirable description of the four different ages of the world; the golden, the silver, the brazen and the iron age. The persons who lived in the golden age, are those whom Jupiter after their death, turned into so many Genii¶ or spirits, and then appointed them as guardians over mankind, giving them a permission to go up and down the earth, invisible to men, and to observe all their good and evil actions.

This poem was Virgil's model in composing his *Georgics*, as he himself acknowledges in this verse:

*Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.***
 "And sing the Ascraean verse to Roman swains."

* Plin. l. xvii. c. 5.

† In Homer's Life, which is prefixed to her translation of the *Iliad*.

‡ Plin. l. xvii. c. 29.

§ Quint. l. x. c. 1.

|| Eclog. vi. v. 70.

¶ *Δαίμονες*.

** Geor. l. ii. v. 170.

The choice made by these two illustrious poets of this subject for the exercise of their muse, shows in what honour the ancients held agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, the two innocent sources of wealth and plenty. It is much to be deplored, that, in after ages, men departed from a taste so agreeable to nature, and so well adapted to the preservation of innocence and good manners. Avarice and luxury have entirely banished it from the world. *Nimirum alii subiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum delinunt, et avaritiæ tantum artes coluntur.**

2. "The Theogony" of Hesiod, and the poems of Homer, may be looked upon as the surest and most authentic archives and monuments of the theology of the ancients, and of the opinion they had of their gods. For we are not to suppose, that these poets were inventors of the fables which we read in their writings. They only collected, and transmitted to posterity, the doctrines of the religion which they found established, and which prevailed in their time and country.

3. "The Shield of Hercules" is a separate fragment of a poem, wherein, it is pretended, Hesiod celebrated the most illustrious heroines of antiquity; and it bears that title, because it contains, among other things, a long description of the Shield of Hercules, concerning whom the same poem relates a particular adventure.

The poetry of Hesiod, in those places that are susceptible of ornament, is very elegant and delightful, but not so sublime and lofty as that of Homer. Quintilian reckons him the chief in the middle manner of writing. *Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.†*

ARCHILOCHUS. The poet Archilochus, born in Paros, inventor of the iambic verse, lived in the time of Candaules, king of Lydia.‡ He has this advantage in common with Homer, according to Velleius Paterculus, that he carried at once that kind of poetry, which he invented, to a very great perfection. The feet which gave their name to these verses, and which at first were the only sort used, are composed of one short and one long syllable. The iambic verse, such as was invented by Archilochus, seems very proper for the vehement and energetic style: accordingly we see, that Horace, speaking of this poet, says, that it was his anger, or rather his rage, that armed him with his iambs, for the exercising and exerting of his vengeance.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.§

And Quintilian says, he had an uncommon force of expression; was full of bold thoughts, and of those strokes that are short, but keen and piercing; in a word, his style was strong and nervous.|| The longest of his poems were said to be the best.¶ The same judgment has been universally passed upon the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero; the latter of whom says the same of the letters of his friend Atticus.

The verses of Archilochus were extremely biting and licentious; witness those he wrote against Lycambes, his father-in-law, which drove him to despair.** For these two reasons, his poetry, however excellent it was esteemed in other respects, was discountenanced in Sparta, as being more likely to corrupt the hearts and manners of young people, than to be useful in cultivating their understanding.†† We have only some very short fragments that remain of this poet. Such delicacy in a heathen people, in regard to the quality of the books which they thought young people should be permitted to read, is highly worthy of our notice, and justly reproaches many Christians.

HIPPONAX. This poet was of Ephesus, and signalized his wit some years after Archilochus, in the same kind of poetry, and with the same force and vehemence. He was ugly, little, lean, and slender.‡‡ Two celebrated sculptors and brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, (some called the latter Anthermus,) diverted themselves at his expense, and represented him in a ridiculous form. It is dangerous to attack satiric poets. Hipponax retorted their pleasantry with such keen strokes of satire, that

* Plin. in Præm. l. xiv.

† Lib. i. c. 5.

‡ A. M. 3280. Ant. J. C. 724.

§ Art. Poët. v. 79.

|| Summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cum validæ tum breves vibrantesque sententiæ, plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum.—Quint. l. x. c. 1.

¶ Ut Aristophani Archilochi iambus, sic epistola longissima quæque optima videtur.—Cic. Epist. xi. l. 16. ad Atticum.

** Hor. Epod. Od. vi. et Epist. xix. l. i.

†† Lacedæmonii libros Archilochi e civitate sua exportari jusserunt, quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. No luerunt enim ea liberorum suorum animos imbuti, ne plus moribus noceret, quam ingenii prodesset. Itaque maximum poetam, aut certe summo proximum, quia domum sibi invisum obscenis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio mulctarunt.—Vell. Pat. l. vi. c. 3.

‡‡ Hipponacti notabilis vultus fœditas erat: quamobrem imaginem ejus lascivia jocorum ii proposuere ridendum circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum distinxit in tantum, ut edatur ali quibus ad laqueum eos impulsisse: quod falsum est.—Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

they hanged themselves out of mortification: others say, they only quitted the city of Ephesus, where Hipponax lived. His malignant pen did not spare even those to whom he owed his life. How monstrous was this! Horace joins Hipponax with Archilochus, and represents them as two poets equally dangerous.* In the Anthologia† there are three or four epigrams, which describe Hipponax as terrible, even after death. They admonish travellers to avoid his tomb, as a place from whence a dreadful hail perpetually pours: *Φεύγε τὸν χαλκῆσπι τᾶρον, τὸν φεικτόν: Fuge grandinantem tumulum, horrendum.*‡

It is thought he invented the Scazon verse, in which the spondee is used instead of the iambus, in the sixth foot of the verse which bears that name.

STESICHORUS. He was of Himera, a town in Sicily, and excelled in lyric poetry, as did those other poets we are about to mention. Lyric poetry is that in which the verses, arranged into odes and stanzas, were sung to the lyre, or to other such like instruments. Stesichorus flourished between the 37th and 47th Olympiad. Pausanias, after many other fables, relates, that Stesichorus, having been punished with the loss of sight for his satirical verses against Helena, did not recover it till he had retraced his invectives, by writing another ode contrary to the first; which latter kind of ode is since called palinodia.§ Quintilian says, that he sung of wars and illustrious heroes, and that he supported upon the lyre all the dignity and majesty of epic poetry.||

ALCMAN. He was of Lacedæmon, or according to some, of Sardis in Lydia, and lived much about the same time as Stesichorus. Some make him the first author of amorous verses.

ALCÆUS. He was born at Mitylene in Lesbos: it is from him that the Alcaic verse derived its name. He was a professed enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, and particularly to Pittacus, against whom he perpetually inveighed in his verses. It is said of him, that being once in a battle, he was seized with such fear and terror, that he threw down his arms and ran away.¶ Horace has thought fit to give us the same account of himself.** Poets do not value themselves so much upon prowess as upon wit. Quintilian says, that the style of Alcæus was close, magnificent, and accurate; and to complete his character, adds, that he very much resembled Homer.††

SIMONIDES. This poet was of the island of Ceos, in the Ægean sea. He continued to flourish at the time of Xerxes's expedition. He excelled principally in funeral elegy.‡‡ The invention of local memory is ascribed to him, of which I have spoken elsewhere.§§ At twenty-four years of age, he contended for and carried the prize of poetry.

The answer he gave to Hiero, king of Syracuse, who asked him what God was, is much celebrated. The poet desired a day to consider the question proposed to him. On the morrow he asked two days; and whenever he was called upon for his answer, he still doubled the time. The king surprised at this behaviour, demanded his reason for it. It is, replied Simonides, because the more I consider the question, the more obscure it seems: *Quia quanto diutius considero, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.*§§ The answer was wise, if it proceeded from the high idea which he conceived of the Divine Majesty, which no understanding can comprehend, nor any tongue express.||||

After having travelled to many cities of Asia, and amassed considerable wealth, by celebrating in his verses the praises of those who were capable of rewarding him

* ———— In malos asperimus

Parata tollo coïna:

Qualis Lycambæ spretus infido gener,

Aut acer hostis Bupalò. —Epod. vi.

† Anthol. l. iii.

‡ Pans. in Lacon. p. 200.

§ Stesichorum, quam sit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimas canentem duces, et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem.—Lib. x. c. 1.

|| Herod. l. v. c. 95.

¶ Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam

Sensi, relicta non bene parmula.—Hor. Od. vii. 1, 2.

** In eloquendo brevis et magnificus et diligens, plerumque Homero similis.

†† Sed me relictus, Musa proeas, jocis

Cææ retractes munera nânæ.—Horat.

Mæstius lacrymis Simonideis.—Catull.

‡‡ Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres.

§§ Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 15.

|||| Certe hoc est Deus, quod et enim dicitur, non potest dici: cum æstimatur, non potest æstimari, cum comparatur, non potest comparari; cum definitur, ipsa definitione crescit.—S. Aug. serm. de temp. cix.

Nobis ad intellectum pectus angustum est. Et ideo sic eum (Deum) digne æstimamus, dum inæstimabilem dicimus. Elequat quemadmodum sentio. Magnitudinem Dei qui se putat nôsse, minuit: qui non vult minuere, non novit.—Minut. Felix.

well, he embarked for the island of Ceos, his native country. The ship was cast away. Every one endeavoured to save what he could. Simonides took no care of any thing; and when he was asked the reason for it, he replied, "I carry all I have about me:" *Mecum, inquit, mea sunt cuncta.* Several of the company were drowned by the weight of the things they attempted to save, and those who got to shore were robbed by thieves. All that escaped went to Clazomenæ, which was not far from the place where the vessel was lost. One of the citizens, who loved learning, and had read the poems of Simonides with great admiration, was excessively pleased, and thought it an honour to receive him into his house. He supplied him abundantly with necessaries, while the rest were obliged to beg through the city: The poet, upon meeting them, did not forget to observe how justly he had answered them, in regard to his effects: *Divi, inquit, mea mecum esse cuncta; vos quod rapuistis, perit.**

He was reproached with having dishonoured poetry by his avarice, in making his pen venal, and not composing any verses till he had agreed on the price of them. In Aristotle we find a proof of this, which does him no honour. A person who had won the prize in the chariot races, desired Simonides to compose a song of triumph upon that subject. The poet, not thinking the reward sufficient, replied, that he could not treat it well. This prize had been won by mules, and he pretended that animal did not afford the proper matter for praise. Greater offers were made him, which ennobled the mule, and the poem was written. Money has long had power to bestow nobility and beauty:

Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat.

As this animal is generated between a she-ass and a horse, the poet, as Aristotle observes, considered them at first, only on the base side of their pedigree. But money made him take them in the other light, and he styled them "illustrious foals of rapid steeds:" *Χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων ἑβύστες; ἵππων.†*

SAPPHO. She was of the same place, and lived at the same time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verse took its name from her. She composed a considerable number of poems, of which there are but two remaining; which are sufficient to satisfy us that the praises given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic softness, numbers, harmony, and infinite graces of her poetry, are not without foundation. As a farther proof of her merits she was called the tenth muse; and the people of Mitylene engraved her image upon their money. It is to be wished, that the purity of her manners had been equal to the beauty of her genius, and that she had not dishonoured her sex by her vices and irregularities.

ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He lived in the 72nd Olympiad. Anacreon spent a great part of his time at the court of Polycrates, that happy tyrant of Samos: and not only shared in all his pleasures, but was of his council.‡ Plato tells us, that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a vessel of fifty oars for Anacreon, and wrote him a most obliging letter, entreating him to come to Athens, where his excellent works would be esteemed and relished as they deserved.§ It is said, the only study of this poet was joy and pleasure: and those remains we have of his poetry sufficiently confirm it. We see plainly in all his verses, that his hand writes what his heart feels and dictates. It is impossible to express the elegance and delicacy of his poems; nothing could be more estimable, had their object been more noble.

THESPIAS. He was the first inventor of tragedy. I defer speaking of him till I come to give some account of the tragic poets.

OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN OF GREECE.

THESE men are too famous in antiquity to be omitted in the present history. Their lives are written by Diogenes Laërtius.

THALES, the Milesian. If Cicero is to be believed, Thales was the most illustrious of the seven wise men.|| It was he that laid the first foundations of philosophy in Greece, and gave rise to the sect called the Ionic sect; because he the founder of it, was born in the country of Ionia.

He held water to be the first principle of all things; and that God was that intelligent being, by whom all things were formed from water.¶ The first of these opinions he had borrowed from the Egyptians, who, seeing the Nile to be the cause of

* Phædr. l. iv.

† Rhet. l. iii. c. 2.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 121.

§ Hipparch. p. 228, 229.

|| *Princeps Thales, unus e septem, cui sex reliquos concessisse primas ferunt.*—Lib. iv. Acad. Que. t. n. 1. 3.

¶ Lib. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 25.

the fertility of all their lands, might easily imagine from thence, that water was the principle of all things.

He was the first of the Greeks that studied astronomy; he had exactly foretold the time of the eclipse of the sun that happened in the reign of Astyages, king of Media, which has been already mentioned.

He was also the first that fixed the term and duration of the solar year among the Grecians. By comparing the size of the sun's body with that of the moon; he thought he had discovered that the body of the moon was in solidity but the 720th part of the sun's body. This computation is very far from being true, as the sun's solidity exceeds not only 700 times, but many millions of times, the moon's magnitude or solidity. But we know, that in all these matters, and particularly in that of which we are now speaking, the first observations and discoveries were very imperfect.

When Thales travelled into Egypt, he discovered an easy and certain method for taking the exact height of the pyramids, by observing the time when the shadow of a body is equal in length to the height of the body itself.*

To show that philosophers were not so destitute, as some people imagined, of that sort of talents and capacity which is proper for business; and that they would be as successful as others in growing rich, if they thought fit to apply themselves that way, he bought the fruit of all the olive-trees in the territory of Miletus, before they were in blossom. The profound knowledge he had of nature, had probably enabled him to foresee that the year would be extremely fertile. It proved so in effect, and he made a considerable profit by his bargain.†

He used to thank the gods for three things: that he was born a reasonable creature, and not a beast; a man, and not a woman; a Greek, and not a barbarian. Upon his mother's pressing him to marry when he was young, he told her it was then too soon: and after several years were elapsed, he told her it was then too late.

As he was once walking, and very attentively contemplating the stars, he chanced to fall into a ditch. Ha! says a good old woman that was by, how will you perceive what passes in the heavens, and what is so infinitely above your head, if you cannot see what is just at your feet, and before your nose?

He was born the first year of the 35th, and died the first year of the 58th Olympiad; consequently he lived to be above ninety years of age.‡

SOLON. His life has been already related at length.

CHILO. He was a Lacedæmonian; very little is related of him. Æsop asked him one day, how Jupiter employed himself? "In humbling those," said he, "that exalt themselves, and exalting those that abase themselves."

He died of joy at Pisa, upon seeing his son gain the prize of boxing, at the Olympic games. He said when he was dying, that he was not conscious to himself of having committed any fault during the whole course of his life; an opinion well becoming the pride and blindness of a heathen philosopher; unless it was once, by having made use of a little dissimulation and evasion, in giving judgment in favour of a friend: in which action he did not know whether he had done well or ill. He died about the 52d Olympiad.

PITTACUS. He was of Mitylene, a city of Lesbos. Joining with the brothers of Alcæus, the famous lyric poet, and with Alcæus himself, who was at the head of the exiled party, he expelled from that island the tyrants who had usurped the government.

The inhabitants of Mitylene being at war with the Athenians, gave Pittacus the command of the army. To spare the blood of his fellow citizens, he offered to fight Phrynon, the enemy's general, in single combat. The challenge was accepted. Pittacus was victorious, and killed his adversary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, with unanimous consent conferred the sovereignty of the city upon him, which he accepted, and behaved himself with so much moderation and wisdom, that he was always respected and beloved by his subjects.

In the meantime, Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not spare Pittacus in his verses, notwithstanding the mildness of his government and temper, but inveighed severely against him. The poet afterwards fell into the hands of Pittacus, who was so far from taking revenge, that he gave him his liberty, and showed by that act of clemency and generosity, that he was only a tyrant in name.

After having governed ten years with great equity and wisdom, he voluntarily re-

* Flin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

† Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 111.

‡ A. M. 3457. Ant. J. C. 547.

signed his authority, and retired. He used to say, that the proof of a good government was, to engage the subjects, not to be afraid of their prince, but to be afraid for him.* It was a maxim with him, that no man should ever give himself the liberty of speaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. He died in the 52d Olympiad.

BIAS. We know but very little of Bias. He obliged Alyattes, king of Lydia, by stratagem, to raise the siege of Priene, where he was born. This city was hard pressed with famine; upon which he caused two mules to be fattened, and contrived a way to have them pass into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in astonished the king, who thereupon sent deputies into the city upon pretence of offering terms of peace, but really to observe the state of the town and the people. Bias, surmising their errand, ordered the granaries to be filled with great heaps of sand, and those heaps to be covered over with corn. When the deputies returned, and made report to the king of the great plenty of provision they had seen in the city, he hesitated no longer, but concluded a treaty, and raised the siege. One of the maxims Bias particularly taught and recommended was, to do all the good we can, and ascribe all the glory of it to the gods.†

CLEOBULUS. We know as little of this wise man, as of the former. He was born at Lindos, a town in the isle of Rhodes, or according to some, in Caria. He invited Solon to come and live with him, when Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty of Athens.

PERIANDER. He was numbered among the wise men, though he was a tyrant of Corinth. When he had first made himself master of that city, he wrote to Thrasymbulus, tyrant of Miletus, to know what measures he should take with his newly acquired subjects. The latter, without any other answer, led the messenger into a field of wheat, where, in walking along, he beat down with his cane all the ears of corn that were higher than the rest. Periander perfectly well understood the meaning of this enigmatical answer, which was a tacit intimation to him, that, in order to secure his own life, he should cut off the most eminent of the Corinthian citizens. But if we may believe Plutarch, Periander did not approve so cruel an advice.‡

He wrote circular letters to all the wise men, inviting them to pass some time with him at Corinth, as they had done the year before at Sardis with Cræsus.§ Princes, in those days, thought themselves highly honoured, when they could have such guests in their houses. Plutarch describes an entertainment which Periander gave to these illustrious guests, and observes at the same time, that the decent simplicity of it, adapted to the taste and humour of the persons entertained, did him much more honour than could have been derived from the greatest magnificence. The subject of their discourse at table was sometimes grave and serious, at other times pleasant and gay. One of the company proposed this question, "Which is the most perfect popular government?" That, answered Solon, where an injury done to any private citizen is considered an injury to the whole body: that, said Bias, where the law has no superior: that, answered Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor: that, said Anacharsis, where virtue is honoured, and vice detested: said Pitacus, where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the wicked: said Cleobulus, where the citizens fear blame more than punishment: said Chilo, where the laws are more regarded, and have more authority than the orators. From all these opinions, Periander concluded, that the most perfect popular government would be that which came nearest to aristocracy, where the sovereign authority is lodged in the hands of a few men of honour and virtue.||

While these wise men were assembled together at Periander's court, a courier arrived from Amasis, king of Egypt, with a letter for Bias, with whom that king kept a close correspondence. The purport of this letter was, to consult him how he should answer a proposal made to him by the king of Ethiopia, for his drinking up the sea; in which case the Ethiopian king promised to resign to him a certain number of cities in his dominions; but if he did not do it, then he, Amasis, was to give up the same number of his cities to the king of Ethiopia. It was usual in those days for princes to propound such enigmatical and perplexing questions to one another. Bias answered him directly, and advised him to accept the offer, on conditions that the king of Ethiopia would stop all the rivers that flow into the sea; for the business was only to drink up the sea, and not the rivers. We find an answer to the same effect ascribed to Æsop.

* Εἰ τὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ κερχων παρασκευάσεισε σοφισθῆναι μὴ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸν.—Plut. in Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 152.

† Ὅτι ἂν ἀγαθὸν πράττεις, κίς, δεῖς ἀνάγκης.

‡ In Conv. Sept. Sap.

§ Diog. Laert. in Vit. Per.

|| In Conv. Sept. Sap.

I must not here forget to take notice, that these wise men, of whom I have been speaking, were all lovers of poetry, and composed verses themselves, some of them a considerable number, upon subjects of morality and policy, which are certainly topics not unworthy of the muses. Solon, however, is reproached for having written some licentious verses; which may teach us what judgment we ought to form of these pretended wise men of the pagan world.*

Instead of the wise men whom I have mentioned, some authors have substituted others; as Anacharsis, for example, Myso, Epimenides, Pherecydes. The first of these is best known in history.

ANACHARSIS. Long before Solon's time, the Scythian Nomades were in great reputation for their simplicity, frugality, temperance and justice. Homer calls them a very just nation.† Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and of the royal family. A certain Athenian, once in company with Anacharsis, reproached him with his country; "my country, you think," replied Anacharsis, "is no great honour to me; and you, sir, in my opinion, are no great honour to your country." His good sense, profound knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. He wrote a treatise in verse upon the military art, and composed another tract on the laws of Scythia.

He frequently visited Solon. It was in conversation with him, that he compared laws to cobwebs, which only entangle small flies, while wasps and hornets break through them.

Being inured to the austere and poor life of the Scythians, he set little value upon riches. Cræsus invited him to come and see him, and without doubt hinted to him, that he was able to mend his fortune. "I have no occasion for your gold," said the Scythian in his answer; "I came into Greece only to enrich my mind, and improve my understanding; I shall be very well satisfied, if I return into my own country, not with an addition to my wealth, but with an increase of knowledge and virtue." Anacharsis however, accepted the invitation, and went to that prince's court.

‡We have already observed, that Æsop was much surprised and dissatisfied at the cold and indifferent manner in which Solon viewed the magnificence of the palace, and the vast treasures of Cræsus; because it was the master, and not the house, that the philosopher desired to have reason to admire. "Certainly," says Anacharsis to Æsop on that occasion, "you have forgot your own fable of the fox and panther. The latter, for her highest virtue, could only show her fine skin, beautifully marked and spotted with different colours: the fox's skin, on the contrary, was very plain, but contained within it a treasure of subtleties and stratagems of infinite value. This very image," continued the Scythian, "shows me your own character. You are affected with a splendid outside, while you pay little or no regard to what is truly the man, that is, to that which is in him, and consequently properly his."

This would be a proper place for an epitome of the life and sentiments of Pythagoras, who flourished in the time of which I have been speaking. But this I defer till I come to another part, wherein I design to join a great many philosophers together, in order to give the reader the better opportunity of comparing their respective doctrines and tenets.

ÆSOP. I rank Æsop with the wise men of Greece, not only because he was often among them, but because he taught true wisdom with far more art than they do who teach it by rules and definitions.§

Æsop was by birth a Phrygian. As to his mind, he had abundance of wit; but with regard to his body, he was hump-backed, little, crooked, deformed, and of a very uncomely countenance; having scarce the figure of a man; and for a considerable time, almost without the use of speech. He was moreover a slave; and the merchant who had bought him, found it very difficult to dispose of him, so extremely were people shocked at his unsightly figure and deformity.

The first master he served sent him to labour in the fields; either because he thought him incapable of any better employment, or only to remove so disagreeable an object from his sight.

He was afterwards sold to a philosopher named Xanthus. I should never have

* Plut. in Solon, p. 79.

† Iliad. lib. xiii. ver. 6.

‡ Plut. in Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 155.

§ Æsopus ille e Phrygia fabulator, haud immerito sapiens existimatus est; cum quæ utilia monitu suasuque erant, non severe, non imperiose præcepit et censuit, ut philosophis mos est, sed festivos delectabilesque apologos commentus, res salubriter ac prospicienter animadversas, in mentes animosque hominum, cum audiendi quadam illecebra induit.—Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. ii. cap. 29.

done, should I relate all the strokes of wit, the spritely repartees, and the arch and humourous circumstances of his words and behaviour. One day his master, designing to treat some of his friends, ordered Æsop to provide the best things he could find in the market. Æsop thereupon made a large provision of tongues, which he desired the cook to serve up with different sauces. When dinner came, the first and second courses, the side dishes, and the removes were all tongues. "Did I not order you," said Xanthus in a violent passion, "to buy the best victuals the market afforded?" "And have I not obeyed your orders?" said Æsop. "Is there any thing better than tongues? Is not the tongue the bond of civil society, the key of sciences, and the organ of truth and reason? By means of the tongue cities are built, and governments established and administered; with that, men instruct, persuade, and preside in assemblies; it is the instrument by which we acquit ourselves of the chief of all our duties, the praising and adoring the gods." "Well, then," replied Xanthus, thinking to catch him, "go to market again to-morrow, and buy me the worst things you can find. This same company will dine with me, and I have a mind to diversify my entertainment." Æsop, the next day, provided nothing but the very same dishes: telling his master, that the tongue was the worst thing in the world. "It is," said he, "the instrument of all strife and contention, the fomentor of law-suits, and the source of divisions and wars; it is the organ of error, of lies, of calumny, and blasphemy."

Æsop found it very difficult to obtain his liberty. One of the first uses he made of it was to go to Cræsus, who, on account of his great reputation and fame, had been long desirous of seeing him. The strange deformity of Æsop's person at first shocked the king, and much abated the good opinion he had conceived of him. But the beauty of his mind soon discovered itself through the coarse veil that covered it, and Cræsus found, as Æsop said on another occasion, that we ought not to consider the form of the vessel, but the quality of the liquor it contains.

He made several voyages into Greece, either for pleasure, or upon the affairs of Cræsus. Being at Athens shortly after Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty, and abolished the popular government, and observing that the Athenians bore this new yoke with great impatience, he repeated to them the fable of the frogs, who demanded a king from Jupiter.*

It is doubted whether the fables of Æsop, such as we have them, are all his, at least, in regard to the expression. Great part of them are ascribed to Planudes, who wrote his life, and lived in the 14th century.

Æsop is reckoned the author and inventor of this simple and natural manner of conveying instruction by tales and fables; in which Phædrus speaks of him:

*Æsopus auctor quam materiam reperit,
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.*

But the glory of this invention belongs properly to the poet Hesiod;† an invention which does not seem to be of any great importance, or extraordinary merit, and yet has been much esteemed and made use of by the greatest philosophers and ablest politicians. Plato tells us that Socrates, a short time before he died, turned some of Æsop's fables into verse;‡ and Plato himself earnestly recommends it to nurses to instruct their children in them betimes, in order to form their manners, and to inspire them early with the love of wisdom.§

Fables could never have been so universally adopted by all nations, as we see they have, if there was not a vast fund of useful truths contained in them, agreeably concealed under the plain and negligent disguise, in which their peculiar character consists. The Creator, certainly designing the prospect of nature for the instruction of mankind, endowed the brute part of it with various instincts, inclinations and properties, to serve as so many pictures in miniature to man of the several duties incumbent upon him, and to point out to him the good or evil qualities he ought to acquire or avoid. Thus has he given us, for instance, a lively image of meekness and innocence in the lamb; of fidelity and friendship in the dog; and on the contrary, of violence, rapaciousness and cruelty, in the wolf, the lion, and the tiger, and other species of animals. All this he has designed, not only as instruction, but as a secret reproof to man, if he should be indifferent about those qualities in himself, which he cannot forbear esteeming or detesting, even in the brutes themselves.

* Phædr. l. i. fab. 2.

† Illæ quoque fabulæ, quæ, etiamsi yriginem non ab Æsopo acceperunt (nam videtur earum primus auctor Hesiodus,) nomine tamen Æsopi maxime celebrantur, ducere animos solent, præcipue rusticorum et imperitorum: ut et simplicius quæ ficta sunt audiunt, et capti voluptate, facilius iis quibus delectantur consentiunt.—Quintil.

l. v. c. 12.

‡ Plut. in Phædr. p. 60.

§ Lib. ii. de Rep. p. 378.

This is a dumb language which all nations understand; it is a sentiment interwoven in our nature, which every man carries about with him. Æsop was the first of all the profane writers who laid hold of and unfolded it, made happy applications of it, and attracted men's attentions to this sort of genuine and natural instruction, which is within the reach of all capacities, and equally adapted to persons of all ages and conditions. He was the first that, in order to give body and substance to virtues, vices, duties, and maxims of society, did, by an ingenious artifice and innocent fiction, invent the method of clothing them with graceful and familiar images borrowed from nature, by giving language to brute beasts, and ascribing sense and reason to plants and trees, and all sorts of inanimate creatures.

The fables of Æsop are void of all ornament, but abound with good sense, and are adapted to the capacity of children, for whom they were more particularly composed. Those of Phædrus are in a style somewhat more elevated and diguised, but at the same time, have a simplicity and elegance that very much resembles the Attic spirit and style, in the plain way of writing, which was the finest and most delicate kind of composition in use among the Grecians. Monsieur de la Fontaine, who was very sensible that the French tongue is not susceptible of the same elegant simplicity, has enlivened his fables with a spritely and original turn of thought and expression peculiar to himself, which no other person has yet been able to imitate.

It is not easy to conceive why Seneca lays down as a fact that the Romans to his time, had never tried their pens in this kind of composition. Were the fables of Phædrus unknown to him?*

Plutarch relates the manner of Æsop's death.† He went to Delphos with a great quantity of gold and silver, to offer in the name of Cræsus, a great sacrifice to Apollo, and to give each inhabitant a considerable sum.‡ A quarrel which arose between him and the people of Delphos, occasioned him, after the sacrifice, to send back the money to Cræsus, and to inform him that those for whom it was intended had rendered themselves unworthy of his bounty. The inhabitants of Delphos caused him to be condemned as guilty of sacrilege, and to be thrown down from the top of a rock. The god, offended by this action, punished them with a plague and famine; so that, to put an end to those evils, they caused it to be announced in all the assemblies of Greece, that if any one, for the honour of Æsop, would come and claim vengeance for his death, they would give him satisfaction. At the third generation, a man from Samos presented himself, who had no other relation to Æsop, than being descended from the persons who had bought that fabulist. The Delphians made this man satisfaction, and thereby delivered themselves from the pestilence and famine that distressed them.§

The Athenians, those excellent judges of true glory, erected a noble statue to this learned and ingenious slave; to let all the people know, says Phædrus,|| that the ways of honour were equally open to all mankind, and that it was not to birth, but merit, they paid so honorable a distinction.

Æsopo ingentem statuam posuere Attici,
 Servumque collocarunt æterna in basi,
 Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam,
 Nec generi tribui, sed virtuti gloriam.

* Non audeo te usque eo producere, ut fabellas quoque et Æsapeos logos, *intentatum Romanis ingenii epus*, solita tibi venustate connectas.—Senec. de Consol. ad Polyb. c. 27.

† De sera Numinis vindicta, p. 556, 557.

‡ Four minæ, equal to 240 livres, or nearly £38.

§ Herod. lib. ii. cap. 134.

|| Lib. ii.

BOOK SIXTH.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

PLAN.

This Book contains the History of the Persians and Grecians, in the reigns of Darius I. and Xerxes I. during the space of forty-eight years, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3531.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF DARIUS, CONNECTED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

BEFORE Darius came to the throne he was called Ochus. At his accession he took the name of Darius, which, according to Herodotus, in the Persian language, signifies an avenger, or a man that defeats the schemes of another; probably because he had punished and put an end to the insolence of the Magian impostor. He reigned thirty years.*

SECTION I.—DARIUS'S MARRIAGES. THE IMPOSITION OF TRIBUTES. THE INSOLENCE AND PUNISHMENT OF INTAPHERNES. THE DEATH OF ORETES. THE STORY OF DEMOCEDES, A PHYSICIAN. THE JEWS PERMITTED TO CARRY ON THE BUILDING OF THEIR TEMPLE. THE GENEROSITY OF SYLOSON REWARDED.

BEFORE Darius was elected king, he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whose name is not known. Artabazanes, his eldest son by her, afterwards disputed the empire with Xerxes.

When Darius was seated on the throne, the better to secure himself therein, he married two of Cyrus's daughters, Atossa and Aristona. The former had been wife to Cambyses, her own brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, during the time he possessed the throne. Aristona was still a virgin, when Darius married her; and, of all his wives, was the person he most loved. He likewise married Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses; as also Phedyma, daughter of Otanes, by whose management the imposture of the Magian was discovered. By these wives he had a great number of children of both sexes.†

We have already seen, that the seven conspirators, who put the Magian to death, had agreed among themselves, that he whose horse, on a day appointed, first neighed at the rising of the sun, should be declared king; and that Darius's horse, by an artifice of his groom, procured his master that honour. The king, desiring to transmit to future ages his gratitude for this signal and extraordinary service, caused an equestrian statue to be set up with this inscription; "Darius, the son of Hystaspes, acquired the kingdom of Persia by means of his horse, (whose name was inserted,) and of his groom, Œbares."‡ There is in this inscription, in which we see the king is not ashamed to own himself indebted to his horse and his groom for so transcendent a benefaction as the regal diadem, when it was his interest, one would think, to have it considered as the fruits of a superior merit, a simplicity and sincerity peculiar to the genius of those ancient times, and extremely remote from the pride and vanity of ours.

One of the first cares of Darius, when he was first settled on the throne, was to regulate the state of the provinces, and to put his finances in good order. Before his time, Cyrus and Cambyses had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered nations such free gifts only as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops, when they had occasion for them. But Darius conceived,

* Herod. l. vi. c. 98. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.

† A. M. 3483. Ant. J. C. 521. Herod. l. iii. c. 89.

‡ Ibid

that it was impossible for him to preserve all the nations subject to him, in peace and security, without keeping up regular forces, and without assigning them a certain pay; or to be able punctually to give them that pay, without laying taxes and impositions upon the people.*

In order, therefore, to regulate the administration of his finances, he divided the whole empire into twenty districts, or governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain sum to the satrap, or governor appointed for that purpose. The natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all imposts. Herodotus has an exact enumeration of these provinces, which may very much contribute to give us a just idea of the extent of the Persian empire.

In Asia, it comprehended all that now belongs to the Persians and Turks; in Africa, it included Egypt and part of Nubia, as also the coasts of the Mediterranean, as far as the kingdom of Barca; in Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia. But it must be observed, that in this vast extent of country, there were several nations, which were only tributary, and not properly subjects to Persia; as is the case at this day, with respect to the Turkish empire.

History observes, that Darius, in imposing these tributes, showed great wisdom and moderation. He sent for the principal inhabitants of every province; such as were best acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and were obliged by interest to give him a true and impartial account. He then asked them, if such and such sums, which he proposed to each of them for their respective provinces, were not too great, or did not exceed what they were able to pay? his intention being, as he told them, not to oppress his subjects, but only to require such aids from them as were proportioned to their incomes, and absolutely necessary for the defence of the state. They all answered that the sums he proposed were very reasonable, and such as would not be burdensome to the people. The king, however, was pleased to abate one half, choosing rather to keep a great deal within bounds, than to risk a possibility of exceeding them.†

But notwithstanding this extraordinary moderation on the king's part, as there is something odious in all imposts, the Persians, who gave the surname of father to Cyrus, and of master to Cambyses, thought fit to characterize Darius with that of merchant.‡

The several sums levied by the imposition of these tributes, or taxes, as far as we can infer from the calculation of Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted in the whole to about forty-four millions *per annum* French, or something less than two millions English money.§

After the death of the Magian impostor, it was agreed that the Persian noblemen who had conspired against him, should, besides several other marks of distinction, have the liberty of free access to the king's presence at all times, except when he was alone with the queen. Intaphernes, one of these noblemen, being refused admittance into the king's apartment, at a time when the king and queen were in private together, in a violent rage attacked the officers of the palace, abused them outrageously, cutting their faces with his scimitar. Darius highly resented so heinous an insult; and at first apprehended it might be a conspiracy among the noblemen. But when he was well assured of the contrary, he caused Intaphernes, with his children, and all that were of his family, to be taken up, and had them all condemned to be put to death, confounding, through a blind excess of severity, the innocent with the guilty. In these unhappy circumstances, the criminal's lady went every day to the gates of the palace, crying and weeping in the most lamentable manner, and never ceasing to implore the king's clemency with all the pathetic eloquence of sorrow and distress. The king could not resist so moving a spectacle, and besides her own, granted her the pardon of any one of her family whom she should choose. This gave the unhappy lady great perplexity, who desired, no doubt, to save them all. At last, after a long deliberation, she determined in favour of her brother.

This choice, wherein she seemed not to have followed the sentiments which nature should dictate to a mother and a wife, surprised the king, who desired her to be asked the reason of it, to which she made answer, that by a second marriage, the loss of a husband and children might be retrieved; but that, her father and mother being

* Herod. c. 89—97.

† Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 172.

‡ Κἀπνησιος signifies something more mean and contemptible; but I do not know how to express it in our language. It may signify a broker, or a retailer, any one that buys to sell again.

§ Nearly nine millions of dollars.

dead, there was no possibility of recovering a brother. Darius, besides the life of her brother, granted her the same favour for the eldest of her children.*

I have already related in Vol. I. by what an instance of perfidy Oretes, one of the king's governors in Asia Minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. So black and detestable a crime did not go unpunished. Darius found out that Oretes strangely abused his power, making no account of the blood of those persons who had the misfortune to displease him. This satrap carried his insolence so far as to put to death a messenger sent him by the king, because the orders he had brought him were disagreeable. Darius, who did not yet think himself well settled on the throne, would not venture to attack him openly; for the satrap had no less than a thousand soldiers for his guard, not to mention the forces he was able to raise from his government, which included Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. The king therefore thought fit to proceed in a secret manner to rid himself of so dangerous a servant. With this commission he intrusted one of his officers, of approved fidelity and attachment to his person. The officer, under pretence of other business, went to Sardis, where, with great dexterity, he sounded the dispositions of the people. To open the way to his design, he first gave the principal officers of the governor's guard letters from the king, which contained nothing but general orders. A little while after, he delivered them other letters, in which their orders were more express and particular. And as soon as he found himself perfectly sure of the disposition of the troops, he then read them a third letter, wherein the king, in plain terms, commanded them to kill the governor; which order was executed without delay. All his affects were confiscated to the king, and all the persons belonging to his family and household were removed to Susa. Among the rest, there was a celebrated physician of Crotona, whose name was Democedes. This physician's story is very singular, and happened to be the occasion of some considerable events.†

Not long after the above mentioned transactions, Darius chanced to have a fall from his horse in hunting, by which he sprained one of his feet in a violent manner, and put his heel out of joint. The Egyptians were then considered the most skilful in physic; for which reason Darius had several physicians of that nation about him. These undertook to cure the king,‡ and exerted all their skill on so important an occasion; but they were so awkward in the operation, and in handling and managing the king's foot, that they put him to incredible pain; so that he passed seven days and seven nights without sleeping. Democedes was mentioned on this occasion by some person, who had heard him extolled at Sardis as a very able physician. He was sent for immediately, and brought to the king in the condition he was in, with his irons on, and in very poor apparel; for he was at that time actually a prisoner. The king asked him whether he had any knowledge of physic? At first he denied he had, fearing that if he should give proofs of his skill, he should be detained in Persia, and by that means be for ever debarred from returning to his own country, for which he had an exceeding affection. Darius, displeased with his answer, ordered him to be put to the torture. Democedes found it was necessary to own the truth, and therefore offered his service to the king. The first thing he did, was to apply gentle fomentations to the parts affected. This remedy had a speedy effect; the king recovered his sleep, and in a few days was perfectly cured, both of the sprain and dislocation. To recompense the physician, the king made him a present of two pairs of gold chains. Upon which Democedes asked him whether he meant to reward the happy success of his endeavours, by doubling his misfortune. The king was pleased with that saying, and ordered his eunuchs to conduct Democedes to his wives, that they might see the person to whom he was indebted for his recovery. They all made him very magnificent presents; so that in one day's time he became extremely rich.§

Democedes was a native of Crotona, a city of Græcia Major, in the Low Calabria it Italy, from whence he had been obliged to fly, on account of the ill treatment he received from his father.|| He first went to Egina,¶ where by several successful cures he acquired great reputation: the inhabitants of this place settled on him a yearly pension of a talent. The talent contained sixty minas, and was worth about three thousand livres French money. Some time after, he was invited to Athens, where they augmented his pension to five thousand livres** per annum. After this, he was received into the family of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who gave him a pension of

* Herod. l. iii. c. 118, 119.

† Anciently the same persons practised both as physicians and surgeons.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 131.

§ An island between Attica and Peloponnesus.

¶ Idem, c. 120—128.

§ Herod. l. iii. c. 129, 130.

** A hundred minæ.

two thousand crowns.* It is very much for the honour of cities, or princes, by handsome pensions and salaries, to engage such persons in their service, as are of public benefit to mankind; and even to induce foreigners of worth and merit to come and settle among them. The Crotonians from this time had the reputation of having the ablest physicians; and next after them, the people of Cyrene in Africa. The Argives were at the same time reputed to excel in music.

Democedes, after performing this cure upon the king, was admitted to the honour of eating at his table, and was highly respected at Susa. At his intercession, the Egyptian physicians were pardoned, who had been condemned to be hanged for having been less skillful than the Grecian physician; as if they were obliged to answer for the success of their remedies, or that it was a crime not to be able to cure a king. This is a strange abuse, though too common an effect of unlimited power, which is seldom guided by reason or equity, and which being accustomed to see every thing give way implicitly to its authority, expects that its commands, of whatever nature, should be infallibly performed! We have seen something of this kind in the history of Nebuchadnezzar, who pronounced a general sentence of death upon all his magicians, because they could not divine what it was he had dreamed in the night, which he himself had forgot. Democedes procured also the enlargement of several of those persons who had been imprisoned with him. He lived in the greatest affluence, and was in the highest esteem and favour with the king. But he was at a great distance from his own country, upon which his thoughts and desires were continually bent.†

He had the good fortune to perform another cure, which contributed to raise his credit and reputation still higher. Atossa, one of the king's wives, and daughter to Cyrus, was attacked with a cancer in her breast. As long as the pain of it was tolerable, she bore it with patience, not being able to prevail on herself, out of modesty, to discover her disorder. But at last she was constrained to it, and sent for Democedes; who promised to cure her, and at the same time requested, that she would be pleased to grant him a certain favour he should beg of her, entirely consistent with her honour. The queen engaged her word, and was cured. The favour promised the physician, was to procure him a journey into his own country; and the queen was not unmindful of her promise.‡ It is worth while to take notice of such events, which, though not very considerable in themselves, often give occasion to the greatest enterprises of princes, and are even the secret springs and distant causes of them.§

As Atossa was conversing one day with Darius, she took occasion to represent to him, that, being in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous constitution, capable of enduring the fatigues of war, and having great and numerous armies at command, it would be for his honour to form some great enterprise, and let the Persians see they had a man of courage for their king. "Your thoughts coincide with mine," replied Darius, "which were upon invading the Scythians." "I had much rather," said Atossa, "you would first turn your arms against Greece. I have heard great things said in praise of the women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, Athens, and Corinth, and should be very glad to have some of them in my service. Besides, you have a person here, that might be very useful to you in such an enterprise, and could give you a perfect knowledge of the country; the person I mean is Democedes, who has cured both you and me." This was enough for the king, and the affair was resolved on immediately. Fifteen Persian noblemen were appointed to accompany Democedes into Greece, and to examine with him all the maritime places, as thoroughly as possible. The king farther charged those persons, above all things, to keep a strict eye upon the physician, that he did not escape from them, and to bring him back with them to the Persian court.

Darius, in giving such an order, plainly showed he did not understand the proper methods of engaging men of wit and merit to reside in his dominions, and for attaching them to his person. To pretend to do this by authority and compulsion, is the sure way of suppressing all knowledge and industry, and of driving away the liberal arts and sciences, which must be free and unconfined, like the genius from whence they spring. For one man of genius that will be kept in a country by force, thousands will be driven away, who would probably have chosen to reside in it, if they could enjoy their liberty, and meet with kind treatment.

When Darius had formed his design of sending into Greece, he acquainted Democedes with it, laid open his views to him, and told him the occasion he had for his

* Two talents.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 132.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 135, 137.

§ Non sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quibus magnarum sæpe rerum motus oriuntur. Tacit. l. iv. c. 32.

services to conduct the Persian noblemen thither, particularly to the maritime towns, in order to observe their situation and strength; at the same time earnestly desiring him, that, when that was done, he would return with them to Persia. The king permitted him to carry all his moveables with him, and to give them, if he pleased, to his father and brothers, promising, at his return, to give him as many of greater value; and signify to him farther, that he would order the galley in which he was to sail to be laden with very rich presents, for him to bestow as he thought fit on the rest of his family. The king's intention appeared, by his manner of speaking, to be undisguised and without artifice; but Democedes was afraid that it might be a snare laid for him, to discover whether he intended to return to Persia, or not: and therefore, to remove all suspicion, he left his own goods behind him at Susa, and only took with him the presents designed for his family.

The first place they landed at was Sidon in Phœnicia, where they equipped two large vessels for themselves, and put all they had brought along with them on board another vessel of burden. After having passed through, and carefully examined the chief cities of Greece, they went to Tarentum in Italy. Here the Persian noblemen were taken up as spies; and Democedes taking advantage of this arrest, made his escape from them, and fled to Crotona. When the Persian lords had recovered their liberty, they pursued him thither, but could not prevail upon the Crotonians to deliver up their fellow-citizen. The city moreover seized the loaded vessel; and the Persians, having lost their guide, laid aside the thoughts of going over to the other parts of Greece, and set out for their own country. Democedes informed them, at their departure, that he was going to marry the daughter of Milo, a famous wrestler of Crotona whose name was very well known to the king, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. This voyage of the Persian noblemen into Greece, was attended with no immediate consequence; because, on their return home, they found the king engaged in other affairs.

In the third year of this king's reign, which was but the second according to the Jewish computations, the Samaritans excited new troubles against the Jews.* In the preceding reigns, they had procured an order to prohibit the Jews from proceeding any farther in building the temple of Jerusalem. But upon the lively exhortation of the prophets, and the express order of God, the Israelites had lately resumed the work, which had been interrupted for several years, and carried it on with great vigour. The Samaritans had recourse to their ancient practices to prevent them. To this end they applied to Tatnai, whom Darius had made governor of the provinces of Syria and Palestine. They complained to him of the audacious proceeding of the Jews, who, of their own authority, and in defiance of the prohibitions to the contrary, presumed to rebuild their temple; which must necessarily be prejudicial to the king's interest. Upon this representation of theirs, the governor thought fit to go himself to Jerusalem. And being a person of great equity and moderation, when he had inspected the work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a stop to it without any farther deliberation; but inquired of the Jewish elders, what license they had for entering upon a work of that nature. The Jews hereupon producing the edict of Cyrus made in their behalf, he would not of himself ordain any thing in contradiction of it, but sent an account of the matter to the king, and desired to know his pleasure. He gave the king a true representation, acquainting him with the edict of Cyrus, which the Jews alleged in their justification, and desiring him to order the registers to be consulted, to know whether Cyrus had really published such an edict in their favour, and thereupon to send him instructions of what he thought fit to order in the affair. Darius having commanded the registers to be examined, the edict was found at Ecbatana in Media, the place where Cyrus was at the time of its being granted.† Now Darius, having a great respect for the memory of that prince, confirmed his edict, and caused another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referred to, and ratified. This motive of regard to the memory of Cyrus, had there been nothing else to influence the king, would be very laudable; but the Scripture informs us, that it was God himself who influenced the mind and heart of the king, and inspired him with a favourable disposition to the Jews. The truth of this appears pretty plain from the edict itself. In the first place, it ordains, that all the victims, oblations, and other expenses of the temple, he abundantly furnished the Jews, as the priests require: in the second place, it enjoins the priests of Jerusalem, where they offered their sacrifices to the God of heaven, to pray for the preservation

* Ezra, chap. 5.

† Ezra, chap. iv.

of the life of the king, and of the princes his children: and, lastly, it goes so far as to denounce imprecations against all princes and people, that should hinder the carrying on of the building of the temple, or that should attempt to destroy it: by all which, Darius evidently acknowledges, that the God of Israel is able to overturn the kingdom of the world, and to dethrone the most mighty and powerful princes.

By virtue of this edict, the Jews were not only authorized to proceed in the building of their temple, but all the expenses thereof were also to be furnished to them out of the taxes and imposts of the province. What must have become of the Jews, when the crimes of disobedience and rebellion were laid to their charge, if at such a juncture their superiors had only hearkened to their enemies, and not given them leave to justify themselves!

The same prince, some time after, gave a still more signal proof of his love for justice, and of his abhorrence for accusers and informers, a detestable race of men, who are, by their very nature and condition, enemies to all merit and all virtue. It is pretty obvious that I mean the famous edict published by this prince against Haman, in favour of the Jews, at the request of Esther, whom the king had taken to his bed in the room of Vashti, one of his wives. According to Archbishop Usher, this Vashti is the same person as is called by profane writers Atossa, and the Ahasuerus of the holy Scriptures the same as Darius; but according to others, it is Artaxerxes. The fact is well known, being related in the sacred history: I have given, however, a brief account of it in this work.

Such actions of justice do great honour to a prince's memory; as do also those of gratitude, of which Darius on a certain occasion gave a very laudable instance. Syloson, brother to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, had once made Darius a present of a suit of clothes, of a curious red colour which extremely pleased Darius's fancy, and would never suffer him to make any return for it. Darius at that time was but a private gentleman, an officer in the guards of Cambyses, whom he accompanied to Memphis in his Egyptian expedition. When Darius was on the throne of Persia, Syloson went to Susa, presented himself at the gate of his palace, and sent up word to the king, that there was a Grecian below, to whom his majesty was under some obligation. Darius, surprised at such a message, and curious to know the truth of it, ordered him to be brought in. When he saw him, he remembered him, and acknowledged him to have been his benefactor; and was so far from being ashamed of an adventure which might seem derogatory to his honour, that he ingenuously applauded the gentleman's generosity, which proceeded from no other motive than that of doing a pleasure to a person from whom he could have no expectations; and then proposed to make him a considerable present of gold and silver. But money was not the thing Syloson desired: the love of his country was his predominant passion. The favour he required of the king was, that he would settle him at Samos, without shedding the blood of the citizens, by driving out the person that had usurped the government since the death of his brother. Darius consented, and committed the conduct of the expedition to Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who undertook it with joy, and performed it with success.*

SECTION II.—REVOLT AND REDUCTION OF BABYLON.

IN the beginning of the fifth year of Darius, Babylon revolted, and could not be reduced till after a siege of twenty months.† This city, formerly mistress of the East, grew impatient of the Persian yoke, especially after the removal of the imperial seat to Susa, which very much diminished Babylon's wealth and grandeur. The Babylonians taking advantage of the revolution that happened in Persia, first on the death of Cambyses, and afterwards on the massacre of the Magians, made secretly, for four years together, all kinds of preparation for war. When they thought the city sufficiently stored with provisions, for many years, they set up the standard of rebellion, which obliged Darius to besiege them with all his forces. Now, God continued to accomplish those terrible threatenings he had denounced against Babylon, that he would not only humble and bring down that proud and impious city, but depopulate and lay it waste with fire and blood, utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal solitude. In order to fulfil these predictions, God permitted the Babylonians to rebel against Darius, and by that means to draw upon themselves the whole force of the Persian empire; and they themselves were the first in putting these prophecies in execution, by destroying a great number of their own people, as will be

* Herod. l. iii. c. 139—142.

† A. M. 3483. Ant. J. C. 516. Herod. l. iii. c. 150, 160.

seen presently. It is probable that the Jews, of whom a considerable number remained at Babylon, went out of the city before the siege was formed, as the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah had exhorted them long before, and afterwards Zecariah, in the following terms: "Thou, Zion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon, flee from the country, and save thyself."*

The Babylonians, to make their provisions last the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the greater vigour, took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was heard of, which was, to destroy all such of their own people as were unserviceable on this occasion. For this purpose they assembled together all their wives and children, and strangled them. Only every man was allowed to keep his best beloved wife, and one servant maid to do the business of the family.

After this cruel execution, the unhappy remainder of the inhabitants, thinking themselves out of all danger, both on account of their fortifications, which they looked upon as impregnable, and the vast quantity of provisions they had laid up, began to insult the besiegers from the top of their walls, and to provoke them with opprobrious language. The Persians for the space of eighteen months, did all that force or stratagem were capable of, to make themselves masters of the city: nor did they forget to make use of the same means as had succeeded so happily with Cyrus some years before; I mean that of turning the course of the river. But all their efforts were fruitless; and Darius began almost to despair of taking the place, when a stratagem, till then unheard of, opened the gates of the city to him. He was strangely surprised one morning to see Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of his court, and son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven lords that formed the conspiracy against the Magians, appear before him all over blood, with his nose and ears cut off, and his whole body covered with wounds. Starting up from his throne, he cried out, Who is it, Zopyrus, that has dared to treat you thus? You, yourself, O king! replied Zopyrus. The desire I had of rendering you service has put me in this condition. As I was fully persuaded that you never would have consented to this method, I have consulted none but the zeal I have for your service. He then opened to him his design of going over to the enemy; and they settled every thing that was proper to be done. The king could not see him set out upon this extraordinary project without the utmost affliction and concern. Zopyrus approached the walls of the city, and having told them who he was, was soon admitted. They then carried him before the governor, to whom he laid open his misfortune, and the cruel treatment he had met with from Darius, for having dissuaded him from continuing any longer before a city which it was impossible for him to take. He offered the Babylonians his service which could not fail of being highly useful to them, since he was acquainted with all the designs of the Persians, and since the desire of revenge would inspire him with fresh courage and resolution. His name and person were both well known at Babylon; the condition in which he appeared, his blood and his wounds, testified for him, and, by proofs not to be suspected, confirmed the truth of all he advanced. They therefore entirely believed whatever he told them, and gave him, moreover, the command of as many troops as he desired. In the first sally he made, he cut off a thousand of the besiegers; a few days after he killed double the number; and on the third time, four thousand of their men lay dead upon the spot. All this had been before agreed upon between him and Darius. Nothing was now talked of in Babylon but Zopyrus; the whole city strove who should extol him most, and they had not words sufficient to express their high value for him, and how happy they esteemed themselves in having gained so great a man. He was now declared generalissimo of their forces, and entrusted with the care of guarding the walls of the city. Darius approaching with his army, at the time agreed on between them, Zopyrus opened the gates to him, and by that means made him master of the city, which he could never have taken either by force or stratagem.

Powerful as this prince was, he found himself incapable of making a sufficient recompense for so great a service; and he used often to say, that he would with pleasure sacrifice a hundred Babylons, if he had them, to restore Zopyrus to the condition he was in before he inflicted that cruel treatment upon himself. He settled upon him during life, the whole revenues of this opulent city, of which he alone had procured the possession, and heaped all the honours upon him that a king could possibly confer upon a subject. Megabyzus, who commanded the Persian army in Egypt against the

* Isa. xlviii. 20. Jer. l. 8. li. 6, 9, 45. Zach. ii. 6, 7.

Athenians, was son to this Zopyrus: and that Zopyrus who went over to the Athenians as a deserter, was his grandson.

No sooner was Darius in possession of Babylon, than he ordered the gates to be pulled down, and all the walls of that proud city to be entirely demolished, that she might never more be in a condition to rebel against him. If he had pleased to make use of all the rights of a conqueror, he might upon this occasion, have exterminated all the inhabitants. But he contented himself with causing three thousand of those who were principally concerned in the revolt, to be impaled, and granted a pardon to all the rest. And in order to prevent the depopulation of the city, he caused fifty thousand women to be brought from the several provinces of his empire, to supply the place of those whom the inhabitants had so cruelly destroyed at the beginning of the siege. Such was the fate of Babylon; and thus did God execute his vengeance on that impious city, for the cruelty she had exercised towards the Jews, in falling upon a free people without any reason or provocation; in destroying their government, laws, and worship; in forcing them from their country, and transporting them to a strange land, imposing upon them a most grievous yoke of servitude, and making use of all its power to crush and afflict an unhappy nation, favoured however, by God, and having the honour of being styled his peculiar people.

SECTION III.—DARIUS PREPARES FOR AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS. A DIGRESSION UPON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT NATION.

AFTER the reduction of Babylon, Darius made great preparations for the war against the Scythians, who inhabited that large tract of land which lies between the Danube and the Tanais.* His pretence for undertaking this war was to be revenged of that nation for the invasion of Asia by their ancestors: a very frivolous and sorry pretext, and a very ridiculous ground for reviving an old quarrel, which had ceased a hundred and twenty years before. While the Scythians were employed in that irruption, which lasted twenty-eight years, their wives married their slaves. When the husbands were on their return home, these slaves went out to meet them with a numerous army, and disputed their entrance into the country. After some battles fought with nearly equal loss on both sides, the masters, considering that it was doing too much honour to their slaves to put them on the footing of soldiers, marched against them in the next encounter with whips in their hands, to make them remember their proper condition. This stratagem had the intended effect: for not being able to bear the sight of their masters thus armed, they all ran away.

I design in this place to follow Herodotus, who, in writing of this war, takes occasion to give an ample account of all that relates to the customs and manners of the Scythians. But I shall be much more brief in my account of the matter than he is.

A DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE SCYTHIANS.

FORMERLY there were Scythians both in Europe and Asia, most of them inhabiting those parts that lies towards the north. I design at present to treat chiefly of the first, namely, of the European Scythians.

The historians, in their accounts they have left us of the manners and characters of the Scythians, relate things of them that are entirely opposite and contradictory to one another. At one time they represent them as the most just and moderate people in the world: at another, they describe them as a fierce and barbarous nation, which carried its cruelty to such horrible excesses as are shocking to human nature. This contrariety is a manifest proof, that those different characters are to be applied to different nations of Scythians, all comprised in that vast and extensive tract of country; and that, though they were all comprehended under one and the same general denomination of Scythians, we ought not to confound them or their characters together.

Strabo has quoted authors, who mention Scythians dwelling upon the coast of the Euxine sea, that cut the throats of all strangers who came among them, fed upon their flesh, and made pots and drinking-vessels of their skulls, when they had dried them.† Herodotus, in describing the sacrifices which the Scythians offered to the god Mars, says they used to offer human sacrifices.‡ Their manner of making treaties, according to this author's account, was very strange and particular.§ They first

* Herod. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. ii. c. 5.

† Strabo, l. vii. p. 298.

‡ Herod. l. iv. c. 62.

§ This custom was still practised by the Iberians, who were originally Scythians, in the time of Tacitus, who makes mention of it.—Ann. l. xii. c. 47.

poured wine into a large earthen vessel, and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let some of their blood run into the wine, and stained likewise their armour therein; after which they, themselves, and all that were present, drank of that liquor, making the strongest imprecations against the person that should violate the treaty.*

But what the same historian relates, concerning the ceremonies observed at the funeral of their kings, is still more extraordinary. I shall only mention such of those ceremonies as may serve to give us an idea of the cruel barbarity of this people. When their king died, they embalmed his body, and wrapped it up in wax; this done, they put it into an open chariot, and carried it from city to city, exposing it to the view of all the people under his dominion. When this circuit was finished, they laid the body down in the place appointed for the burial of it, and there they made a large grave, in which they interred the king, and with him one of his wives, his chief cup-bearer, his great chamberlain, his master of horse, his chancellor, his secretary of state, all of whom were put to death for that purpose. To these they added several horses, a great number of drinking-vessels, and a certain part of every kind of household-goods, and furniture belonging to their deceased monarch: after which they filled up the grave, and covered it with earth. This was not all: when the anniversary of his interment came, they cut the throats of fifty more of the dead king's officers, and of the same number of horses, and placed the officers on horse-back round the king's tomb, having first prepared and embalmed their bodies for the purpose; this they did probably to serve him as guards. These ceremonies possibly took their rise from a notion they might have of their king being still alive: and upon this supposition they judged it necessary that he should have his court and ordinary officers still about him. Whether employments, which terminated in this manner, were much coveted, I will not determine.†

It is now time to pass to the consideration of such of their manners and customs as had more of humanity in them; though possibly in another sense they may appear to be equally savage. The account I am going to give of them is chiefly taken from Justin.‡ According to this author, the Scythians lived in great innocence and simplicity. They were ignorant indeed of all arts and sciences, but then they were equally unacquainted with vice. They did not make any division of their lands among themselves, says Justin: it would have been in vain for them to do it, since they did not apply themselves to cultivate them. Horace, in one of his odes, of which I shall insert a part by and by, tells us, that some of them did cultivate a certain portion of land allotted to them for one year only, at the expiration of which they were relieved by others, who succeeded them on the same conditions. They had no houses nor settled habitations, but wandered continually with their cattle and their flocks from country to country. Their wives and children they carried along with them in wagons, covered with the skins of beasts, which were the only houses they had to dwell in. Justice was observed and maintained among them, through the natural temper and disposition of the people, without any compulsion of laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted.§ No crime was more severely punished among them than theft and robbery; and that with good reason. For their herds and their flocks, in which all their riches consisted, being never shut up, how could they possibly subsist, if theft had not been most rigorously punished? They coveted neither silver nor gold, like the rest of mankind; and made milk and honey their principal diet. They were strangers to the use of linen or woollen manufactures; and to defend themselves from the violent and continual cold weather of their climate, they made use of nothing but the skins of beasts.

I said before, that these manners of the Scythians would appear to some people very wild and savage. And indeed, what can be said for a nation that has lands, and yet does not cultivate them; that has herds of cattle, whose milk alone satisfies them, while they neglect the flesh? The wool of their sheep might supply them with warm and comfortable clothes, and yet they use no other raiment than the skins of animals. But that which is the greatest demonstration of their ignorance and savageness, according to the general opinion of mankind, is their utter neglect of gold and silver, which have always been had in such great request in all civilized nations.

* Herod. l. iv. c. 70.

† Herod. l. iv. c. 71, 72.

‡ Lib. ii. c. 2.

§ *Justitia gentis ingenis culta, non legibus.*

But, oh! how happy was this ignorance, how vastly preferable this savage state to our pretended politeness. This contempt of the conveniences of life, says Justin, was attended with such an honesty and uprightness of manners, as hindered them from ever coveting their neighbour's goods. For the desire of riches can only take place, where riches can be made use of. And would to God, says the same author, we could see the same moderation prevail among the rest of mankind, and the like indifference to the goods of other people! If that was the case, the world would not have seen so many wars perpetually succeeding one another in all ages, and in all countries: nor would the number of those that are cut off by the sword, exceed that of those that fall by the irreversible decree and law of nature.*

Justin finishes his character of the Scythians with a very judicious reflection. It is a surprising thing, says he, that a happy natural disposition, without the assistance of education, should carry the Scythians to such a degree of wisdom and moderation, as the Grecians could not attain, neither by the institutions of their legislators, nor the rules and precepts of all their philosophers; and that the manners of a barbarous nation should be preferable to those of a people so much improved and refined by the polite arts and sciences. So much more effectual and advantageous was the ignorance of vice in the one, than the knowledge of virtue in the other.†

The Scythian fathers thought, with good reason, that they left their children a valuable inheritance, when they left them in peace and union with one another.‡ One of their kings, whose name was Scylurus, finding himself draw near his end, sent for all his children, and giving to each of them, one after another a bundle of arrows tied fast together, desired them to break them. Each used his endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the bundle, and giving them the arrows one by one, they were very easily broken. Let this emblem, said the father, be a lesson to you, of the mighty advantage that results from union and concord. In order to strengthen and enlarge these domestic advantages, the Scythians used to admit their friends into the same terms of union with them as their relations. Friendship was considered by them as a sacred and inviolable alliance, which differed but little from the alliance nature has put between brethren, and which they could not infringe without being guilty of a heinous crime.§

Ancient authors seem to have contended who should most extol the innocence of manners that reigned among the Scythians, by magnificent encomiums. I shall transcribe that of Horace at large. That poet does not confine it entirely to the Scythians, but joins the Getæ with them, their near neighbours. It is in that beautiful ode, where he inveighs against the luxury and irregularities of the age he lived in. After telling us, that peace and tranquillity of mind is not to be procured either by immense riches, or sumptuous buildings, he adds, “a hundred times happier are the Scythians, who roam about in their itinerant houses, their wagons; and happier even are the frozen Getæ. With them the earth, without being divided by land-marks, produceth her fruits, which are gathered in common. There, each man's tillage is but of one year's continuance; and when that term of his labour is expired he is relieved by a successor, who takes his place, and manures the ground on the same conditions. There the innocent step-mothers form no cruel designs against the lives of their husband's children by a former wife. The wives do not pretend to domineer over their husbands on account of their fortunes, nor are to be corrupted by the insinuating language of spruce adulterers. The greatest portion of the maiden, is the virtue of her father and mother, her inviolable attachment to her husband, and her perfect disregard to all other men. They dare not be unfaithful, because they are convinced that infidelity is a crime, and its reward is death.||

* Hæc continentia illis morum quoque justitiam indidit, nihil alienum concupiscentibus. Quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido est, uti et usus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus similis moderatio et abstinentia alieni foret! profecto non tantum bellorum per omnia secula terris omnibus continueret: neque plus hominum ferrum et arma, quam naturalis fatorum conditio raperet.

† Prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longa sapientium doctrina præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores inculte barbarie collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his cognitio virtutis!

‡ Plut. de Garrul. p. 511.

§ Lucian. in Tex. p. 51.

|| *Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ;
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Crerem ferunt;
Nec cultura placet longior annua,
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquali recrat sorte vicarius.
Illic matre carentibus*

When we consider the manners and character of the Scythians without prejudice, can we possibly forbear to look upon them with esteem and admiration? Does not their manner of living, as to the exterior part of it at least, bear a great resemblance to that of the patriarchs, who had no fixed habitation; who did not till the ground; who had no other occupation than that of feeding their flocks and herds; and who dwelt in tents? Can we believe this people were much to be pitied, for not understanding, or rather, for despising the use of gold and silver? Is it not to be wished, that those metals had for ever lain buried in the bowels of the earth, and that they had never been dug from thence, to become the causes and instruments of all vices and iniquity? What advantage could gold or silver be of to the Scythians, who valued nothing but what the necessities of man actually require, and who took care to set narrow bounds to those necessities? It is no wonder that, living as they did, without houses, they should make no account of those arts that were so highly valued in other places, as architecture, sculpture, and painting; or that they should despise fine clothes and costly furniture, since they found the skins of beasts sufficient to defend them against the inclemency of the seasons. After all, can we truly say, that these pretended advantages contribute to the real happiness of life? Were those nations that had them in the greatest plenty, more healthful or robust than the Scythians? Did they live to a greater age than they? or did they spend their lives in greater freedom and tranquillity, or in a greater exemption from cares and troubles? Let us acknowledge, to the shame of ancient philosophy, that the Scythians, who did not particularly apply themselves to the study of wisdom, carried it, however, to a greater height in their practice, than either the Egyptians, Grecians, or any other civilized nation. They did not give the name of goods or riches to any thing, but what, humanly speaking, truly deserved that title; as health, strength, courage, the love of exercise and liberty, innocence of life, sincerity, an abhorrence of all fraud and dissimulation, and, in a word, all such qualities as render a man more virtuous and more valuable. If to these happy dispositions we add the knowledge and love of God and of our Redeemer, without which the most exalted virtues are of no value and ineffectual, they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with those of the present age, we are tempted to believe, that the pencils which drew so beautiful a picture were not free from partiality and flattery; and that both Justin and Horace have decked them with virtues that did not belong to them. But all antiquity agrees in giving the same testimony of them; and Homer in particular, whose opinion ought to be of great weight, calls them "the most just and upright of men."

But at length, who could believe it? luxury, that might be thought to thrive only in an agreeable and delightful soil, penetrated into this rough and uncultivated region; and breaking down the barriers, which the constant practice of several ages, founded in the nature of the climate and the genius of the people, had set against it, did at last effectually corrupt the manners of the Scythians, and bring them, in that respect, upon a level with other nations, where it had long been predominant. It is Strabo that acquaints us with this particular, which is very worthy of our notice: he lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius.† After he has greatly commended the simplicity, frugality, and innocence of the ancient Scythians, and their extreme aversion to all dissimulation and deceit, he owns that their intercourse, in later times, with other nations, had extirpated those virtues, and planted the contrary vices in their stead. "One would think," says he, "that the natural effect of such an intercourse with civilized and polite nations should have consisted only in rendering them more humanized and courteous, by softening that air of savageness and ferocity which they had before: but instead of that, it introduced a total dissoluteness of manners among them, and quite transformed them into different creatures." It is undoubtedly with reference to this change that Athenæus says, the Scythians abandoned themselves to voluptuousness and luxury, at the same time that they suffered self-interest and avarice to prevail among them.‡

Privignis mulier temperat innocens;
Nec dotata regit virum
Conjux, nec nitido fidit adultero:
Dus est magna parentum
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere castitas:
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium est mori.—Hor. lib. iii. Od. 24.

* Aurum irrepertum, et sic melius situm
Cum terra celat, spernere fortior,
Quam cogere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.—Hor. lib. iii. Od. 3.

† Strab. l. vii. p. 301.

‡ Athen. l. xii. p. 524.

Strabo, in making the remark I have been mentioning, does not deny that this fatal change of manners was owing to the Romans and Grecians. "Our example," says he, "has perverted almost all the nations of the world: by carrying the refinements of luxury and pleasure among them, we have taught them insincerity and fraud, and a thousand kinds of shameful and infamous arts to get money." It is a miserable talent, and a very unhappy distinction for a nation, through its ingenuity in inventing modes, and refining upon every thing that tends to nourish and promote luxury, to become the corrupter of all its neighbours, and the author, as it were, of their vices and debauchery.

It was against these Scythians, but at a time when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmost vigour, that Darius undertook an unsuccessful expedition; which I will make the subject of the next article.

SECTION IV.—DARIUS'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS.

I HAVE already observed, that the pretence used by Darius for undertaking the war against the Scythians, was the irruption formerly made by that people into Asia; but in reality he had no other purpose, than to satisfy his own ambition, and to extend his conquests.

His brother Artadanes, for whom he had a great regard, and who, on his side had no less zeal for the true interests of the king his brother, thought it his duty on this occasion to speak his sentiments with all the freedom that an affair of such importance required. "Great prince," said he to him, "they who form any great enterprise, ought carefully to consider, whether it will be beneficial or prejudicial to the state; whether the execution of it will be easy or difficult; whether it be likely to augment or diminish their glory; and lastly, whether the thing designed be consistent with, or contrary to, the rules of justice.* For my own part, I cannot perceive, sir, even though you were sure of success, what advantage you can propose to yourself in undertaking a war against the Scythians. Consider the vast distance between them and you, and the prodigious space of land and sea that separates them from your dominions; besides, they are a people that dwell in wild and uncultivated deserts; that have neither towns nor houses; that have no fixed settlement, or place of habitation; and that are destitute of all manner of riches. What spoil or benefit can accrue to your troops from such an expedition; or, to speak more properly, what loss have you not reason to apprehend?

"As they are accustomed to remove from country to country, if they should think proper to fly before you; not out of cowardice or fear, for they are a very courageous and warlike people, but only with a design to harass and ruin your army, by continual and fatiguing marches; what would become of us, in such an uncultivated, barren, and naked country, where we should neither find forage for our horses, nor provision for our men? I am afraid, sir, that through a false notion of glory, and the influence of flatterers, you may be hurried into a war, which may turn to the dishonour of the nation. You now enjoy the sweets of peace and tranquillity in the midst of your people, where you are the object of their admiration, and the author of their happiness. You are sensible the gods have placed you upon the throne to be their coadjutor, or, to speak more properly, to be the dispenser of their bounty, rather than the minister of their power. It is your pleasure to be the protector, the guardian, and the father of your subjects: and you often declare to us, because you really believe so, that you look upon yourself as invested with sovereign power, only to make your people happy. What exquisite joy must it be to so great a prince as you are, to be the source of so many blessings; and under the shadow of your name to preserve such infinite numbers of people in so desirable a tranquillity! Is it not the glory of a king, who loves his subjects, and is beloved by them, who, instead of making war against the neighbouring or distant nations, makes use of his power to keep them in peace and amity with each other; is not such a glory vastly preferable to that of ravaging and spoiling nations, of filling the earth with slaughter and desolation, with horror, consternation and despair? But there is one motive more, which ought to have a greater influence upon you than all others, I mean that of justice. Thanks to the gods, you are not of the number of those princes, who acknowledged no other law than that of force, and who imagine that they have a peculiar privilege annexed to their dignity, which private persons have not, of invading other men's properties.†

* Omnes qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, æstimare debent, an, quod inchoatur, reipublicæ utile, ipsis gloriosum, aut promptum effectu, aut certe non arduum sit.—Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 76.

† Id in summa fortuna æquus, quod validus: et sua retinere, privatæ domus; de alienis certare, regiam laudem esse.—Tacit. Annal. l. xxy. c. 1.

You do not make your greatness consist in being able to do whatever you will, but in willing only what may be done, without infringing the laws, or violating justice.* To speak plain, shall one man be considered unjust, and a robber, for seizing on a few acres of his neighbour's estate; and shall another be accounted just and great, and have the title of hero, only because he seizes upon and usurps whole provinces? Permit me, sir, to ask you, what title have you to Scythia? What injury have the Scythians done you? what reason can you allege for declaring war against them? The war, indeed in which you have been engaged against the Babylonians, was at the same time both just and necessary: the gods have accordingly crowned your arms with success. It belongs to you, sir, to judge whether that which you are now going to undertake is of the same nature."

Nothing, on the other hand, but the generous zeal of a brother, truly concerned for the glory of his prince, and the good of his country, could inspire such a freedom: as on the other, nothing but a perfect moderation in the prince could make him capable of bearing with it. Darius, as Tacitus observes of another great emperor, had the art of reconciling two things which are generally incompatible, the sovereignty and liberty.† Far from being offended at the freedom used by his brother, he thanked him for his good advice, though he did not follow it; for he had taken his resolution. He departed from Susa at the head of an army of seven hundred thousand men; and his fleet, consisting of six hundred sail of ships, was chiefly manned with Ionians, and other Grecian nations, that dwelt upon the sea-coast of Asia Minor and the Hellespont. He marched his army towards the Thracian Bosphorus, which he passed upon a bridge of boats: after which, having made himself master of all Thrace, he came to the banks of the Danube, otherwise called the Ister, where he had ordered his fleet to join him. In several places on his march he caused pillars to be erected, with magnificent inscriptions, in one of which he suffered himself to be called, "the best and handsomest man living." What a littleness of soul, and vanity was this!

And yet, if all this prince's faults had terminated only in sentiments of pride and vanity, perhaps they would appear more excusable than they do, at least they would not have been so pernicious to his subjects. But how shall we reconcile Darius's disposition, which seemed to be so exceedingly humane and gentle, with a barbarous and cruel action of his towards Cebasus, a venerable old man, whose merit, as well as quality, entitled him to respect! This nobleman had three sons who were all preparing themselves to attend the king in this expedition against the Scythians. Upon Darius's departure from Susa, the good old father begged as a favour of him, that he would please to leave him one of his sons at home, to be a comfort to him in his old age. "One," replied Darius, "will not be sufficient for you; I will leave you all the three:" and immediately he caused the whole to be put to death.‡

When the army had passed the Danube upon a bridge of boats, the king was for having the bridge broken down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving so considerable a detachment of his troops, as was necessary to guard it. But one of his officers represented to him that it might be proper to keep that as a necessary resource, in case the war with the Scythians should prove unfortunate. The king assented to this opinion, and committed the guarding of the bridge to the care of the Ionians, who built it, giving them leave at the same time to go back to their own country, if he did not return in the space of two months: he then proceeded on his march to Scythia.§

As soon as the Scythians were informed that Darius was marching against them, they immediately entered into consultation upon the measures necessary to be taken. They were very sensible that they were not in a condition to resist so formidable an enemy alone. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring people, and desired their assistance, alleging that the danger was general, and concerned them all; and that it was their common interest to oppose an enemy, whose views of conquest were not confined to one nation. Some returned favourable answers to their demand; others absolutely refused to enter into a war, which they said did not regard them; but they soon had reason to repent their refusal.||

One wise precaution taken by the Scythians, was to secure their wives and children by sending them in carriages to the most northern parts of the country; with

* Ut felicitatis est quantum velis posse, sic magnitudinis velle quantum possis.—Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

† Nerva Cesar res olim dissociabiles miscuit, principatum et libertatem.—Tacit. in Vit. Agric. cap. iii.

‡ Herod. l. iv. c. 84. Senec. de Ira, c. xvi.

§ Herod. l. iv. c. 99, 101.

|| Herod. l. iv. c. 102, 118, 119.

them likewise, they sent all their herds and flocks, reserving nothing to themselves but what was necessary for the support of their army. Another precaution of theirs was to fill up all their wells, and stop up their springs, and to consume all the forage in those parts through which the Persian army were to pass. This done, they marched in conjunction with their allies against the enemy, not with the view of giving him battle, for they were determined to avoid that, but to draw him into such places as best suited their interest. Whenever the Persians seemed disposed to attack them, they still retired farther up into the country; and thereby drew them on from place to place, into the territories of those nations that had refused to enter into alliance with them, by which means their lands became a prey to the two armies of the Persians and Scythians.*

Darius, weary of those tedious and fatiguing pursuits, sent a herald to the king of the Scythians, whose name was Indathyrus, with this message, in his name: "Prince of the Scythians, wherefore dost thou continually fly before me? Why dost thou not stop somewhere or other, either to give me battle, if thou believest thyself able to encounter me, or if thou thinkest thyself too weak, to acknowledge thy master, by presenting him with earth and water?" The Scythians were a high-spirited people, extremely jealous of their liberty, and professed enemies to all slavery. Indathyrus sent Darius the following answer: "If I fly before thee, prince of the Persians, it is not because I fear thee: what I do now, is no more than what I am used to do in time of peace. We Scythians have neither cities nor land to defend: if thou hast a mind to force us to come to an engagement, come and attack the tombs of our fathers, and thou shalt find what manner of men we are. As to the title of master, which thou assumest, keep it for other nations than the Scythians. For my part I acknowledge no other master than the great Jupiter, one of my own ancestors, and the goddess Vesta."†

The farther Darius advanced into the country, the greater hardships his army was exposed to. Just when it was reduced to the last extremity, there came a herald to Darius from the Scythian prince, with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows as a present. The king desired to know the meaning of these gifts. The messenger answered, that his orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more; and that it was left to the Persian king to find out the meaning. Darius concluded at first, that the Scythians thereby consented to deliver up the earth and water to him, which were represented by a mouse and a frog; as also their cavalry, whose swiftness was represented by the bird; together with their own persons and arms, signified by the arrows. But Gobryas, one of the seven lords that had deposed the Magian impostor, expounded the enigma in the following manner: "Know," said he to the Persians, "that unless you can fly away in the air like birds, or hide yourselves in the earth like mice, or swim in the water like frogs; you shall in no wise be able to avoid the arrows of the Scythians."‡

And indeed, the whole Persian army, marching in a vast uncultivated and barren country, in which there was no water, was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin; nor was Darius himself exempted from the common danger. He owed his preservation to a camel, which was loaded with water, and followed him with great difficulty through that wild and desert country. The king did not afterwards forget this benefactor. To reward him for the service he had done him, and the fatigues he had undergone, on his return into Asia, he settled a certain district of his own upon him for his peculiar use and subsistence; for which reason the place was called Gaugamele, that is, in the Persian tongue, "the Camel's Habitation."§ It was near the same place that Darius Codomanus received a second overthrow by Alexander the Great.

Darius deliberated no longer, finding himself under an absolute necessity of quitting his imprudent enterprise. He began then to think in earnest upon returning home; and saw but too plainly that there was no time to be lost. Therefore, as soon as night came, the Persians, to deceive the enemy, lighted a great number of fires as usual; and leaving the old men and the sick behind them in the camp, together with all their asses, which made a sufficient noise, they marched with all possible haste, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians did not perceive they were gone till the next morning; whereupon they immediately sent a considerable detachment, as quick as possible, to the Danube: this detachment, being perfectly well acquainted

* Herod. l. iv. c. 120, 125.

† Herod. l. iv. c. 126, 127.
‡ Strab. l. vii. p. 305, et l. xvi. p. 737.

‡ Herod. l. iv. c. 128, 130.

with the roads of the country, arrived at the bridge a considerable time before the Persians. The Scythians had sent expresses before hand to persuade the Ionians to break the bridge, and to return to their own country; and the latter had promised to do it, but without intending to execute their promise. The Scythians now pressed them to it the more earnestly, and represented to them, that the time prescribed by Darius for staying there was elapsed; that they were at liberty to return home, without either violating their word or their duty; that they now had it in their power to throw off for ever the yoke of their subjection, and make themselves a happy and free people; and that the Scythians would render Darius incapable of forming any more enterprises against his neighbours.*

The Ionians entered into consultation upon the affair. Miltiades, an Athenian, who was prince, or, as the Greeks call it, tyrant, of Chersonesus of Thrace at the mouth of the Hellespont, was one of those that had accompanied Darius, and furnished him with ships for his enterprise. Having the public interest more at heart than his own private advantage;† he was of opinion that they should comply with the request of the Scythians, and embrace so favourable an opportunity of recovering the liberty of Ionia. All the other commanders yielded to his sentiments, except Hystiæus, the tyrant of Miletus. When it came to his turn to speak, he represented to the Ionian generals, that their fortune was linked with that of Darius; that it was under that prince's protection each of them was master in his own city; and if the power of the Persians should sink or decline, the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose their tyrants, and recover their freedom. All the other chiefs embraced his opinion; and, as is usual in most cases, the consideration of private interest prevailed over the public good. They, therefore, came to the resolution of waiting for Darius: but, in order to deceive the Scythians, and hinder them from undertaking any thing, they declared that they had resolved to retire, pursuant to their request; and the better to carry on the fraud, they actually began to break one end of the bridge, exhorting the Scythians at the same time to do their part, to return speedily back to meet the common enemy, to attack and defeat them. The Scythians, being too credulous, retired, and were deceived a second time.

They missed Darius, who had taken a different route from that in which they expected to come up with him. He arrived by night at the bridge over the Danube, and finding it broken down, he no longer doubted but the Ionians were gone, and consequently he should be ruined. He made his people call out with a loud voice for Hystiæus, the Milesian, who at last answered and relieved the king from his anxiety. They entirely repaired the bridge; so that Darius repassed the Danube, and came back into Thrace. There he left Megabyzus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country, and entirely reduce it to his obedience. After which he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest of his troops, and went to Sardis, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the following year, in order to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.‡

Megabyzus continued some time in Thrace, whose inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they used the discretion to unite their forces, and to choose one chief commander.§ Some of them had very particular customs. In one of their districts, when a child came into the world, all the relations expressed great sorrow and affliction, bitterly weeping at the prospect of misery the new-born infant had to experience: and, when any person died, all their kindred rejoiced, because they looked upon the deceased person as happy only from that moment, wherein he was delivered for ever from the troubles and calamities of this life. In another district, where polygamy was in fashion, when a husband died, it was a great dispute among his wives, which of them was the best beloved. She in whose favour the contest was decided, had the privilege of being sacrificed by her nearest relation upon the tomb of her husband, and of being buried with him; while all the other wives envied her happiness, and thought themselves in some sort dishonoured.

Darius, on his return to Sardis after his unhappy expedition against the Scythians, having learned to a certainty that he owed both his own safety and that of his whole army to Hystiæus, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for that prince to his court, and desired him freely to ask any

* Herod. l. iv. c. 134, 140.

† Herod. l. iv. c. 141, 144.

‡ Amicior omnium libertati quam suæ dominationi fuit.--Corn. Nep.

§ Herod. l. v. c. 1.

favour, in recompence of his service. Hystiæus hereupon desired the king to give him Marcina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, together with the liberty of building a city there. His request was readily granted: whereupon he returned to Miletus, where he caused a fleet of ships to be equipped, and then set out for Thrace. Having taken possession of the territory granted him, he immediately set about the execution of his project for building a city.*

Megabyzus,† who was then governor of Thrace for Darius, immediately perceived how prejudicial that undertaking would be to the king's affairs in those quarters. He considered, that this new city stood upon a navigable river: that the country round it abounded in timber fit for the building of ships; that it was inhabited by different nations, both Greeks and barbarians, that might furnish great numbers of men for land and sea service; that if once those people were under the management of a prince so skilful and enterprising as Hystiæus, they might become so powerful both by sea and land, that it would be no longer possible for the king to keep them in subjection; especially considering, that they had a great many gold and silver mines in that country, which would enable them to carry on any projects or enterprises. At his return to Sardis, he represented all these things to the king, who was convinced by his reasons, and therefore sent for Hystiæus to come to him at Sardis, pretending to have some great designs in view, wherein he wanted the assistance of his counsel. When he had brought him to his court by this means, he carried him to Susa, making him believe, that he set an extraordinary value upon a friend of his fidelity and understanding: two qualifications that rendered him so very dear to him, and of which he had given such memorable proofs in the Scythian expedition; and giving him to understand at the same time, that he should be able to find something for him in Persia, which would make him ample amends for all that he could leave behind him. Hystiæus, pleased with so honourable a distinction, and finding himself likewise under a necessity of complying, accompanied Darius to Susa, and left Aristagoras to govern at Miletus in his stead.

While Megabyzus was still in Thrace, he sent several Persian noblemen to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, to require him to give earth and water to Darius his master: this was the usual form of one prince's submitting to another: Amyntas readily complied with that request, and paid all imaginable honour to the envoys. Towards the conclusion of an entertainment which he made for them, they desired that the ladies might be brought in, which was a thing contrary to the custom of the country: the king however, would not venture to refuse them. The Persian noblemen being heated with wine, and thinking they might use the same freedom as in their own country, did not observe a due decorum towards those princesses. The king's son, whose name was Alexander, could not see his mother and sister treated in such a manner, without great resentment and indignation. Wherefore, upon some pretence or other, he contrived to send the ladies out of the room, as if they were to return again presently: and had the precaution to get the king, his father, also out of the company. In this interval he caused some young men to be dressed like women, and to be armed with poignards under their garments. These pretended ladies came into the room instead of the others; and when the Persians began to treat them as they had before treated the princesses, they drew out their poignards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the noblemen, but every one of their attendants. The news of this slaughter soon reached Susa; and the king appointed commissioners to take cognizance of the matter; but Alexander, by the power of bribes and presents, stifled the affair, so that it came to nothing.‡

The Scythians, to be revenged of Darius for invading their country, passed the Danube, and ravaged all that part of Thrace that had submitted to the Persians, as far as the Hellespont. Miltiades, to avoid their fury, abandoned the Chersonesus: but after the enemy retired, he returned thither, and was restored to the same power he had before over the inhabitants of the country.§

SECTION V.—DARIUS'S CONQUEST OF INDIA.

ABOUT the same time,|| which was in the thirteenth year of Darius's reign, this prince, ambitious of extending his dominion eastwards, first resolved, in order to facilitate his conquests, to get a proper knowledge of the country. To this end, he caused a fleet to be built and fitted out at Caspatyra, a city upon the Indus, and did the same at several other places on the same river, as far as the frontiers as Asiatic

* Idem, c. 11, 23. † Idem, c. 23, 25. ‡ Herod. l. v. c. 17, 21. § Herod. l. vi. c. 40. || A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.

Scythia.* The command of this fleet was given to Scylax,† a Grecian of Caryandia, a town of Caria, who was perfectly well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were, to sail down that river, and get all the knowledge he possibly could of the country on both sides, quite down to the mouth of the river; to pass from thence into the southern ocean, and to steer his course afterwards to the west, and return that way to Persia. Scylax, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed quite down the river Indus, entered the Red Sea by the strait of Babelmandel; and after a voyage of thirty months from the time of his setting out from Caspatyra, he arrived in Egypt at the same port from whence Nechao, king of Egypt, had formerly sent to the Phœnicians, who were in his service, with orders to sail round the coast of Africa.‡ Very probably this was the same port where now stands the town of Suez, at the farther end of the Red Sea. From thence Scylax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius an account of all his discoveries. Darius afterwards entered India with an army, and subjected all that vast country. The reader will naturally expect to be informed of the particulars of so important a war. But Herodotus§ does not say one word about it: he only tells us, that India made the twentieth province, or government, of the Persian empire, and the annual revenue of it was worth three hundred and sixty talents of gold to Darius, which amount to near eleven millions of livres of French money, something less than five hundred thousand pounds sterling, or more than two millions of dollars.

SECTION VI.—THE REVOLT OF THE IONIANS.

DARIUS, after his return to Susa from the Scythian expedition had given his brother Artaphernes the government of Sardis, and made Otanes commander in Thrace, and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of Megabyzus.||

From a small spark, kindled by a sedition at Naxus, arose a great flame, which gave occasion to a considerable war. Naxus was the most important island of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea, now called the Archipelago. In this sedition the principal inhabitants been overpowered by the populace, who were the greater number, many of the richest families were banished out of the island. Hereupon they fled to Miletus, and addressed themselves to Aristagoras, imploring him to reinstate them in their own city. He was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hystiæus, to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law, and whom Darius had carried along with him to Susa. Aristagoras promised to give these exiles the assistance they desired.¶

But not being powerful enough himself to execute what he had promised, he went to Sardis, and communicated the affair to Artaphernes. He represented to him, that this was a very favourable opportunity for reducing Naxus under the power of Darius; that if he was once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades would fall of themselves into his hands, one after another; that in consequence, the isle of Eubœa, now Negropont, which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near it, would be easily conquered, which would give the king a free passage into Greece, and the means of subjecting all that country; and, in short, that a hundred ships would be sufficient for the effectual execution of this enterprize. Artaphernes was so pleased with the project, that, instead of one hundred vessels, which Aristagoras required, he promised him two hundred, in case he obtained the king's consent to the expedition.

The king, charmed with the mighty hopes with which he was flattered, very readily approved the enterprize, though it was founded only on injustice, and a boundless ambition; as also in perfidiousness on the part of Aristagoras and Artaphernes. No consideration gave him a moment's pause. The most injurious project is formed and accepted without the least reluctance or scruple: motives of advantage and convenience solely determine. The island lay convenient for the Persians: this was conceived a sufficient title, and a warrantable ground to reduce it by force of arms. And, indeed, most of the other expeditions of this prince had no better principle.

As soon as Artaphernes had obtained the king's consent to this project, he made the necessary preparations for executing it. The better to conceal his design, and

* Herod. l. iv. c. 41.

† There is a treatise of geography entitled Περὶ τῆς Ἰνδίας, and composed by one Scylax of Caryandia, who is thought to be the same person spoken of in this place. But that opinion is attended with some difficulties, which have given occasion to many learned dissertations.

‡ Herod. l. iv. c. 42.

§ Lib. iii. c. 94.

|| A. M. 3500.

Ant. J. C. 504. Herod. l. v. c. 25.

¶ Idem, c. 28, 34.

to surprise the people of Naxos, he spread a report that his fleet was going towards the Hellespont; and the spring following he sent the number of ships he had promised to Miletus, under the command of Megabates, a Persian nobleman of the royal family of Achæmenes. But being directed in his commission to obey the orders of Aristagoras, that haughty Persian could not bear to be under the command of an Ionian, especially one who treated him in a lofty and imperious manner. This pique occasioned a breach between the two generals, which rose so high, that Megabates, to be revenged of Aristagoras gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design formed against them. Upon which intelligence they made such preparations for their defence, that the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the capital of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire.

This project having thus miscarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristagoras, and entirely ruined his credit with Artaphernes. The Ionians foresaw, that this accident would be attended, not only with the loss of his government, but with his utter ruin. The desperate situation he was in made him think of revolting from the king, as the only expedient whereby he could possibly save himself. No sooner had he formed this design, than a messenger came to him from Hystiæus, who gave him the same counsel. Hystiæus, who had now been some years at the Persian court, being disgusted with the manners of that nation, and having an ardent desire to return to his own country, thought this the most likely means of bringing it about, and therefore gave Aristagoras that counsel. He flattered himself, that in case any troubles arose in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them; and, in fact, the thing happened according to his expectation. As soon as Aristagoras found his designs seconded by the orders of Hystiæus, he imparted them to the principal persons of Ionia, whom he found extremely well disposed to enter into his views. He therefore deliberated no longer, but being determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to making preparations for it.*

The people of Tyre, having been reduced to slavery when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppression for the space of seventy years. But after the expiration of that term, they were restored, according to Isaiah's prophecy,† to the possession of their ancient privileges, with the liberty of having a king of their own; which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. It seems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in consideration of the service he expected to receive from that city, (which was so powerful by sea,) in reducing the Ionians to their ancient subjection. This was in the nineteenth year of Darius's reign.‡

The next year, Aristagoras, in order to engage the Ionians to adhere the more closely to him, reinstated them in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he divested himself of his power, and resigned it into the hands of the people. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his influence, and perhaps by the fear that they would be forced to it whether they would or not, he prevailed upon all the other tyrants to do the same in every city. They complied the more readily with it, as the Persian power, since the check it received in Scythia, was the less able to protect them against the Ionians, who were naturally fond of liberty and a state of independence, and professed enemies to all tyranny. Having united them all in this manner in one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he set up the standard of rebellion against the king, and made great preparations by sea and land for supporting a war against him.§

To enable himself to carry on the war with more vigour, Aristagoras went, in the beginning of the year following, to Lacedæmon, in order to bring that city into his interests, and engage it to furnish him with succours. Cleomenes was at this time king of Sparta. He was the son of Anaxandrides by a second wife, whom the Ephori had obliged to marry, because he had no issue by the first. He had by her three sons besides Cleomenes, namely, Doreus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus, the two last of whom ascended the throne of Lacedæmon in their turn. Aristagoras then addressed himself to Cleomenes; and the time and place for an interview between them being agreed to, he waited upon him, and represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that Sparta being the most powerful city of Greece, it would be for her honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring

* Herod. l. v. c. 35, 36.

† "And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire." Isa. xxiii. 17.

‡ A. M. 3502. Ant. J. C. 502.

§ Herod. l. v. c. 37, 38.

the Ionians to their liberty: that the Persians, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but exceeding rich and wealthy, and consequently would become an easy prey to the Lacedæmonians; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Susa, the metropolis of the Persian empire, and the place of the king's residence: he showed him, at the same time, a description of all the nations and towns through which they were to pass, engraven upon a little plate of brass which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes desired three days to consider of his proposals. That term being expired, he asked the Ionian how far it was from the Ionian sea to Susa, and how much time it required to go from the one place to the other. Aristagoras, without considering the effect his answer was likely to have with Cleomenes, told him, that from Ionia to Susa was about three months' journey.* Cleomenes was so amazed at this proposal, that he immediately ordered him to depart from Sparta before sun-set. Aristagoras, nevertheless, followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to win him by arguments of another sort, that is, by presents. The first sum he offered him was only ten talents, which were equivalent to thirty thousand livres French money: that being refused, he still rose in his offers, till at last he proposed to give him fifty talents. Gorgo, a daughter of Cleomenes, about eight or nine years of age, whom her father had not ordered to quit the room, apprehending nothing from so young a child, hearing the proposals that were made to her father, cried out, "Fly, father, fly, this stranger will corrupt you," Cleomenes, laughed, yet observed the child's admonition, and actually retired. Aristagoras left Sparta.†

From hence he proceeded to Athens, where he found a more favourable reception. He had the good fortune to arrive there at a time when the Athenians were extremely well disposed to hearken to any proposals that could be made to them against the Persians, with whom they were highly offended on the following occasion. Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, about ten years before the time we are speaking of, having been banished, after having in vain tried numerous methods for his re-establishment, at last went to Sardis, and made application to Artaphernes. He insinuated himself so far into the good opinion of that governor, that he listened favourably to all he said to the disadvantage of the Athenians, and became extremely prejudiced against them.‡ The Athenians, having intelligence of this, sent an ambassador to Sardis, and desired of Artaphernes, not to give ear to what any of their outlaws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of Artaphernes to this message was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall Hippias. When this haughty answer was brought back to the Athenians, the whole city was violently enraged against the Persians. Aristagoras, coming thither just at this juncture, easily obtained all he desired. Herodotus remarks on this occasion, how much easier it is to impose upon a multitude than upon a single person; and so Aristagoras found it; for he prevailed with thirty-thousand Athenians to come to a resolution, into which he could not persuade Cleomenes alone. They engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist him in his design; and it may be truly said, that this little fleet, was the original source of all the calamities in which both the Persians and Grecians were afterwards involved.§

In the third year of this war, the Ionians, having collected all their forces, together with the twenty vessels furnished by the city of Athens, and five more from Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, set sail for Ephesus, where, leaving their ships, they marched by land to the city of Sardis: and, finding the place in a defenceless condition, soon made themselves masters of it: but were not able to force the citadel, into which Artaphernes retired. As most of the houses of the city were built with reeds, and consequently were very combustible, an Ionian soldier set fire to one house, the flame of which spreading and communicating itself to the rest, reduced the whole city to ashes. Upon this accident, the Persians and Lydians assembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians judged it was time for them to think of retreating; and accordingly they marched back with all possible diligence, in order to re-embark at Ephesus: but the Persians, arriving there almost as soon as they, attacked them vigor-

* According to Herodotus, who reckons the parasanga, a Persian measure, to contain 30 stadia, the distance from Sardis to Susa is 450 parasangas, or 13,500 stadia, which makes 675 of our leagues; for we generally reckon 20 stadia to one of our common leagues. So that by travelling 150 stadia per day, which makes seven leagues and a half of our measure, it is ninety days' journey from Sardis to Susa. If they set out from Ephesus, it would require about four days more, for Ephesus is 540 stadia from Sardis.

† Herod. l. v. c. 38, 41, 49, 51.

‡ This fact has been before treated at large in the preceding volume.

§ Herod. l. v. c. 55, 96, 97.

ously, and destroyed a great number of their men. The Athenians, after the return of their ships, would never again engage in this war, notwithstanding all the intreaties and solicitations of Aristagoras.*

Darius being informed of the burning of Sardis, and of the part the Athenians took in that affair, resolved from that very time to make war upon Greece; and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry out to him with a loud voice every night, when he was at supper, "Sir, remember the Athenians." In the burning of Sardis it happened that the temple of Cybele, the goddess of that country, was consumed with the rest of the city. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the Persians to burn all the temples they found in Greece; to which they were likewise induced by a motive of religion, which I have before explained.†

As Aristagoras, the head and manager of this revolt, was Hystiæus's lieutenant at Miletus, Darius suspected that the latter might probably be the instigator of the whole conspiracy; for which reason he entered into a free conference with him upon the subject, and acquainted him with his thoughts, and the just grounds he had for his suspicions. Hystiæus, who was a crafty courtier, and an expert master in the art of dissembling, appeared extremely surprised and afflicted; and speaking in a tone that at once expressed both sorrow and indignation, thus endeavoured to exculpate himself to the king: "is it possible, then, for your majesty to have entertained so injurious a suspicion of the most faithful and most affectionate of your servants? I concerned in a rebellion against you! Alas! what is there in the world that could tempt me to it? Do I want any thing here? Am I not already raised to one of the highest stations in your court? And besides the honour I have of assisting at your councils, do I not daily receive new proofs of your bounty, by the numberless favours you heap upon me?" After this he insinuated, that the revolt in Ionia proceeded from his absence and distance from the county; that they had waited for that opportunity to rebel; that if he had staid at Miletus, the conspiracy would never have been formed: that the surest way to restore the king's affairs in that province, would be to send him thither; that he promised him on the forfeiture of his head, to deliver Aristagoras into his hands; and engaged, besides all this, to make the large island of Sardinia tributary to him.‡ The best princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a subject into their confidence, it is with difficulty they withdraw from him; nor do they easily undeceive themselves. Darius, imposed upon by the air of sincerity with which Hystiæus spoke on this occasion, believed him on his own word, and gave him leave to return to Ionia, on condition he would return to the Persian court as soon as he had executed what he promised.§

The revolters in the mean time, though deserted by the Athenians, and notwithstanding the considerable check they had received in Ionia, did not lose courage, but still pushed on their point with resolution. Their fleet set sail towards the Hellespont and the Propontis, and reduced Byzantium, with the major part of the other Grecian cities in that quarter: after which, as they were returning, they obliged the Carians and the people of Cyprus to join with them in this war. The Persian generals, having divided their forces among themselves, marched three different ways against the rebels, and defeated them in several encounters, in one of which Aristagoras was slain.||

When Hystiæus came to Sardis, his intriguing spirit formed a plot against the government, into which he drew a great number of Persians. But, perceiving by some discourse he had with Artaphernes, that the part he had in the revolt of Ionia was not unknown to that governor, he thought it not safe for him to stay any longer at Sardis, and retired secretly, the night following, to the isle of Chios: from thence he sent a trusty messenger to Sardis; with letters for such of the Persians as he had gained to his party. This messenger betrayed him, and delivered his letters to Artaphernes, by which means the plot was discovered, all his accomplices put to death, and his project utterly defeated. But still imagining that he could bring about some enterprise of importance, if he was once at the head of the Ionian league, he made several attempts to get into Miletus, and to be admitted into the confederacy by the citizens: but none of his endeavours succeeded, and he was obliged to return to Chios.¶

* Herod. l. v. c. 99, 103.

† Herod. l. v. c. 105.

‡ This island is very remote from Ionia, and could have no relation to it. I am therefore inclined to believe it must be an error that has crept into the text of Herodotus.

§ Herod. l. v. c. 105, 107.

|| Herod. l. v. c. 103, 104, 108, and 122.

¶ Herod. l. vi. c. 1—5.

Being there asked why he had so strongly urged Aristagoras to revolt, and by that means involved Ionia in such calamities, he made answer, that it was because the king had resolved to transport the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to plant the Phœnicians in Ionia. But all this was a mere story and fiction of his own inventing, Darius having never conceived any such design. The artifice, however, served his purpose extremely well, not only for justifying him to the Ionians, but also for engaging them to prosecute the war with vigour. For, being alarmed at the thoughts of this transmigration, they came to a firm resolution to defend themselves against the Persians to the last extremity.*

Artaphernes and Otanes, with the rest of the Persian generals, finding that Miletus was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that if they could carry that city, all the rest would submit of course. The Ionians, having intelligence of their design, determined in a general assembly to send no army into the field, but to fortify Miletus, to furnish it as well as possible with provisions, and all things necessary for enduring a siege; and to unite all their forces to engage the Persians at sea, their skill in maritime affairs inducing them to believe, that they should have the advantage in a naval battle. The place of their rendezvous was Laid, a small isle opposite to Miletus, where they assembled a fleet of three hundred and fifty-three vessels. At the sight of this fleet, the Persians, though stronger by one half with respect to the number of their ships, were afraid to hazard a battle, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert: so that when the two fleets came to action, the ships of Samos, of Lesbos, and several other places, sailed off, and returned to their own country, and the remaining fleet of the confederates, consisting of not more than a hundred vessels, were all quickly overpowered by numbers, and almost entirely destroyed. After this, the city of Miletus was besieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who utterly destroyed it. This happened six years after the revolt of Aristagoras. All the other cities, as well on the continent as on the sea-coast and in the isles, returned to their duty soon after, either voluntarily, or by force. Those persons who stood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handsomest of the young men were chosen to serve in the king's palace, and the young women were all sent to Persia: the cities and temples were reduced to ashes. These were the effects of the revolt, into which the people were drawn by the ambitious views of Aristagoras and Hystiæus.†

Hystiæus suffered in the general calamity: for that same year he was taken by the Persians, and carried to Sardis, where Artaphernes caused him to be immediately hanged, without consulting Darius, lest that prince's affection for Hystiæus should incline him to pardon him, and by that means a dangerous enemy should be left alive, who might create the Persians new troubles. It appeared by the sequel, that the conjecture of Artaphernes was well grounded: for when Hystiæus's head was brought to Darius, he expressed great dissatisfaction at the authors of his death, and caused the head to be honourably interred, as being the remains of a person to whom he owed infinite obligations, the remembrance of which was too deeply engraven on his mind, ever to be effaced by the greatness of any crimes he had afterwards committed. Hystiæus was one of those restless, bold, and enterprising spirits, in whom many good qualities are joined with still greater vices; with whom all means are lawful and good, that seem to promote the end they have in view; who look upon justice, probity, and sincerity, as mere empty names; who make no scruple to employ lying or fraud, treachery, or even perjury, when it is to serve their turn; and who account it nothing to ruin nations, or even their own country, if necessary to their own elevation. His end was worthy his sentiments, and what is common enough to these irreligious politicians, who sacrifice every thing to their ambition, and acknowledge no other rule of their actions, and hardly any other God than their interest and fortune.‡

SECTION VII.—THE EXPEDITION OF DARIUS'S ARMY AGAINST GREECE.

DARIUS, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, sent Mardonius the son of Gobryas, a young lord of an illustrious Persian family, who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis upon the Athenians and Eretrians.§ The king did

* Herod. l. vi. c. 3.

† Herod. l. vi. c. 29, 30.

‡ Herod. l. vi. c. 6, 20 31, and 33.

§ A. M. 3510. Ant. J. C. 494. Herod. l. vi. c. 43, 45.

not show much wisdom in this choice, by which he preferred a young man, because he was a favourite, to all his oldest and most experienced generals; especially as it was in so difficult a war, the success of which he had very much at heart, and wherein the glory of his reign was intimately concerned. His being son-in-law to the king was a quality indeed that might augment his influence, but added nothing to his real merit, or his capacity as a general.

Upon his arrival in Macedonia, into which he had marched with his land-forces, after having passed through Thrace, the whole country, terrified by his power, submitted. But his fleet, attempting to double Mount Athos, now called Capo Santo, in order to gain the coasts of Macedonia, was attacked with so violent a storm of wind, that upwards of three hundred ships, with above twenty thousand men, perished in the sea. His land army at the same time met with an equally fatal overthrow. For, being encamped in a place of no security, the Thracians attacked the Persian camp by night, made a great slaughter of the men, and wounded Mardonius himself. All this ill success obliged him shortly after to return into Asia, with grief and confusion at his having miscarried both by sea and land in this expedition.

Darius, perceiving too late that the youth and inexperience of Mardonius had occasioned the defeat of his troops, recalled him and gave the command to two generals, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. The king was earnestly bent upon putting in execution the great design he had long had in mind, which was to attack Greece with all his forces, and particularly to take a signal vengeance on the people of Athens and Eretria, whose enterprise against Sardis was perpetually in his thoughts.

1. THE STATE OF ATHENS. THE CHARACTERS OF MILTIADES, THEMISTOCLES, AND ARISTIDES.

BEFORE we enter upon this war, it will be proper to refresh our memories with a view of the state of Athens at this time, which alone sustained the first shock of the Persians at Marathon: to form some idea beforehand, of the great men who shared in that celebrated victory.

Athens, just delivered from that yoke of servitude which she had been forced to bear for above thirty years, under the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, now peaceably enjoyed the advantages of liberty, the sweetness and value of which were only heightened and improved by that short privation. Lacedæmon, which was at this time the mistress of Greece, and had contributed at first to this happy change in Athens, seemed afterwards to repent of her good offices; and growing jealous of the tranquillity she herself had procured for her neighbours, she attempted to disturb it, by endeavouring to reinstate Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, in the government of Athens. But all her attempts were fruitless, and served only to manifest her ill-will, and her grief, to see Athens determined to maintain its independence even of Sparta itself. Hippias hereupon had recourse to the Persians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, sent the Athenians word, as we have already mentioned, that they must re-establish Hippias in his authority, unless they chose rather to draw the whole power of Darius upon them. This second attempt succeeded no better than the first; Hippias was obliged to wait for a more favourable juncture. We shall see presently that he served as a conductor or guide to the Persian generals sent by Darius against Greece.

Athens, from the recovery of her liberty was quite another city than under her tyrants, and displayed a very different kind of spirit. Among the citizens, Miltiades distinguished himself most in the war with the Persians, which we are going to relate. He was the son of Cimon, an illustrious Athenian. This Cimon had a half brother by the mother's side, whose name was likewise Miltiades, of a very ancient and noble family in Ægina, who had lately been received into the number of Athenian citizens. He was a person of great reputation even in the time of Pisistratus; but being unwilling to bear the yoke of a despotic government, he joyfully embraced the offer made him, of going to settle with a colony in the Thracian Chersonesus, where he was invited by the Dolonci, the inhabitants of that country, to be their king, or according to the language of those times, their tyrant. He, dying without children, left the sovereignty to Stesagoras, who was his nephew, and eldest son of his brother Cimon; and Stesagoras also dying without issue, the sons of Pisistratus, who then ruled the city of Athens, sent his brother Miltiades, the person we are now speaking of, into that country to be his successor. He arrived there, and established himself in the government, the same year that Darius undertook his expedition

against the Scythians. He attended that prince with some ships as far as the Danube: and was the person who advised the Ionians to destroy the bridge, and return home without waiting for Darius. During his residence in the Chersonesus, he married Hegesipyla,* daughter of Olorous, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, the famous Athenian general, of whom a great deal will be said in the sequel. Miltiades, having for several reasons abdicated his government in Thrace; embarked with all his effects on board five ships, and set sail for Athens. There he settled a second time, and acquired great reputation.†

At the same time two other citizens, younger than Miltiades, began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely, Aristides and Themistocles. Plutarch observes, that the former of these two had endeavoured to form himself upon the model of Clisthenes, one of the greatest men of his time, and a zealous defender of liberty, who had greatly contributed to the restoring of it at Athens, by expelling the Pisistratidæ out of that city. It was an excellent custom among the ancients, and it is to be wished that the same might prevail among us, that the young men, ambitious of public employments, particularly attached themselves to such aged and experienced persons as had distinguished themselves most eminently in business, and who, both by their conversation and example, could teach them the art of conducting themselves, and governing others with wisdom and discretion.‡ Thus, says Plutarch, did Aristides attach himself to Clisthenes, and Cimon to Aristides; and he mentions several others, among the rest, Polybius, whom we have mentioned so often, and who in his youth was the constant disciple and faithful imitator of the celebrated Philopœmen.§

Themistocles and Aristides were of very different dispositions; but they both rendered great services to the commonwealth. Themistocles, who naturally inclined to popular government, omitted nothing that could contribute to render him agreeable to the people, and to gain friends; behaving himself with great affability and complaisance to every body; always ready to do service to the citizens, every one of whom he knew by name; nor was he very scrupulous about the means he used to oblige them. Somebody talking with him once on this subject, told him he would make an excellent magistrate, if his behaviour towards the citizens was more equal, and if he was not biassed in favour of one more than another. "God forbid," replied Themistocles, I should ever sit upon a tribunal, where my friend should find no more credit or favour than strangers."|| Cleon, who appeared some time after at Athens, observed a quite different conduct, but yet such as was not wholly exempted from blame. When he came into the administration of public affairs, he assembled all his friends, and declared to them, that from that moment he renounced their friendship, lest it should prove an obstacle to him in the discharge of his duty, and cause him to act with partiality and injustice. This was doing them very little honour, and judging harshly of their integrity. But, as Plutarch says, it was not his friends, but his passions, that he ought to have renounced.

Aristides had the discretion to observe a just medium between these two vicious extremes. Being a favourer of aristocracy in imitation of Lycurgus, whom he greatly admired, he in a manner struck out a new path of his own; not endeavouring to oblige his friends at the expense of justice, and yet always ready to do them service when consistent with it. He carefully avoided making use of his friends' recommendations for obtaining employments, lest it should prove a dangerous obligation upon him, as well as a plausible pretext for them, to expect the same favour on the like occasion. He used to say, that the true citizen, or the honest man, ought to make no other use of his credit and power, than upon all occasions to practise what was honest and just, and engage others to do the same.

Considering this contrariety of principles and humours among these great men, we are not to wonder, if, during their administration, there was a continual opposition between them. Themistocles, who was bold and enterprising, was still sure almost always to find Aristides against him, who thought himself obliged to thwart the other's designs, even sometimes when they were just and beneficial to the public, lest he should get too great an ascendant and authority, which might become pernicious to the commonwealth. One day, having got the better of Themistocles,

* After the death of Miltiades, this princess had, by a second husband, a son who was called Olorus, after the name of his grandfather, and who was the father of Thucydidēs the historian.—Herod.

† Herod. l. vi. c. 34, 41. Corn. Nep. in Mil. cap. i.—iii.

‡ Discrea a peritis, sequi optimos. Tacit. in Agric.

§ Plut. in Arist. p. 319, 320. et in Them. 112, 113. An seni sit in ger. Resp. p. 790, 791.

|| Cic. de Senect. Plut. An Seni sit ger. Resp. p. 800, 807.

who had made some proposal really advantageous to the state, he could not contain himself, but cried out aloud as he went out of the assembly, "That the Athenians would never prosper, till they threw them both into the Barathrum." The Barathrum was a pit into which malefactors, condemned to die, were thrown.* But notwithstanding this mutual opposition, when the common interest was at stake, they were no longer enemies: and whenever they were to take the field, or engage in any expedition, they mutually agreed to lay aside all differences on leaving the city, and to be at liberty to resume them on their return, if they thought fit.*

The predominant passion of Themistocles was ambition and the love of glory, which discovered itself from his childhood. After the battle of Marathon, which we shall speak of presently, when the people were every where extolling the valour and conduct of Miltiades, who had won it, Themistocles never appeared but in a thoughtful and melancholy humour; he spent whole nights without sleep, and was never seen at public feasts and entertainments as usual. When his friends, astonished at this change, asked him the reason of it, he made answer, "that the trophies of Miltiades would not let him sleep." These were a kind of incentive, which never ceased to prompt and animate his ambition. From this time Themistocles addicted himself wholly to arms; and the love of martial glory wholly engrossed him.

As for Aristides, the love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions. What he was most particularly admired for, was his constancy and steadiness under the unforeseen changes, to which those who have the administration of affairs are exposed; for he was neither elevated with the honour conferred upon him, nor cast down at the contempt and disappointments he sometimes experienced. On all occasions, he preserved his usual calmness and temper, being persuaded, that a man ought to give himself up entirely to his country, and to serve it with a perfect disinterestedness, as well with regard to glory as to riches. The general esteem he had gained for the uprightness of his intentions, the purity of his zeal for the interests of the state, and the sincerity of his virtue, appeared one day in the theatre, when one of Æschylus's plays was acting. For when the actor repeated that verse which describes the character of Amphiaraus, "He does not desire to seem an honest and virtuous man, but really to be so," the whole audience cast their eyes on Aristides, and applied the eulogy to him.

Another thing related of him, with respect to a public employment, is very remarkable. He was no sooner made treasurer-general of the republic, than he made it appear that his predecessors in office had defrauded the state of vast sums of money, and among the rest Themistocles, in particular; for this great man, with all his merit, was not irreproachable on that head. For which reason, when Aristides came to pass his accounts. Themistocles raised a mighty faction against him, accused him of having embezzled the public treasure, and prevailed so far as to have him condemned and fined. But the principal inhabitants, and the most virtuous part of the citizens, rising up against so unjust a sentence, not only the judgment was reversed, and the fine remitted, but he was elected treasurer for the ensuing year. He then seemed to repent of his former administration; and by showing himself tractable and indulgent towards others, he found out the secret of pleasing all that plundered the commonwealth. For as he neither reprov'd them, nor narrowly inspected their accounts, all these plunderers, grown fat with spoil and rapine, now extolled Aristides to the skies. It would have been easy for him, as we perceive, to enrich himself in a post of that nature, which seems, as it were, to invite a man to do so by the many favourable opportunities presented to him; especially as he had to deal with officers, who for their part, were intent upon nothing but robbing the public, and would have been ready to conceal the frauds of the treasurer their master, upon condition he did them the same favour.

These very officers now made interest with the people to have him continued a third year in the same employment. But when the time of election arrived, just as they were upon the point of electing Aristides unanimously, he rose up, and warmly reprov'd the Athenian people: "what," said he, "when I managed your treasure with all the fidelity and diligence an honest man is capable of, I met with the most cruel treatment, and the most mortifying returns; and now that I have abandoned it to the mercy of all these robbers of the public, am I an admirable man, and the best of citizens? I cannot help declaring to you, that I am more ashamed of the honour

* Plut. Apophthegm. p. 186.

you do me this day, than I was of the condemnation you passed against me this time twelve-month: and with grief I find, that it is more glorious with us to be complaisant to knaves, than to save the treasures of the republic." By this declaration he silenced the public plunderers, and gained the esteem of all good men.

Such were the characters of these two illustrious Athenians, who began to display their extraordinary merit, when Darius turned his arms against Greece.

2. DARIUS SENDS HERALDS INTO GREECE, IN ORDER TO SOUND THE PEOPLE, AND TO REQUIRE THEM TO SUBMIT.

BEFORE this prince would directly engage in this enterprise, he judged it expedient, first of all, to sound the Grecians, and know in what manner the different states stood affected towards him. With this view he sent heralds into all parts of Greece to require earth and water in his name. This was the form used by the Persians when they demanded submission from those they were desirous of bringing under subjection. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the Grecian cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demands; as did also the inhabitants of Ægina, a small island opposite to, and not far from Athens. This proceeding of the people of Ægina was looked upon as a public treason. The Athenians, represented the matter to the Spartans, who immediately sent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of it. The people of Ægina refused to deliver them up, under pretence that he came without his colleague.*

This colleague was Demaratus, who had himself suggested that excuse. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for that affront, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family, and succeeded in his attempt by the assistance of the priestess of Delphos, whom he had suborned to give an answer favourable to his designs. Demaratus, not being able to endure so gross an injury, banished himself from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with open arms, and gave him a considerable settlement in Persia. He was succeeded in the throne by Leotychides, who joined his colleague, and went with him to Ægina, from whence they brought away ten of the principal inhabitants, and committed them to the custody of the Athenians, their declared enemies. Cleomenes dying not long after, and the fraud he had committed at Delphos being discovered, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to oblige the people of Athens to set those prisoners at liberty, but they refused.

The Persian heralds, who went to Sparta and Athens, were not so favourably received as those that had been sent to the other cities. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take earth and water from thence.† I should be less surprised at this unworthy treatment, if Athens alone had been concerned in it. It was a proceeding suitable enough to a popular government, rash, impetuous, and violent, where reason is seldom heard, and every thing determined by passion. But I do not find any thing in this, agreeably to the Spartan equity and gravity. They were at liberty to refuse what was demanded: but to treat public officers in such a manner, was an open violation of the law of nations. If what historians say on this head be true, the crime did not remain unpunished. Talthybius, one of Agamemnon's heralds, was honoured at Sparta as a god, and had a temple there. He revenged the indignities done to the heralds of the king of Persia, and made the Spartans feel the effects of his wrath, by bringing many terrible accidents upon them. In order to appease him, and to expiate their offence, they sent afterwards several of their chief citizens into Persia, who voluntarily offered themselves as victims for their country. They were delivered into the hands of Xerxes, who would not let them suffer, but sent them back to their own country. As for the Athenians, Talthybius executed his vengeance on the family of Miltiades, who was principally concerned in the outrage committed upon Darius's heralds.‡

3. THE PERSIANS DEFEATED AT MARATHON BY MILTIADES.

DARIUS immediately sent away Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed generals in the room of Mardonius.§ Their instructions, were to give up Eretria and Athens to be plundered, to burn the houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places prisoners, and to send them to Darius; for which purpose they went

* Herod. l. vi. c. 49 et 86.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 135, 136. Paus. in Lacon. p. 182, 183.

‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 133, 136.

§ A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490

provided with a great number of chains and fetters. They set sail with a fleet of five or six hundred ships, and an army of five hundred thousand men. After having made themselves masters of the isles in the Ægean sea, which they did without difficulty, they steered their course towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took after a siege of seven days, by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants; they reduced it entirely to ashes, put all the inhabitants in chains, and sent them to Persia.* Darius, contrary to their expectation, treated them kindly, and gave them a village in the country of Cissia† for their habitation, which was but a day's journey from Susa, where Apollonius Tyanæus found some of their descendants six hundred years afterwards.‡

After this success at Eretria, the Persians advanced towards Attica. Hæpias conducted them to Marathon, a little town by the sea side. They took care to acquaint the Athenians with the fate of Eretria, and to let them know, that not an inhabitant of that place had escaped their vengeance, in hopes that this news would induce them to surrender immediately.§ The Athenians had sent to Lacedæmon, to desire succours against the common enemy, which the Spartans granted them instantly; but which could not set out till some days after, on account of an ancient custom and superstitious maxim among them, that did not allow them to begin a march before the full of the moon. Not one of their other allies prepared to succour them, such terror had the formidable army of the Persians spread on every side. The inhabitants of Platæ alone furnished them with a thousand soldiers. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their slaves, which they had never done before this occasion.

The Persian army commanded by Datis, consisted of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. That of the Athenians amounted only to ten thousand men. It was headed by ten generals, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and these ten were to have the alternate command of the whole army, each for a day. There was a great dispute among these officers, whether they should hazard a battle, or await the enemy within the walls. The latter opinion had a great majority, and appeared very reasonable. For, what prospect of success could there be in facing, with a handful of soldiers, so numerous and formidable an army as that of the Persians? Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion and showed that the only means to rouse the courage of their own troops, and to strike terror into those of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and intrepidity. Aristides strenuously defended this opinion, and brought some of the other commanders into it, so that when the suffrages came to be taken, they were equal on both sides of the question. Herupon Miltiades addressed himself to Callimachus, who was then polemarch,|| and had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders. He very warmly represented to him that the fate of their country was then in his hands: that his single vote was to determine whether Athens should preserve her liberty, or be enslaved; and that he had it in his power by one word to become as famous as Harmodious and Aristogiton, the authors of that liberty the Athenians enjoyed. Callimachus pronounced the word in favour of Miltiades's opinion. And accordingly a battle was resolved upon.

Aristides, reflecting that a command which changes every day must necessarily be feeble, unequal, often contradictory, and incapable either of projecting or executing any uniform design, was of opinion, that their danger was both too great and too pressing for them to expose their affairs to such inconveniences. In order to obviate these, he judged it necessary to vest the whole power in a single person; and, to induce his colleagues to act conformably, he himself set the first example of resignation. When the day came, on which it was his turn to take upon him the command, he resigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general. The other commanders did the same, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the love of the public good; and, by this day's behaviour we may learn, that it is almost as glorious to acknowledge merit in other persons, as to have it one's self. Miltiades, however, thought fit to wait till his own day came. Then, like an able captain, he endeavoured, by the advantage of the ground, to gain what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy should not be able either to surround

* Plut. in Moral. p. 829.

† Herod. l. vi. c. 119.

‡ Philostr. l. i. c. 17.

§ Herod. l. vi. c. 102, 120. Corn. Nep. in Milt. c. iv—vi. Justin. l. ii. c. 3. Plut. in Aristid. p. 321.

|| The polemarch at Athens was both a military and judicial officer, equally employed to command in the army, and to administer justice. I shall give a more particular account of this office in another place.

him, or charge him in the rear. On the two sides of his army he caused large trees to be thrown, which were cut down on purpose, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Persian cavalry useless. Datis, their commander, was very sensible that the place was not very advantageous for him: but, relying upon the number of his troops, which was infinitely superior to that of the Athenians, and on the other hand, unwilling to delay till the reinforcement of the Spartans arrived, he determined to engage. The Athenians did not wait for the enemy to charge them. As soon as the signal for battle was given, they ran against the enemy with all the fury imaginable. The Persians looked upon this first step of the Athenians as a piece of madness, considering their army was so small and utterly destitute both of cavalry and archers: but they were quickly undeceived. Herodotus observes, that this was the first time the Grecians began an engagement by running in this manner; which may seem somewhat astonishing. And, indeed, was there not reason to apprehend, that their running would in some measure weaken the troops, and blunt the edge of their first impetuosity; and that the soldiers having quitted their ranks, might be out of breath, spent, and in disorder, when they came to the enemy, who, waiting to receive them in good order, and without stirring, ought, one would think, to be in a condition to sustain the charge advantageously? This consideration engaged Pompey, at the battle of Pharsalia, to keep his troops in a steady posture, and to forbid their making any motion, till the enemy made the first attack.* But Cæsar † blames Pompey's conduct in this respect, and gives this reason for it, that the impetuosity of an army's motion in running to engage, inspires the soldiers with a certain enthusiasm and martial fury, gives an additional force to their blows, and increases and inflames their courage, which, by the rapid movement of so many thousand men together, is blown up and animated, to use the expression, like flames, by the wind.‡ I leave it to military gentlemen to decide the point between these two great captains, and return to my subject.

The battle was very fierce and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body weaker, and not so deep; the reason of which is sufficiently obvious. Having but ten thousand men to oppose to such a numerous and vast army, it was impossible for him either to make a large front, or to give an equal depth to his battalions. He was obliged therefore to take his choice; and he imagined, that he could gain the victory in no other way, than by the efforts he should make with his two wings, in order to break and disperse those of the Persians; not doubting that when once his wings were victorious, they would be able to attack the enemy's main body in flank, and complete the victory without much difficulty. This was the plan followed by Hannibal afterwards at the battle of Cannæ, which succeeded so well with him, and which indeed can scarce ever fail of succeeding. The Persians then attacked the main body of the Grecian army, and made their greatest effort, particularly upon their front. This was led by Aristides and Themistocles, who supported it a long time with intrepid courage and bravery, but were at length obliged to give ground. At that very instant came up their two victorious wings, which had defeated those of the enemy, and put them to flight. Nothing could be more seasonable for the main body of the Grecian army, which began to be broken, being quite borne down by the number of the Persians. The scale was quickly turned, and the barbarians were entirely routed. They all betook themselves to flight, not towards their camp, but to their ships, that they might make their escape. The Athenians pursued them thither and set many of their vessels on fire. It was on this occasion that Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, who laid hold of one of the ships, in order to get into it with those that fled, had his right hand cut off, and fell into the sea and was drowned.§ The Athenians took seven of their ships. They lost not more than two hundred men on their side in this engagement; whereas, on the side of the Persians, above six thousand were slain, besides those who fell into the sea as they endeavoured to escape, or those that were consumed with the ships on fire.

* Cæs. in Bell. Civil. l. iii.

† Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio videtur: propterea quod est quædam incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus, quæ studio pugnæ incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent.—Cæs.

‡ Καίσαρ περί τούτο διαμαρτεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον, ἀγροῦσαντα τὴν μετὰ δόξης καὶ φοβερῶν ἐν ἀεθλῇ γινομένην συρραξίν, ὡς ἔντε ταῖς πληγαῖς βίβην προσίθισσι, καὶ συνεχέκκισσι τὸν δόμον ἐκ πάντων ἀναρριπιζόμενον.—Plut. in Cæs.

§ Plut. in Pomp. p. 656. et in Cæs. p. 719.

§ Justin adds, that Cynægirus, having first had his right, and then his left hand cut off with an axe, laid hold of the vessel with his teeth, and would not let go, so violent was his rage against the enemy. This account is utterly fabulous, and has not the least appearance of truth.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That ungrateful and perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father Pisistratus over the Athenians, had the baseness to become a servile courtier to a barbarian prince, and to implore his aid against his native country. Urged on by hatred and revenge, he suggested all the means he could invent to load his country with chains; and even put himself at the head of its enemies, for the purpose of reducing that city to ashes to which he owed his birth, and against which he had no other ground of complaint, than that she would not acknowledge him for her tyrant. An ignominious death, together with everlasting infamy, entailed upon his name, was the just reward of so black a treachery.

Immediately after the battle, an Athenian soldier, still reeking with the blood of the enemy, quitted the army, and ran to Athens, to carry his fellow-citizens the happy news of the victory. When he arrived at the magistrate's house, he only uttered two words, "rejoice, rejoice,* the victory is ours," and fell down dead at their feet.†

The Persians thought themselves so sure of the victory, that they had brought marble to Marathon, to erect a trophy there. The Grecians took this marble, and caused a statue to be made of it by Phidias in honour of the goddess Nemesis,‡ who had a temple near the place where the battle was fought.§

The Persian fleet, instead of sailing by the islands, in order to re-enter Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the design of surprising Athens, before the Athenian forces should arrive there to defend the city. But the latter had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes to secure their country; and performed their march with so much expedition, that they arrived there the same day. The distance from Marathon to Athens is about forty miles, or fifteen French leagues. This was a great exertion for an army that had just undergone the fatigue of a long and severe battle. By this means the design of their enemies miscarried.

Aristides, the only general that remained at Marathon with his tribe, to take care of the spoil and prisoners, acted suitably to the good opinion that was entertained of him. For, though gold and silver were scattered about in abundance in the enemy's camp, and though all the tents, as well as galleys that were taken, were full of rich clothes and costly furniture, and treasure of all kinds to an immense value, he not only was not tempted to touch any of it himself, but hindered every body else from touching it.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with two thousand men; and, having travelled with all imaginable expedition, arrived in Attica after three days' forced march, the distance from Sparta to Attica being no less than twelve hundred stadia, or one hundred and fifty English miles. The battle was fought the day before they arrived: they however proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies and riches. After having congratulated the Athenians on the happy success of the battle, they returned to their country.||

They were prevented by a foolish and ridiculous superstition, from having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history. For it is almost without example, that such a handful of men as the Athenians were, should not only make head against so numerous an army as that of the Persians, but should entirely rout and defeat them. One is astonished to see so formidable a power miscarry in an attack on so small a city; and we are almost tempted to question the truth of an event that appears so improbable, but which is, however, well authenticated. This battle alone shows what wonderful things may be performed by an able general, who knows how to take his advantages; by the intrepidity of soldiers, who are not afraid of death; by a zeal for one's country; the love of liberty; a hatred and detestation of slavery and tyranny; which were sentiments natural to the Athenians, but undoubtedly very much augmented and inflamed in them by the very presence of Hippias, whom they dreaded to have again for their master, after all that had passed between them.

Plato, in more places than one, makes it his business to extol the battle of Marathon, and is for having that action considered as the source and original cause of all the victories that were gained afterwards.¶ It was undoubtedly this victory that deprived the Persians of that power and terror which had rendered them so formida-

* Χαίρει, Χαίρομεν. I could not render the liveliness of the Greek expression in our language.

† Plut. de Glor. Athen. p. 347.

‡ This was the goddess whose business it was to punish injustice and oppression.

§ Paus. l. i. p. 62.

|| Isocr. in Paneg. p. 113.

¶ In Menex. p. 239, 240. Et lib. iii. de Leg. p. 698, 699.

ble, and made every thing yield before them; it was this victory that taught the Grecians to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy terrible only in name; that made them find by experience, that victory does not depend so much upon the number, as the courage of troops; that set before their eyes in a most conspicuous light the glory there is in sacrificing one's life in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of liberty; and, lastly, that inspired them, through the whole course of succeeding ages, with a noble emulation and warm desire to imitate their ancestors, and not to degenerate from their virtue. For, on all important occasions, it was customary among them to put the people in mind of Miltiades and his invincible troop; that is, of a little army of heroes, whose intrepidity and bravery had done so much honour to Athens.

Those who were slain in the battle had all the honour immediately paid to them that was due to their merit. Illustrious monuments were erected to them all, in the very place where the battle was fought; upon which their own names and that of their tribes were recorded. There were three distinct sets of monuments separately set up; one for the Athenians, another for the Platæans, and a third for the slaves, whom they had admitted among their soldiers on that occasion. A tomb for Miltiades was afterwards erected in the same place.*

The reflection Cornelius Nepos makes upon what the Athenians did to honour the memory of their generals, deserves to be taken notice of. Formerly, says he, speaking of the Romans, our ancestors rewarded virtue by marks of distinction that were not stately or magnificent, but such as were rarely granted, and for that very reason highly esteemed; whereas now they are so profusely bestowed, that little or no value is set upon them. The same thing happened, adds he, among the Athenians. All the honour that was paid to Miltiades, the great deliverer of Athens and of all Greece, was, that in a picture of the battle of Marathon, drawn by order of the Athenians, he was represented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. But this same people in later ages, grown more powerful and corrupted by the flatteries of their orators, decreed three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus.†

Plutarch makes the same reflection, and wisely observes, that‡ the honour which is paid to great men ought not to be looked upon as the reward of their illustrious actions, but only as a mark of esteem of which such monuments are intended to perpetuate the remembrance.§ It is not, then, the stateliness or magnificence of public monuments, which gives them their value, or makes them durable, but the sincere gratitude of those who erect them. The three hundred statues of Demetrius Phalereus were all thrown down even in his own life-time, but the picture representing the courage of Miltiades was preserved many ages after him.

This picture was kept at Athens in a gallery, adorned and enriched with different paintings, all excellent in their kind, and done by the greatest masters; which for that reason was called *πειρίλη*, signifying varied and diversified. The celebrated Polygnotus, a native of the isle of Thasos, and one of the finest painters of his time, painted this picture, or at least the greatest part of it; and as he valued himself upon his reputation, and was more attached to glory than interest, he did it *gratuitously*, and would not receive any recompense for it. The city of Athens therefore rewarded him in a manner that was more congenial to his feelings, by procuring an order from the Amphictyons to appoint him a public lodging in the city, where he might live during his own pleasure.||

The gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades was of no very long duration. After the battle of Marathon, he desired and obtained the command of a fleet of seventy ships, in order to punish and subdue the islands that had favoured the barbarians. Accordingly he reduced several of them: but having been unsuccessful in the isle of Paros, and upon a false report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, having raised the siege which he had laid to the capital city, wherein he had received a very dangerous wound, he returned to Athens with his fleet, and was there impeached by a citizen, called Xanthippus, who accused him of having raised the siege through treachery, and in consideration of a great sum of money given him by the king of Persia.¶ Little probability as there was in this accusation, it nevertheless prevailed over the merit and innocence of Miltiades. He was condemned to lose his life, and

* Paus. in Attic. p. 60, 61.

† Corn. Nep. in Milt. c. vi.

‡ Οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν εἶναι δεῖ τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ σύμβολον τῆν τιμῆν, ἵνα καὶ διακείμενὸς πολλὸς χερίν.

§ In Præc de Rep. Ger. p. 820.

|| Plin. l. xxxv. c. 9.

¶ Herod. l. vi. c. 132, 136. Corn. Nep. in Milt. c. vii, viii.

to be thrown into the barathrum: a sentence passed only upon the greatest criminals and malefactors. The magistrate opposed the execution of so unjust a condemnation. All the favour shown to this preserver of his country, was to have the sentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or fifty thousand crowns French money, being the sum to which the expenses of the fleet, that had been equipped upon his solicitation and advice, amounted. Not being able to pay this sum, he was sent to prison, where he died of the wound he had received at Paros. Cimon, his son, who was at this time very young, signalized himself for his piety on this occasion, as we shall find in the sequel he afterwards did for his courage. He purchased the permission of burying his father's body, by paying the fine of fifty thousand crowns, in which he had been condemned; which sum the young man raised as well as he could, by the assistance of his friends and relations.*

Cornelius Nepos observes, that what chiefly induced the Athenians to act in this manner, with regard to Miltiades, was only his great merit and reputation, which made the people who were but lately delivered from the yoke of slavery under Pisis-tratus apprehend, that Miltiades, who had been tyrant before in the Chersonesus, might affect the same at Athens. They therefore chose rather to punish an innocent person, than to be under perpetual apprehensions of him.† To this same principle was to be attributed the institution of the ostracism at Athens. I have elsewhere given an account of the most plausible reasons upon which the ostracism could be founded: but I do not see how we can fully justify so strange a policy, to which all merit becomes suspected, and virtue itself appears criminal.‡

This appears plainly in the banishment of Aristides. His inviolable attachment to justice obliged him on many occasions to oppose Themistocles, who did not pride himself upon his delicacy in that respect, and who spared no intrigues and cabals to engage the suffrages of the people, for removing a rival who always opposed his ambitious designs. This is a strong instance, that a person may be superior in merit and virtue, without being so in influence. The impetuous eloquence of Themistocles bore down the justice of Aristides, and occasioned his banishment.§ In this kind of trial, the citizens gave their suffrages by writing the name of the accused person upon a shell, called in Greek, ὀστρακον, from whence came the term ostracism. On this occasion a peasant, who could not write, and did not know Aristides, applied to himself, and desired him to put the name of Aristides upon his shell. "Has he done you any wrong," said Aristides, "that you are for condemning him in this manner?" "No," replied the other, "I do not so much as know him; but I am quite tired and angry with hearing every body call him the Just." Aristides, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote his own name on it, and returned it. He set out for his banishment, imploring the gods that no accident might befall his country to make it regret him.|| The great Camillus, in a like case did not imitate his generosity, but prayed to a quite different effect, desiring the gods to force his ungrateful country, by some misfortune to have occasion for his aid, and recall him as soon as possible.¶

O fortunate republic! exclaims Valerius Maximus, speaking of the banishment of Aristides, which, after having so basely treated the most virtuous man it ever produced, has still been able to find citizens zealously and faithfully attached to her service! *Felices Athenas, quæ post illius exilium, invenire aliquem aut virum bonum, aut amantem sui civem potuerunt; cum quo tunc ipsa sanctitas migravit.***

SECTION VIII. DARIUS RESOLVES TO MAKE WAR IN PERSON AGAINST EGYPT AND AGAINST GREECE, &c.

WHEN Darius received the news of the defeat of his army at Marathon, he was violently enraged; but that misfortune was so far from discouraging or diverting him from carrying on the war against Greece, that it only served to animate him to pursue it with the greater vigour, in order to be revenged at the same time for the burning of Sardis, and for the disgrace suffered at Marathon. Being thus determined to march in person with all his forces, he despatched orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of his empire, to arm themselves for this expedition.††

* Plat. in Gorg. p. 519.

† Hæc populus respiciens maluit eum innocentem plecti, quam se diutius esse in timore.

‡ Man. d'Etud. Vol. iii. p. 407.

§ In his cognitum est quanto antistaret eloquentia innocentie. Quamquam enim adeo excelebat Aristides abstinentia, ut unus post hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Justus sit appellatus; tamen a Themistocle collabefactus testula illa exilio decem annorum mulctatus est.—Corn. Nep. in Arist.

|| Plat. in Arist. p. 322, 323.

¶ In exilium abiit, precatus ab diis immortalibus, si innoxio sibi ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingrata facerent.—Liv. i. v. n. 32.

** Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

†† Herod. l. vii. c. 1.

After having spent three years in making the necessary preparations, he had another war to carry on, occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. It seems from what we read in Diodorus Siculus, that Darius went thither himself to quell it, and that he succeeded.* The historian relates, that upon this prince's desiring to have his statue placed before that of Sesostris, the chief priest of the Egyptians told him, "he had not yet equalled the glory of that conqueror;" and that the king, without being offended at the Egyptian priest's freedom, made answer, that he would endeavour to surpass it. Diodorus adds farther, that Darius, detesting the impious cruelty which his predecessor Cambyses had exercised in that country, expressed great reverence for their gods and temples; that he had several conversations with the Egyptian priests upon matters of religion and government; and that having learned of them, with what great gentleness their ancient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into Persia, to form himself upon their model. But Herodotus, more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only observes, that this prince, resolving at once to chastise his revolted subjects, and to be avenged of his ancient enemies determined to make war against both at the same time, and to attack Greece in person with the main body of his army, while the rest of it was employed in the reduction of Egypt.†

According to an ancient custom among the Persians, their king was not allowed to go to war, without having first named the person that should succeed him on the throne; a custom wisely established to prevent the state's being exposed to the troubles which generally attend the uncertainty of a successor, to the inconvenience of anarchy, and to the cabals of various pretenders.‡ Darius, before he undertook his expedition against Greece, thought himself the more obliged to observe this rule, as he was already advanced in years, and as there was a difference between two of his sons, upon the question of succeeding to the empire; which difference might occasion a civil war after his death, if he left it undetermined. Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas, all three born before their father came to the crown; and four by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after their father's succession to the throne. Artabazanes, called by Justin Artemenes, was the eldest of the former, and Xerxes of the latter. Artabazanes alleged in his own behalf, that as he was the eldest of all the brothers, the right of succession, according to the custom and practice of all nations, belonged to him, in preference to all the rest. Xerxes's argument was, that, as son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who founded the Persian empire, it was more just that the crown of Cyrus should devolve upon one of his descendants, than upon one who was not. Demaratus, a Spartan king, unjustly deposed by his subjects, and at that time in exile at the court of Persia, secretly suggested to Xerxes another argument to support his pretensions: that Artabazanes was indeed the eldest son of Darius, but he, Xerxes, was the eldest son of the king; and therefore, Artabazanes being born when his father was but a private man, all he could pretend to, on account of his seniority, was only to inherit his private estate; but that he, Xerxes, being the first-born son of the king, had the best right to succeed to the crown. He farther supported this argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who admitted none to inherit the kingdom but those children who were born after their father's accession. The right of succeeding was accordingly determined in favour of Xerxes.

Justin§ and Plutarch place this dispute after Darius's decease.|| They both take notice of the prudent conduct of these two brothers on so nice an occasion. According to their manner of relating this fact, Artabazanes was absent when the king died; and Xerxes immediately assumed all the marks, and exercised all the functions of the sovereignty. But, upon his brother's returning home, he quited the diadem and the tiara, which he wore in such a manner as only suited the king, went out to meet him, and showed him all imaginable respect. They agreed to make their uncle Artabanes the arbitrator of their difference, and without any farther appeal, to acquiesce in his decision. All the while this dispute lasted, the two brothers showed one another every demonstration of a truly fraternal friendship, by keeping up a continual intercourse of presents and entertainments, from whence their mutual esteem

* Lib. i. p. 54, 85.

† Herod. l. vi. c. 2.

‡ Idem, c. 2, 3.

§ Adeo fraterna contentio fuit, ut nec victor insultaverit, nec victus doluerit, ipsoque litis tempore invicem munera miserint; jucunda quoque inter se non solum, sed credula convivia habuerint; judicium quoque ipsum sine arbitris, sine convitio fuerit. Tanto moderatius tum fratres inter se regna maxima dividant, quum nunc exigua patrimonia partiuntur.—Justin.

|| Justin. l. ii. c. 10. Plut. de Frat. Amore. p. 443.

and confidence for each other banished all their fears and suspicions on both sides, and introduced an unconstrained cheerfulness and a perfect security. This is a spectacle, says Justin, highly worthy of our admiration; to see, while most brothers are at deadly variance with one another about a small patrimony, with what moderation and temper both waited for a decision, which was to dispose of the greatest empire then in the universe. When Artabanes gave judgment in favour of Xerxes, Artabanes the same instant prostrated himself before him, acknowledging him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand; by which proceeding he showed a greatness of soul truly royal, and infinitely superior to all human dignities. This ready acquiescence in a sentence so contrary to his interests, was not the effect of an artful policy, that knows how to dissemble upon occasions, and to derive honour to itself from what it could not prevent. No; it proceeded from a real respect for the laws, a sincere affection for his brother, and an indifference for that which so warmly inflames the ambition of mankind, and so frequently arms the nearest relations against each other. For his part, during his whole life, he continued firmly attached to the interests of Xerxes, and prosecuted them with so much ardour and zeal, that he lost his life in his service at the battle of Salamis.

At whatever time this dispute is to be dated, it is evident Darius could not execute the double expedition he was meditating against Egypt and Greece; and that he was prevented by death from pursuing that project.* He had reigned thirty-six years. The epitaph of this prince, which contains a boast, that he could drink much without disordering his reason, proves that the Persians actually thought that circumstance added to his glory. We shall see in the sequel, that Cyrus the younger ascribes this quality to himself, as a perfection that rendered him more worthy of the throne than his elder brother. Who at the present day would think of annexing this merit to the qualifications of an excellent prince?

Darius had many excellent qualities, but they were attended with great failings, and the kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. For such is the condition of princes, they never act nor live for themselves alone. Whatever they are, either, as to good or evil, they are for the people; and the interests of the one and the other, are inseparable.† Darius had a great fund of gentleness, equity, clemency, and kindness for his people; he loved justice and respected the laws; he esteemed merit, and was careful to reward it: he was not jealous of his rank or authority, so as to exact a forced homage, or to render himself inaccessible; and notwithstanding his own great experience and abilities in public affairs, he would hearken to the advice of others, and reap the benefit of their counsels. It is of him the holy Scripture speaks, where it says, that he did nothing without consulting the wise men of his court.§ He was not afraid of exposing his person in battle, and was always cool even in the heat of action: he said of himself, that the most imminent and pressing danger served only to increase his courage and his prudence:|| in a word, there have been few princes more expert than he in the art of governing, or more experienced in the business of war. Nor was the glory of being a conqueror, if that may be called a glory, wanting to his character. For he not only restored and entirely confirmed the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much shaken by the ill conduct of Cambyses and the Magian impostor; but he likewise added many great and rich provinces to it, and particularly India, Thrace, Macedonia and the isles contiguous to the coasts of Ionia.

But sometimes these good qualities of his gave way to failings of a quite opposite nature. Do we see any thing like Darius's usual gentleness and good nature in his treatment of that unfortunate father, who desired the favour of him to leave him one of his three sons at home, while the other two followed the king in his expedition? Was there ever an occasion wherein he had more need of counsel, than when he formed the design of making war upon the Scythians? And could any one give more prudent advice than his brother gave him on that occasion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole expedition any mark of wisdom or prudence? What do we see in all that affair, but a prince intoxicated with his greatness, who fancies there is nothing in the world that can resist him; and whose weak ambition to signalize himself by an extraordinary conquest, has stifled all the good sense, judgment and even military knowledge, he possessed before?

* Herod. l. vi. c. 4.

† Ἡδονόμενον καὶ εἰς τὸν πίνειν πολλὸν, καὶ τῆτον φέρειν καλῶς.—Athen. l. x. p. 434.

‡ Ita nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad remp. pertinent.—Tacit. l. iv. c. 8.

§ Esth. i. 13.

|| Plut. in Apoph. p. 172.

What constitutes the solid glory of Darius's reign is his being chosen by God himself, as Cyrus had been before, to be the instrument of his mercies towards his people, the declared protector of the Israelites, and the restorer of the temple at Jerusalem. The reader may see this part of his history in the book of Ezra, and in the writings of the prophets Haggi and Zechariah.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF XERXES CONNECTED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

THE reign of Xerxes lasted but twelve years, but abounds with great events.

SECTION I.—XERXES REDUCES EGYPT, &c. &c.

XERXES having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations begun by his father, for the reduction of Egypt. He also confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, and particularly that which assigned them the tribute of Samaria, for supplying them with victims for the temple of God.*

In the second year of his reign he marched against the Egyptians, and having reduced and subdued these rebels, he made the yoke of their subjection more heavy; then giving the government of that province to his brother Achæmenes, he returned about the latter end of the year to Susa.†

Herodotus, the famous historian, was born this same year at Halicarnassus in Caria. For he was fifty-three years old, when the Peloponnesian war began.‡

Xerxes elated with his success against the Egyptians, determined to make war against the Grecians.§ He did not intend, he said, any longer to buy the figs of Attica, which were very excellent, because he would eat no more of them till he was master of the country.|| But before he engaged in an enterprise of that importance, he thought proper to assemble his council, and take the advice of all the greatest and most illustrious persons of his court. He laid before them the design he had of making war against Greece, and acquainted them with his motives; which were, the desire of imitating the example of his predecessors, who had all of them distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprises; the obligation he was under to revenge the insolence of the Athenians, who had presumed to fall upon Sardis, and reduce it to ashes; the necessity he was under to avenge the disgrace his country had received at the battle of Marathon: and the prospect of the great advantages that might be reaped from this war, which would be attended with the conquest of Europe, the richest and most fertile country in the universe. He added farther, that this war had been resolved on by his father Darius, and he meant only to follow and execute his intentions; he concluded with promising ample rewards to those who should distinguish themselves by their valour in the expedition.

Mardonius, the same person that had been so unsuccessful in Darius's reign, grown neither wiser nor less ambitious by his ill success, and being anxious for the command of the army, was the first who gave his opinion. He began by extolling Xerxes above all the kings that had gone before or should succeed him. He endeavoured to show the indispensable necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name; he disparaged the Grecians, and represented them as a cowardly, timorous people, without courage, without forces, or experience in war. For a proof of what he said, he mentioned his own conquest in Macedonia, which he exaggerated in a very vain and ostentatious manner, as if that people had submitted to him without any resistance. He presumed even to affirm, that not any of the Grecian nations would venture to come out against Xerxes, who would march with all the forces of Asia; and if they had the temerity to present themselves before him, they would learn to their cost, that the Persians were the bravest and most warlike nation in the world.

* A. M. 3519. Ant. J. C. 485. Her. l. vii. c. 5. Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 5.

† A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Her. l. vii. c. 7.

‡ Aul. Gel. l. xv. c. 23.

§ Her. l. vii. c. 8—18.

|| Plut. in. Apoph. p. 173.

The rest of the council, perceiving that this flattering discourse extremely pleased the king, were afraid to contradict it, and all kept silence. This was almost an unavoidable consequence of Xerxes's manner of proceeding. A wise prince, when he proposes an affair in council, and really desires that every one should speak his true sentiments, is extremely careful to conceal his own opinion, that he may put no constraint upon that of others, but leave them entirely at liberty. Xerxes, on the contrary, had openly discovered his own inclination, or rather resolution to undertake the war. When a prince acts in this manner, he will always find artful flatterers, who, being eager to insinuate themselves and to please, and ever ready to comply with his passions, will not fail to second his opinion with specious and plausible reasons, while those that might be capable of giving good councils are restrained by fear; there being very few courtiers who love their prince well enough, and have sufficient courage, to venture to displease him, by disputing what they know to be his taste or opinion.

The excessive praises given by Mardonius to Xerxes, which is the usual language of flatterers, ought to have rendered him suspected by the king, and made him apprehend, that under an appearance of zeal for his glory, that nobleman endeavoured to cloak his own ambition, and the violent desire he had to command the army. But these grateful and flattering words, which glide like a serpent under flowers, are so far from displeasing princes, that they captivate and charm them. They do not consider, that men flatter and praise them, because they believe them weak and vain enough to suffer themselves to be deceived by commendations that bear no proportion to their merits and actions.

This behaviour of the king made the whole counsel mute. In this general silence, Artabanes, the king's uncle, a prince venerable for his age and prudence, made the following speech, "Permit me, great prince," said he, addressing himself to Xerxes, "to deliver my sentiments to you on this occasion, with a liberty suitable to my age and to your interest. When Darius, your father and my brother, first thought of making war against the Scythians, I used all my endeavours to divert him from it. I need not tell you what that enterprise cost, or what was the success of it. The people you are going to attack are infinitely more formidable than the Scythians. The Grecians are esteemed the very best troops in the world, either by land or sea. If the Athenians alone could defeat the numerous army commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, what ought we not to expect from all the states of Greece united together? You design to pass from Asia into Europe, by laying a bridge over the sea. What will become of us, if the Athenians, proving victorious, should advance to the bridge with their fleet and break it down? I still tremble when I consider, that in the Scythian expedition, the life of the king your father, and the safety of all his army, were reduced to depend upon the fidelity of a single man; and that, if Hystiæus the Milesian had, in compliance with the strong entreaties made to him, consented to break down the bridge, which had been laid over the Danube, the Persian empire had been entirely ruined. Do not expose yourself, sir, to the like danger, especially since you are not obliged to do so. Take time at least to reflect upon it. When we have maturely deliberated upon an affair, whatever happens to be the success of it, we have nothing to impute to ourselves. Precipitation, besides its being imprudent, is almost always unfortunate, and attended with fatal consequences. Above all, do not suffer yourself, great prince, to be dazzled with the vain splendour of imaginary glory, or with the pompous appearance of your troops. The highest and most lofty trees have the most reason to dread the thunder. As God alone is truly great, he is an enemy to pride, and takes pleasure in humbling every thing that exalteth itself; and very often the most numerous armies fly before a handful of men, because he inspires these with courage, and scatters terror among the others."*

Artabanes, after having spoken thus to the king, turned himself towards Mardonius, and reproached him with his want of sincerity or judgment, in giving the king an idea of the Grecians so directly contrary to truth; and showed how extremely he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own views of interest and ambition could tempt him to advise. "If a war be resolved upon," added he, "let the king, whose life is dear to us all, remain in Persia: and do you, since you so ardently desire it, march at the head of the most nu-

* Φιλίππ' ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολέει—ἔ γὰρ ἐκ φρονήτου ἄλλον μίγα ὁ Θεὸς ἢ αὐτῶν.

merous army that can be assembled. In the mean time, let your children and mine be given up as a pledge, to answer for the success of the war. If the issue of it be favourable, I consent that mine be put to death:* but if it prove otherwise, as I well foresee it will, then I desire that your children, and you yourself on your return, may be treated in such a manner as you deserve, for the rash counsel you have given your master."

Xerxes who was accustomed to have his sentiments contradicted in this manner, fell into a rage: "Thank the gods," said he to Artabanes, "that you are my father's brother; were it not for that, you should this moment suffer the just reward of your audacious behaviour. But I will punish you for it in another manner, by leaving you here among the women, whom you too much resemble in your cowardice and fear, while I march at the head of my troops, where my duty and glory call me."

Artabanes had expressed his sentiments in very respectful and inoffensive terms: Xerxes nevertheless was extremely offended. It is the misfortune of princes, spoiled by flattery, to look upon every thing as dry and austere, that is sincere and ingenuous, and to regard all counsel, delivered with a generous and disinterested freedom, as a seditious presumption.† They do not consider, that even a good man never dares to tell them all he thinks, or discover the whole truth, especially in things that may be disagreeable to them; and that what they most stand in need of, is a sincere and faithful friend, that will conceal nothing from them. A prince ought to think himself very happy, if in his whole reign he finds but one man, born with that degree of generosity, who certainly ought to be considered as the most valuable treasure of the state: as he is, if the expression may be allowed, both the most necessary, and at the same time the most rare instrument of government.‡

Xerxes himself acknowledged this upon the occasion we are speaking of. When the first emotions of his anger were over, and he had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counsels that were given him, he confessed he had been to blame in giving his uncle such harsh language, and was not ashamed to confess his fault the next day in open council, ingenuously owning, that the heat of his youth, and his want of experience, had made him negligent in paying the regard due to a prince so worthy of respect as Artabanes, both for his age and his wisdom: and declaring, at the same time, that he was inclined to his opinion, notwithstanding a dream he had in the night, wherein a vision had appeared to him, and warmly exhorted him to undertake that war. All the lords that composed the council were delighted to hear the king speak in this manner: and to testify their joy, they fell prostrate before him, striving who should most extol the glory of such a proceeding; nor could their praises on such an occasion be at all suspected. For it is not difficult to discern, whether the praises given to princes proceed from the heart, and are founded upon truth, or whether they drop from the lips only, as an effect of mere flattery and deceit.§ That sincere and humble declaration made by the king, far from appearing as a weakness in him, was looked upon by them as the effort of a great soul, which rises above its faults, in bravely confessing them, by way of reparation and atonement. They admired the nobleness of this procedure the more, as they knew that princes educated like Xerxes, in a vain haughtiness and false glory, are never disposed to own themselves in the wrong, and generally make use of their authority to justify, with pride and obstinacy whatever faults they have committed through ignorance or imprudence. We may venture, I think, to say, that it is more glorious to rise in this manner, than it would be never to have fallen. Certainly there is nothing greater, and at the same time more rare and uncommon, than to see a mighty and powerful prince, and that in the time of his greatest prosperity, acknowledge his faults, when he happens to commit any, without seeking pretexts or excuses to cover them; pay homage to truth, even when it is against him, and condemns him; and leave other princes, who have a false delicacy concerning their grandeur the shame of always abounding with errors and defects, and of never owning that they have any.

The night following, the same phantom, if we may believe Herodotus, appeared again to the king, and repeated the same solicitations with new menaces and threatenings. Xerxes communicated what passed to his uncle, and in order to find out

* Why should the children be punished for their fathers' faults?

† Ita formatis principum auribus, uti aspera quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum et lætum accipiant. Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 56.

‡ Nullam majus boni imperii instrumentum quam bonus amicus.—Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 7.

§ Nec occultum est quando ex veritate, quando adumbrata lætitia, facta imperatorum celebrantur.—Tacit. Anal. l. iv. c. 31.

whether this vision was divine or not, entreated him earnestly to put on the royal robes, to ascend the throne, and afterwards to take his place in his bed for the night. Artabanes hereupon discoursed very sensibly and rationally with the king upon the vanity of dreams; and then coming to what personally regarded him; "I look upon it," said he, "almost equally commendable, to think well of one's self, or to hearken with docility to the good counsels of others.* You have both these qualities, great prince; and if you followed the natural bent of your own temper, it would lead you entirely to sentiments of wisdom and moderation. You never take any violent measures or resolutions, but when the arts of evil counsellors draw you into them, or the poison of flattery misleads you; in the same manner as the ocean, which of itself is calm and serene, nor ever disturbed but by the extraneous impulse of other bodies. What afflicted me in the answer you made me the other day, when I delivered my sentiments freely in council, was not the personal affront to me, but the injury you did yourself, by making so wrong a choice between the different counsels that were offered; rejecting that which led you to sentiments of moderation and equity, and embracing the other, which, on the contrary, tended only to cherish pride, and to inflame ambition.

Artabanes, through complaisance, passed the night in the king's bed, and had a vision similar to that which Xerxes had seen; that is, in his sleep he saw a man, who reproached him severely and threatened him with the greatest misfortunes, if he continued to oppose the king's intentions. This so much affected him, that he yielded to the king's opinion, believing that there was something divine in these repeated visions; and the war against the Grecians was resolved upon. These circumstances I relate as I find them in Herodotus.

Xerxes, in the sequel, did but ill support this character of moderation. We shall find, that he had but very short intervals of wisdom and reason, which shone out only for a moment, and then gave way to the most culpable and extravagant excesses. We may judge, however, even from thence, that he had very good natural parts and inclinations. But the most excellent qualities are soon spoiled and corrupted by the poison of flattery, and the possession of absolute and unlimited power. *Vi dominatiois convulsus.*†

It is a fine sentiment in a minister of state, to be less affected with an affront to himself, than with the wrong done his master by giving him evil and pernicious counsel.

The counsel of Mardonius was pernicious, because, as Artabanes observes, it tended only to cherish and increase that spirit of haughtiness and violence in the prince, which was but too prevalent in him already, ὑπερὶ ἀξίωσης; and to dispose and accustom his mind still to carry his views and desires beyond his present fortune, still to be aiming at something farther, and to set no bounds to his ambition.‡ This is the predominant passion of those men whom we usually call conquerors, and whom, according to the language of the holy Scripture, we might call, with greater propriety, "robbers of nations."§ "If you consider and examine the whole succession of Persian kings," says Seneca, "will you find any one of them that ever stopped his career of his own accord; that ever was satisfied with his past conquests; or that was not forming some new project or enterprise, when death surprised him? Nor ought we to be astonished at such a disposition," adds the same author: "for ambition is a gulf and a bottomless abyss, wherein every thing is lost that is thrown in, and where, though you were to heap province upon province, and kingdom upon kingdom, you would never be able to fill up the mighty void."||

SECTION II.—XERXES BEGINS HIS MARCH, AND PASSES FROM ASIA INTO EUROPE, BY CROSSING THE STRAIT OF THE HELLESPOINT UPON A BRIDGE OF BOATS.

The war being resolved upon, Xerxes, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into a confederacy with the Carthaginians, who were at that time the most powerful people of the west, and made an agreement with them, that while the Persian forces should attack Greece, the Carthaginians should fall upon the Grecian colonies that were settled in Sicily and Italy,

* This thought is in Hesiod. Opera et Dies, v. 293. Cic. pro Oluent. n. 84. et Tit. Liv. l. xxii. n. 19. Sæpe ego nudivi, milites. eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit; secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse.

† Tacitus. † ὅς αὐτὸν εἰς δὲ ἄσπετον ἐν ψυχῇ πλέον τι διέσεισαι αἰετὸν τῆ παρτίουτος. § Jer. iv. 7. || Nec hoc Alexandri tantum vitium fuit, quem per Liberi Herculisque vestigia felix temeritas egit; sed omnium, quos fortuna irritavit implendo. Totum regni Persici stemma percense, quem invenies, cui modum imperii satietas fecerit? qui non vitam in aliqua ulterius procedendi cogitatione finierit? Nec id mirum est. Quicquid cupiditati contigit, penitus hauriret et conditur: nec interest quantum eo, quod inexplebile est congeras.—Senec. l. vii. de Benef. c. 3.

in order to hinder them from coming to the aid of the other Grecians. The Carthaginians made Amilcar their general, who did not content himself with raising as many troops as he could in Africa, but with the money that Xerxes had sent him, engaged a great number of soldiers out of Spain, Gaul, and Italy, in his service; so that he collected an army of three hundred thousand men, and a proportionate number of ships, in order to execute the projects and stipulations of the league.*

Thus Xerxes, agreeably to the prophet Daniel's prediction, "having, through his great power and his great riches, stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of Greece."† that is to say, of all the west under the command of Amilcar, and of all the east, that was under his own banner, set out from Susa, in order to enter upon this war, in the fifth year of his reign, which was the tenth after the battle of Marathon, and marched towards Sardis, the place of rendezvous for the whole land army, while the fleet advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.‡

Xerxes had given orders to have a passage cut through mount Athos. This is a mountain in Macedonia, now a province of Turkey in Europe, which extends a great way into the Archipelago, in the form of a peninsula. It is joined to the land by an isthmus only of about half a league over. We have already taken notice, that the sea in this place was very tempestuous, and occasioned frequent shipwrecks. Xerxes, made this pretext for the orders he gave for cutting through the mountain; but the true reason was, the vanity of signalizing himself by an extraordinary enterprise, and by doing a thing that was extremely difficult; as Tacitus says of Nero: *Erat incredibilium cupitor*. Accordingly, Herodotus observes, that this undertaking was more vain glorious than useful, since he might with less trouble and expense have had his vessels carried over the isthmus, as was the practice in those days. The passage he caused to be cut through the mountain was broad enough to let two galleys, with three benches of oars each, pass through it abreast.§ This prince, who was extravagant enough to believe that all nature and the very elements were under his command, in consequence of that opinion, wrote a letter to mount Athos in the following terms: "Athos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head into the heavens, I advise thee not to be so audacious, as to put rocks and stones, which cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou givest them that opposition, I shall cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea."|| At the same time he ordered his labourers to be whipt, in order to make them carry on the work the faster.¶

A traveller, who lived in the time of Francis the first, and who wrote a book in Latin concerning the singular and remarkable things he had seen in his travels, doubts the truth of this fact; and remarks, that as he passed near mount Athos, he could perceive no traces or footsteps of the work we have been speaking of.**

Xerxes, as we have already related, advanced towards Sardis. Having left Cappadocia, and passed the river Halys, he came to Cylene, a city in Phrygia, near which is the source of the Mæander. Pythius, a Lydian, had his residence in this city, and, next to Xerxes, was the most opulent prince of those times. He entertained Xerxes and his whole army with incredible magnificence, and made him an offer of all his wealth towards defraying the expenses of his expedition. Xerxes, surprised and charmed at so generous an offer, had the curiosity to inquire to what sum his riches amounted. Pythius answered, that having designed to offer them to his service, he had taken an exact account of them, and that the silver he had by him amounted to two thousand talents, or six millions French money,†† and the gold to three millions, nine hundred and ninety-three thousand darics, or thirty-nine millions, nine hundred and thirty thousand livres.‡‡ All this money he offered him, telling him, that his revenues were sufficient for the support of his household. Xerxes made him very hearty acknowledgments, entered into a particular friendship with him; and, that he might not be outdone in generosity, instead of accepting his offers, obliged him to accept of a present of the seven thousand darics which were wanting to make up his gold to a round sum of four millions.§§

After such conduct as this, who would not think that Pythius's peculiar character and particular virtue had been generosity, and a noble contempt of riches? And yet he was one of the most penurious princes in the world; and who, besides his sordid

* A. M. 3523. Ant. J. C. 481.

† Dan. xi. 2. ‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 26. A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480.

§ Plut. de Anim. Tranq. p. 470.

¶ Herod. l. vii. c. 21, 24.

** Bellon. singul. rer. Observ. p. 78.

†† About 8,133,333.

‡‡ About 87,555,555.

§§ Her. l. vii. c. 26, 27.

avarice with regard to himself, was extremely cruel and inhuman to his subjects, whom he kept continually employed in hard and fruitless labour, always digging in the gold and silver mines, which he had in his territories. When he was absent from home, all his subjects went with tears in their eyes to the princess his wife, laid their complaints before her, and implored her assistance. Commiserating their condition, she made use of a very extraordinary method to work upon her husband, and to give him a clear sense and a kind of palpable demonstration of the folly and injustice of his conduct. On his return home, she ordered an entertainment to be prepared for him, very magnificent in appearance, but which in reality was no entertainment. All the courses and services were of gold and silver; and the prince, in the midst of all these rich dishes and splendid rarities, could not satisfy his hunger. He conjectured the meaning of this enigma, and began to consider, that the end of gold and silver was not merely to be looked upon, but to be employed and made use of; and that to neglect, as he had done, the business of husbandry and the tillage of lands, by employing all his people in the digging and working of mines, was the direct way to bring a famine both upon himself and his country. For the future, he only reserved a fifth part of his people for the business of mining. Plutarch has preserved this fact in a treatise, wherein he has collected a great many others to prove the ability and industry of women.* We have the same disposition of mind detailed in fabulous story, in the example of a prince, who reigned in that very country, for whom every thing that he touched was immediately turned into gold, according to the request that he himself had made to the gods, and who by that means was in danger of perishing with hunger.†

The same prince, who had made such obliging offers to Xerxes, having desired as a favour of him some time afterwards, that out of his five sons who served in his army, he would be pleased to leave him the eldest, in order to be a support and comfort to him in his old age; the king was so enraged at the proposal, though so reasonable in itself, that he caused the eldest son to be killed before the eyes of his father, giving the latter to understand, it was a favour that he spared him and the rest of his children; and then causing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army pass between them, as if he meant to purge and purify it by such a sacrifice.‡ What a monster in nature is a prince of this kind? How is it possible to have any dependence upon the friendship of the great, or to rely upon their warmest professions and protestations of gratitude and service?

From Phrygia, Xerxes marched and arrived at Sardis, where he spent the winter. From hence he sent heralds to all the cities of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to require them to give him earth and water, which, as we have remarked before, was the way of exacting and acknowledging submission.§

As soon as the spring of the year came on, he left Sardis, and directed his march towards the Hellespont. Being arrived there, he was desirous of seeing a naval engagement for his curiosity and diversion. A throne was therefore erected for him upon an eminence; and in that situation, seeing all the sea crowded with his vessels, and the land covered with his troops, he at first felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his soul, in surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and considering himself as the most happy of mortals: but reflecting soon afterwards, that of so many thousands, in a hundred years' time there would not be one living soul remaining, his joy was turned into grief, and he could not forbear weeping at the uncertainty and instability of human affairs.|| He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself, and considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was about to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war.

Artabanes, who neglected no opportunity of making himself useful to the young prince, and of instilling into him sentiments of goodness to his people, laid hold of this moment, in which he found him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, and led him into farther reflections upon the miseries with which the lives of most men are attended, and which render them so painful and unhappy; endeavouring at the same time to make him sensible of the duty and obligation of princes, who, not

* Plutarch calls him Pythia.—Plut. de Virt. Mulier. 252.
† Herod. l. viii. c. 38, 39. Sen de Ira, l. iii. c. 17.

‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 44, and 46.

† Midas, king of Phrygia.
§ Herod. l. vii. c. 30—32.

being able to prolong the natural life of their subjects, ought at least to do all that lies in their power to alleviate the pains and allay the bitterness of it.

In the same conversation Xerxes asked his uncle, if he still persisted in his first opinion, that if he would still advise him not to make war against Greece, supposing he had not seen the vision, which occasioned him to change his sentiments. Artabanus owned, he still had his fears; and that he was very uneasy concerning two things. "What are those two things?" demanded Xerxes. "The land and the sea," replied Artabanus: "the land, because there is no country that can feed and maintain so numerous an army; the sea, because there are no ports capable of receiving such a multitude of vessels." The king was very sensible of the strength of this reasoning; but, as it was now too late to go back, he made answer, that in great undertakings, men ought not so narrowly to examine all the inconveniences that may attend them; that if they did, no signal enterprises would ever be attempted; and that, if his predecessors had observed so scrupulous and timorous a rule of policy, the Persian empire would never have attained its present height of greatness and glory.

Artabanus gave the king another piece of very prudent advice, which he did not think fit to follow any more than he had done the former. This advice was, not to employ the Ionians in his service against the Grecians; from whom they were originally descended, and on which account he ought to suspect their fidelity. Xerxes, however, after these conversations with his uncle, treated him with great friendship, paid him the highest marks of honour and respect, sent him back to Susa to take the care and administration of the empire upon him during his own absence, and to that end, invested him with his whole authority.

Xerxes, at a vast expense, had caused a bridge of boats to be built across the sea, for the passage of his forces from Asia into Europe. The space that separates the two continents, formerly called the Hellespont and now called the Strait of the Dardanelles, or Gallipoli, is seven stadia or nearly an English mile in breadth. A violent storm rising on a sudden, soon after, broke down the bridge. Xerxes hearing this news on his arrival, fell into a transport of anger; and, in order to avenge himself of so cruel an affront, commanded two pair of chains to be thrown into the sea, as if he meant to shackle and confine it, and that his men should give it three hundred strokes of a whip and speak to it in this manner: "thou troublesome and unhappy element, thus does thy master chastise thee for having affronted him without reason. Know, that Xerxes will easily find means to pass over thy waters in spite of all thy billows and resistance." The extravagance of this prince did not stop here; but making the undertakers of the work answerable for events, which do not in the least depend upon the power of man, he ordered all the persons to have their heads struck off, that had been charged with the direction and management of that undertaking.*

Xerxes commanded two other bridges to be built, one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. He appointed workmen more able and expert than the former, who constructed it in the following manner: they placed three hundred and sixty vessels across the strait, some of them having three benches of oars, and others fifty oars a piece, with their sides turned towards the Euxine sea; and on the side that faced the Ægean sea they put three hundred and fourteen. They then cast large anchors into the water on both sides, in order to fix and secure all these vessels against the violence of the winds, and against the current of the water.† On the east side they left three passages or vacant spaces between the vessels, that there might be room for small boats to pass easily, as there was occasion, to and from the Euxine sea. After this, upon the land on both sides they drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings fastened to them, to which were tied six vast cables, which went over each of the two bridges; two of which cables were made of hemp, and four of a sort of reeds, called βισσαοι, which were used in those times in the manufacture of cordage. Those that were made of hemp must have been of an extraordinary strength and thickness, since every cubit of those cables weighed a talent.‡ The cables, laid over the whole extent of the vessels lengthwise, reached from one side of the sea to the other. When this part of the work was finished, quite over the vessels lengthwise, and over the cables we have been speaking of,

* Herod. l. vii. c. 33.

† Polybius remarks, that there is a current of water from the lake Mæotis and the Euxine Sea, into the Ægean Sea, occasioned by the rivers which empty themselves into those two seas.—Polyb. l. iv. p. 307, 308.

‡ A talent in weight consisted of 60 minæ, or 42 pounds of our weight; and the minæ consisted of 100 drachmas.

they laid the trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use, and flat boats again over them, fastened and joined together, to serve as a kind of floor or solid bottom: all which they covered over with earth, and added rails or battlements on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened with seeing the sea in their passage. Such was the construction of those famous bridges built by Xerxes.*

When the whole work was completed, a day was appointed for their passing over: and as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly spread over both the bridges, and the way was strewed with myrtle. At the same time Xerxes poured out libations into the sea, and turning his face towards the sun, the principal object of the Persian worship, he implored the assistance of that god in the enterprise he had undertaken, and desired the continuance of his protection till he had made the entire conquest of Europe, and had brought it into subjection to his power. This done, he threw the vessel which he used in making his libations, together with a golden cup, and a Persian scimitar, into the sea. The army was seven days and seven nights in passing over the strait; those who were appointed to conduct the march, lashing the poor soldiers all the while with whips, in order to quicken their speed, according to the custom of that nation, which properly speaking was only a vast assemblage of slaves.

SECTION III.—THE NUMBER OF XERXES'S FORCES, &c. &c.

XERXES directed his march across the Thracian Chersonesus, arrived at Dor, a city standing at the mouth of the Hebrus in Thrace; where, having encamped his army, and given orders to his fleet to follow him along the shore, he reviewed them both.

He found that the land army, which he had brought out of Asia, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and of eighty thousand horse, which, with at least twenty thousand men that were absolutely necessary for conducting and taking care of the carriages and the camels, amounted in all to eighteen hundred thousand men. When he had passed the Hellespont, the other nations that submitted to him made an addition to his army of three hundred thousand men, which made all his land forces together amount to two millions one hundred thousand men.

His fleet, when it set out from Asia, consisted of twelve hundred and seven vessels, or galleys, all of three benches of oars, and intended for fighting. Each vessel carried two hundred men, natives of the country that fitted them out, besides thirty more, that were either Persians or Medes, or of the Sacæ; which formed a total of two hundred and seventy-seven thousand six hundred and ten men. The European nations augmented his fleet with a hundred and twenty vessels, each of which carried two hundred men, in all four and twenty thousand: these, added to the other, amounted together to three hundred and one thousand six hundred and ten men.

Besides this fleet, which consisted all of large vessels, the small galleys of thirty and fifty oars, the transport-ships, the vessels that carried the provisions, and that were employed in other uses, amounted to three thousand. If we reckon but eighty men in each of these vessels, one with another, the whole number would be two hundred and forty thousand men.

Thus, when Xerxes arrived at Thermopylæ, his land and sea forces together, made up the number of two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand, six hundred and ten men, exclusive of servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers and other people of that sort, who usually follow an army, and whose number at this time was equal to that of the forces: so that the whole number of souls that followed Xerxes in this expedition amounted to five millions, two hundred and eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty.† This is the computation made of them by Herodotus, and in which Plutarch and Isocrates agree with him. Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Ælian, and others, fall very short of this number in their calculation: but their accounts of the matter appear to be less authentic than that of Herodotus, who lived in the same age in which this expedition was undertaken, and who repeats the inscription engraved, by order of the Amphictyons, upon the monument of those Grecians who were killed at Thermopylæ, which expressed that they fought against three millions of men.‡

For the sustenance of all these persons, there must have been daily consumed, according to Herodotus's computation, above a hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni of flour, (the medimnus was a measure, which, according to

* Herod. l. vii. c. 36.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 56—99, and 184—187.

‡ Diod. l. xi. p. 3. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Ælian. xiii. c. 3.

Budæus, was equivalent to six of our bushels) allowing for every head the quantity of a chænix, which was the daily portion or allowance that masters gave their slaves among the Grecians. We have no account in history of any other army so numerous as this. And among these millions of men, there was not one that could vie with Xerxes in point of beauty, either for the comeliness of his face, or the tallness of his person.* But this is a poor merit or pre-eminence for a prince, when attended with no other. Accordingly, Justin, after he has mentioned the number of these troops adds that this vast body of forces wanted a chief: *Huic tanto agmini dux defuit.*

We should hardly be able to conceive how it was possible to find a sufficient quantity of provisions for such an immense number of persons, if the historian had not informed us that Xerxes had employed four whole years in making preparations for this expedition.† We have already seen how many vessels of burden there were that coasted along continually to attend upon and supply the land army; and doubtless there were fresh ones arriving every day, that furnished the camp with a sufficiency of all things necessary.

Herodotus acquaints us with the method they made use of to calculate their forces, which were almost innumerable. They assembled ten thousand men in a particular place, and ranked them as close together as was possible; after which they described a circle quite round them, and erected a little wall upon that circle about half the height of a man's body; when this was done, they made the whole army successively pass through this space, and thereby knew to what number it amounted.‡

Herodotus gives us, also, a particular account of the different armour of all the nations which composed this army. Besides the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their respective country, the land army was under the command of six Persian generals; viz. Mardonius, the son of Gobryas; Tirintathemus, the son of Artabanes, and Smerdonus, son of Otanes, both near relations to the king; Masistus, son of Darius and Atossa; Gergis, son of Ariazes; and Megabyzus, son of Sopyrus. The ten thousand Persians, who were called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydardes. The cavalry had its particular commanders.

There were likewise four Persian generals who commanded the fleet. In Herodotus we have a particular account of all the nations by which it was fitted out. Artemisa, queen of Halicarnassus, who from the death of her husband governed the kingdom for her son, who was still a minor brought but five vessels along with her; but they were the best equipped, and the lightest ships in the whole fleet, next to those of the Sidonians. The princess distinguished herself in this war by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct. Herodotus observes, that among all the commanders in the army, there was not one who gave Xerxes so good advice and such wise counsel as this queen; but he was not prudent enough to apply it to his advantage.§

When Xerxes had numbered his whole forces by land and sea, he asked Demaratus, if he thought the Grecians would dare to withstand him. I have already taken notice, that this Damaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who, being exiled by the faction of his enemies, had taken refuge at the Persian court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and beneficence. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprise that a king should suffer himself to be banished, and desired him to acquaint them with the reason of it: "It is," said he, "because the law is more powerful than the kings at Sparta."|| This prince was very highly esteemed in Persia: but neither the injustice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Persian king, could make him forget his country.¶ As soon as he knew that Xerxes was making preparations for the war, he found means to give the Grecians secret intelligence of it. And now, being obliged, on this occasion, to speak his sentiments to the king, he did it with such a noble freedom and dignity, as became a Spartan and a king of Sparta.

Demaratus, before he answered the king's question, desired to know whether it was his pleasure that he should flatter him, or that he should speak his thoughts to him freely and truly. Xerxes having declared that he desired him to act with entire sincerity, he spoke in the following terms: "Great prince," said Demaratus, "since it is agreeable to your pleasure and commands, I shall deliver my sentiments to you

* Herod. l. viii. c. 187.

† Herod. l. viii. c. 20.

‡ Idem. c. 60.

§ Herod. l. vii. 89, 90.

|| Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.

¶ *Amicior patriæ post fugam, quam regi post beneficia.*—Justin.

with the utmost truth and sincerity. It must be confessed, that, from the beginning of time, Greece has been trained up, and accustomed to poverty: but then she has introduced and established virtue within her territories, which wisdom cultivates and the vigour of her laws maintains. And it is by the use which Greece knows how to make of this virtue, that she equally defends herself against the inconveniences of poverty, and the yoke of servitude. But, to speak only of the Lacedæmonians, my particular countrymen, you may assure yourself, that as they are born and bred up in liberty, they will never hearken to any proposals that tend to slavery. Though they were deserted and abandoned by all the other Grecians, and reduced to a band of a thousand men, or even to a more inconsiderable number, they will still come out to meet you, and not refuse to give you battle.”* Xerxes, upon hearing this discourse, laughed, and said he could not comprehend how men, in such a state of liberty and independence as the Lacedæmonians were described to enjoy, who had no master to force and compel them to it, could be capable of exposing themselves in such a manner to danger and death: Demaratus replied: “The Spartans indeed are free, and under no subjection to the will of any man; but at the same time they have laws, to which they are subject, and of which they stand in greater awe than your subjects do of your majesty. Now, by these laws they are forbid ever to fly in battle, let the number of their enemies be ever so superior; and are commanded, by abiding firm in their post, either to conquer or to die.”†

Xerxes was not offended at the liberty wherewith Demaratus spoke to him, and continued his march.

SECTION IV,—THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS SENT TO THEIR ALLIES IN VAIN TO REQUIRE SUCCOUR FROM THEM. THE COMMAND OF THE FLEET GIVEN TO THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

LACEDÆMON and Athens, which were the two most powerful cities of Greece, and the cities against which Xerxes was most exasperated, were not indolent or negligent while so formidable an enemy was approaching. Having received intelligence long before of the designs of that prince, they had sent spies to Sardis, in order to have a more exact information of the number and quality of his forces. These spies were seized and as they were just on the point of being put to death, Xerxes countermanded it, and gave orders that they should be conducted through his army and then sent back without any harm being done to them. At their return, the Grecians understood what they had to apprehend for so potent an enemy.‡

They sent deputies at the same time to Argos, into Sicily, to Gelon tyrant of Syracuse, to the isles of Corcyra and Crete, to desire succours from them, and to form a league against the common enemy.

The people of Argos offered a considerable succour, on condition they should have an equal share of the authority as either of the two kings of Sparta. This was granting them a great deal: but into what errors and mischiefs are not men led by a mistaken point of honour, and a foolish jealousy of command! The Argives were not contented with this offer, and refused to enter into a league with the Grecians, without considering, that if they suffered them to be destroyed, their own ruin must inevitably follow.§

The deputies proceeded from Argos to Sicily, and addressed themselves to Gelon, who was the most potent prince of the Greeks at that time. He promised to assist them with two hundred vessels of three benches of oars, with an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, two thousand light-armed soldiers, and the same number of bow-men and slingers, and to supply the Grecian army with provisions during the whole war, on condition they would make him generalissimo of all the forces both by land and sea. The Lacedæmonians were highly offended at such a proposal. Gelon then abated somewhat in his demands, and promised the same, provided he had at least the command either of the fleets or of the army. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the Athenians, who made answer, that they alone had a right to command the fleet, in case the Lacedæmonians were willing to give it up. Gelon had a more substantial reason for not leaving Sicily unprovided with troops, which was the approach of the formidable army of the Carthaginians, commanded by Amilear, which consisted of three hundred thousand men.||

The inhabitants of Coreyra, now called Corfu, gave the envoys a more favourable answer, and immediately put to sea with a fleet of sixty vessels. But they advanced

* Herod. l.vii. c. 101—'05. † Herod. l. vii. c. 145, 146. ‡ Idem. § Idem, c. 148—152. || Idem, c. 153—161.

no farther than to the coasts of Laconia, pretending they were hindred by contrary winds, but in reality waiting to see the success of an engagement, that they might afterwards range themselves on the side of the conqueror.*

The people of Crete, having consulted the Delphic oracle, to know what resolution they were to take on this occasion, refused to enter into the league.†

Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians left almost to themselves, all the rest of the cities and nations having submitted to the heralds that Xerxes had sent to require earth and water of them, excepting the people of Thespia and of Plataeæ.‡ In so pressing a danger, their first care was to put an end to all discord and division among themselves; for which reason the Athenians made peace with the people of Ægina, with whom they were actually at war.§

Their next care was to appoint a general: for there never was any occasion wherein it was more necessary to choose one capable of so important a trust, than in the present conjuncture, when Greece was upon the point of being attacked by the whole force of Asia. The most able and experienced captains, terrified at the greatness of the danger, had taken the resolution of not presenting themselves as candidates. There was a certain citizen at Athens, whose name was Epicydes, who had some eloquence, but in other respects was a person of no merit, was in disrepute for his want of courage, and notorious for his avarice. Notwithstanding all which, it was apprehended, that, in the assembly of the people, the votes would run in his favour.|| Themistocles, who was sensible that in calm weather almost any mariner may be capable of conducting a vessel, but that in storms and tempests, the most able pilots are at a loss, was convinced, that the commonwealth was ruined, if Epicydes was chosen general, whose venal and mercenary soul gave them the justest reason to fear that he was not proof against the Persian gold.¶ There are occasions, when, in order to act wisely, I had almost said regularly, it is necessary to dispense with and rise above all rule. Themistocles, who knew very well that in the present state of affairs he was the only person capable of commanding, did for that reason make no scruple of employing bribes and presents to remove his competitor: and having found means to satisfy the ambition of Epicydes by gratifying his avarice, he got himself elected general in his stead.** We may here, I think, very justly apply to Themistocles what Titus Livius says of Fabius on a like occasion. This great commander finding, when Hannibal was in the heart of Italy, that the people were inclined to make a man of no merit, consul, employed all his own influence, as well as that of his friends, to be continued in the consulship, without being concerned at the clamour that might be raised against him, and succeeded in the attempt. The historian adds, "the conjecture of affairs, and the extreme danger the commonwealth was exposed to, were arguments of such weight, that they prevented any one from being offended at a conduct which might appear to be contrary to rules, and removed all suspicion of Fabius's having acted upon any motive of interest or ambition. On the contrary, the public admired his generosity and greatness of soul, in that, as he knew the commonwealth had occasion for an accomplished general, and could not be ignorant or doubtful of his own singular merit in that respect, he had chosen rather in some sort to hazard his own reputation, and perhaps expose his character to the reproaches of envious tongues, than to be wanting in any service he could render his country."††

The Athenians also passed a decree to recall all their citizens who were in banishment. They feared that Aristides would join their enemies, and influence a great many others to side with the barbarians. But they had a very false opinion of their citizen, who was infinitely remote from such sentiments. Be that as it might, at this extraordinary juncture they thought fit to recall him, and Themistocles was so far from opposing the decree for that purpose, that he promoted it with all his credit and authority. The hatred and division of these great men had nothing of that implacable, bitter, and outrageous spirit, which prevailed among the Romans in the latter times of the republic. The danger of the state was the means of their reconciliation, and when their service was necessary to the preservation of the public, they laid aside

* Herod. l. vii. c. 168.

† Idem, c. 169—171.

‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 132.

§ Herod. l. viii. c. 145.

|| Plut. in Themist. p. 114.

¶ Quilibet nautarum vectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest: ubi orta sæva tempestas est, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus est.—Liv. l. xxiv. n. 8.

** Χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐζωνήσατο παρὰ τῶν Ἐπικύδων.

†† Tempus ac necessitas belli, et discrimen summæ rerum, faciebant ne quis aut in exemplum exquireret, aut suspectum cupiditatis imperii consullem haberet. Quin laudabant potius magnitudinem animi, quod cum summo imperatore esse opus reip. sciret, sequi eum laud dubie esse, minoris invidiam suam, si qua ex re oriretur, quam utilitatem reip. fecisset.—Liv. l. xxiv. n. 9.

all their jealousy and rancour: and we shall see hereafter, that Aristides was so far from secretly thwarting his ancient rival, that he zealously contributed to the success of his enterprises, and to the advancement of his glory.*

The alarm increased in Greece, in proportion as they received advice that the Persian army advanced. If the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had been able to make no other resistance than with their land-forces, Greece had been utterly ruined and reduced to slavery. This exigence taught them how to set a right value upon the prudent foresight of Themistocles, who, upon some other pretext, had caused a hundred galleys to be built. Instead of judging like the rest of the Athenians; who looked upon the victory of Marathon as the end of the war, he on the contrary, considered it rather as the beginning, or as the signal of still greater battles, for which it was necessary to prepare the Athenian people; and from that very time he began to think of raising Athens to a superiority over Sparta, which for a long time had been the mistress of all Greece. With this view he judged it expedient to make the Athenian power entirely maritime, perceiving very plainly, that as she was so weak by land, she had no other way to render herself useful to her allies or formidable to her enemies. His opinion herein prevailed among the people in spite of the opposition of Miltiades, whose difference of opinion undoubtedly arose from the little probability there was, that a people entirely unacquainted with fighting at sea, and who were only capable of fitting out and arming very small vessels, should be able to withstand so formidable a power as that of the Persians, who had both a numerous land-army, and a fleet of above a thousand ships.

The Athenians had some silver mines in a part of Attica, called Laurium, the whole products and revenue of which used to be distributed among them. Themistocles had the courage to propose to the people, that they should abolish these distributions, and employ that money in building vessels with three benches of oars, in order to make war upon the people of Ægina, against whom he endeavoured to inflame their ancient jealousy. No people are ever willing to sacrifice their private interests to the general utility of the public: for they seldom have so much generosity or public spirit, as to purchase the welfare or preservation of the state at their own expense. The Athenian people, however, did it upon this occasion: moved by the lively remonstrances of Themistocles, they consented that the money which arose from the product of the mines, should be employed in building a hundred galleys. Upon the arrival of Xerxes they doubled the number, and to that fleet Greece owed its preservation.†

When they came to the point of naming a general for the command of the navy, the Athenians, who alone had furnished two thirds of it, laid claim to that honour as appertaining to them, and their pretensions were certainly just and well grounded. It happened, however, that the suffrages of the allies all concurred in favour of Eurybiades, a Lacedæmonian. Themistocles, though very aspiring after glory, thought it incumbent upon him on this occasion, to sacrifice his own interests for the common good of the nation: and giving the Athenians to understand, that provided they behaved themselves with courage and conduct, all the Grecians would quickly desire to confer the command upon them of their own accord, he persuaded them to consent, as he himself would do, to give up that point at present to the Spartans.‡ It may justly be said, that this prudent moderation in Themistocles was another means of saving the state. For the allies threatened to separate themselves from them, if they refused to comply: and if that had happened, Greece must have been inevitably ruined.

SECTION V.—THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ. THE DEATH OF LEONIDAS.

THE only thing that now remained to be discussed, was to know in what place they should resolve to meet the Persians, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The people of Thessaly represented, that as they were the most exposed, and likely to be first attacked by the enemy, it was but reasonable that their defence and security, on which the safety of all Greece so much depended, should first be provided for; without which they should be obliged to take other measures, that would be contrary to their inclinations, but yet absolutely necessary, in case their country was left unprotected and defenceless. It was hereupon resolved, that ten thousand men should be sent to guard the passage which separates Macedonia from Thessaly, near the river Peneus, between the mountains of Olympus and Ossa. But Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, having given them to understand, that if they waited for the Persians in that place, they must inevitably be overpowered

* Plut. in Arist. p. 322, 323.

† Plut. in Themist. p. 113.

‡ Herod. l. viii. c. 213.

by their numbers, they retired to Thermopylæ. The Thessalians finding themselves thus abandoned, without any farther deliberation, submitted to the Persians.*

Thermopylæ is a strait or narrow pass of mount Œta, between Thessaly and Phocis, but twenty-five feet broad, which therefore might be defended by a small number of forces, and which was the only way through which the Persian land-army could enter Achaia, and advance to besiege Athens. This was the place where the Grecian army thought fit to wait for the enemy; the person who commanded it was Leonidas, one of the two kings of Sparta.†

Xerxes in the mean time was upon his march; he had given orders for his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to those of the land-army. Wherever he came, he found provisions and refreshments prepared beforehand, pursuant to the orders he had sent: and every city he arrived at gave him a magnificent entertainment, which cost him immense sums of money. The vast expense of these treats gave occasion to a witty saying of a certain citizen of Abdera in Thrace, who when the king was gone, said, they ought to thank the gods that he ate but one meal a day.‡

An extraordinary instance of magnanimity was shown on this occasion by the king of Basaltes, a people of Thrace. While all the other princes ran into servitude, and basely submitted to Xerxes, he bravely refused to receive his yoke, or to obey him. Not being in a condition to resist him with open force, he retired to the top of the mountain Rhodope, into an inaccessible place, and forbade all his sons, who were six in number, to carry arms against Greece. But they, either out of fear of Xerxes, or out of curiosity to see so important a war, followed the Persians, in opposition to their father's injunction. On their return home, their father, to punish so direct a disobedience, condemned all his sons to have their eyes put out. Xerxes continued his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, every thing giving way before him till he came to the strait of Thermopylæ.§

One cannot behold without the utmost astonishment, with what a handful of troops the Grecians opposed the innumerable army of Xerxes. We find a particular account of their number in Pausanias. All their forces joined together amounted only to eleven thousand two hundred men; of which number only four thousand were employed at Thermopylæ to defend the pass. But these soldiers, adds the historian, were all determined to a man either to conquer or die. And what is it that an army of such resolution is not able to effect?||

When Xerxes advanced near the strait of Thermopylæ, he was strangely surprised to find that they were prepared to dispute his passage. He had always flattered himself, that on the first hearing of his arrival, the Grecians would betake themselves to flight; nor could he ever be persuaded to believe, what Demaratus had told him from the beginning of his project, that at the first pass he came to, he would find his whole army stopped by a handful of men. He sent out a spy before him to reconnoitre the enemy. The spy brought him word, that he found the Lacedæmonians out of their entrenchments, and that they were diverting themselves with military exercises, and combing their hair, which was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle.¶

Xerxes, still entertaining some hopes of their flight, waited four days on purpose to give them time to retreat. And in this interval of time he used his utmost endeavours to gain Leonidas, by making him magnificent promises, and assuring him that he would make him master of all Greece, if he would come over to his party. Leonidas rejected his proposal with scorn and indignation. Xerxes, having afterwards written to him to deliver up his arms, Leonidas, in a style and spirit truly laconic, answered him in these words, "come and take them."** Nothing remained but to prepare themselves to engage the Lacedæmonians. Xerxes first commanded his Median forces to march against them, with orders to take them all alive, and bring them to him. These Medes were not able to stand the charge of the Grecians; and being shamefully put to flight, they showed, says Herodotus, that Xerxes had a great many men, but few soldiers.†† The next that were to face the Spartans, were those Persians called the Immortal Band, which consisted of ten thousand men, and were the best troops in the whole army. But these had no better success than the former.‡‡

* A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480. Herod. l. vii. c. 172, 173.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 175, 177.

‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 108, 132.

§ Herod. l. viii. c. 116.

|| Paus. l. x. p. 646.

¶ Herod. l. vi. c. 207—231. Diod. l. xi. p. 5, 10.

** Ἀντάραψες, Μόλων λέει.

†† Ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλιγοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες. Quod multi hominos essent pauci autem viri.

‡‡ Plut. in Lacon. Apoph. p. 225.

Xerxes, out of all hopes of being able to force his way through troops so determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed, and could not tell what resolution to take, when an inhabitant of the country came to him and discovered a secret path to the top of an eminence, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces.* He quickly despatched a detachment thither, which marching all night, arrived there at the break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post.

The Greeks were soon apprized of this misfortune, and Leonidas, seeing that it was now impossible to repulse the enemy, obliged the rest of the allies to retire, but staid himself with his three hundred Lacedæmonians, all resolved to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either Lacedæmon or her king must necessarily perish, determined, without the least difficulty or hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The Spartans lost all hopes either of conquering or escaping, and looked upon Thermopylæ as their burying-place. The king, exhorting his men to take some nourishment, and telling them at the same time, that they should sup together with Pluto, they set up a shout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet, and full of ardour advanced with their king to battle. The shock was exceedingly violent and bloody. Leonidas himself was one of the first that fell. The endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. At length, not vanquished, but oppressed by numbers, they all fell, except one man, who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and traitor to his country, and nobody would keep company or converse with him. But soon afterwards he made a glorious amends for his fault at the battle of Platææ, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Xerxes, enraged to the last degree against Leonidas for daring to make a stand against him, caused his dead body to be hung up on a gallows, and made this intended dishonour of his enemy his own immortal shame.†

Some time after these transactions, by order of the Amphictyons, a magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylæ to the honour of these brave defenders of Greece, and upon the monument were two inscriptions; one of which was general, and related to all those that died at Thermopylæ, importing, that the Greeks, of Peloponnesus, to the number only of four thousand, had withstood the Persian army, which consisted of three millions of men: the other related to the Spartans in particular. It was composed by the poet Simonides, and is very remarkable for its simplicity. It is as follows:

ὦ ξεῖν', ἄγγελλον Δακεδαμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ
Κεῖμῃθα, τοῖς κείνων πειδόμενοι νομίμοις.‡

That is to say, "go, passenger, and tell at Lacedæmon, that we died here in obedience to her sacred laws." Forty years afterwards, Pausanias, who obtained the victory of Platææ, caused the bones of Leonidas to be carried from Thermopylæ to Sparta, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory; near which was likewise another erected for Pausanias. Every year at these tombs was a funeral oration pronounced to the honour of those heroes, and a public game, wherein none but the Lacedæmonians had a right to participate; in order to show, that they alone were concerned in the glory obtained at Thermopylæ.

Xerxes in that affair lost above twenty thousand men, among whom were two of the king's brothers. He was very sensible, that so great a loss, which was a manifest proof of the courage of their enemies, was capable of alarming and discouraging his soldiers. In order, therefore, to conceal the knowledge of it from them, he caused all his men that were killed in that action, except a thousand, whose bodies he ordered to be left upon the field, to be thrown together into large holes, which were secretly made, and covered over afterwards with earth and herbs. This stratagem succeeded very ill; for when the soldiers in his fleet, being curious to see the field of battle, obtained leave to come thither for that purpose, it served rather to discover his own littleness of soul, than to conceal the number of the slain.§

Dismayed with a victory that had cost him so dear, he asked Demaratus if the Lacedæmonians had many such soldiers? that prince told him, that the Spartan republic had a great many cities belonging to it, all the inhabitants of which were ex-

* When the Gauls, two hundred years after this, came to invade Greece, they possessed themselves of the strait of Thermopylæ by means of the same by-path which the Grecians had still neglected to secure.—Pausan. l. i. p. 7. 8.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 238.

‡ *Pari animo Lacedæmonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in duos Simonides:
Die, hospes, Spartæ nos te hic vidisse jacentes,
Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.*

Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 101.

§ Herod. l. viii. c. 24, 25.

ceedingly brave; but that the inhabitants of Lacedæmon, who were properly called Spartans, and who were about eight thousand in number, surpassed all the rest in valour, and were all of them such as those who had fought under Leonidas.*

I return for a short time to the battle of Thermopylæ, the issue of which, fatal in appearance, might make an impression upon the mind of the reader to the disadvantage of the Lacedæmonians, and occasion their courage to be looked upon as the effect of a presumptuous temerity, or a desperate resolution.

That action of Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans, was not the effect of rashness or despair, but was a wise and noble conduct, as Diodorus Siculus has taken care to observe, in the magnificent encomium upon that famous engagement, to which he ascribes the success of the ensuing victories and campaigns.† Leonidas, knowing that Xerxes marched at the head of all the forces of the East, in order to overwhelm and crush a little country by his overwhelming numbers, rightly conceived, from the superiority of his genius and understanding, that if they pretended to place their hopes of success in that war in opposing force to force, and numbers to numbers, all the Grecian nations together would never be able to equal the Persians, or to dispute the victory with them; that it was therefore necessary to point out to Greece other means of safety and preservation, while she was under these alarms; and that they ought to show to the world whose eyes were upon them, what glorious things may be done, when greatness of mind is opposed to force of body, true courage and bravery to blind impetuosity, the love of liberty to tyrannical oppression, and a few disciplined veteran troops to a confused multitude, however numerous. These brave Lacedæmonians thought it became them, who were the choicest soldiers of the chief people of Greece, to devote themselves to certain death, in order to impress upon the Persians how difficult it is to reduce freemen to slavery, and to teach the rest of Greece, by their example, either to vanquish or to perish.

These sentiments do not originate in fancy, nor do I ascribe them to Leonidas without foundation: they are plainly comprised in the short answer which that worthy king of Sparta made to a certain Lacedæmonian, who, being astonished at the generous resolution the king had taken, spoke to him in this manner: "is it possible then, sir, that you can think of marching with a handful of men against such a mighty and innumerable army?" "If we are to rely upon numbers," replied Leonidas, "all the people of Greece together would not be sufficient, since a small part of the Persian army is equal to her entire population: but if we are to rely upon valour, my little troop is more than sufficient."‡

The event showed the justness of this prince's sentiments. That illustrious example of courage astonished the Persians, and gave new spirit and vigour to the Greeks. The lives then of this heroic leader and his brave troop were not thrown away, but usefully employed; and their death was attended with a double effect, greater and more lasting than they themselves had imagined. On one hand it was in a manner the cause of their ensuing victories, which made the Persians for ever after lay aside all thoughts of attacking Greece; so that during the seven or eight succeeding reigns, there was neither any prince, who durst entertain such a design, nor any flatterer in his court, who durst propose the thing to him. On the other hand, so singular and exemplary an instance of intrepidity made an indelible impression upon all the rest of the Grecians, and left a persuasion deeply rooted in their hearts, that they were able to subdue the Persians, and subvert their vast empire. Cimon was the first who made the attempt with success. Agesilaus afterwards pushed that design so far, that he made the great monarch tremble in his palace at Susa. Alexander at last accomplished it with incredible facility. He never had the least doubt, any more than the Macedonians who followed him, or the whole country of Greece that chose him general in that expedition, that with thirty thousand men he could reduce the Persian empire, as three hundred Spartans had been sufficient to check the united forces of the whole East.

SECTION VI.—NAVAL BATTLE NEAR ARTEMISIUM.

THE very same day, on which the glorious action was fought at Thermopylæ, there was also an engagement at sea between the two fleets. That of the Grecians, exclusive of the little galleys and small boats, consisted of two hundred and seventy-one vessels. This fleet had lain by near Artemisium, a promontory of Eubœa, upon the northern coast towards the strait. That of the enemy, which was much more

* Herod. l. viii. c. 134, 137.

† Diod. l. xi. p. 9.

‡ Plut. in Lacon. Apoph. p. 225.

numerous, was near the same place, but had lately suffered in a violent tempest, which had destroyed above four hundred of their vessels. Notwithstanding this loss, as it was still vastly superior in number to that of the Grecians, which they were preparing to attack, they detached two hundred of their vessels with orders to wait about Eubœa, so that none of the enemy's vessels might be able to escape them. The Grecians having got intelligence of this separation, immediately set sail in the night, in order to attack that detachment at day-break the next morning. But not meeting with it, they went, towards the evening, and fell upon the main body of the enemy's fleet, which they treated very roughly. Night coming on, they were obliged to separate, and both parties retired to their post. But the very night that parted them, proved more destructive to the Persians than the engagement which had preceded, from a violent storm of wind, accompanied with rain and thunder, which distressed and harrassed their vessels till break of day: and the two hundred ships also that had been detached from their fleet, as we mentioned before, were almost all cast away upon the coasts of Eubœa: it being the will of the gods, says Herodotus, that the two fleets should become very nearly equal.*

The Athenians having the same day received a reinforcement of fifty-three vessels, the Grecians, who were apprised of the disaster that had befallen part of the enemy's fleet, fell upon the ships of the Cilicians, at the same hour they had attacked the fleet the day before, and sunk a great number of them. The Persians ashamed of seeing themselves thus insulted by an enemy so much inferior in number, thought fit the next day to appear first in a disposition to engage. The battle was very obstinate this time, and the success pretty nearly on both sides; but the Persians, who were incommoded by the great size and number of their vessels, sustained the greater loss. Both parties, however, retired in good order.

All these actions, which took place near Artemisium, did not bring matters to an absolute decision, but contributed very much to animate the Athenians, as they were convinced by experience, that there is nothing really formidable, either in the number and magnificent ornaments of vessels, or in the insolent shouts and songs of victory of barbarians, to men that know how to come to close engagement, and have the courage to fight with steadiness and resolution; and that the best way of dealing with such an enemy, is to despise all the vain appearance, to advance boldly up to them, and to charge briskly and vigorously, without ever giving ground.†

The Grecian fleets having by this time had intelligence of what had passed at Thermopylæ, resolved upon the course they were to take without any farther deliberation. They immediately sailed away from Artemisium and advancing towards the heart of Greece, they stopped at Salamis, a small island very near and opposite to Attica. While the fleet was retreating, Themistocles passed through all the places where the enemy was obliged to land, in order to take in fresh water or other provisions, and engraved in large characters, upon the rocks and the stones, the following words, which he addressed to the Ionians: "Be of our side, ye people of Ionia: come to the party of your fathers, who exposed their own lives for no other object than to maintain your liberty: or, if you cannot possibly do that, at least do the Persians all the mischief you can, when we are engaged with them, and put their army into disorder and confusion." By this means Themistocles hoped either to bring the Ionians really over to their party, or at least to cause them to be suspected by the barbarians. We see this general had his thoughts always intent upon his business, and neglected nothing that could contribute to the success of his designs.‡

SECTION VII.—THE ATHENIANS ABANDON THEIR CITY, WHICH IS TAKEN AND BURNT BY XERXES.

XERXES in the meantime had entered into the country of Phocis by the upper part of Doris, and was burning and plundering the cities of the Phocians. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus having no thoughts but to save their own country, resolved to abandon all the rest, and to collect all the Grecian forces, within the isthmus, which they intended to fortify by a strong wall, extending from one sea to the other, a distance of nearly five English miles. The Athenians were highly provoked at so base a desertion, seeing themselves ready to fall into the hands of the Persians, and likely to bear the whole weight of their fury and vengeance. Sometime before, they had consulted the oracles of Delphos, which had given them for answer, "that there would

* Herod. l. vii. 1--18. Diod. l. xi. p. 10, 11.

† Plut. in Themist. p. 115, 117. Herod. l. viii. c. 21, 22.

‡ Herod. l. viii. c. 40, 41.

be no way of saving the city but by walls of wood." The sentiments of the people were much divided about this ambiguous expression: some thought it was to be understood to mean the citadel, because, heretofore, it had been surrounded with wooden palisades. But Themistocles gave another sense to the words, which was much more natural, understanding it to mean shipping; and demonstrated, that the only measures they had to take, were to leave the city empty, and to embark all the inhabitants. But this was a resolution the people would not listen to, thinking they would relinquish all hope of victory and even of safety when once they had abandoned the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors. Here Themistocles had occasion for all his address and all his eloquence, to prevail upon the people. After he had represented to them, that Athens did not consist either of its walls, or its houses, but of its citizens, and that the saving of these was the preservation of the city, he endeavoured to persuade them, by the argument most capable of making an impression upon them, in the unhappy, afflicted, and dangerous condition they were then in, I mean the argument and motive of divine authority; giving them to understand by the very words of the oracle, and by the prodigies which had happened, that their removing for a time from Athens was manifestly the will of the gods.*

A decree was therefore passed, by which, in order to soften what appeared so hard, in the resolution of deserting the city, it was ordained, "that Athens should be given up in trust into the hands, and committed to the keeping and protection of Minerva, patroness of the Athenian people; that all such inhabitants as were able to bear arms, should go on board of ships; and that every citizen should provide, as well as he could, for the safety and security of his wife, children and slaves."†

The extraordinary behaviour of Cimon, who was at this time very young, was of great weight on this singular occasion. Followed by his companions, with a gay and cheerful countenance, he went publicly along the street of the Ceramicus to the citadel, in order to consecrate the bit of a bridle, which he carried in his hand, in the temple of Minerva, intending to impress upon the people by this religious and affecting ceremony, that they had no farther business with land-forces, and that it behooved them now to betake themselves entirely to the sea. After he had made an offering of this bit, he took one of the shields that hung upon the wall of the temple, paid his devotions to the goddess, went down to the water-side, and was the first who by his example inspired the greatest part of the people with confidence and resolution, and encouraged them to embark.‡

The greater part of them sent their fathers and mothers that were old, together with their wives and children, to the city of Træzene,§ where the inhabitants received them with great humanity and generosity; for they made an ordinance that they should be maintained at the expense of the public, and assigned for each person's subsistence two oboli a day, which were worth about two pence English money. Besides this, they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, or wherever they came, and settled a fund for the payment of the masters who had the care of their education. How noble, how magnanimous, in a city, exposed as this was to the greatest dangers and calamities, to extend her care and generosity, in the very midst of such alarms, even to the education of other people's children!

When the whole city came to embark, so moving and melancholy a scene, drew tears from the eyes of all that were present, and at the same time occasioned great admiration with regard to the steadiness and courage of those men, who sent their fathers and mothers another way, and to other places, and who, without being moved either at their grief and lamentations, or at the tender embraces of their wives and children, passed over with so much firmness and resolution to Salamin. But what extremely raised and augmented the general compassion, was the greater number of old men they were forced to leave in the city on account of their age and infirmities, many of whom voluntarily remained there, from a motive of religion, believing the citadel to be the thing meant by the oracle in the above mentioned ambiguous expression of wooden walls. There was no creature, for history has deemed this circumstance worthy of being remembered, there was no creature, even to the very domestic animals, but what took part in this public mourning; nor was it possible to look on those poor creatures, running, howling and crying after their mas-

* Herod. l. vii. c. 139—143.

† Herod. l. viii. c. 51—54. Plut. in Themist. p. 117.

‡ Plut. in Cim. p. 481.

§ This was a small city situated upon the sea-side, in that part of the Peloponnesus called Argolis.

ters, who were going on board, without being affected. Among these animals, particular notice is taken of a dog belonging to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, which, unwilling to be abandoned by his master, jumped into the sea after him, and continued swimming as near as he could to the vessel his master was on board of, till he landed, quite spent, at Salamin, and died the moment after upon the shore. In the same place, even in Plutarch's time, they used to show the spot wherein this faithful animal was said to be buried, which was called "the dog's burying-place."

While Xerxes was continuing his march, some deserters from Arcadia came and joined his army. The king having asked them what the Grecians were then doing, was extremely surprised when he was told, that they were employed in seeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia: and his surprise was still increased, when he understood that the victor's reward in those engagements was only a crown of olive. "What men must they be," cried one of the Persian nobles with great wonder and astonishment, "that are influenced only by honour, and not by money!"*

Xerxes had sent off a considerable detachment of his army to plunder the temple of Delphos, in which he knew there were immense treasures, being resolved to treat Apollo with no more favour than the other gods whose temples he had pillaged. If we may believe what Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say of this matter, no sooner had this detachment advanced near the temple of Minerva, surnamed the Provident, than the air suddenly grew dark, and a violent tempest arose, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder and lightning; and two huge rocks being detached from the mountain, fell upon the Persian troops, and crushed the greatest part of them.†

The other part of the army marched towards the city of Athens, which was deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens who had retired into the citadel, where they defended themselves with incredible bravery till they were all killed, and would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatever. Xerxes having stormed the citadel, reduced it to ashes. He immediately despatched a courier to Susa, to carry the agreeable news of his success to Artabanes his uncle; and at the same time sent him a great number of pictures and statues.‡ Those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, were sent with the rest. One of the Antiochuses, kings of Syria, (I do not know which of them, nor at what time it was,) returned them to the Athenians, being persuaded he could not possibly make them a more acceptable present.§

SECTION VIII.—THE BATTLE OF SALAMIN, &c.

AT this time a division arose among the commanders of the Grecian fleet; and the confederates, in a council of war which was held for that purpose, were of very different sentiments concerning the place for engaging the enemy. Some of them, and indeed the major part, at the head of whom was Eurybiades, the generalissimo of the fleet, were for having them advance near the isthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the land-army, which was posted there to guard that pass, under the command of Cleombrotus, brother of Leonidas, and more ready for the defence of Peloponnesus. Others, at the head of whom was Themistocles, alleged, that it would be betraying their country to abandon so advantageous a post as that of Salamin. And as he supported his opinion with great warmth, Eurybiades lifted up his cane over him in a menacing manner. "Strike," said the Athenian, unmoved at the insult, "but hear me:" and continuing his discourse, proceeded to show of what importance it was for the Grecians, whose vessels were lighter and much fewer in number than those of the Persians, to engage in such a strait as that of Salamin, which would render the enemy incapable of using a great part of their forces. Eurybiades, who could not help being surprised at this moderation in Themistocles, submitted to his reasons, or at least complied with his opinion, for fear the Athenians, whose ships constituted more than one half of the fleet, should separate themselves from the allies, as their general had taken occasion to insinuate.||

A council of war was also held on the side of the Persians, in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement. Xerxes himself also went on board of the fleet to take the advice of his captains and officers; who were all unanimous for the battle, because they knew it was agreeable to the king's inclination. Queen Artemisia was the only person who opposed that resolution. She represented the dangerous consequences of coming to blows with people much more conversant

* Herod. l. viii. c. 16.

† Herod. l. viii. c. 50—54.

‡ Idem, c. 35—39. Diod. l. xi. p. 12.

§ Pausan. l. i. p. 14.

|| Herod. l. viii. c. 86—88. Plut. in Themist. p. 117.

and more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians, alleging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their land-army: whereas, by protracting the war, and approaching Peloponnesus, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, or rather augment the division already very great among them: that the confederates in that case would not fail to separate from one another, to return and defend their respective countries; and that then the king without difficulty, and almost without striking a blow, might make himself master of all Greece. This wise advice was not followed, and a battle was resolved upon.*

Xerxes, imputing the ill success of all his former engagements at sea to his own absence, was resolved to be a witness of this from the top of an eminence, where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. This might have contributed in some measure to animate his forces: but there is another much more sure and affectual means of doing it; I mean, by the prince's real presence and example, when he himself shares in the danger, and thereby shows himself worthy of being the soul and head of a brave and numerous body of men ready to die for his service. A prince that has not this sort of fortitude, which nothing can shake, and which even takes new vigour from danger, may nevertheless be endued with other excellent qualities, but then he is by no means proper to command an army. No qualification whatever can supply the want of courage in a general; and the more he labours to show the appearance of it, when he has not the reality, the more he discovers his cowardice and fear.† There is, it must be owned, a vast difference between a general officer and a private soldier. Xerxes ought not to have exposed his person otherwise than became a prince; that is to say, as the head, not as the hand; as he whose business it is to direct and give orders, not as those who are to put them in execution. But to keep himself entirely at a distance from danger, and to act no other part than that of a spectator, was really renouncing the quality and office of a general.

Themistocles, knowing that some of the commanders in the Grecian fleet still entertained thoughts of sailing towards the isthmus, contrived to have notice secretly given to Xerxes, that as the Grecian allies were now assembled together in one place, it would be an easy matter for him to subdue and destroy them altogether; whereas, if they once separated from one another, as they were about to do, he might never meet with another opportunity so favourable. The king adopted this opinion; and immediately commanded a great number of his vessels to surround Salamin by night, in order to make it impracticable for the Greeks to quit their post.‡

It was not perceived among the Grecians that their army was surrounded in this manner. Aristides came the same night from Ægina, where he had some forces under his command, and with very great danger passed through the whole fleet of the enemy. When he came to the tent of Themistocles he took him aside, and spoke to him in the following manner: "If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall from henceforward lay aside the vain and childish dissension that has hitherto existed between us, and strive, with a more noble and useful emulation, which of us shall render the best service to his country; you by commanding, and doing the duty of a wise and able captain, and I by obeying your orders, and by assisting you with my person and advice." He then informed him of the army's being surrounded with the ships of the Persians, and warmly exhorted him to give them battle, without delay. Themistocles, extremely astonished at such magnanimity, and such noble and generous frankness, was somewhat ashamed that he had suffered himself to be so much excelled by his rival; but, without being ashamed to own it, he promised Aristides, that he would henceforward imitate his generosity, and even exceed it, if it were possible, in the whole of his future conduct. Then, after having imparted the stratagem he had contrived, to deceive the barbarian, he desired him to go in person to Eurybiades, in order to convince him that there was no other means of safety than to engage the enemy by sea at Salamin; which commission Aristides executed with pleasure and success; for he was in great credit and esteem with that general.§

Both sides therefore prepared themselves for the battle. The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty sail of ships, which in every thing followed the direction and orders of Themistocles. As nothing escaped his vigilance, and as, like an able commander, he knew how to improve every circumstance and incident to advantage, before he would begin the engagement, he waited till a certain wind,

* Herod. l. viii. c. 67—70.

† Quanto magis occultare ac abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestus, pavidi.— Tacit. Hist.

‡ Herod. l. viii. c. 74, 78.

§ Plut. in Arist. p. 323. Herod. l. viii. c. 78—82.

which rose regularly every day at a certain hour, and which was directly contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as this wind rose, the signal was given for battle. The Persians, who knew that their king had his eyes upon them, advanced with such courage and impetuosity, as were capable of striking an enemy with terror. But the heat of the first attack quickly abated, when they came to be engaged. Every thing was against them; the wind, which blew directly in their faces; the height, and the heaviness of their vessels, which could not move and turn without great difficulty; and even the number of their ships, which was so far from being of use to them, that it only served to embarrass them in a place so strait and narrow as that they fought in: whereas, on the side of the Grecians, every thing was done with good order, and without hurry or confusion; because they were all directed by one commander. The Ionians, whom Themistocles had advised, by characters engraven upon stones along the coasts of Eubœa, to remember from whom they derived their origin, were the first that betook themselves to flight, and were quickly followed by the rest of the fleet. But queen Artemisia distinguished herself by incredible efforts of resolution and courage, so that Xerxes, when he saw in what manner she behaved herself, cried out, that the men had behaved like women in this engagement, and that the women had showed the courage of men.* The Athenians, being enraged that a woman had dared to appear in arms against them, had promised a reward of ten thousand drachms, to any one that should be able to take her alive: but she had the good fortune to escape their pursuit. If they had taken her, she could have deserved nothing from them but the highest commendations, and the most honourable and generous treatment.†

The manner in which that queen escaped ought not to be omitted.‡ Seeing herself warmly pursued by an Athenian ship, from which it seemed impossible for her to escape, she hung out Grecian colours, and attacked one of the Persian vessels, on board of which was Damasithymus, king of Calynda,§ with whom she had some difference, and sunk it: this made her pursuers believe that her ship was one of the Grecian fleet, and they gave up the chase.||

Such was the success of the battle of Salamin, one of the most memorable actions related in ancient history, and which has, and will render the name and courage of the Grecians for ever famous. A great number of the Persian ships were taken, and a much greater sunk on this occasion. Many of their allies, who dreaded the king's cruelty no less than the enemy, made the best of their way into their own country,

Themistocles, in a secret conversation with Aristides, proposed to his consideration, in order to sound him and to learn his true sentiments, whether it would not be proper for them to send some vessels to break down the bridge which Xerxes had caused to be built; to the end, says he, that we may take Asia into Europe: but though he made this proposal, he was far from approving it. Aristides, believing him to be in earnest, argued very warmly and strenuously against any such project, and represented to him how dangerous it was to reduce so powerful an enemy to despair, from whom it was their interest to deliver themselves as soon as possible. Themistocles seemed to acquiesce in his reasons; and in order to hasten the king's departure, contrived to have him secretly informed, that the Grecians designed to break down the bridge. The object Themistocles seems to have had in view by this feigned confidence, was to strengthen himself with Aristides's opinion, which was of great weight against that of the other generals, in case they inclined to go and break down the bridge. It may be too, that he aimed at guarding himself by this means against the ill will of his enemies, who might one day accuse him of treason before the people, if ever they came to know that he had been the author of that secret advice to Xerxes.

This prince being alarmed with such news, made the best use he could of his time, and set out by night, leaving Mardonius behind him, with an army of three hundred thousand men in order if possible to reduce Greece.¶ The Grecians, who expected

* Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γαῖβουσι καὶ γυναικες, αἱ δὲ γυναικες ἄνδρες.

Artemisia inter primos duces bellum acerrimes sciebat. Quippe, ut in viro muliebrem timorem, ita in muliere virilem audaciam cerneret.—Just. l. ii. c. 12.

† Herod. l. viii. c. 84—96.

‡ It appears that Artemisia valued herself no less upon stratagem than courage, and at the same time was not very delicate in the choice of the measures she used. It is said, that being desirous of seizing Latmus, a small city of Caria, that lay very commodiously for her, she put her troops in ambush, and, under pretence of celebrating the feast of the mother of the gods, in a wood consecrated to her near that city, she repaired thither with a great train of eunuchs, women, drums, and trumpets. The inhabitants ran in throngs to see that religious ceremony; and in the mean time Artemisia's troops took possession of the place.—Polyæn. Stratag. l. viii. c. 58.

§ A city of Lycia.

¶ Herod. l. viii. c. 87, 88. Polyæn. l. viii. c. 53.

¶ Herod. l. viii. c. 115—120.

that Xerxes would come to another engagement the next day, understanding that he had fled, pursued him as fast as they could, but to no purpose. They had destroyed two hundred of the enemy's ships besides those which they had taken. The remainder of the Persian fleet, after having suffered extremely by the winds in their passage, retired towards the coast of Asia, and entered into the port of Cuma, a city in Æolia, where they passed the winter, without daring afterwards to return into Greece.*

Xerxes took the rest of his army along with him and marched by the way of the Hellespont. As no provisions had been previously prepared for them, they underwent great hardships during their whole march, which lasted forty-five days. After having consumed all the fruits they could find, the soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. This occasioned a great sickness in the army, and great numbers died of fluxes and the plague.

The king, through eagerness and impatience to make his escape, left his army behind him, and travelled on before with a small retinue, in order to reach the bridge with the greater expedition; but when he arrived at the place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, in a great tempest that had happened, and was reduced to the necessity of passing the strait in a cock-boat. This scene was to show mankind the mutability of all earthly things and the instability of human greatness; a prince, whose armies and fleets but a short time before the land and sea were scarcely able to contain, now sailing away in a little boat, almost without any servants or attendants!† Such was the event and success of Xerxes's expedition against Greece.

If we compare Xerxes with himself at different times and on different occasions, we shall hardly know him for the same man. When affairs were under consideration and debate, no person could show more courage and intrepidity than this prince; he is surprised, and even offended, if any one foresees the least difficulty in the execution of his projects, or shows any apprehension concerning events. But when he comes to the point of execution, and to the hour of danger, he flies like a coward, and thinks of nothing but saving his own life and person. Here we have a sensible and evident proof of the difference between true courage, which is never destitute of prudence, and temerity, always blind and presumptuous. A wise and great prince weighs every thing, and examines all circumstances, before he enters into a war, of which he is not afraid, but which at the same time he does not desire; and when the time of action is come, the sight of danger serves only to animate his courage.‡ Presumption inverts this order. When she has introduced assurance and boldness where wisdom and circumspection ought to preside, she admits fear and despair where courage and intrepidity ought to be exerted.§

The first care of the Grecians after the battle of Salamin, was to send the first fruits of the rich spoil they had taken to Delphos. Cimon, who was then very young, signalized himself in a particular manner in that engagement, and performed actions of such distinguished valour as acquired him a great reputation, and made him be considered from henceforth as a citizen that would be capable of rendering the most important services to his country on future occasions.||

But Themistocles carried off almost all the honour of this victory which was the most signal that ever the Grecians obtained over the Persians. The force of truth obliged even those who envied his glory most, to render him this testimony. It was a custom in Greece, that after a battle, the commanding officers should declare who had distinguished themselves most, by writing in a paper the name of the man who had merited the first prize, and of him who had merited the second ¶

On this occasion, by a judgment which shows the good opinion natural for every man to have of himself, each officer concerned adjudged the first rank to himself, and allowed the second to Themistocles, which was indeed giving him the preference to them all.

The Lacedæmonians, having carried him to Sparta, in order to pay him the honours due to his merit, decreed to their general, Eurybiades the prize of valour, and to Themistocles that of wisdom, which was a crown of olive for both of them. They

* Idem c. 130.

† Erat res spectaculo digna, et æstimationes sortis humana, rerum varietate miranda, in exiguo latentem videre navigio, quem paulo ante vix æquor omne capiebat; earentem etiam omni servorum ministerio, cuius exercitus, orooter multitudinem, terris graves erant —Justin. l. ii. c. 13.

‡ Non times bella, non provocas.—Plin. de Traj. Fortissimus in ipso discrimine, qui ante discrimen quietissimus.—Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 14.

§ Ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidi.—Tacit. Hist. l. c. 68.

|| Herod. l. vii. c. 122, 125.

¶ Plut. in Themist. p. 120.

also made a present to Themistocles of the finest chariot in the city; and on his departure, sent three hundred young men of the most considerable families to wait upon him to the frontiers: an honour they had never before shown to any person whatever.

But what gave him a still more sensible pleasure, were the public acclamations he received at the first Olympic games that were celebrated after the battle of Salamin, where all the people of Greece were met together. As soon as he appeared, the whole assembly rose up to do him honour: nobody regarded either the games or the combats; Themistocles was the only object of attention. The eyes of all the company were fixed upon him, and every person was eager to show him and point him out to the strangers that did not know him. He acknowledged afterwards, to his friends, that he looked upon that day as the happiest of his life; that he had never tasted any joy so sensible and so transporting; and that this reward, the genuine fruit of his labours exceeded all his desires.

The reader has undoubtedly observed in Themistocles two or three principal strokes of his character, which entitle him to be ranked among the greatest men. The design which he formed and executed, of making the whole force of Athens maritime, showed him to have a superior genius, capable of the highest views, penetrating into futurity, and judicious in seizing the decisive moment in great affairs. As the territory belonging to Athens was of a barren nature and small extent, he rightly conceived, that the only way that city had to enrich and aggrandize herself was by sea. And indeed, that scheme may justly be looked upon as the source and cause of all those great events, which subsequently raised the republic of Athens to so flourishing a condition.

But in my opinion, though this wisdom and foresight is a most excellent and valuable talent, yet it is infinitely less meritorious than that uncommon temper and moderation, which Themistocles showed on two critical occasions, when Greece had been utterly undone, if he had listened to the dictates of an ill-judged ambition, and had piqued himself upon a false point of honour, as is usual among persons of his age and profession. The first of these occasions was, when, notwithstanding the crying injustice that was committed, both in regard to the republic of which he was a member, and to his own person, in appointing a Lacedæmonian generallissimo of the fleet, he exhorted and prevailed with the Athenians to desist from their pretensions, however justly founded, in order to prevent the fatal effects with which a division among the confederates must have been necessarily attended. And what an admirable instance did he give of his presence of mind and coolness of temper, when the same Eurybiades not only insulted him with harsh and offensive language, but lifted up his cane at him in a menacing manner! Let it be remembered at the same time, that Themistocles was then but young; that he was full of an ardent ambition for glory; that he was commander of a numerous fleet; and that he had right and reason on his side. How would our young officers behave on a like occasion? Themistocles bore all patiently, and the victory of Salamin was the fruit of his patience.

As to Aristides, I shall hereafter have occasion to speak more extensively upon his character and merit. He was, properly speaking, the man of the commonwealth; provided that was well and faithfully served, he was very little concerned by whom it was done. The merit of others was far from offending him; but rather, became his own by the approbation and encouragement he gave it. We have seen him make his way through the enemy's fleet, at the peril of his life, in order to give Themistocles some good intelligence and advice: and Plutarch takes notice, that during all the time the latter had the command, Aristides assisted him, on all occasions, with his counsel and influence, notwithstanding he had reason to look upon him not only as his rival, but his enemy.* Let us compare this nobleness and greatness of soul with the littleness of spirit and meanness of those men, who are so nice, punctilious, and jealous in regard to command; who are unwilling to assist their colleagues, using all their endeavours and industry to engross the glory of every thing to themselves; always ready to sacrifice the public to their private interests, or to suffer their rivals to commit blunders, and that they themselves may reap advantage from them.

On the very same day that the action at Thermopylæ happened, the formidable army of the Carthaginians, which consisted of three hundred thousand men, was entirely defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. Herodotus places this battle on the same day with that of Salamin. The circumstances of that victory in Sicily I have related in the history of the Carthaginians.†

* Πάντα συνέπραξε καὶ συνέβη, ἐνδεδέχτατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κοινῇ παύει τὸν ἔχθιστον.—In Vit. Arist. p. 823.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 165, 167.

After the battle of Salamin, the Grecians being returned from pursuing the Persians, Themistocles sailed to all the islands that had declared for them, to levy contributions and exact money from them. The first he began with was that of Andros, from whose inhabitants he required a considerable sum, speaking to them in this manner: "I come to you accompanied with two powerful divinities, Persuasion and Force." The answer they made him was: "We also have two other divinities on our side, no less powerful than yours, and which do not permit us to give the money you demand of us, Poverty and Weakness." Upon this refusal he made a feint of besieging them, and threatened that he would entirely ruin their city. He dealt in the same manner with several other islands, which durst not resist him as Andros had done, and drew great sums from them without the privity of the other commanders; for he was considered as a lover of money, and desirous of enriching himself.*

SECTION IX.—THE BATTLE OF PLATÆÆ.

MARDONIUS, who remained in Greece with a body of three hundred thousand men, let his troops pass the winter in Thessaly, and in the spring following, led them into Bœotia. There was a very famous oracle in that country, the oracle of Lebadia, which he thought proper to consult, in order to know what would be the success of the war. The priest, in his enthusiastic fit, answered in a language which nobody that was present understood, as much as to insinuate, that the oracle would not deign to speak intelligibly to a barbarian. At the same time Mardonius sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, with several Persian noblemen, to Athens, and by them, in the name of his master, made very advantageous proposals to the Athenian people, to separate them from the rest of their allies. The offers he made them were, to rebuild their city which had been burnt down, to give them a considerable sum of money, to suffer them to live according to their own laws and customs, and to give them the government and command of all Greece. Alexander, as their ancient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity for re-establishing their affairs, alleging that they were not in a condition to withstand a power so formidable as that of the Persians, and so much superior to that of Greece. On the first intelligence of this embassy, the Spartans on their side sent deputies to Athens, in order to prevent its success. These were present when the others had their audience; and, as soon as Alexander had finished his speech, they began in their turn to address themselves to the Athenians, and strongly exhorted them not to separate themselves from their allies, nor to desert the common interest of their country; representing to them, at the same time, that union in the present situation of their affairs was their whole strength, and would render Greece invincible. They added farther, that the Spartan commonwealth was very sensibly moved with the melancholy state which the Athenians were in, who were destitute both of houses and retreat, and who for two years together lost all their harvest; that, in consideration of that calamity, she would engage herself, during the continuance of the war, to maintain and support their wives, their children, and their old men, and to furnish a plentiful supply for all their wants. They concluded by adverting to the conduct of Alexander, whose discourse, they said, was such as might be expected from one tyrant who spoke in favour of another; but that he seemed to have forgotten that the people whom he addressed had showed themselves, on all occasions, the most zealous defenders of the common liberty of their country.†

Aristides was at this time in office; that is to say, principal of the archons. As it was therefore his business to answer, he said, that as to the barbarians, who made silver and gold the chief objects of their esteem, he forgave them for thinking they could corrupt the fidelity of a nation, by large bounties and promises: but that he could not help being surprised, and affected with some degree of indignation, to see that the Lacedæmonians, regarding only the present distress and necessity of the Athenians, and forgetting their courage and magnanimity, should come to persuade them to persist steadfastly in the defence of the common liberty of Greece, by arguments and motives of gain, and by proposing to give them victuals and provision: he desired them to acquaint their republic, that all the gold in the world, was not capable of tempting the Athenians, or of making them desert the defence of the common liberty; that they had the grateful sense they ought to have, of the kind offers which Lacedæmon had made them; but that they would endeavour to manage their affairs so

*Herod. l. viii. c. 111, 112. Plut. in Themist. p. 122.

†A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479. Herod. l. viii. c. 115—131, 136—140, 144. Plut. in Arist. p. 324. Did. l. xi. p. 22, 23. Plut. de Orac. Defect. p. 412.

as not to be a burden to any of their allies. Then, turning himself towards the ambassadors of Mardonius, and pointing with his hand to the sun, "be assured," said he to them, "that as long as that planet shall continue his course, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the Persians, and will not cease to take vengeance of them for ravaging their lands, and burning their houses and temples." After which, he desired the king of Macedonia, if he was inclined to be truly their friend, that he would not make himself any more the bearer of such proposals to them, which would only serve to reflect dishonour upon him, without ever producing any other effect.

Aristides, having made this plain and peremptory declaration, did not stop there; but that he might excite still greater horror at such proposals, and forever prohibit all intercourse with the barbarians, from a principle of religion; he ordained that the Athenian priests should denounce anathemas and execrations upon any persons whatever, who should presume to propose the making an alliance with the Persians, or the breaking of their alliance with the rest of the Grecians.

When Mardonius had learned, by the answer which the Athenians had sent him, that they were to be prevailed upon by no proposals or advantages whatever to sell their liberty,* he marched with his whole army towards Attica, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians, not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, retired to Salamin, and a second time abandoned their city. Mardonius, still entertaining hopes of bringing them to some terms of accommodation, sent another deputy to them to make the same proposals as before. A certain Athenian, called Lycidas, being of opinion that they should hearken to what he had to offer, was immediately stoned, and the Athenian women running at the same time to his house, did the same execution upon his wife and children; so detestable a crime did they think it to propose any peace with the Persians. But notwithstanding this, they respected the character wherewith the deputy was invested, and sent him back without offering him any indignity or ill treatment. Mardonius now found that there was no peace to be expected with them. He therefore entered Athens, and burned and demolished every thing that had escaped their fury the preceding year.†

The Spartans, instead of conducting their troops into Attica, according to their engagements, thought only of keeping themselves shut up within the Peloponnesus for their own security, and with that view had begun to build a wall over the isthmus, in order to prevent the enemy from entering that way, by which means they hoped they should be safe themselves, and should have no farther occasion for the assistance of the Athenians. The latter hereupon sent deputies to Sparta, in order to complain of the slowness and neglect of their allies. But the ephori did not seem to be much moved at their remonstrances; and, as that day was the feast of Hyacinthus,‡ they spent it in feasts and rejoicing, and deferred giving the deputies their answer till the next day. And still procrastinating the affair as much as they could, on various pretexts, they gained ten days' time, during which the building of the wall was completed. They were on the point of dismissing the Athenian envoys in a scandalous manner, when a private citizen expostulated with them, and represented to them, how base it would be to treat the Athenians in such a manner, after all the calamities and voluntary losses they had so generously suffered for the common defence of liberty, and all the important services they had rendered Greece in general. This opened their eyes and made them ashamed of their perfidious design. The very next night following, they sent off, unknown to the Athenian deputies, five thousand Spartans, who had each of them seven helots, or slaves, to attend him. In the morning afterwards, the deputies renewed their complaints with great warmth and resentment, and were extremely surprised when they were told that the Spartan succours were on their march, and by this time were not far from Attica.

Mardonius had left Attica at this time, and was on his return into the country of Bœotia. As the latter was an open and flat country, he thought it would be more advantageous for him to fight there, than in Attica, which was uneven and rugged, full of hills and narrow passes, and which for that reason would not allow him space enough for drawing up his numerous army in order of battle, nor leave room for his cavalry

* Posteaquam nullo pretio libertatem his videt venalem, &c.—Justin. l. ii. c. 14.

† Herod. l. ix. c. 1—11. Plut. in Arist. p. 324. Diod. l. xi. p. 2.

‡ Among the Lacedæmonians the feast of Hyacinthus continued three days: the first and the last of which were days of sorrow and mourning for the death of Hyacinthus, but the second was a day of rejoicing, which was spent in feasting, sports, and shows, and all kinds of diversions. This festival was celebrated every year in the month of August, in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus.

to act. When he came back into Bœotia, he encamped by the river Asopus. The Grecians followed him thither under the command of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and of Aristides, general of the Athenians. The Persian army, according to Herodotus, consisted of three hundred thousand, and according to Diodorus, of five hundred thousand men. That of the Grecians did not amount to seventy thousand; of which there were but five thousand Spartans; but, as these were accompanied with thirty five thousand of the helots, viz. seven for each Spartan, they made up together forty thousand: the latter of these were light-armed troops, the Athenian forces consisted but of eight thousand, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. The right wing of the army was commanded by the Spartans, and the left by the Athenians, an honour which the people of Tegæa pretended to, and disputed with them, but in vain.*

While all Greece was in suspense, expecting a battle that should determine their fate, a secret conspiracy, formed in the midst of the Athenian camp, by some discontented citizens, who intended the subversion of their popular government, or to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians, gave Aristides a great deal of perplexity and trouble. On this emergency he had occasion for all his prudence: not knowing exactly how many persons might be concerned in this conspiracy, he contented himself with having eight of them taken up; and of those eight, the only two whom he caused to be accused, because they had the most laid to their charge, made their escape out of the camp while their trial was preparing. There is no doubt but Aristides favoured their escape, lest he should be obliged to punish them, and their punishment might occasion some tumult and disorder. The others who were in custody, he released, leaving them room to believe, that he had found nothing against them; and telling them that the battle with the enemy should be the tribunal, where they might fully justify their characters, and show the world how unlikely it was that they had ever entertained a thought of betraying their country. This well timed and wise dissimulation which opened a door for repentance, and avoided driving the offenders to despair, appeased all commotion, and quashed the whole affair.†

Mardonius, in order to try the Grecians, sent out his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Megarians, who were encamped upon a plain, suffered extremely by them; and in spite of all the vigour and resolution with which they defended themselves, they were upon the point of giving way, when a detachment of three hundred Athenians, with some troops armed with missive weapons, advanced to their succour. Masistius, the general of the Persian horse, and one of the most considerable noblemen of his country, seeing them advance towards him in good order, made his cavalry face about and attack them. The Athenians stood their ground, and waited to receive them. The shock was very fierce and violent, both sides endeavouring equally to show, by the issue of this encounter, what would be the success of the general engagement. The victory was a long time disputed: but at last Masistius's horse being wounded, threw his master, who was quickly after killed; upon which the Persians immediately fled. As soon as the news of his death reached the barbarians, their grief was excessive. They cut off the hair of their heads, as also the manes of their horses and mules, filling the camp with their cries and lamentations, having lost in their opinion, the bravest man of their army.

After this encounter with the Persian cavalry, the two armies were a long time without coming to any action; because the soothsayers and diviners, upon their inspecting the entrails of their victims, equally foretold both parties, that they should be victorious, provided they acted only upon the defensive; whereas, on the other hand, they threatened them equally with a total overthrow, if they acted offensively, or made the first attack.

They passed ten days in this manner in sight of each other: but Mardonius who was of a fiery, impatient nature, grew very uneasy at so long a delay. Besides, he had only a few days' provision left for his army; and the Grecians grew stronger every day by the addition of new troops, that were continually coming to join them. He therefore called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle. Artabazus, a nobleman of singular merit and great experience was of opinion that they should not hazard a battle, but should retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be in a condition to supply the army with provision and forage. He

* Herod. l. ix. c. 12—76. Plut. in Arist. p. 325—330. Diod. l. xi. p. 24, 26.

† Plut. in Arist. p. 326.

alleged, that delays alone would be capable of diminishing the ardour of the allies; that they would thereby have time to tamper with them, and might be able to draw some of them off by gold and silver, which they would take care to distribute among the leaders, and among such as had the greatest sway and authority in their several cities; and that in short, this would be both the easiest and surest method of subjecting Greece. This opinion was very wise, but was over-ruled by Mardonias, whom the rest had not courage to contradict. The result therefore of their deliberations was, that they should give battle next day. Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was on the side of the Grecians in his heart, came secretly about midnight to their camp, and informed Aristides of all that had passed.

Pausanias forthwith gave orders to the officers to prepare themselves for battle; and imparted to Aristides the design he had formed of changing his order of battle by placing the Athenians in the right wing, instead of the left, in order to oppose them to the Persians, with whom they had been accustomed to engage. Whether it was fear or prudence that induced Pausanias to propose this new disposition, the Athenians accepted it with pleasure. Nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations, to acquit themselves bravely, bidding each other remember, that neither they nor their enemies were changed since the battle of Marathon, unless it were, that victory had increased the courage of the Athenians, and had dispirited the Persians. We do not fight, said they, as they do, for a country only, or a city, but for the trophies erected at Marathon and at Salamin, that they may not appear to be the work only of Miltiades and of Fortune, but the work of the Athenians. Encouraging one another in this manner, they went with all the alacrity imaginable to change their post. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he received of this movement, having made the like change in his order of battle, both sides ranged their troops again according to their former disposition. The whole day passed in this manner without their coming to action.

In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that they should decamp from the place they were in, and march to another, more conveniently situated for water. Night being arrived, and the officers endeavouring at the head of their corps to make more haste than ordinary to the camp marked out for them, great confusion happened among the troops, some going one way and some another, without observing any order or regularity in their march. At last they halted near the little city of Plataeæ.

On the first news of the Grecians having decamped, Mardonius drew his whole army into order of battle, and pursued them with the hideous shouting and howling of his barbarian forces, who thought they were marching, not so much in order to fight, as to strip and plunder a flying enemy; and their general likewise making himself sure of victory, proudly insulted Artabazus, reproaching him with his fearful and cowardly prudence, and with the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before an enemy; whereas here was an instance to the contrary. But the general quickly found this was no false or ill-grounded notion. He happened to fall in with the Lacedæmonians, who were alone and separated from the body of the Grecian army, to the number of fifty thousand men, together with three thousand of the Tegeans. The encounter was exceedingly fierce and resolute: on both sides the men fought with the courage of lions; and the barbarians perceived that they had to do with soldiers who were determined to conquer or die in the field. The Athenian troops, to whom Pausanias sent an officer, were already upon their march to aid them: but the Greeks, who had taken part with the Persians, to the number of fifty thousand men, went out to meet them on their way, and hindered them from proceeding any farther. Aristides, with his little body of men, bore up firmly against them, and withstood their attack, showing them of how little avail a superiority of numbers is against true courage and bravery.

The battle being thus divided into two, they fought in two different places; the Spartans were the first who broke in upon the Persian forces, and threw them into disorder. Mardonius their general, falling dead of a wound he had received in the engagement, all his army betook themselves to flight; and those Greeks who were engaged against Aristides, did the same as soon as they understood the barbarians were defeated. The latter ran away to their former camp, which they had quitted, where they were sheltered and fortified with an enclosure of wood. The Lacedæmonians pursued them thither, and attacked them in their intrenchment; but this they did poorly and weakly, like people that were not much accustomed to sieges, and

to attack walls. The Athenian troops, having advice of this, left the pursuit of their Grecian adversaries, and marched to the camp, of the Persians, which after several assaults, they carried, and made a horrible slaughter of this enemy.

Artabazus, who from Mardonius's imprudent management had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befel them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, and given all possible proofs of his courage and intrepidity, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men he commanded; and, preventing his flight from being known by the expedition of his march, he arrived safe at Byzantium, and from thence returned into Asia. Of all the rest of the Persian army, not four thousand men escaped after that day's slaughter: all were killed and cut to pieces by the Grecians, who by that means delivered themselves at once from all farther invasions by that nation, no Persian army having ever afterwards appeared on this side of the Hellespont.

This battle was fought on the fourth day of the month Bœdromion,* according to the Athenian manner of reckoning. Soon after, the allies, as a testimony of their gratitude to heaven, caused a statue of Jupiter to be made at the joint and common expense, which they placed in his temple at Olympia. The names of the several nations of Greece that were present in the engagement, were engraven on the right side of the Pedestal of the statue; the Lacedæmonians first, the Athenians next, and all the rest in order.†

One of the principal citizens of Ægina came and addressed himself to Pausanias, desiring to avenge the indignity that Mardonius and Xerxes had shown to Leonidas, whose dead body was hung upon a gallows by their order, and urging him to use Mardonius's body after the same manner. As a farther motive for doing so, he added, that by thus satisfying the manes of those that were killed at Thermopylæ, he would be sure to immortalize his own name throughout all Greece, and make his memory precious to the latest posterity. "Carry thy base counsel elsewhere," replied Pausanias, "thou must have a very wrong notion of true glory, to imagine that the way for me to acquire it is to resemble the barbarians. If the esteem of the people of Ægina is not to be purchased but by such actions, I shall be content with preserving that of the Lacedæmonians only, among whom the base and ungenerous spirit of revenge is never put in competition with that of showing clemency and moderation to their enemies, and especially after their death. As for the souls of my departed countrymen, they are sufficiently avenged by the death of the many thousand Persians slain upon the spot in the last engagement."‡

A dispute, which arose between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, about determining which of the two people should have the prize of valour adjudged to them, as also which of them should have the privilege of erecting a trophy, had like to have sullied all the glory and embittered the joy of their late victory. They were just on the point of carrying things to the last extremity, and would certainly have decided the difference by the sword, had not Aristides prevailed upon them, by the wisdom of his counsel and reasonings, to refer the determination of the matter to the judgment of the Grecians in general. This proposition being accepted by both parties, and the Greeks being assembled upon the spot to decide the contest, Theogiton of Megara, speaking upon the question, gave it as his opinion, that the prize of valour ought to be adjudged neither to Athens nor to Sparta, but to some other city; unless they desired to kindle a civil war, of more fatal consequences than that they had just put an end to. After he had finished his speech, Cleocritus of Corinth rose up to deliver his sentiments of the matter: and when he began, nobody doubted that he was going to claim that honour for the city of which he was a member and a native; for Corinth was the next city of Greece in power and dignity after those of Athens and Sparta. But every body was agreeably deceived when they found that all his discourse tended to the praise of the Platæans, and that all the conclusion he made from the whole was, that in order to extinguish so dangerous a contention, they ought to adjudge the prize to them only, against whom neither of the contending parties could have any grounds of anger or jealousy. This discourse and proposal were received with general applause by the whole assembly. Aristides immediately assented to it on the part of the Athenians, and Pausanias on the part of the Lacedæmonians.§

* This day answers to the nineteenth of our September.

† A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479. Paus. l. v. p. 532.

‡ Herod. l. ix. c. 77, 78.

§ Plut. in Arist. p. 331.

All parties being thus agreed, before they began to divide the spoil of the enemy, they put fourscore talents* aside for the Plataeans, who laid them out in building a temple to Minerva, in erecting a statue to her honour, and in adorning the temple with curious and valuable paintings, which existed still in Plutarch's time, that is to say, above six hundred years afterwards, and which were then as fresh as if they had but lately come out of the hands of the painters. As for the trophy, which had been another article of the dispute, the Lacedæmonians erected one for themselves in particular, and the Athenians another.†

The spoil was immense: in the camp of Mardonius they found prodigious sums of money in gold and silver, besides cups, vessels, beds, tables necklaces and bracelets of gold and silver, not to be valued or numbered. It is observed by a certain historian, that these spoils proved fatal to Greece, by becoming the instruments of introducing avarice and luxury among her inhabitants.‡ According to the religious customs of the Grecians, before they divided the treasure, they appropriated the tithe or tenth part of the whole to the use of the gods; the rest was distributed equally among the cities and nations that had furnished troops; and the chief officers who had distinguished themselves in the field of battle were likewise distinguished in this distribution. They sent a present of a golden tripod to Delphos, in the inscription upon which Pausanias caused these words to be inserted: "That he had defeated the barbarians at Plataeæ; and that, in acknowledgment of that victory, he had made this present to Apollo."§

This arrogant inscription, wherein he ascribed the honour both of the victory and the offering to himself only, offended the Lacedæmonian people, who, in order to punish his pride in the very point and place where he thought to exalt himself, as also to do justice to their confederates, caused his name to be erased and that of the cities which had contributed to the victory to be inserted instead of it. Too ardent a thirst after glory, on this occasion, did not allow him to consider that a man loses nothing by discreet modesty, which forbears the setting too high a value upon one's own services, and which, by screening a man from envy, serves really to enhance his reputation.||

Pausanias gave a still farther specimen of his Spartan spirit and humour, in two entertainments which he ordered to be prepared a few days after the engagement; one of which was costly and magnificent, in which was served all the variety of delicacies and dainties that used to be served at the table of Mardonius; the other was plain and frugal, after the manner of the Spartans. Then comparing the two entertainments together, and observing the difference of them to his officers, whom he had invited on purpose: "what madness," said he, "was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such a luxurious diet to think of attacking a people like us, who live without any superfluities, and indulge in no delicacies!"

All the Grecians sent to Delphos, to consult the oracle concerning the sacrifice that was proper to be offered. The answer they received from the god was, "that they should erect an altar to Jupiter Liberator; but that they should take care not to offer any sacrifice upon it, before they had extinguished all the fire in the country, because it had been polluted and profaned by the barbarians; and that they should come as far as Delphos, to obtain pure fire, which they were to take from the altar, called the common altar."¶

This answer being brought to the Grecians from the oracle, the generals immediately dispersed themselves throughout the whole country, and caused all the fires to be extinguished; and Euchidas, a citizen of Plataeæ, having taken upon himself to go and fetch the sacred fire with all possible expedition, made the best of his way to Delphos. On his arrival he purified himself, sprinkled his body with consecrated water, put on a crown of laurel, and then approached the altar, from whence, with great reverence, he took the holy fire, and carried it with him to Plataeæ where he arrived before the setting of the sun, having travelled a thousand stadia, equal to a hundred and twenty-five English miles, in one day. As soon as he came back; he saluted his fellow-citizens, delivered the fire to them, fell down at their feet, and died in a moment afterwards. His countrymen carried away his body, and buried it in the temple of Diana surnamed Eucleia, which signifies "of good renown," and put the

* About £80,000.

† Herod. l. ix. c. 79, 80.

‡ Victo Mardonio, castra referta regalis opulentia capta, unde primum Græcos, divisio inter se auro Persico, divitiarum luxuria cepit.—Justin. l. ii. c. 14.

§ Corn. Nep. in Pausan. c. 1.

|| Ipsa dissimulatione fauæ famam auxit.—Tacit.

¶ Plut. in Arist. p. 331, 332.

following epitaph upon his tomb in the compass of one verse: "here lies Euehidas, who went from hence to Delphos, and returned back the same day.

In the next general assembly of Greece, which was held not long after this occurrence, Aristides proposed the following decree, that all the cities of Greece should every year send their respective deputies to Plataeæ, in order to offer sacrifices to Jupiter Liberator, and to the gods of the city; (this assembly was still regularly held in the time of Plutarch;) that every five years there should be games celebrated there, which should be called the Games of Liberty; that the several states of Greece should raise a body of troops, consisting of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, and should equip a fleet of a hundred ships, which should be constantly maintained for making war against the barbarians; and that the inhabitants of Plataeæ, entirely devoted to the service of the gods, should be looked upon as sacred and inviolable, and be occupied in no other function than that of offering prayers and sacrifices for the general preservation and prosperity of Greece.

All these articles being approved and passed into a law, the citizens of Plataeæ took upon them to solemnize, every year, the anniversary festival in honour of those persons who were slain in this battle. The order and manner of performing this sacrifice was as follows: the sixteenth day of the month Maimacterion, which answers to our month of December,* at the first appearance of day-break, they walked in a solemn procession, which was preceded by a trumpet that sounded to battle. Next to the trumpeter marched several chariots, filled with crowns and branches of myrtle. After these chariots, was led a black bull, behind which marched a company of young persons, carrying pitchers in their hands, full of wine and milk, the ordinary libations offered to the dead, and vials of oil and incense. All these young persons were freemen; for no slave was allowed to have any part in this ceremony, which was instituted for men who had lost their lives for liberty. In the rear of this pomp followed the archon, or chief magistrate of the Plateans, for whom it was unlawful, at any other time, even so much as to touch iron, or to wear any other garment than a white one.

But upon this occasion, being clad in purple raiment, having a sword by his side, and holding an urn in his hands, which he took from the place where they kept their public records, he marched quite through the city to the place where the tombs of his memorable countrymen were erected. As soon as he came there, he drew out water with his urn from the fountain, washed with his own hands the little columns that stood by the tombs, rubbed them afterwards with incense, and then killed the bull upon a pile of wood prepared for that purpose. After having offered up certain prayers to the terrestrial Jupiter† and Mercury, he invited those valiant souls deceased, to come to their feast, and to partake of their funeral libations; then taking up a cup in his hand, and having filled it with wine, he poured it on the ground, and said with a loud voice, "I present this cup to those valiant men, who died for the liberty of the Grecians." These ceremonies were annually performed even in the time of Plutarch.

Diodorus adds, that the Athenians in particular embellished the monuments of their citizens, who died in the war with the Persians, with magnificent ornaments, instituted funeral games to their honour, and appointed a solemn panegyric to be pronounced over them, which in all probability was repeated every year.‡

The reader will be sensible, without my observing it, how much these solemn testimonies and perpetual demonstrations of honour, esteem, and gratitude, for soldiers who had sacrificed their lives in the defence of liberty, conduced to enhance the merit of valour, and of the services they rendered their country, and to inspire the spectators with emulation and courage; and how exceedingly proper all this was for cultivating and perpetuating a spirit of bravery in the people, and for making their troops victorious and invincible.

The reader, no doubt, will be as much surprised, on the other hand, to see how wonderfully careful and exact these people were in acquitting themselves on all occasions of the duties of religion. The great event which I have just been relating, viz. the battle of Plataeæ, affords us very remarkable proofs of this, in the annual and perpetual sacrifice they instituted to Jupiter Liberator, which was still continued in the time of Plutarch; in the care they took to consecrate the tenth part of all their spoil to the gods; and in the decree proposed by Aristides to establish a solemn festi-

* Three months after the battle of Plataeæ was fought. Probably these funeral rites were not at first performed, till after the enemies were entirely gone, and the country was free.

† The terrestrial Jupiter is no other than Pluto; and the same epithet of terrestrial was also given to Mercury, because it was believed to be his office to conduct departed souls to the infernal regions.

‡ Diod. l. xi. p. 26.

val for ever, as an anniversary commemoration of that success. It is a delightful thing, in my opinion, to see pagan and idolatrous nations thus publicly confessing and declaring, that all their expectations centre in the Supreme Being; that they think themselves obliged to ascribe the success of all their undertakings to him; that they look upon him as the author of all their victories and prosperities, as the sovereign ruler and disposer of states and empires, as the source from whence all salutary counsel, wisdom and courage are derived, and as entitled on all these accounts to the first and best part of their spoils, and to their perpetual acknowledgments and thanksgiving for such distinguished favours and benefits.

SECTION X.—THE BATTLE NEAR MICALÉ. THE DEFEAT OF THE PERSIANS.

ON the same day that the Greeks fought the battle of Plataeæ, their naval forces obtained a memorable victory in Asia over the remainder of the Persian fleet. For while that of the Greeks lay at Ægina, under the command of Leotychides, one of the kings of Sparta, and of Xanthippus the Athenian, Ambassadors came to those generals from the Ionians, to invite them into Asia to deliver the Grecian cities from their subjection to the barbarians. On this invitation they immediately set sail from Asia, and steered their course by Delos; where, when they arrived, other ambassadors came from Samos, and brought them intelligence, that the Persian fleet, which had passed the winter at Cuneæ, was then at Samos, where it would be an easy matter to defeat and destroy it, earnestly pressing them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. The Greeks hereupon sailed away directly for Samos. But the Persians, receiving intelligence of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory of the continent of Asia, where their land-army consisting of a hundred thousand men, who were the remainder of those that Xerxes had carried back from Greece the year before, was encamped. Here they drew their vessels ashore, which was a common practice among the ancients, and encompassed them with a strong rampart. The Grecians followed them to the very place, and with the help of the Ionians defeated their land-army, forced their rampart, and burnt all their vessels.*

The battle of Plataeæ was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon of the same day: and yet all the Greek writers pretend that the victory of Plataeæ was known at Mycale before the latter engagement was begun, though the whole Ægean sea, which requires several days sailing to cross it, was between these two places. But Diodorus, the Sicilian, explains this mystery to us. He tells us, that Leotychides, observing his soldiers to be much dejected for fear their countrymen at Plataeæ should sink under the numbers of Mardonius's army, contrived a stratagem to reanimate them; and that therefore, when he was just upon the point of making the first attack, he caused a rumor to be spread among his troops, that the Persians were defeated at Plataeæ, though at that time he had no manner of knowledge of the matter.†

Xerxes, hearing the news of these two overthrows, left Sardis with as much haste as he had before left Athens, after the battle of Salamis, and retired with great precipitation into Persia, in order to put himself, as far as he possibly could, out of the reach of his victorious enemies.‡ But, before he set out, he gave orders that his people should burn and demolish all the temples belonging to the Grecian cities in Asia; which order was so far executed, that not one escaped, except the temple of Diana at Ephesus.§ He acted in this manner at the instigation of the Magi, who were professed enemies to temples and images.|| The second Zoroaster had thoroughly instructed him in their religion, and made him a zealous defender of it. Pliny informs us, that Ostanes, the head of the magi, and the patriarch of that sect, who maintained its maxims and interests with the greatest violence, attended Xerxes upon this expedition against Greece.¶ This prince, as he passed through Babylon on his return to Susa, destroyed also all the temples in that city, as he had done those of Greece and Asia Minor: doubtless through the same principle, and out of hatred to the sect of the Sabæns, who made use of images in their divine worship, which was a thing extremely detested by the Magi. Perhaps, also, the desire of making himself amends for the charges of his Grecian expedition by the spoil and plunder of those temples, might be another motive that induced him to destroy them; for it is certain he found

* Herod. l. ix. c. 89—105. Diod. l. xi. p. 26—28.

† What we are told also of Paulus Æmilius's victory over the Macedonians, which was known at Rome the very day it was obtained, without doubt happened in the same manner.

‡ Diod. l. xi. p. 28.

§ Et. l. xiv. p. 634.

¶ Plin. l. xxx. c. i.

|| Cic. l. ii. de Leg. n. 28.

immense riches and treasure in them, which had been amassed together through the superstition of princes and people during a long series of ages.*

The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, set sail towards the Hellespont, in order to possess themselves of the bridges which Xerxes had caused to be thrown over that narrow passage, and which they supposed were still entire. But finding them broken by tempestuous weather, Leotychides and his Peloponnesian forces returned towards their own country. As for Xanthippus, he staid with the Athenians and their Ionian confederates, and they made themselves masters of Sestus and the Thracians Chersonesus, in which places they found great booty, and took a vast number of prisoners. After which, before winter came on, they returned to their own cities.

From this time all the cities of Iona revolted from the Persians, and having formed an alliance with the Grecians, most of them preserved their liberty during the time that empire subsisted.

SECTION XI.—THE BARBAROUS AND INHUMAN REVENGE OF AMESTRIS, THE WIFE OF XERXES.

DURING the residence of Xerxes at Sardis, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother Masistus, who was a prince of extraordinary merit, had always served the king with great zeal and fidelity, and had never done any thing to disoblige him. The virtue of this lady, and her great affection and fidelity to her husband, made her inexorable to all the king's solicitations. He however, still flattered himself, that by a profusion of favours and liberalities, he might possibly gain upon her: and among other kind things he did to oblige her, he married his eldest son Darius, whom he intended for his successor, to Artainta, this lady's daughter, and ordered that the marriage should be consummated as soon as he arrived at Susa. But Xerxes, finding the princess still unyielding to all his temptations and attacks, immediately changed his object, and fell passionately in love with her daughter, who did not imitate the glorious example of her mother's constancy and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, Amestris, wife of Xerxes, made him a present of a rich and magnificent robe of her own making. Xerxes, being extremely pleased with this robe, thought fit to put it on, upon the first visit he afterwards made to Artainta; and in the conversation he had with her, he mightily pressed her to let him know what she desired he should do for her, assuring her, at the same time with an oath, that he would grant her whatever she asked of him. Artainta, upon this, desired him to give her the robe he had on. Xerxes, foreseeing the ill consequence that would necessarily ensue his making her this present, did all that he could to dissuade her from insisting upon it, and offered her any thing in the world instead of it. But, not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by the imprudent promise and oath he had made to her, he gave her the robe. The lady no sooner received it, than she put it on, and wore it publicly by way of trophy.†

Ametris, being confirmed by this action in the suspicions she had entertained, was enraged to the highest degree. But, instead of taking vengeance upon the daughter, who was the only offender, she resolved to wreak it upon the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was entirely innocent of the matter. For the better executing of her purpose, she waited until the grand feast, which was every year celebrated on the king's birth-day, and which was not far off; on which occasion the king, according to the established custom of the country, granted her whatever she demanded. On the arrival of that day, she desired of his majesty that the wife of Masistus should be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen's design, and who was struck with horror at the thoughts of it, as well out of regard to his brother, as on account of the innocence of the lady, against whom he perceived his wife was so violently exasperated, at first refused her request, and endeavoured by all means to dissuade her from it. But unable either to prevail upon her, or to act with steadiness and resolution himself, he at last yielded, and was guilty of the weakest and most cruel piece of complaisance that ever was acted, making the inviolable obligations of justice and humanity give way to the arbitrary laws of a custom, that had only been established to give occasion for the doing of good, and for acts of beneficence and generosity. In consequence, then, of this compliance, the lady was apprehended by the king's guards, and delivered to Amestris, who caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips, to be cut off, ordered them to be cast to the dogs in her own presence, and then sent her home to her husband's house in that

* Arrian, l. vii.

† A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479. Herod. l. ix, c. 107—112.

mutilated and miserable condition. In the mean time, Xerxes had sent for his brother, in order to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first gave him to understand, that he should be glad he would put away his wife, and to induce him thereto, offered to give him one of his daughters in her stead. But Masistus, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not prevail upon himself to divorce her: whereupon Xerxes in great wrath told him, that since he had refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his wife; and that he would teach him not to reject the offers his master had made him; and with this inhuman reply dismissed him.

This strange proceeding threw Masistus into the greatest anxiety; who, thinking he had reason to apprehend the worst of accidents, hastened home to see what had passed there during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have just been describing. Being enraged thereat to the degree we may naturally imagine, he assembled all his family, his servants and dependents, and set out with all possible expedition for Bactriana, of which he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to raise an army and make war against the king, in order to avenge himself for his barbarous treatment. But Xerxes being informed of his hasty departure, and from thence suspecting the design he had conceived against him, sent a party of horse in pursuit of him; which having overtaken him, cut him in pieces, together with his children and all his retinue. I do not know that a more tragical example of revenge than I have now related, is to be found in history.

There is still another action, no less cruel or impious than the former, related of Amestris. She caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be burnt alive as a sacrifice to the infernal gods, in compliance with a superstitious custom practised by the Persians.*

Masistus being dead, Xerxes gave the government of Bactriana to his second son Hystaspes; who, being by that means obliged to live at a distance from the court, gave his younger brother Artaxerxes the opportunity of ascending the throne after the death of their father, as we shall hereafter see.†

Here the history of Herodotus terminates, viz: at the battle of Mycale, and the siege of the city of Sestos by the Athenians.

SECTION XII.—THE ATHENIANS REBUILD THE WALLS OF THEIR CITY, NOTWITHSTANDING THE OPPOSITION OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

The war commonly called the war of Media, which had lasted about two years, being terminated in the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians returned to their own country, and sending for their wives and children whom they had committed to the care of their friends during the war, began to think of rebuilding their city, which was almost entirely destroyed by the Persians and of surrounding it with strong walls, in order to secure it from farther violence.‡ The Lacedæmonians having intelligence of this, conceived a jealousy, and began to apprehend that Athens, which was already very powerful by sea, if it should go on to increase its strength by land also, might take upon her in time to give laws to Sparta, and to deprive her of that authority and pre-eminence which she had hitherto exercised over the rest of Greece. They therefore sent an embassy to the Athenians, the purport of which was to represent to them, that the common interest and safety required that there should be no fortified city out of the Peloponnessus, lest, in case of a second invasion, it should fall into the hands of the Persians, who would be sure to settle themselves in it, as they had done before at Thebes, and who from thence would be able to infest the whole country, and to make themselves masters of it very speedily. Themistocles, who since the battle of Salamis was greatly considered and respected at Athens, easily penetrated into the true design of the Lacedæmonians, though it was concealed under the specious pretext of public good; but as the latter were able with the assistance of their allies, to hinder the Athenians by force from carrying on the work, in case they should positively and absolutely refuse to comply with their demands, he advised the senate to make use of cunning and dissimulation as well as they. The answer, therefore they made the envoys was, that they would send an embassy to Sparta to satisfy the commonwealth concerning their jealousy and apprehensions. Themistocles procured himself to be nominated one of the ambassadors, and persuaded the senate not to let his colleagues set out along with him, but to send them one after another, in order to gain time for carrying on the work. The matter was executed pursuant to his advice; And he

* Herod. l. vii. c. 114.

† A. M. 3526. Ant. J. C. 478. Thucyd. l. i. p. 59—62. Diod. l. xi. p. 30, 31. Justin. l. ii. c. 15.

‡ Diod. l. xi. p. 53.

accordingly went alone to Lacedæmon, where he let a great many days pass without waiting upon the magistrates, or applying to the senate. And upon their pressing him to do it, and asking the reason why he deferred it so long, he made answer, that he waited for the arrival of his colleagues, that they might all have their audience of the senate together, and seemed to be very much surprised that they were so long coming. At length they arrived, but came singly, and at a considerable distance of time one from another. During all this while, the work was carried on at Athens with the utmost industry and vigour. The women, children, strangers, and slaves, were all employed in it: nor was interrupted night nor day. The Spartans were not ignorant of this matter, but made great complaints of it to Themistocles, who positively denied the fact, and pressed them to send other deputies to Athens, in order to inform themselves better of the fact, desired them not to give credit to loose and flying reports without foundation. At the same time he secretly advised the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys as so many hostages, until he and his colleagues returned from their embassy, fearing, not without good reason, that they themselves might be served in the same manner at Sparta. At last, when all his fellow ambassadors were arrived, he desired an audience, and declared in full senate, that it was really true the Athenians had resolved to fortify their city with strong walls; that the work was almost completed; that they had judged it to be absolutely necessary for their own security, and for the public good of the allies; telling them at the same time, that, after the great experience they had of the Athenian people's behaviour, they could not well suspect them of being wanting in their zeal for the common interest of their country: that as the condition and privileges of all the allies, ought to be equal, it was just the Athenians should provide for their own safety by all the means they judged necessary, as well as the other confederates; that they had thought of this expedient, and were in a condition to defend their city against whoever should presume to attack it; and that as for the Lacedæmonians, it was not much for their honour, that they should desire to establish their power and superiority rather upon the weak and defenceless condition of their allies than upon their own strength and valour.* The Lacedæmonians, were exceedingly displeased with this discourse; but, either out of a sense of gratitude and esteem for the Athenians, who had rendered such important services to the country, or out of a conviction that they were not able to oppose their enterprise they dissembled their resentments; and the ambassadors on both sides, having all suitable honours paid them, returned to their respective cities.

Themistocles, who always had his thoughts fixed upon raising and augmenting the power and glory of the Athenian commonwealth, did not confine his views to the walls of the city. He went on with the same vigorous application, to finish the building and fortifications of the Piræus; for, from the time he entered into office, he had commenced that great work. Before this time they had no other port at Athens but that of Phalærus, which was neither very large nor commodious, and consequently not capable of answering the great designs of Themistocles. For this reason he had cast his eye upon the Piræus, which seemed to invite him by its advantageous situation, and by the conveniency of its three spacious havens, which were capable of containing above four hundred vessels. This undertaking was prosecuted with so much diligence and activity that the work was considerably advanced in a very little time. Themistocles likewise obtained a decree, that every year they should build twenty vessels for the augmentation of their fleet: and in order to engage the greater number of workmen and sailors to resort to Athens, he caused particular privileges and immunities to be granted in their favour. His design was, as I have already observed, to make the whole force of Athens maritime; in which he followed a very different course of politics from what had been pursued by their ancient kings, who, endeavouring all they could to alienate the minds of the citizens from seafaring business and from war, and to make them apply themselves wholly to Agriculture and to peaceable employments, published this fable: that Minerva disputing with Neptune to know which of them should be declared patron of Attica, and give their name to the city newly built, gained her cause by showing her judges the branch of an olive-tree, the happy symbol of peace and plenty, which she had planted; whereas Neptune had caused a fiery horse, the symbol of war and confusion, to rise out of the earth before them.†

* *Graviter castigat eos, quod non virtute, sed imbecillitate sociorum potentiam quærerent.*—Justin. l. ii. c. 15.

† *Thucyd. l. i. p. 62, 63. Diod. l. xi. p. 32, 33.*

SECTION XIII.—THE BLACK DESIGN OF THEMISTOCLES REJECTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE PEOPLE OF ATHENS.

THEMISTOCLES who conceived the design of supplanting the Lacedæmonians, and of taking the government of Greece out of their hands, in order to put it into those of the Athenians kept his eye and his thoughts continually fixed upon that great project. And as he was not very nice or scrupulous in the choice of his measures, whatever tended towards accomplishing the end he had in view, he looked upon as just and lawful. He one day declared, in a full assembly of the people, that he had a very important design to propose, but that he could not communicate it to the people, because its success required that it should be carried on with the greatest secrecy; he therefore desired they would appoint a person to whom he might explain himself upon the matter in question. Aristides was unanimously chosen by the whole assembly, who referred themselves entirely to his opinion of the affair; so great a confidence had they both in his probity and prudence. Themistocles therefore taking him aside, told him that the design he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the Grecian states, which then lay in a neighbouring port, and that by this means Athens would certainly become mistress of all Greece. Aristides hereupon returned to the assembly, and only declared to them, that indeed nothing could be more advantageous to the commonwealth than the proposition of Themistocles, but at the same time nothing in the world could be more unjust. The people unanimously ordained, that Themistocles should entirely desist from his project. We see in this instance, that the title of Just was not given to Aristides, even in his life-time, without some foundation; a title, says Plutarch, infinitely superior to all those which conquerors pursue with so much ardour, and which in some measure, assimilates a man to the Divinity.*

I do not know whether all history can afford us a fact more worthy of admiration than this. It is not a company of philosophers with whom it is easy to establish fine maxims and sublime ideas of morality in the schools, who determine on this occasion, that the consideration of profit and advantage ought never to prevail in preference to what is honest and just. It is an entire people, who are highly interested in the proposal made to them, who are convinced that it is of the greatest importance to the welfare of the state, and who however reject it with unanimous consent, and without a moment's hesitation, and that for this only reason, that it is contrary to justice. How black and perfidious, on the other hand, was the design which Themistocles proposed to them of burning the fleet of their Grecian confederates, at a time of profound peace, solely to aggrandize the power of the Athenians! Had he a hundred times the merit ascribed to him, this single action would be sufficient to sully all his glory. For it is the heart, that is to say, integrity and probity, that constitutes and distinguishes true merit.

I am sorry that Plutarch, who generally judges of things with great justness, does not seem, on this occasion, to condemn Themistocles. After having spoken of the works he had effected in the Piræus, he goes on to the fact in question; of which he says, "Themistocles projected something STILL GREATER for the augmentation of their maritime power."†

The Lacedæmonians having proposed in the council of the Amphictyons, that all the cities which had not taken arms against Xerxes should be excluded from that assembly, Themistocles, who apprehended, that if the Thessalians, the Argives, and the Thebans, were excluded from that council, the Spartans would by that means become masters of the suffrages, and consequently determine all affairs according to their pleasure; made a speech in behalf of the cities they were for excluding, and brought the deputies that composed the assembly over to his sentiments. He represented to them, that the greatest part of the cities that had entered into the confederacy, which were but thirty-one in the whole, were very small and inconsiderable; that it would therefore be a very strange, as well as dangerous proceeding, to deprive all the other cities of Greece of their votes and places in the grand assembly of the nation, and by that means suffer the august council of the Amphictyons to fall under the direction and influence of two or three of the most powerful cities, which for the future would give law to all the rest, and would subvert and abolish that equality of power, which was justly regarded as the basis and soul of all-republics. Themistocles, by this plain and open declaration of his opinion, drew upon himself the hatred of the Lacedæmonians, who from that time became his professed enemies. He had

* Plut. in Themist. p. 121, 122. in Arist. p. 332.

† Μείζον τι βουλευθήσεται.

also incurred the displeasure of the rest of the allies, by his having exacted contributions from them in too rigorous and rapacious a manner.*

When the city of Athens was entirely rebuilt, the people finding themselves in a state of peace and tranquillity, endeavoured by all means to get the government into their hands, and to make the Athenian state entirely popular. This design of theirs, though kept as secret as possible, did not escape the vigilance and penetration of Aristides, who saw all the consequences with which such an innovation would be attended. But, as he considered on one hand, that the people were entitled to some regard on account of the valour they had shown in all the late battles which had been gained; and on the other, that it would be no easy matter to restrain a people who still, in a manner, had their arms in their hands, and who were grown more insolent than ever from their victories; on these considerations, he thought it proper to compromise with them, and to find out some medium to satisfy and appease them. He therefore passed a decree, by which it was ordained that the government should be common to all the citizens, and that the archons, who were the chief magistrates of the commonwealth, and who were formerly chosen out of the richest of its members, or those who received at least five hundred medimni of grain out of the product of their lands, should, for the future, be elected indiscriminately from the general body of the Athenians. By thus giving up something to the people, he prevented all dissensions and commotions, which might have proved fatal, not only to the Athenian state, but to all Greece.†

SECTION XIV.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS LOSE THE CHIEF COMMAND THROUGH THE PRIDE AND ARROGANCE OF PAUSANIAS.

THE Grecians, encouraged by the happy success which had every where attended their victorious arms, determined to send a fleet to sea in order to deliver such of their allies as were still under the yoke of the Persians, out of their hands. Pausanias was the commander of the fleet for the Lacedæmonians, and Aristides, and Cimon the son of Miltiades, commanded for the Athenians. They first directed their course to the isle of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty; then steering towards the Hellespont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themselves masters, and took a vast number of prisoners, a great part of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia.‡

Pausanias, who from this time conceived thoughts of betraying his country, judged it proper to make use of this opportunity to gain the favour of Xerxes. To this end he caused a report to be spread among his troops, that the Persian noblemen, whom he had committed to the guard and care of one of his officers, had made their escape by night and were fled: but he had set them at liberty himself, and sent a letter by them to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver the city of Sparta and all Greece into his hands on condition he would give him his daughter in marriage. The king did not fail to give him a favourable answer, and to send him very large sums of money also, in order to win over as many of the Grecians as he should find disposed to enter into his designs. The person he appointed to manage this intrigue with him was Artabazus; and to the end that he might have it in his power to transact the matter with the greater ease and security, he made him governor of all the sea-coasts of Asia Minor.

Pausanias, who was already dazzled with the prospect of his future greatness, began from this moment to change his whole conduct and behaviour. The poor, modest, and frugal way of living at Sparta; the subjection to rigid and austere laws, which neither spared nor respected any man's person, but were altogether as inexorable and inflexible to the greatest as to the meanest condition: all this, became insupportable to Pausanias. He could not bear the thoughts of going back to Sparta, after having been possessed of such high commands and employments, to return to a state of equality that would confound him with the meanest of the citizens; and this was the cause of his entering into a treaty with the barbarians. He therefore entirely laid aside the manners and behaviour of his country; assumed both the dress and state of the Persians, and imitated them in all their expensive luxuries and magnificence. He treated the allies with an insufferable rudeness and insolence; never spoke to the officers but with menaces and arrogance; required extraordinary and unusual honours to be paid him; and by his whole behaviour rendered the Spartan dominion odious to all the confederates. On the other hand, the courteous, affable, and

* Plut. in Themist. p. 122. † Plut. in Arist. p. 382. ‡ A. M. 3528. Ant. J. C. 476. Thucyd. l. i. p. 63, 84—86.

obliging deportment of Aristides and Cimon; their total disdain of all imperious and haughty airs, which only tend to alienate people and multiply enemies; a gentle, kind, and beneficent disposition, which showed itself in all their actions, and which served to temper the authority of their commands, and to render it both easy and amiable; the justice and humanity conspicuous in every thing they did; the great care they took to offend no person whatever, and to do kind offices and services to all about them; all this, hurt Pausanias exceedingly, by the contrast of their opposite characters, and greatly increased the general discontent. At last this dissatisfaction publicly broke out; and all the allies deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the Athenians. Thus did Aristides, says Plutarch, by the prevalence of that humanity and gentleness, which he opposed to the arrogance and roughness of Pausanias, and by inspiring Cimon, his colleague with the same sentiments, insensibly draw off the minds of the allies from the Lacedæmonians, without their perceiving it, and at length deprived them of the command; not by open force, or by sending out armies or fleets against them, and still less by making use of any arts or perfidious practices, but by the wisdom and moderation of his conduct, and by rendering the government of the Athenians respectable.*

It must be confessed at the same time, that the Spartan people on this occasion showed a greatness of soul and a spirit of moderation, that can never be sufficiently admired. For when they were convinced that their commanders grew haughty and insolent from their too great authority, they willingly renounced the superiority which they had hitherto exercised over the rest of the Grecians, and forbore sending any more of their generals to command the Grecian armies; choosing rather, adds the historian, to have their citizens wise, modest and submissive to the discipline and laws of the commonwealth, than to maintain their pre-eminence and superiority over all the Grecian states.

SECTION XV.—THE SECRET CONSPIRACY OF PAUSANIAS WITH THE PERSIANS. HIS DEATH.

UPON the repeated complaints which the Spartan commonwealth received on all hands against Pausanias, they recalled him home to give an account of his conduct. But not having sufficient evidence to convict him of his having carried on a correspondence with Xerxes, they were obliged to acquit him on his first trial; after which he returned of his own accord, and without the consent and approbation of the republic, to the city of Byzantium, from whence he continued to carry on his secret practices with Artabazus. But as he was still guilty of many violent and unjust proceedings while he resided there, the Athenians obliged him to leave the place; and he then retired to Colone, a small city of the Troas. There he received an order from the ephori to return to Sparta, on pain of being declared, in case of disobedience, a public enemy and traitor to his country. He complied with the summons, and went home, hoping he should still be able to bring himself off by the power of money. On his arrival he was committed to prison, and was soon afterwards brought again upon his trial before the judges. The charge brought against him was supported by many suspicious circumstances and strong presumptions. Several of his own slaves confessed that he had promised to give them their liberty, in case they would enter into his designs, and serve him with fidelity and zeal in the execution of his projects. But, as it was the custom for the ephori never to pronounce sentence of death against a Spartan, without a full and direct proof of the crime laid to his charge, they looked upon the evidence against him as insufficient; and the more so, as he was of the royal family, and was actually invested with the administration of the regal office; for Pausanias exercised the function of king, as being the guardian and nearest relation to Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was then in his minority. He was therefore acquitted a second time, and set at liberty.†

While the ephori were thus perplexed for want of clear and plain evidence against the offender, a certain slave, who was called the Argilian, came to them, and brought them a letter, written by Pausanias himself to the king of Persia, which the slave was to have carried and delivered to Artabazus. It must be observed by the way, that this Persian governor and Pausanias had agreed together, to put to death all the couriers sent from one to the other, as soon as their packets or messages were delivered, that there might be no possibility left for tracing out or discovering their correspondence. The Argilian, who saw none of his fellow servants that were sent expresses

* Plut. in Arist. p. 332, 333.

† A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 475. Thucyd. l. i. p. 86, 89. Diod. l. xi. p. 34—36. Corn. Nep. in Pausan.

return again, had some suspicion; and when it came to his turn to go, he opened the letter he was entrusted with, in which Artabazus was positively desired to kill him, pursuant to their agreement. This was the letter the slave put into the hands of the ephori; who still thought even this proof insufficient in the eye of the law, and therefore endeavoured to corroborate it by the testimony of Pausanias himself. The slave, in concert with them, withdrew to the temple of Neptune in Tenaros, as to a secure asylum. Two small closets were purposely made there, in which the ephori and some Spartans hid themselves. The instant Pausanias was informed that the Argilian had fled to this temple, he hastened thither to inquire the reason. The slave confessed that he opened the letter; and that finding by the contents of it that he was to be put to death, he had fled to the temple to save his life. As Pausanias could not deny the fact, he made the best excuse he could: promised the slave a great reward; obliged him to promise not to mention what had passed between them to any person whatever. Pausanias then left him.

His guilt was now but too evident. The moment he returned to the city, the ephori were resolved, to seize him. From the aspect of one of these magistrates, he plainly perceived that some danger was impending over him, and therefore ran with the utmost speed to the temple of Pallas, called Chalciæcos, near that place, and got into it before his pursuers could overtake him. The entrance was immediately stopped up with great stones, and history informs us, that the criminal's mother set the first example on that occasion. They now tore off the roof of the building; but as the ephori did not dare to take him out of it by force, because this would have been a violation of that sacred asylum, they resolved to leave him exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and accordingly he was starved to death. His corpse was buried not far from that place; but the oracle of Delphos, whom they consulted soon after, declared, that to appease the anger of the goddess, who was justly offended on account of the violation of her temple, two statues must be set up there in honour of Pausanias, which was done accordingly.

Such was the end of Pausanias, whose wild and inconsiderate ambition had stifled in him all sentiments of probity, honour, love of country, zeal for liberty, and of hatred and aversion for the barbarians; sentiments which, in some measure, were inherent in all the Greeks, and particularly the Lacedæmonians.

SECTION XVI.—THEMISTOCLES FLIES FOR SHELTER TO KING ADMETUS.

THEMISTOCLES was also charged with being an accomplice of Pausanias. He was then in exile. A passionate thirst of glory, and a strong desire to command arbitrarily over the citizens, had made him very odious to them. He had built, very near his house, a temple in honour of Diana, under this title, "to Diana, goddess of good counsel;" thereby hinting to the Athenians, that he had given good counsel to their city, and to all Greece; and he had also placed his statue in it, which was standing in the time of Plutarch, who says it appeared, from this statue, that his physiogomy was as heroic as his valour. Finding that men listened with pleasure to all the calumnies his enemies spread against him, to silence them he was for ever expatiating, in all public assemblies, on the services he had rendered his country. As they were at last tired with hearing him repeat the same thing so often, "how!" said he, "are you weary of having good offices frequently done you by the same persons?" He did not consider, that putting them so often in mind of his services, was in a manner reproaching them with their having forgotten them, which was not very obliging;* and he seemed not to know, that the surest way to acquire applause, is to leave it to be bestowed by others, and to resolve to do such things only as are praise-worthy; and that a frequent mention of one's own virtue and exalted actions, is so far from appeasing envy, that it only inflames it.†

Themistocles, after having been banished from Athens by the ostracism, withdrew to Argos. He was there when Pausanias was prosecuted as a traitor who had conspired against his country. He had at first concealed his designs from Themistocles, though he was one of his best friends; as soon as he was expelled his country, and had highly resented that injury, he disclosed his projects to him, and pressed him to join in them. To induce this compliance, he showed him the letters which the king of Persia wrote to him; and endeavoured to animate him against the Athenians by painting their injustice and ingratitude in the strongest colours. Themistocles, how-

* Hoc molestum est. Nam isthæc commemoratio quasi exprobatio est immemoris beneficii.—Terrent. in Andr.
† Thuëcyd. l. i. p. 89, 90. Plut. in Themist. p. 123, 124. Corn. Nep. in Themist. c. viii.

ever, rejected with indignation the proposals of Pausanias, and refused peremptorily to engage in any manner in his schemes; but then he concealed what had passed between them, and did not discover the enterprise he had formed, whether it was that he imagined Pausanias would renounce it of himself, or was persuaded that it would be discovered some other way; it not being possible for so dangerous and ill-concerted an enterprise to take effect.*

After the death of Pausanias, several letters and other things were found among his papers, which raised a violent suspicion of Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians sent deputies to Athens, to accuse and have sentence of death passed upon him; and those citizens who envied him joined these accusers. Aristides had now a fair opportunity of revenging himself on his rival, for the injurious treatment he had received from him, had his soul been capable of receiving so cruel a satisfaction. But he refused absolutely to join in so horrid a combination; as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adversary, as he had been before to regret his success. Themistocles answered by letters all the calumnies with which he was charged; and represented to the Athenians, that as he had ever been fond of ruling, and his temper being such as would not suffer him to be lorded over by others, it was highly improbable that he should have a design to deliver up himself, and all Greece, to enemies and barbarians.

In the mean time the people, too strongly wrought upon by his accusers, sent some persons to seize him, that he might be tried by the council of Greece. Themistocles, having timely notice of it, went into the island of Corcyra, to whose inhabitants he had formerly done some service; however, not thinking himself safe there, he fled to Epirus, and finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, out of despair, he made a very dangerous choice, which was, to fly to Admetus king of Molossus for refuge. This prince, having formerly desired the aid of the Athenians, and being refused with ignominy by Themistocles, who at that time presided in the government, had retained the deepest resentment on that account, and declared, that he would take the first opportunity to revenge himself. But Themistocles, imagining that in the unhappy situation of his affairs, the recent envy of his fellow-citizens was more to be feared than the ancient grudge of that king, was resolved to run the hazard of it. On his arrival at the palace of that monarch, on being informed that he was absent, he addressed himself to the queen, who received him very graciously, and instructed him in the manner in which it was proper to make his request. When Admetus returned, Themistocles took the king's son in his arms, seated himself on his hearth amidst his house-hold gods, and there telling him who he was, and the cause why he fled to him for refuge, he implored his clemency, owned that his life was in his hand, entreated him to forget the past; and represented to him, that no action can be more worthy in a great king than to exercise clemency. Admetus, surprised and moved with compassion in seeing at his feet, in so humble a posture, the greatest man of all Greece, and the conqueror of all Asia, raised him immediately from the ground, and promised to protect him against all his enemies. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he absolutely refused to deliver up a person who had made his palace his asylum, in the firm persuasion that it would be sacred and inviolable.

While he was at the court of this prince, one of his friends found an opportunity to carry off his wife and children from Athens, and to send them to him; for which that person was sometime after seized, and condemned to die. His friends secured the greatest part of his effects for him, which they afterwards found opportunity to remit to him; but all that could be discovered, which amounted to a hundred talents,† was carried to the public treasury. When he entered upon the administration, he was not worth three talents. I shall leave this illustrious exile for some time at the court of king Admetus, to resume the sequel of this history.

SECTION XVII.—DISINTERESTED ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUBLIC TREASURE BY
ARISTIDES. HIS DEATH AND EULOGIUM.

I HAVE before observed, that the command of Greece had passed from Sparta to the Athenians. Hitherto the cities and nations of Greece had indeed contributed some sums of money towards the expense of carrying on the war against the barbarians; but this partition or division had always occasioned great feuds, because it was not made in a just or equal proportion. It was thought proper, under this new go-

* Plut. in Themist. p. 112.

† About one hundred thousand dollars.

vernment, to lodge in the island of Delos, the common treasure of Greece; to fix new regulations with regard to the public moneys; and to lay such a tax as might be regulated according to the revenue of each city and state; in order that, the expenses being equally borne by the several individuals who composed the body of the allies, no one might have reason to murmur. The business was, to find a person of so honest and incorrupt a mind, as to discharge an employment of so delicate and dangerous a kind, the due administration of which so nearly concerned the public welfare. All the allies cast their eyes on Aristides; accordingly they invested him with full powers, and appointed him to levy a tax on each of them, relying entirely on his wisdom and justice.*

They had no cause to repent of their choice. He presided over the treasury with the fidelity and disinterestedness of a man who looks upon it as a capital crime to embezzle the smallest portion of another's possessions; with the care and activity of a father of a family, in the management of his own estate; and with the caution and integrity of a person who considers the public moneys as sacred. In fine, he succeeded in what is equally difficult and extraordinary, viz. in acquiring the love of all, in an office in which he that escapes the public odium gains a great point.† Such is the glorious character which Seneca gives of a person charged with an employment of almost the same kind, and the noblest eulogium that can be given of such as administer the public revenue. It is the exact picture of Aristides. He discovered so much probity and wisdom in the exercise of this office, that no man complained; and those times were considered ever after as the golden age, that is, the period in which Greece had attained its highest pitch of virtue and happiness. And indeed, the tax which he had fixed in the whole to four hundred and sixty talents‡ was raised by Pericles to six hundred, and soon after to thirteen hundred talents: it was not that the expenses of the war were increased, but the treasure was employed to very useless purposes, in distributions to the Athenians, in solemnizing games and festivals, in building temples and public edifices; not to mention, that the hands of those who superintended the treasury were not always clean and uncorrupt, as those of Aristides. This wise and equitable conduct secured to him, to the latest posterity, the glorious surname of "the Just."

Nevertheless, Plutarch relates an action of Aristides, which shows that the Greeks (and the same may be said of the Romans) had a very narrow and imperfect idea of justice. They confined the exercise of it to the interior, as it were of civil society; and acknowledged that individuals were bound to observe strictly its several maxims: but with regard to their country, to the republic, their great idol, to which they reduced every thing, they thought in a quite different manner; and imagined themselves essentially obliged to sacrifice to it, not only their lives and possessions, but even their religion and the most sacred engagements, contrary to and in contempt of the most solemn oaths. This will appear evidently in what follows.

After the regulation had been made in respect to the tributes of which I have just spoken, Aristides, having settled the several articles of the alliance, made the confederates take an oath to observe them punctually, and he himself swore in the name of the Athenians; and in denouncing the curses which always accompanied the oaths, he threw into the sea, pursuant to the usual custom, large bars of red-hot iron. But the ill state of the Athenian affairs forcing them afterwards to infringe some of those articles, and to govern a little more arbitrarily, he entreated them to vent their curses on him, and discharge themselves thereby of the punishment due to such as had forsworn themselves, and who had been reduced to it by the unhappy situation of their affairs. Theophrastus tells us, that in general (these words are borrowed from Plutarch) Aristides, who executed all matters relating to himself or the public with the most impartial and rigorous justice, used to act, during his administration, in several things, according as the exigency of affairs, and the welfare of his country, might require, it being his opinion, that a government, in order to support itself, is, on some occasions, obliged to have recourse to injustice; of which he gives the following example. One day, as the Athenians were debating in their council, about bringing to their city, in opposition to the articles of the treaty, the common treasures of Greece, which were deposited in Delos: the Samians having opened the debate; when it was Aris-

* Plut. in Arist. p. 333, 334. Diad. l. xi. p. 36.

† Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras, tam abstinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religiose quam publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est.—Senec. lib. de Brevit. Vit. cap. xviii.

‡ The talent is worth about a thousand dollars.

tides's turn to speak, he said, that the dislodging of the treasure was an unjust action, but useful, and caused this opinion to prevail. The incident shows, that the pretended wisdom of the heathens was overspread with great obscurity and error.*

It was scarcely possible to have a greater contempt for riches than Aristides had. Themistocles, who was not pleased with the encomiums bestowed on other men, hearing Aristides applauded for the noble disinterestedness with which he administered the public treasures, did but laugh at it; and said, that the praise bestowed upon him for it, showed no greater merit or virtue than that of a strong chest, which faithfully preserves the moneys that are shut up in it, without retaining any. This low sneer was by way of revenge for a stroke of raillery that had stung him to the quick. Themistocles saying, that, in his opinion, the greatest talent a general could possess, was to be able to foresee the designs of an enemy. "This talent," replied Aristides "is necessary; but there is another no less noble and worthy in a general; that is, to have clean hands, and a soul superior to venality and views of interest." Aristides might very justly answer Themistocles in this manner, since he was really very poor, though he had possessed the highest employments in the state. He seemed to have an innate love for poverty; and, so far from being ashamed of it, he thought it reflected as much glory on him, as all the trophies and victories he had won. History gives us a shining instance of this.

Callias, who was a near relation of Aristides, and the most wealthy citizen in Athens, was cited to appear before the judges. The accuser laying very little stress on the cause itself, reproached him especially with permitting Aristides, his wife and children to live in poverty, while he himself wallowed in riches. Callias perceiving that these reproaches made a strong impression on the judges, summoned Aristides to declare before them, whether he had not often pressed him to accept of large sums of money; and whether he had not obstinately refused to accept of his offer, asserting, that he had more reason to boast of his poverty, than Callias of his riches; that many persons were to be found who had made a good use of their wealth, but that there were few who bore their poverty with magnanimity, and even joy; and that none had cause to blush at their abject condition, but such as had reduced themselves to it by their idleness, their intemperance, their profusion, or dissolute conduct. Aristides declared, that his kinsman had told nothing but the truth; and added, that a man whose frame of mind is such as to suppress a desire of superfluous things, and who confines the wants of life within the narrowest limits, besides being freed from a thousand importunate cares, and left so much master of his time, as to devote it entirely to the public, is also assimilated in some measure to the Deity, who is wholly void of cares or wants. There was no man in the assembly, but, at his leaving it, would have chosen to be Aristides, though so poor, rather than Callias with all his riches.†

Plutarch gives us, in a few words, Plato's glorious testimony to the virtue of Aristides, for which he looks upon him as infinitely superior to all the illustrious men who were his cotemporaries. "Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles," says he, "did indeed fill their city with splendid edifices, with porticoes, statues, rich ornaments, and other vain superfluities of that kind; but Aristides did all that lay in his power to enrich every part of it with virtue: now, to raise a city to true happiness, it must be made virtuous, not rich."

Plutarch takes notice of another circumstance in the life of Aristides, which, though of the simplest kind, reflects the greatest honour on him, and may serve as an excellent lesson. It is in that beautiful treatise in which he inquires whether it is proper for old men to concern themselves with the affairs of government; and where he points out in an admirable manner, the various services they may do the state, even in an advanced age. "We are not to fancy," says he, "that all public services require great action and tumult, such as, to harangue the people, to preside in the government, or head armies: an old man, whose mind is informed with wisdom, may, without going abroad, exercise a kind of magistracy in it, which, though secret and obscure, is not therefore the less important; and that is, in training up youth by good counsel, teaching them the various springs of policy, and how to act in public affairs. Aristides," adds Plutarch, "was not always in office, but was always useful to his country. His house was a public school of virtue, wisdom and policy. It was open to all young Athenians, who were lovers of virtue, and these used to consult him as an oracle. He gave them the kindest reception, heard them with patience, instructed them with familiarity; and endeavoured, above all things, to animate their courage, and inspire them with confidence." It is observed particularly, that Cimon, afterwards so famous, was obliged to him for this important service.‡

* Plut. in Vit. Arist. p. 333, 334.

† Plut. in Compar. Arist. et Caton. p. 355.

‡ Idem, p. 795—796.

Plutarch divided the life of statesmen into three ages. In the first, he would have them learn the principles of government; In the second, reduce them to practice: and in the third, instruct others.*

History does not mention the exact time when, nor place where, Aristides died; but when it pays a glorious testimony to his memory, when it assures us, that this great man, who had possessed the highest employments in the republic, and had the absolute disposal of its treasures, died poor, and did not leave money enough to defray the expenses of his funeral: so that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were married, and Lysimachus his son was maintained at the expense of the Prytaneum; which also gave the daughter of the latter, after his death, the pension with which those were honoured who had been victorious at the Olympic games.† Plutarch relates on this occasion, the liberality of the Athenians in favour of the posterity of Aristogiton their deliverer, who was fallen to decay; and he adds, that even in his time, almost six hundred years after, the same goodness and liberality still subsisted: it was glorious for the city, to have preserved, for so many centuries, its generosity and gratitude; and a strong motive to animate individuals, who were assured that their children would enjoy the rewards which death might prevent them from receiving! It was delightful to see the remote posterity of the defenders and deliverers of the commonwealth, who had inherited nothing from their ancestors but the glory of their actions, maintained for so many ages at the expense of the public, in consideration of the services their families had rendered. They lived in this manner with much more honour, and called up the remembrance of their ancestors with much greater splendour, than a multitude of citizens, whose fathers had been studious only of leaving them great estates, which generally did not long survive those who raised them, and often left their posterity nothing but the odious remembrance of the injustice and oppression by which they were acquired.‡

The greatest honours which the ancients conferred on Aristides, was bestowing on him the glorious title of "the Just." He gained it, not by one particular action, but by the uniform tenor of his conduct. Plutarch makes a reflection on this occasion, which being very remarkable, I think it incumbent on me not to omit.

"Among the several virtues of Aristides," says this judicious author, "that for which he was most renowned, was his justice; because this virtue is of most general use; its benefits extending to a greater number of persons: as it is the foundation, and in a manner the soul, of every public office and employment. Hence it was that Aristides, though in low circumstances and of mean extraction, merited the title of Just, a title" says Plutarch, "truly noble, or rather truly divine; but one of which princes are seldom ambitious, because generally ignorant of its beauty and excellency.§ They choose rather to be called the conquerors of cities, and the thunderbolts of war; and sometimes even eagles and lions, preferring the vain honour of pompous titles, which convey no other idea than of violence and slaughter to the solid glory of those expressive of goodness and virtue.|| They do not know," continues Plutarch, "that of the three chief attributes of the Deity of whom kings boast themselves the image, I mean, immortality, power, and justice; that of these three attributes, the first of which excites our admiration and desire, the second fills us with dread and terror, and the third inspires us with love and respect, this last only is truly and personally communicated to man, and is the only one that can conduct him to the other two; it being impossible for man to become truly immortal and powerful without being just."

Before I resume the sequel of this history, it may not be improper to observe, that it was about this period the fame of the Greeks, still more renowned for the wisdom of their polity than the glory of their victories, induced the Romans to have recourse to their lights and knowledge.¶ Rome, formed under kings, was in want of such laws as were necessary for the good government of a commonwealth. For this purpose the Romans sent deputies to copy the laws of the cities of Greece, and particularly of Athens, which were still better adapted to the popular government that had

* He applies on this occasion the custom used in Rome, where the vestals spent the first ten years in learning the duties of their office, and this was a kind of noviciate; the next ten years they employed in the exercise of their functions, and the last ten in instructing the young novices in them.

† Plut. in Arist. p. 334, 335.

‡ Plut. in Vit. Arist. p. 321, 322.

§ Vid. Book. V. Art. viii.

¶ Poliocetes, Ceraunus, Nicator.

¶ A. M. 3532. A. Rome, 302.

been established after the expulsion of the kings. On this model the ten magistrates, called Decemviri, and who were invested with absolute authority, were created; these digested the laws of the twelve tables, which are the basis of the Roman law.*

SECTION XVIII.—XERXES KILLED BY ARTABANUS. HIS CHARACTER.

THE ill success of Xerxes in his expedition against the Greeks, which continued afterwards, at length discouraged him. Renouncing all thoughts of war and conquest, he abandoned himself entirely to luxury and ease, and was studious of nothing but his pleasures.† Artabanus,‡ a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, and who had long been one of his chief favourites, found that this dissolute conduct had drawn upon him the contempt of his subjects. He therefore imagined that this would be a favourable opportunity to conspire against his sovereign; and his ambition was so vast, that he flattered himself with the hopes of succeeding him in the throne. It is very probable, that he was excited to the commission of this crime from another motive. Xerxes had commanded him to murder Darius, his eldest son, but for what cause history is silent. As this order had been given at a banquet, and when the company was heated with wine, he did not doubt that Xerxes would forget it, and therefore was not in haste to obey it: however, he was mistaken, for the king complained upon that account, which made Artabanus dread his resentment, and therefore he resolved to prevent him. Accordingly he prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace, and great chamberlain, to engage in the conspiracy; and by this means entered the chamber where the king lay, and murdered him in his sleep. He then went immediately to Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes, and informed him of the murder, charging Darius his eldest brother with it; as if impatience to ascend the throne had prompted him to that execrable deed. He added, that to secure the crown to himself, he was resolved to murder him also, for which reason it would be absolutely necessary for him to keep upon his guard. These words having made such an impression on Artaxerxes, a youth, as Artabanus desired, he went immediately into his brother's apartment, where, being assisted by Artabanus and his guards, he murdered him. Hystaspes the second son of Xerxes, was next heir to the crown after Darius; but as he was then in Bactriana, of which he was governor, Artabanus seated Artaxerxes on the throne, but did not design to suffer him to enjoy it longer than until he had formed a faction strong enough to drive him from it, and ascend it himself. His great authority had gained him a multitude of creatures; besides this, he had seven sons who were of a very tall stature, handsome, strong, courageous, and raised to the highest employments in the empire. The aid he hoped to receive from them was the chief motive of his raising his views so high. But, while he was attempting to complete his design, Artaxerxes, being informed of this plot by Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, endeavoured to anticipate him, and killed him before he had an opportunity of putting his treason in execution. His death established this prince in the possession of the kingdom.§

Thus we have seen the end of Xerxes, who was one of the most powerful princes that ever lived. It would be needless for me to anticipate the reader with respect to the judgment he ought to form of him. We see him surrounded with whatever is greatest and most august in the opinion of mankind; the most extensive empire at that time in the world; immense treasures, and an incredible number of land as well as sea forces. But all these things are around him, not in him, and add no lustre to his natural qualities: for, by a blindness too common to princes and great men, born in the midst of all terrestrial blessings, heir to boundless power, and a lustre that cost him nothing, he had accustomed himself to judge of his own talents and personal merit from the exterior of his exalted station and rank. He disregards the wise counsels of Artabanus his uncle, and of Demaratus, who alone had courage enough to speak truth to him, and he abandons himself to courtiers, the adorers of his fortune, whose sole study it was to soothe his passions. He proportions, and pretends to regulate the success of his enterprises by the extent of his power. The slavish submission of so many nations no longer soothes his ambition; and little affected with too easy an obedience, he takes pleasure in exercising his power over the elements in cutting his way through mountains, and making them navigable; in chastising the sea

* *Missi legati Athenas, jussuque inclytas leges Solonis describere, et aliarum Græciæ civitatum instituta, mores juraque noscere. Decem tabularum leges perlatæ sunt (quibus adjectæ postea duæ.) qui nunc quoque in hoc imperio aliarum super alias privatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privateque est juris.*—Liv. l. iii. n. 31, et 34.

† A. M. 3631. Ant. J. C. 473. Ctes. e. ii. Diod. l. xi. p. 52. Justin. l. iii. c. 1.

‡ This was not Artabanus the uncle of Xerxes.

§ Arist. Polit. l. v. c. 10. p. 404.

for having broken down his bridge, and in foolishly attempting to shackle the waves, by throwing chains into them. Elated with a childish vanity and a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himself as the arbiter of nature: he imagines, that not a nation in the world will dare to oppose him; and fondly and presumptuously relies on the millions of men and ships which he drags after him. But when, after the battle of Salamin, he beholds the sad ruins, the shameful remains of his numberless troops scattered over all Greece, he then is sensible of the wide difference between an army and a crowd of men.* In a word, to form a right judgment of Xerxes, we need but contrast him with a plain citizen of Athens, a Miltiades, Themistocles, or Aristides. In the latter we find all the good sense, prudence, ability in war, valour, and greatness of soul; in the former we see nothing but vanity, pride, obstinacy, the meanest and most grovelling sentiments, and sometimes the most horrid barbarity.

* *Stratusque per totam passim Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quantum ab exercitu turba distarit.—Senec. de Benef. L. vi. c. 32.*



BOOK SEVENTH.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

PLAN.

The first and Third chapters of this book include the history of the Persians and Grecians during 48 years, and some months, which contain the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the last six years of which answer to the first six of the Peloponnesian war. This space of time begins at the year of the world 3531, and ends at 3579. The second chapter comprehends the other transactions of the Greeks, which happened both in Sicily and Italy, during the interval above mentioned.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter includes the history of the Persians and Greeks, from the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes to the Peloponnesian war, which began in the forty-second year of that king's reign.

SECTION I.—ARTAXERXES RUINS THE FACTION OF ARTABANUS, &C.

THE Greek historians give this prince the surname of Longimanus. Strabo says, it was because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them;* but according to Plutarch, it was because his right hand was longer than his left.† Had it not been for this blemish, he would have been the most graceful man of his age. He was still more remarkable for his goodness and generosity. He reigned about forty-nine years.

Although Artaxerxes by the death of Artabanus, was delivered from a dangerous competitor, there still were two obstacles in his way to be removed before he could establish himself in the quiet possession of his throne; one of which was his brother Hystaspes, governor of Bactria; and the other, the faction of Artabanus. He began with the latter.‡

Artabanus had left seven sons, and a great number of partisans, who assembled to revenge his death. These and the adherents of Artaxerxes, fought a bloody battle, in which a great number of Persian nobles lost their lives. Artaxerxes having at last entirely defeated his enemies, put to death all who had engaged in this conspiracy. He took an exemplary vengeance of those who were concerned in his father's murder, and particularly of Mithridates the eunuch who had betrayed him, and who was executed in the following manner. He was laid on his back in a kind of horse-trough, and strongly fastened to the four corners of it. Every part of him, except his head, his hands, and his feet, which came out at holes made for that purpose, was covered with another trough. In this horrid situation victuals were given him from time to time; and in case of his refusal to eat, they were forced down his throat: honey mixed with milk was given him to drink, and all his face was smeared with it, which by that means attracted a numberless multitude of flies, especially as he was constantly exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. The worms which bred in his excrements preyed in his bowels. The criminal lived fifteen or twenty days in inexpressible torments.§

Artaxerxes having crushed the faction of Artabanus, was powerful enough to send an army into Bactriana, which had declared in favour of his brother, but he was not successful on this occasion. The two armies engaging, Hystaspes stood his ground so well, that, if he did not gain the victory, he at least sustained no loss; so that both armies separated with equal success; and each retired to prepare for a second battle.

* Lib. xv. p. 735. A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473.
‡ Ctes. c. 30.

† In Artax. p. 1011.
§ Plut. in Artax. p. 1019.

Artaxerxes having raised a greater army than his brother, and having the whole empire in his favour, defeated him in a second engagement, and entirely ruined his party. By this victory he secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire.*

To maintain himself in the throne, he removed all such governors of cities and provinces from their employments, as he suspected of holding a correspondence with either of the factions he had overcome, and substituted others on whom he could rely. He afterwards applied himself to reforming the abuses and disorders which had crept into the government. By his wise conduct and zeal for the public good, he soon acquired great reputation and authority, with the love of his subjects, the strongest support of sovereign power.†

SECTION II.—THEMISTOCLES FLIES TO ARTAXERXES.

ACCORDING to Thucydides, Themistocles fled to this prince in the beginning of his reign: but other authors, as Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus, fix this incident under Xerxes his predecessor. Dr. Prideaux is of the latter opinion; he likewise thinks that the Artaxerxes in question, is the same person that is called Ahasuerus in Scripture, and who married Esther: but we suppose with the learned Archbishop Usher, that it was Darius the son of Hystaspes, who espoused this illustrious Jewess. I have already declared more than once, that I would not engage in controversies of this kind; and therefore, with regard to this flight of Themistocles into Persia, and the history of Esther, I shall follow the opinion of the learned Usher, my usual guide on these occasions.‡

We have seen that Themistocles had fled to Admetus, king of the Molossi, and had met with a gracious reception from him: but the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not suffer him to live in peace, and required that prince to deliver him up; threatening, in case of refusal, to carry their arms into his country. Admetus, who was unwilling to draw such formidable enemies upon himself, and much more to deliver up the man who had fled to him for refuge, informed him of the great danger to which he was exposed, and favoured his flight. Themistocles went as far by land as Pydna, a city of Macedonia, and there embarked on board a merchant ship, which was sailing to Ionia. None of the passengers knew him. A storm having carried this vessel near the island of Naxos, then besieged by the Athenians, the imminent danger to which Themistocles was exposed, obliged him to discover himself to the pilot and master of the ship; after which, by entreaties and menaces, he forced them to sail towards Asia.§

Themistocles might on this occasion call to mind an expression which his father had made use of, when he was very young, in order to warn him to lay very little stress on the favour of the common people. They were then walking together in the harbour. His father pointing to some rotten gallees that lay neglected on the strand, "look there," said he, "my son," pointing to them, "thus do the people treat their governors, when they can do them no farther service."||

He was now arrived in Cumæ, a city of Æolia, in Asia Minor. The king of Persia had set a price upon his head, and promised two hundred talents¶ to any man who should deliver him up. The whole coast was covered with people who were watching for him. He fled to Ægæ, a little city of Æolia, where no one knew him except Nicogenes, at whose house he lodged. He was the most wealthy man in that country, and very intimate with all the lords of the Persian court. Themistocles concealed some days in his house, till Nicogenes sent him under a strong guard to Susa, in one of those covered chariots in which the Persians, who were extremely jealous, used to carry their wives; those who carried him telling every body, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to a courtier of great distinction.

On his arrival at the Persian court, he waited upon the captain of the guards, and told him, that he was a Grecian by birth, and begged the king would admit him to an audience, having matters of good importance to communicate to him. The officer informed him of a ceremony, which he knew was insupportable to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed to speak to the king; and this was, to fall prostrate before him. "Our laws," said he, "command us to honour the king in that manner, and to worship him as the living image of the immortal God, who maintains and preserves all things." Themistocles promised to comply. Being admitted to audi-

* Ctes. c. 31.

† Diod. l. xi. p. 54.

‡ A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473.

§ Thuc. l. i. p. 90, 91. Plut. in The. p. 125—127. Diod. l. xi. p. 42—44. Corn. Nep. in The. c. 8—10.

¶ Plut. in Themist. p. 112.

‡ About two hundred thousand dollars.

ence, he fell on his face before the king, after the Persian manner; and afterwards rising up, "great king," said he by an interpreter, "I am Themistocles the Athenian, who having been banished by the Greeks, have come to your court in hopes of finding an asylum in it. I have indeed brought many calamities on the Persians; but, on the other side, I have done them no less services, by the salutary advices I have given them more than once; and I now am able to do them more important services than ever. My life is in your hands. You may now display your clemency, or exert your vengeance; by the former you will preserve your suppliant; by the latter you will destroy the greatest enemy of Greece.*"

The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his great sense and boldness; but history informs us, that he told his friends, he considered the arrival of Themistocles as a very great happiness; that he implored his god Arimanius always to inspire his enemies with such thoughts, and to prompt them to banish and make away with their most illustrious personages. It is added, that when the king was asleep, he started up three times in excess of joy, and exclaimed, "I have got Themistocles the Athenian!"

The next morning, at day break, he sent for the greatest lords of his court, and commanded Themistocles to be brought before him, who expected nothing but destruction; especially after what one of his guards, upon hearing his name, had said to him the night before, even in the presence-chamber, just as he had left the king: "thou serpent of Greece, thou compound of fraud and malice, the good genius of our prince brings thee hither!" However, the serenity which appeared in the king's face seemed to promise him a favourable reception. Themistocles was not mistaken, for the king began by making him a present of two hundred talents,† which sum he had promised to any one who should deliver him up, which consequently was his due, as Themistocles had brought him his head, by surrendering himself to him. He afterwards desired him to give an account of the affairs of Greece. But as Themistocles could not express his thoughts to the king without the assistance of an interpreter, he desired time might be allowed him to learn the Persian tongue; hoping he should then be able to explain those things he was desirous of communicating to him better than he could by the aid of a third person. It is the same, says he, with the speech of a man, as with a piece of tapestry, which must be spread out and unfolded, to show the figures and other beauties wrought in it. Themistocles having studied the Persian tongue twelve months, made so great a progress, that he spake it with greater elegance than the Persians themselves, and consequently could converse with the king without the help of an interpreter. This prince treated him with uncommon marks of friendship and esteem; he made him marry a lady descended from one of the noblest families in Persia; gave him a palace and an equipage suitable to it, and settled a noble pension on him. He used to carry him abroad on his parties of hunting, and to every banquet and entertainment; and sometimes conversed privately with him, so that the lords of the court grew jealous and uneasy on that account. He even presented him to the princesses, who honoured him with their esteem and received his visits. It is observed, as a proof of the peculiar favour showed him, that by the king's special order, Themistocles was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the magi, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy.

Another proof of his great credit is related. Demaratus of Sparta, who was then at court, being commanded by the king to ask any thing of him he desired, that he might be suffered to make his entry on horseback, into the city of Sardis, with the royal tiara on his head; a ridiculous vanity! equally unworthy of the Grecian grandeur, and simplicity of a Lacedæmonian! The king, exasperated at the insolence of his demand, expressed his disgust in the strongest terms, and seemed resolved not to pardon him; and Themistocles having interceded, the king restored him to favour.

In fine, Themistocles was in such great credit, that under the succeeding reigns, in which the affairs of Persia were still more blended with those of Greece, whenever the kings were desirous of drawing over any Greek to their interest, they used to declare expressly in their letters, that he should be in greater favour with them than Themistocles had been with king Artaxerxes.

It is said also, that Themistocles, when in his most flourishing condition in Persia, and was honoured and esteemed by all the world, who were emulous in making their

* Thucydides relates very nearly the same words; but informs us that Themistocles did not speak them to the king, but sent them in writing before he was introduced to him.

† Two hundred thousand French crowns, or about £200,000.

court to him, said one day, when his table was covered magnificently, "children, we should have been ruined, if we had not been ruined."

But at last it was judged necessary for the king's interest that Themistocles should reside in some city of Asia Minor, that he might be ready on any occasion which should present itself; accordingly he was sent to Magnesia, situated on the Meander; and for his subsistence, besides the whole revenues of that city, which amounted to fifty talents* annually, he had those of Myus and Lampsacus assigned him. One of the cities was to furnish him with bread, another with wine, and a third with other provisions. Some authors add two more, viz. for his furniture and clothes. Such was the custom of the ancient kings of the East: instead of settling pensions on persons they rewarded, they gave them cities, and sometimes even provinces, which, under the name of bread, wine, &c. were to furnish them abundantly with all things necessary for supporting, in a magnificent manner, their family and equipage. Themistocles lived for some years in Magnesia in the utmost splendour, till he came to his end in the manner which will be related hereafter.

SECTION III.—CIMON BEGINS TO MAKE A FIGURE AT ATHENS.

THE Athenians having lost one of their most distinguished citizens, as well as ablest generals, by the banishment of Themistocles, endeavoured to retrieve that loss, by bestowing the command of the armies on Cimon, who was not inferior to him in merit.†

He spent his youth in such excesses as did him no honour, and presaged no good with regard to his future conduct. The example of this illustrious Athenian, who passed his juvenile years in so dissolute a manner, and afterwards rose to so exalted a pitch of glory, shows, that parents must not always despair of the happiness of a son, when wild and irregular in his youth; especially when nature has endued him with genius, goodness of heart, generous inclinations, and esteem for persons of merit.‡ Such was the character of Cimon. The dishonour he had drawn upon himself having prejudiced the people against him, he at first was very ill received by them; when, being discouraged by this repulse, he resolved to lay aside all thoughts concerning himself with the affairs of the public. But Aristides, perceiving that his dissolute turn of mind was united with many fine qualities, consoled him, inspired him with hope, pointed out the paths he should take, instilled good principles into him, and did not a little contribute, by the excellent instructions he gave him, and the affection he expressed for him on all occasions, to make him the man he afterwards appeared. What more important service could he have done his country?

Plutarch observes, that after Cimon had laid aside his juvenile extravagances, his conduct was in all things great and noble; and that he was not inferior to Miltiades either in courage or intrepidity, nor to Themistocles in prudence and sense, but that he was more just and virtuous than either of them; and that without being at all inferior to them in military excellence, he surpassed them far in the practice of the moral virtues.§

It would be of great advantage to a state, if those who excel in professions of every kind, would take pleasure, and make it their duty to fashion and instruct such youths as are remarkable for the fertility of their genius and goodness of disposition. They would thereby have an opportunity of serving their country even after their death, and of perpetuating in it, and in the person of their pupils, a taste and inclination for true merit, and the practice of the wisest maxims.

The Athenians, shortly after Themistocles had left his country, having put to sea a fleet under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, took Eion, on the banks of the Strymon, Amphipolis, and other places of Thrace; and as this was a very fruitful country, Cimon planted a colony in it, and sent ten thousand Athenians thither for that purpose.

The fate of Eion is too singular to be omitted here. Boges|| was governor of it under the king of Persia and acted with a zeal and fidelity for his sovereign, of which we have but few examples. When besieged by Cimon and the Athenians, it was in his power to have capitulated upon honourable terms, and he might have retired to Asia with his family and all his effects. Being persuaded however, that he could not

* Fifty thousand crowns, or about £50,000.

† A. M. 3533. Ant. J. C. 471. Diod. l. xi. p. 45. Plut. in Cim. p. 482--483.

‡ Plut. in Cim. p. 430.

§ Plut. in Cim. p. 481.

|| Plutarch calls him Butis. Herodotus seems to place his history under Xerxes: but it is more probable that it happened under Artaxerxes, his successor.

do this with honour, he resolved to die rather than surrender. The city was assaulted with the utmost fury, and he defended it with incredible bravery. Being at last in the utmost want of provisions, he threw from the walls into the river Strymon, all the gold and silver in the place; caused a pile to be set on fire, and after having killed his wife, his children, and his whole family, he threw them into the midst of the flames, and then rushed into them himself. Xerxes could not but admire, and at the same time bewail, so surprising an example of generosity. The heathens indeed, might give this name to what is rather savage ferocity and barbarity.*

Cimon made himself master also of the island of Scyron where he found the bones of Theseus, the son of Ægeus, who had fled from Athens to that city, and there ended his days. An oracle had commanded that search should be made after his bones. Cimon put them on board his galley, adorned them magnificently, and carried them to his native country, nearly eight hundred years after Theseus had left it. The people received them with the highest expressions of joy; and to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, they founded a disputation or prize for tragic writers, which became very famous, and contributed exceedingly to the improvement of the drama, by the wonderful emulation it excited among the tragic poets, whose pieces were represented in it. For Sophocles having, in his youth, brought his first play on the stage, the archon, or chief magistrate, who presided at these games, observing there was a strong faction among the spectators, prevailed with Cimon, and the rest of the Generals, his colleagues, who were ten in number, and chosen out of each tribe, to sit as judges. The prize was adjudged to Sophocles, which so deeply afflicted Æschylus, who till then had been considered as the greatest dramatic poet, that Athens became insupportable to him, and he withdrew to Sicily, where he died.

The confederates had taken a great number of barbarian prisoners in Sestos and Byzantium; and as a proof of the high regard they had for Cimon entreated him to distribute the booty. Accordingly Cimon placed all the captives stark naked, on one side, and on the other all their riches and spoils. The allies complained of this partition as too unequal; but Cimon giving them the choice, they immediately took the riches which had belonged to the Persians, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. Cimon therefore set out with his portion, and was thought a person no ways qualified to settle the distribution of prizes: for the allies carried off a great number of chains, necklaces, and bracelets of gold; a large quantity of rich habits, and fine purple cloaks: while the Athenians had only for their share, a multitude of human creatures, quite naked and unfit for labour. However, the relations and friends of these captives came soon after from Phrygia and Lydia, and purchased them all at a very high price; so that, with the moneys arising from the ransom of them, Cimon had enough to maintain his fleet four months; besides a great sum of money which was put into the exchequer, not to mention what he himself had for his own share. He afterwards used to take very great pleasure in relating this adventure to his friends.†

He made the best use of his riches, as Gorgias the rhetorician has happily expressed it in few, but strong and elegant words:‡ “Cimon,” says he, “amassed riches only to use them; and he employed them so as to acquire esteem and honour.” We may here perceive, by the way, what was the scope and aim of the most exalted actions of the heathens; and with what justice Tertullian defined a pagan, however perfect he might appear, to be a vain-glorious animal, “animal gloriæ.” The gardens and orchards of Cimon were always open, by his order, to the citizens in general, who were allowed to gather whatever fruits they pleased. His table was daily covered frugally, but elegantly. It was entirely different from those delicate and sumptuous tables, to which only a few persons of great distinction are admitted; and which are covered merely to display a vain magnificence or elegance of taste. That of Cimon was neat but abundant, and all the poor citizens were received at it without distinction. In thus banishing from his entertainments whatever had the least air of ostentation and luxury, he reserved to himself an inexhaustible fund, not only for the expenses of his house, but for the wants of his friends, his domestics, and a very great number of citizens; demonstrating by this conduct, that he knew much better than most rich men, the true use and value of riches.§

He was always followed by some servants, who were ordered to slip privately some piece of money into the hands of such poor as they met, and to give clothes to those

* Herod. l. vii. c. 107. Plut. p. 482.

† Plut. in Cim. p. 484.

‡ Φησὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ πλούτηα χρησθῆαι μὴ ὡς χρησθῆαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο.

§ Plut. in Cim. p. 484. Corn. Nep. in Cim. c. iv. Athen. l. xii. p. 533.

who were in want of them. He often buried such persons as had not left money enough behind them to defray the expenses of their funeral; and what is admirable, and which Plutarch does not fail to observe, he did not act in this manner to gain favour among the people, nor to purchase their votes; since we find him, on all occasions, declaring for the opposite faction, that is, in favour of such citizens as were most considerable for their wealth or authority.

Although he saw all the rest of the governors of his time enrich themselves by the plunder and oppression of the public, he was always incorruptible, and his hands were never stained with extortion, or the smallest present; and he continued during his whole life, not only to speak, but to act sincerely, and without the least view of interest, whatever he thought might be of advantage to the commonwealth.*

Besides a great number of other excellent qualities, Cimon possessed sound judgment, extraordinary prudence, and a deep knowledge of the genius and characters of men. The allies, besides the sums of money in which each of them was taxed, were to furnish a certain number of men and ships. Several among them, who, from the retreat of Xerxes, were studious of nothing but their ease, and applied themselves entirely to tilling and cultivating their lands, to free themselves from the toils and dangers of war, chose to furnish their quota in money rather than in men, and left to the Athenians the care of manning with soldiers and rowers, the ships they were obliged to furnish. The other generals, who had no forecast and penetration for the future, gave such people some uneasiness at first, and were for obliging them to observe the treaty literally. But Cimon, when in power, acted in a quite different manner, and suffered them to enjoy the tranquillity they chose; plainly perceiving that the allies, from being warlike in the field, would insensibly lose their martial spirit, and be fit for nothing but husbandry and trade; while the Athenians, by exercising the oar perpetually, would be more and more inured to hardships, and daily increase in power. What Cimon had foreseen happened; this very people purchased themselves masters at their own expense; so that they who before had been companions and allies, became in some measure the subjects and tributaries of the Athenians.

No Grecian general ever gave so great a blow to the pride and haughtiness of the Persian monarch, as Cimon. After the barbarians had been driven out of Greece, he did not give them time to take breath, but sailed immediately after them with a fleet of upwards of two hundred ships, took their strongest cities, and brought over all their allies; so that the king of Persia had not one soldier left in Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia. Still pursuing his design, he bravely attacked the enemy's fleet, though much stronger than his own. It lay near the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and consisted of three hundred and fifty sail of ships, supported by the land army on the coast. It was soon put to flight, and two hundred sail were taken, besides those that were sunk. A great number of the Persians had left their ships, and leaped into the sea, in order to join their land-army, which lay on the shore. It was very hazardous to attempt a descent in sight of the enemy; and to lead on troops which were already fatigued by their late battle, against fresh forces much superior in number. Cimon, however, finding that the whole army was eager to engage the barbarians, thought proper to take advantage of the ardour of the soldiers, who were greatly animated with their first success. He accordingly landed,† and marched them directly against the barbarians, who waited resolutely for their coming up, and sustained the first onset with great valour; however, being at last obliged to give way, they broke and fled. A great slaughter ensued, and an infinite number of prisoners and immensely rich spoils were taken. Cimon, having in one day gained two victories which almost equalled those of Salamin and Platææ, to crown all, sailed out to meet a reinforcement of eighty-four Phœnician ships, which were come from Cyprus, to join the Persian fleet, and knew nothing of what had passed. They were all either taken or sunk, and most of the soldiers were killed or drowned.‡

Cimon, having achieved such glorious exploits, returned in triumph to Athens, and employed part of the spoils in fortifying the harbour, and in beautifying the city. The riches which a general amasses in the field, are applied to the noblest uses when they are disposed of in this manner; and must reflect infinitely greater honour upon him, than if he expended them in building magnificent palaces for himself, which must one time or other devolve on strangers; whereas works, built for public use, are his pro-

* Plut. in Cim. p. 485.

† We do not find that the ancients made use of long boats in making descents; the reason of which perhaps was, that, as their galleys were flat-bottomed, they were brought to shore without any difficulty.

‡ A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 470. Plut. in Cim. p. 485—487. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66. Diod. l. xi. p. 45—47.

erty in some measure for ever, and transmit his name to the latest posterity. It is well known, that such embellishments in a city give infinite pleasure to the people, who are always struck with works of this kind; and this, as Plutarch observes in the life of Cimon, is one of the surest, and at the same time, the most lawful methods of acquiring their friendship and esteem.*

The year following, this general sailed towards the Hellespont; and having driven the Persians out of the Thracian Chersonesus, of which they had possessed themselves, he conquered it in the name of the Athenians, though he himself had more right to it, as Miltiades his father had been its sovereign.† He afterwards attacked the people of the island of Thasus, who had revolted from the Athenians, and defeated their fleet. These maintained their revolt with an almost unparalleled obstinacy and fury. As if they had been in arms against the most cruel and barbarous enemies, from whom they had the worst of evils to fear, they made a law, that the first man who should only mention the concluding of a treaty with the Athenians, should be put to death.‡ The siege was carried on three years, during which the inhabitants suffered all the calamities of war with the same obstinacy. The women were no less inflexible than the men; for, when the besieged wanted ropes for their military engines, all the women cut off their hair in a seeming transport; and, when the city was in the utmost distress by famine, which swept away a great number of the inhabitants, Hegetorides a Thasian, deeply afflicted with seeing such multitudes of his fellow-citizens perish, resolutely determined to sacrifice his life for the preservation of his country. Accordingly, he put a halter round his neck, and presenting himself to the assembly, "countrymen," said he, "do with me as you please, and do not spare me if you judge proper; but let my death save the rest of the people, and prevail with you to abolish the cruel law you have enacted, so contrary to your welfare." The Thasians, struck with these words, abolished the law, but would not suffer it to cost so generous a citizen his life; for they surrendered themselves to the Athenians, who spared their lives, and only dismantled their city.§

After Cimon had landed his troops on the shore opposite to Thrace, he seized on all the gold mines of those coasts, and subdued every part of that country as far as Macedonia. He might have attempted the conquest of that kingdom, and, in all probability, could have easily possessed himself of part of it, had he improved the occasion. And indeed, for his neglect in this point, at his return to Athens, he was prosecuted, as having been bribed by the money of the Macedonians, and of Alexander their king. But Cimon had a soul superior to all temptations of that kind, and proved his innocence in the clearest light.

The conquests of Cimon, and the power of the Athenians, which increased every day, gave Artaxerxes great uneasiness. To prevent the consequences of it, he resolved to send Themistocles into Attica with a great army, and accordingly proposed it to him.||

Themistocles was in great perplexity on this occasion. On one side, the remembrance of the favours the king had heaped upon him; the positive assurances he had given that monarch, to serve him with the utmost zeal on all occasions; the earnestness of the king, who claimed his promise; all these considerations would not permit him to refuse the commission. On the other side, the love of his country, which the injustice and ill treatment of his fellow-citizens could not banish from his mind; his strong reluctance to sully the glory of his former laurels and mighty achievements, by so ignominious a step; perhaps, too, the fear of being unsuccessful in a war, in which he should be opposed by excellent generals, and particularly Cimon, who hitherto had been as successful as valiant; these different reflections would not suffer him to declare against his country in an enterprise, which, whether successful or not, would reflect shame on himself.

To relieve himself at once, of all these inward struggles, he resolved to put an end to his life, as the only method for him not to be wanting in the duty he owed his country, nor to the promises he had made that prince.¶ He therefore prepared a solemn sacrifice, to which he invited all his friends; when, after embracing them all, and taking a last farewell of them, he drank bull's blood, or, according to others, swallowed a dose of poison, and died in this manner at Magnesia, aged sixty-five

* Plut. de Gerend. Rep. p. 810.

† Polyæn. Str. l. ii.

‡ Plut. in Cim. p. 487. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66, 67. Dioid. l. xi. p. 53.

§ Polyæn. l. viii.

|| A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 466. Thucyd. l. i. p. 92. Plut. in Themist. p. 127.

¶ The wisest heathens did not think that a man was allowed to lay violent hands on himself.

years, the greatest part of which he had spent either in the government of the republic, or the command of the armies. When the king was told the cause and manner of his death, he esteemed and admired him still more, and continued his favour to his friends and domestics. But the unexpected death of Themistocles proved an obstacle to the design he mediated of attacking the Greeks. The Magnesians erected a splendid monument to the memory of that general in the public square, and granted peculiar privileges and honours to his descendants. They continued to enjoy them in Plutarch's time, that is nearly six hundred years after, and his tomb was still standing.*

Atticus, in the beautiful dialogue of Cicero, entitled Brutus, refutes, in an agreeable and ingenious manner, the tragical end which some writers ascribe to Themistocles, as related above; pretending that the whole is a fiction, invented by rhetoricians, who, on the bare rumour that this great man had poisoned himself, had added all the other particulars to embellish the story which otherwise would have been very dry and unaffecting.† He appeals for this to Thucydides, that judicious historian, who was an Athenian, and almost cotemporary with Themistocles. This author, indeed owns, that a report had prevailed, that this general had poisoned himself; however, his opinion was, that he died a natural death, and that his friends conveyed his bones secretly to Athens, were, in Pausanias's time, his mausoleum was standing; near the great harbour.‡ This account seems much more probable than the other.

Themistocles was certainly one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced. He had a great soul and invincible courage, which danger ever inflamed; was fired with an incredible thirst for glory, which his love of country would sometimes temper and allay, but which often carried him too far; his presence of mind was such that it immediately suggested whatever was most necessary to be done; in fine, he had a sagacity and penetration with regard to futurity, that revealed to him, in the clearest light, the most secret designs of his enemies, pointing out to him at a distance, the several measures he should take to disconcert them, and inspiring him with great, noble, bold, extensive views, with regard to the honour of his country.§ The most essential qualities of the mind were, however, wanting in him; I mean sincerity, integrity, and fidelity, nor was he altogether free from suspicions of avarice, which is a great blemish in such as are charged with public affairs.

Nevertheless, a noble sentiment as well as action are related of him, which speak a great and disinterested soul.|| His daughter being asked of him in marriage, he preferred an honest poor man to a rich one of a different character; and gave for his reason, "that in the choice of a son-in-law, he would much rather have merit without riches, than riches without merit."¶

SECTION IV.—THE EGYPTIANS, SUPPORTED BY THE ATHENIANS, RISE AGAINST PERSIA.

ABOUT this time the Egyptians, to free themselves from a foreign yoke, which was insupportable to them, revolted from Artaxerxes, and made Inarus, prince of the Libyans, their king. They demanded aid of the Athenians, who having at that time a fleet of two hundred ships at the island of Cyprus, accepted the invitation with pleasure, and immediately set sail for Egypt; judging this a very favourable opportunity to weaken the power of the Persians, by driving them out of so great a kingdom.**

Advice being brought to Artaxerxes of this revolt he raised an army of three hundred thousand men, and resolved to march in person against the rebels. But his friends advising him not to venture himself in that expedition, he gave the command of it to Achæmenes, one of his brothers. The latter on his arrival in Egypt, encamped his great army on the banks of the Nile. During this interval, the Athenians having defeated the Persian fleet, and either destroyed or taken fifty of their ships, again ascended that river, landed their forces under the command of Charitimus their general, and having joined Inarus and his Egyptians, they charged Achæmenes, and defeated him in a great battle, in which that Persian general and a hundred thousand of his soldiers were slain. Those who escaped fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursued them, and immediately made themselves masters of two quarters of the city; but the Persians having fortified themselves in the third, called the

* Cic. de Senec. n. 72.

† Brut. n. 42, 43.

‡ Lib. i. p. l.

§ De instantibus, ut ait Thueydides, verissime judicabat. et de futuris callidissime conjiciebat.—Corn. Nep. in Themist. c. i.

|| Plut. in Themist. p. 121.

¶ Themistocles, cum consuleretur utrum bono viro pauperi, an minus probato diviti, filiam collocaret. *Ego vero, inquit, malo virum qui pecunia egeat. quam pecuniam quæ viro.*—Cic. de Offic. l. ii. c. 71.

** A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460. Thueyd. l. i. p. 68, 71, 72. Ctes. c. 32—35. Diod. l. xi. p. 54—59.

White Wall, which was the strongest and largest of the three, were besieged in it, three years, during which they made a most vigorous defence, till they at last were delivered by the forces sent to their aid.*

Artaxerxes hearing of the defeat of his army, and how much the Athenians had contributed to it, in order to make a diversion of their forces, and oblige them to turn their arms another way, sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, with a large sum of money, to engage them to declare war against the Athenians.† But the Lacedæmonians having rejected the offer, their refusal did not abate his ardour; and accordingly he gave Megabyzus and Artabazus the command designed against Egypt.‡ These generals immediately raised an army of three hundred thousand men in Cilicia and Phœnicia. They were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped, which was not till the next year. Artabazus then took upon him the command of it, and sailed to the Nile, while Megabyzus, at the head of the land-army, marched towards Memphis. He raised the siege of that city, and afterwards fought Inarus. All the forces on both sides were engaged in this battle, in which Inarus was entirely defeated; but the Egyptians, who had rebelled, suffered most in the slaughter. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded by Megabyzus, retreated with the Athenians, and such Egyptians, as were willing to follow him, and reached Biblos, a city in the island of Prosopitis, which is surrounded by two arms of the Nile, both navigable. The Athenians ran their fleet into one of these arms, where it was secured from the attacks of the enemy, and held out a siege of a year and a half in this island.§

After the battle, all the rest of Egypt submitted to the conqueror, and was reunited to the empire of Artaxerxes; but Amyrteus, who had still a small party in the fens, long supported himself through the difficulty the Persians found in penetrating far enough to reduce him.

The siege of Prosopitis was still carried on.|| The Persians finding that they made no advances in attacking it after the usual methods, because of the stratagems and intrepidity of the besieged, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, which soon produced what force had not been able to effect. They turned the course of the arm of the Nile within which the Athenians lay, by several canals, and by that means opened a passage for their whole army to enter the island. Inarus seeing that all was lost, capitulated with Megabyzus for himself, for all his Egyptians, and about fifty Athenians, and surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared. The remainder of the auxiliary forces, which formed a body of six thousand men, resolved to hold out longer; and for this purpose they set fire to their ships, and drawing up in order of battle, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives as dear as they could, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, who refused to yield, and were all cut to pieces at Thermopylæ. The Persians, hearing that they had taken so desperate a resolution, did not think it adviseable to attack them. A peace was therefore offered them, with a promise that they should all be permitted to leave Egypt, and have free passage to their native country either by sea or land. They accepted the conditions, put the conquerors in possession of Biblos and of the whole island, and went by sea to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece: but most of the soldiers who had served in this expedition perished in it.

This was not the only loss the Athenians sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of fifty ships, which they sent to the aid of their besieged countrymen, sailed up one of the arms of the Nile, just after the Athenians had surrendered, not knowing what had happened. The instant they entered, the Persian fleet which kept out at sea, followed them, and attacked their rear, while the army discharged showers of darts upon them from the banks of the river. Thus only a few ships escaped, which opened themselves a way through the enemy's fleet, and all the rest were lost. Here ended the fatal war carried on by the Athenians for six years in Egypt, which kingdom was now again united to the Persian empire, and continued so during the rest of the reign of Artaxerxes, who had now been on the throne twenty years.¶ But the prisoners who were taken in this war met with the most unhappy fate.

SECTION V.—INARUS IS DELIVERED UP TO THE KING'S MOTHER. THE AFFLICTION AND REVOLT OF MEGABYZUS.

ARTAXERXES, after refusing to gratify the request of his mother, who for five years together had been daily importuning him to put Inarus and his Athenians into her

* A. M. 3545. Ant. J. C. 459.
 † A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456.

‡ A. M. 3546. Ant. J. C. 458.
 § A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454.

¶ A. M. 3547. Ant. J. C. 457.
 ¶ A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454.

hands, in order that she might sacrifice them to the manes of Achæmenes her son, at last yielded to her solicitations.* But how blind, how barbarously weak, must this king have been, to break through the most solemn engagements merely through complaisance; who, deaf to remorse, violated the law of nations, solely to avoid offending a most unjust mother! This inhuman princess, without regard to the faith of the treaty, caused Inarus to be crucified, and beheaded all the rest.† Megabyzus was in the deepest affliction on that account; for as he had promised that no injury should be done them, the affront reflected principally on him. He therefore left the court and withdrew to Syria, of which he was governor; and his discontent was so great that he raised an army, and revolted openly.

The king sent Osiris, who was one of the greatest lords of the court, against him, with an army of two hundred thousand men. Megabyzus engaged Osiris, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his army to flight. Artaxerxes sending to demand Osiris, Megabyzus generously dismissed him, as soon as his wounds were cured.‡

The next year Artaxerxes sent another army against him, the command of which he gave to Menostanes, son to Artarius the king's brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was not more fortunate than the former. He also was defeated and put to flight, and Megabyzus gained as signal a victory as the former.§

Artaxerxes, finding he could not reduce him by force of arms, sent his brother Artarius and Amytis his sister, who was the wife of Megabyzus, with several other persons of the first quality, to persuade the latter to return to his allegiance. They succeeded in their negotiation; the king pardoned him, and he returned to the court.

One day as they were hunting, a lion, raising himself on his hinder feet, was going to rush upon the king, when Megabyzus, seeing the danger he was in, and fired with zeal and affection for his sovereign, hurled a dart at the lion, which killed him. But Artaxerxes, upon pretence that he had affronted him, in darting at the lion before him, commanded Megabyzus's head to be struck off. Amytis the king's sister, and Amestris his mother, with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon the king to change this sentence into perpetual banishment. Megabyzus was therefore sent to Cyrra, a city on the Red Sea, and condemned to end his days there; however, five years after, disguising himself like a leper, he made his escape and returned to Susa, where, by the assistance of his wife and mother-in-law, he was restored to favour, and continued so till his death, which happened some years after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Megabyzus was extremely regretted by the king and the whole court. He was a man of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, and at the same time the best general. Artaxerxes owed both his crown and life to him: but it is of dangerous consequence for a subject, when his sovereign is under too many obligations to him.|| This was the cause of all the misfortunes of Megabyzus.

It is surprising that so judicious a prince as Artaxerxes should have been so imprudent, as to be fired with jealousy against a nobleman of his court, merely because, in a party of hunting, he had wounded the beast they were pursuing before him. Could any thing be so weak? Was this worthy of being considered the point of honour by a king? History, however, furnishes us with many instances of this kind. I am inclined to believe from some expressions of Plutarch, that Artaxerxes was ashamed of the wild fury to which this false delicacy had raised him, and that he made some public kind of atonement for it: for, according to this author, he published a decree, importing, that any man who was hunting with the king, should be allowed to throw his javelin first at the beast, if opportunity should offer; and he, according to Plutarch, was the first Persian monarch who granted such a permission.¶

SECTION VI.—ARTAXERXES SENDS ESDRAS, AND AFTERWARDS NEHEMIAH, TO JERUSALEM.

BEFORE I proceed in the history of the Persians and Greeks, I shall relate, in few words, what events happened among the people of God, during the first twenty years of Artaxerxes, which is an essential part of the history of that prince.

In the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes,** Esdras obtained of the king and his seven counsellors an ample commission, empowering him to return to Jerusalem with all such Jews as would follow him thither, in order to settle the Jewish government and religion agreeably to their own laws. Esdras was descended from Saraia,

* A. M. 3556. Ant. J. C. 443. Ctes. c. 35—40.

† A. M. 3557. Ant. J. C. 477.

‡ A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 446.

§ Beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevertere, pro gratia odium redditur.—Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 18.

¶ Plut. in Apoph. p. 173.

** A. M. 3537. Ant. J. C. 467. Esdras, vii. &c.

who was high priest of Jerusalem when it was destroyed by Nebuchodonosor, and was put to death by his command. Esdras was a very learned and pious man, and was chiefly distinguished from the rest of the Jews by his great knowledge in the Scriptures; it being said of him, "that he was very ready in the law of Moses that was given by the God of Israel."* He now set out from Babylon with the gifts and offerings which the king, his courtiers, and such Israelites as had staid in Babylon, had put into his hands, for the service of the temple, and which he gave to the priests upon his arrival at Jerusalem. It appears by the commission which Artaxerxes gave him, that this prince had a high veneration for the God of Israel, as, in commanding his officers to furnish the Jews with all things necessary for their worship, he adds, "let all things be performed after the law of God diligently, unto the Most High God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his son."† This commission, as I observed, empowered him to settle the religion and government of the Jews pursuant to the laws of Moses; to appoint magistrates and judges to punish evil-doers, not only by imprisoning their persons, and confiscating their possessions, but also by sending them into banishment, and even sentencing them to death, according to the crimes they should commit. Such was the power with which Esdras was invested, and which he exercised faithfully during thirteen years, till Nehemiah brought a new commission from the Persian Court.

Nehemiah was also a Jew of distinguished merit and piety, and one of the cup-bearers to king Artaxerxes‡. This was a very considerable employment in the Persian court, because of the privileges annexed to it, viz. of being often near the king's person, and of being allowed to speak to him in the most favourable moments. However, neither his exalted station, nor the settlement of his family in that land of captivity, could obliterate from his mind the country of his ancestors, nor their religion: neither his love for the one, nor his zeal for the other, were abated; and his heart was still in Zion. Some Jews who were come from Jerusalem, having informed him of the sad state of that city, that its walls lay in ruins, its gates were burnt down, and the inhabitants thereby exposed to the insults of their enemies, and made the scorn of all their neighbours; the affliction of his brethren, and the dangers with which they were menaced, made such an impression on his mind, as might naturally be expected from one of his piety. One day, as he was waiting upon the king, the latter observing an unusual air of melancholy in Nehemiah's countenance, asked him the cause of it; a proof that this monarch had a tenderness of heart rarely found in kings, and which is nevertheless much more valuable than the most shining qualities. Nehemiah took this opportunity to acquaint him with the calamitous state of his country; owned that that was the subject of his grief; and humbly intreated that leave might be given him to go to Jerusalem, in order to repair the fortifications of it. The kings of Persia, his predecessors, had permitted the Jews to rebuild the temple, but not the walls of Jerusalem. But Artaxerxes immediately decreed that the walls and gates of Jerusalem should be rebuilt; and Nehemiah, as governor of Judea, was appointed to put this decree in execution. The king, to do him the greater honor, ordered a body of horse, commanded by a considerable officer, to escort him thither. He likewise wrote to the governors of the provinces on this side the Euphrates, to give him all the assistance possible in forwarding the work for which he was sent. This pious Jew executed every part of his commission with incredible zeal and activity.

It is from this decree, enacted by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign, for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, that we date the beginning of the seventy weeks mentioned in the famous prophecy of Daniel, after which the Messiah was to appear, and to be put to death. I shall here insert the whole prophecy, but without giving the explication of it, as it may be found in other writers, and is not a part of this history.§

"Thou art greatly beloved, therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy. Know therefore and understand THAT FROM THE GOING FORTH OF THE COMMANDMENT, TO RESTORE AND TO BUILD JERUSALEM, unto the Messiah the prince, shall be seven weeks; and threescore and two weeks

* Esdras, viii. 3.

† Esdras, viii. 3. ver. 21.

‡ A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454. Nehem. c. i. et ii.

§ Dan. ix. 23—27.

the street shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times. And after three-score and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood: and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations, he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined, shall be poured upon the desolate.”*

When Esdras was in power, as his chief view was to restore religion to its ancient purity, he disposed the books of Scripture into their proper order, revised them all very carefully, and collected the incidents relating to the people of God in ancient times; in order to compose out of them the books of the Chronicles, to which he added the history of his own times, which was finished by Nehemiah. With their books ends the long history which Moses had begun, and which the writers who came after him continued in a direct series, till the repairing of Jerusalem. The rest of the sacred history is not written in that uninterrupted order. While Esdras and Nehemiah were compiling the latter part of that great work, Herodotus, whom profane authors call the Father of History, began to write. Thus we find that the latest authors of the books of Scripture flourished about the same time with the first authors of the Grecian history; and when it began, that of God's people, to complete only from Abraham, included already fifteen centuries. Herodotus makes no mention of the Jews in his history; for the Greeks desired to be informed of such nations only as were famous for their wars, their commerce, and grandeur; so that, as Judea was then but just rising from its ruins, it did not excite the attention of that people.†

SECTION VII.—CHARACTER OF PERICLES, &c.

I now return to Greece. From the banishment of Themistocles, and the death of Aristides, the exact time of which is not known, two citizens, Cimon and Pericles, enjoyed all the influence and authority in Athens. Pericles was much younger than Cimon and of a quite different character. As he will make a very considerable figure in the following history, it is of importance to the reader to know who he was, in what manner he had been educated, and his plan and mode of government.

Pericles was descended, by both his parents from the greatest and most illustrious families of Athens. His father Xanthippus, who defeated at Mycale the king of Persia's lieutenants, married Agarista, niece to Clisthenes, who expelled the Pisistratidæ, or descendants of Pisistratus the tyrant, and established a popular government in Athens. Pericles had long prepared himself for the designs he formed of engaging in state affairs.‡

He was brought up under the most learned men of his age, and particularly Anaxagoras of Clazomene, surnamed the Intelligent, from his being the first, as we are told, who ascribed human events, as well as the formation and government of the universe, not to chance, as some philosophers, nor to a fatal necessity, as others, but to a superior intelligence, who disposed and governed all things with wisdom. This tenet or opinion prevailed long before his time; but he perhaps set it in a stronger light than all others had done, and taught it methodically and from principle. Anaxagoras instructed his pupil perfectly in that part of philosophy that relates to nature, and which is therefore called Physics.§ This study gave him a strength and greatness of soul which raised him above an infinite number of vulgar prejudices, and vain practices generally observed in his time; and which in affairs of government and military enterprises, often disconcerted the wisest and most necessary measures, or defeated them by scrupulous delays, authorised and covered by the special veil of religion. These were sometimes dreams or auguries, at other times dreadful phenomena, as eclipses of the sun or moon, or omens and presages; not to mention the wild chimeras of judicial astrology. The knowledge of nature, free from the grovelling and weak superstitions to which ignorance gives birth, inspired him, says Plutarch, with a well grounded piety towards the gods, attended with a strength of mind that was immoveable, and a calm hope of the blessings to be expected from them. Although he found infinite charms in this study, he did not however devote himself to it as a philosopher, but as a statesman; and he had so much power over himself, (a very difficult thing,) as to prescribe to himself limits in the pursuit of knowledge.

* Dan. ix. 23—27.

† Bishop of Meaux's Universal History.

‡ Plut. in Vit. Pericl. p. 153—156.

§ The ancients, under this name, comprehended what we call physics and metaphysics; that is the knowledge of spiritual things, as God and spirits; and that of bodies.

But the talent he cultivated with the greatest care, because he looked upon it as the most necessary instrument to all who are desirous of conducting and governing the people, was eloquence. And indeed, those who possessed this talent, in a free state like that of Athens, were sure of governing in the assemblies, engrossing suffrages, determining affairs, and exercising a kind of absolute power over the hearts and minds of the people. He therefore made this his chief object, and the mark to which all his other improvements, as well as the several sciences he had learned from Anaxagoras, were directed; adorning, to borrow Plutarch's expression, the study of philosophy with the dye of rhetoric;* the meaning of which is, that Pericles, to embellish and adorn his discourse, heightened the strength and solidity of reasoning with the colouring and graces of eloquence.

He had no cause to repent his having bestowed so much time to his study, for his success far exceeded his utmost hopes. The poets, his cotemporaries, used to say, that he lightened, thundered, and agitated all Greece, so powerful was his eloquence.† It had those piercing and lively strokes, that reach the inmost soul; and his discourse left always an irresistible incentive, a kind of spur, behind it in the minds of his auditors.‡ He had the art of uniting beauty with strength; and Cicero observes, that at the very time he opposed most strenuously, the inclinations and desires of the Athenians, he had the art to make even severity itself, and the kind of cruelty with which he spoke against the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no resisting the solidity of his arguments, nor the harmony of his words; whence it was said, that the goddess of persuasion, with all her graces, resided on his lips. So that Thucydides,§ his rival and adversary, being one day asked, whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler: answered, "whenever I have given him a fall, he affirms the contrary, in such strong and forcible terms, that he persuades all the spectators that I did not throw him, though they themselves saw him on the ground." Nor was he less prudent and reserved, than strong and vehement in his speeches; and it is related, that he never spoke in public, till after he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him, either unsuitable to his subject, or offensive to the people. Whenever he went to the assembly, before he came out of the house, he used to say to himself, "remember, Pericles, that thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty; to Greeks, to Athenians."||

The uncommon endeavours which Pericles, according to historians, made use of to improve his mind in knowledge, and to attain a perfection in eloquence, are an excellent lesson to such persons as are one day to fill the important offices of state; and a just censure of those who, disregarding whatever is called study or learning, bring into those employments, upon which they enter without knowledge or experience, nothing but a ridiculous self-sufficiency, and a rash boldness of decision.¶ Plutarch, in a treatise where he shows, that a philosopher ought chiefly to attach himself to statesmen in preference to any other class of men, because, in instructing them, he at the same time teaches whole cities and republics, verifies his assertion by the example of the greatest men, both of Greece and Italy, who derived this help from philosophy.** Pericles, of whom we are now writing, was taught by Anaxagoras; Dionysius of Syracuse, by Plato; many princes of Italy, by Pythagoras; Cato, the famous censor; travelled to the place where Athenodorus lived, for the same purpose; and lastly the famous Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, always kept Panætius the philosopher near his person.

One of the chief endeavours of Pericles also was, to study thoroughly the genius and disposition of the Athenians, that he might discover the secret springs which were to be employed in order to set them in motion; and in what manner it was proper to act to acquire their confidence; for it was principally these things, that among the great men of the ancients constituted skill in politics.†† He found by the reflections he had made on several transactions of his time, that the predominant passions

* Βασή τῆ ρητορικῆ τὴν φυσιολογίαν ὑποχέμενος.

† Ab Aristophane poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Greciam dictus est.—Cic. in Orat. n. 29.
‡ Quid Pericles? De ejus dicendi copia sic accepimus, ut, cum contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute patriæ, severius tamen id ipsum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus et jucundum videretur: ejus in labris veteres comici—leporem habitasse dixerunt: tantumque vim in eo fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audissent, quasi aculeos quosdam relinqueret.—Cic. l. 3, de Orat. n. 138.

§ Not the historian.

¶ Plut. in Symp. l. i. p. 620.

¶ Nunc contra plerique ad honores adipiscendos, et ad remp. gerendam, nudi veniunt et niernes, nulla cognitione rerum, nulla scientia ornati.—Cic. l. 3. de Orat. n. 136.

** Plut. in Symp. l. i. p. 777.

†† Olim nascenda vulgi natura, et quibus inodis temperanter haberetur; senatusque et optinatum ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, calidi temporum et sapientes habebantur.—Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 33.

of this people were, a violent aversion to tyranny, and an ardent love of liberty, which inspired them with sentiments of fear, jealousy, and suspicion, of all such citizens as were too conspicuous for their birth, their personal merit, their own reputation and authority, or that of their friends. He not only strongly resembled Pisistratus in the melody of his voice and fluency of expression, but also in the features of his face, and his whole air and manner; and he observed that the Athenians who had seen the tyrant, were prodigiously struck at the resemblance. Besides, he was very rich, was descended from an illustrious family, and had very powerful friends. To prevent therefore, his being obnoxious to the suspicion and jealousy of the people, he at first shunned all affairs of government, which requires a constant attendance in the city, and was solely intent upon distinguishing himself in war and dangers.*

Seeing Aristides dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon engaged almost continually in foreign wars, and absent from Greece, he began to appear in public with greater confidence than before, and entirely devoted himself to the party of the people; but not out of inclination, for he was far from affecting popular power, but to remove all suspicions of his aspiring to the tyranny, and still more, to raise a strong bulwark against the power and authority of Cimon, who had joined with the nobles.

At the same time, he quite changed his conduct and way of life, and assumed in all things, the character of a statesman, wholly busied in affairs of government, and entirely devoted to the service of his country. He was never seen in the streets, except when he was either going to the assembly of the people, or to the council. He left off going to banquets, assemblies, and other diversions of that kind which he had used to frequent; and during the many years that he presided in the administration, he was never seen to go to supper with his friends, except once, at the nuptials of a near relation.

He knew that the people, who are naturally fickle and inconsistent, commonly increase their disregard for those who are always in their sight; and that too strong a desire to please them, grows at last tiresome and importunate, and it was observed that such a behaviour did Themistocles great prejudice. To avoid this error, he used to go very rarely to the assemblies; and never appeared before the people but at intervals, in order to make himself desired; and to preserve an ascendancy over their minds that might be always new, and never weakened by too great an assiduity; wisely reserving himself for great and important occasions.† Hence it was said, that he imitated Jupiter, who, in the government of the world, according to some philosophers, busied himself in great events only, and left the direction of those of less importance to inferior deities. And indeed Pericles used to transact all petty affairs by his friends, and by certain orators who were entirely devoted to him, among whom was Ephialtes.‡

Pericles employed all his industry and application to gain the favour and esteem of the people, in order to counterbalance the fame and influence of Cimon. He could not however equal the magnificence and liberality of his rival, whose immense riches gave him an opportunity of bestowing such presents as appear to us almost incredible, so much did they differ from us in that respect. Finding it impossible for him to rival Cimon in this particular, he had recourse to another expedient, in order to gain the love of the populace, no less effectual perhaps, but certainly not so lawful and honourable. He was the first who divided the conquered lands among the citizens; who distributed among them the public revenues for the expense of their games and shows, and annexed pensions to all public employments; so that certain sums were bestowed on them regularly, as well to gratify them at the games, as for their presence in the courts of justice, and the public assemblies. It is impossible to say, how fatal these unhappy politics were to the republic, and the many evils with which they were attended. For these new regulations besides their draining the public treasury, gave the people a luxurious and dissolute turn of mind; whereas they were before sober and modest, and contented themselves with getting a livelihood by their sweat and labour.§

By such arts as these, Pericles had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that he may be said to have attained a monarchial power under a republican form of government; moulding the citizens into whatever shape he pleased, and presiding with unlimited authority in all the assemblies. And indeed, Valerius Maxi-

* *Ista nostra assiduitas, Servi, noscis quantum interdum afferat hominibus fastidii, quantum satietatis.—Utrique nostrum desiderium nihil obfuisse.*—Cic. pro. Mur. n. 21.

† Plut. de sui laude, p. 411.

‡ Plut. de Ger. Rep. p. 311.

§ Plut. in Pericl. p. 156.

mus makes scarcely any other difference between Pisistratus and Pericles, except that the one exercised a tyrannical power by force of arms, and the other by the strength of his eloquence, in which he had made a very great progress under Anaxagoras.*

This influence and authority, however enormous, could not yet restrain the comic writers from lashing him very severely in the theatres; and it does not appear that any of the poets who censured Pericles with so much boldness, were ever punished, or even called to account for it by the people. Perhaps it was out of prudence and policy that he did not attempt to curb the licentiousness of the stage, nor to silence the poets; that he might amuse and content the people by this vain shadow of liberty and prevent their discovering that they really were enslaved.

But Pericles did not stop here. He boldly resolved, if possible, to weaken the authority of the tribunal of the Areopagus, of which he was not a member, because he had never been elected either archon, thesmotheta, king of the sacrifices, nor polemarch.† These were different employments in the republic, which from time immemorial had been given by lot; and none but those who had behaved uprightly in them, were allowed a seat in the Areopagus. Pericles, taking advantage of Cimon's absence, set Ephialtes who was his creature, at work clandestinely; and at last lessened the power of that illustrious body, in which the chief strength of the nobility consisted. The people emboldened and supported by so powerful a faction, subverted all the fundamental laws and ancient customs; took from the senate of the Areopagus the cognizance of most causes that used to be brought before it, leaving it very few, and such only as were of little consequence, and made themselves absolute masters of all the tribunals.‡

Cimon on his return to Athens, was afflicted to see the dignity of the senate trampled under foot, and therefore set every engine at work to restore it to its pristine authority, and to revive the aristocracy, in the same form as it had been established under Clisthenes. But now his enemies began to exclaim and excite the people against him; reproaching him, among many other things for his strong attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Cimon had himself given some room for this reproach, by his not paying sufficient regard to the Athenian delicacy; for, in speaking to them, he would for ever extol Lacedæmon; and whenever he censured their conduct on any occasion, he used to say, "the Spartans do not act in this manner." Such expressions as these drew upon him the hatred and envy of his fellow-citizens; but an event, in which he nevertheless had no share, made him the object of their utmost detestation.

SECTION VIII.—AN EARTHQUAKE IN SPARTA, &c.

IN the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, there happened the most dreadful earthquake in Sparta that had ever been known. In several places the country was entirely swallowed up; Taygetus and other mountains were shaken to their foundations; many of their summits, being torn away, came tumbling down; and the whole city was laid in ruins, five houses only excepted. To heighten the calamity, the Helots, who were slaves to the Lacedæmonians, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity to recover their liberty, pervaded every part of the city, to murder such as had escaped the earthquake; but finding them under arms and drawn up in order of battle, by the prudent foresight of Archidamus, who had assembled them round him, they retired into the neighbouring cities, and commenced that very day, open war, having entered into an alliance with several of the neighbouring nations, and being strengthened by the Messenians, who at that time were engaged in a war with the Spartans.§

The Lacedæmonians in this extremity sent to Athens to implore succour; but this was opposed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way adviseable to assist them, nor to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which, he said, ought to be left in ruins, and the pride of Sparta thereby humbled for ever. But Cimon, being struck with horror at these politics, did not hesitate a moment to prefer the welfare of the

* Pericles felicissimis naturæ incrementis, sub Anaxagora præceptore summo studio perpolitus et instructus, liberis Athenarum cervicibus jugum servitutis imposuit: egit enim ille urbem, et versavit arbitrio suo. Quid inter Pisistratum et Periclem interfuit, nisi quod ille armatus, hic sine armis, tyrannidem exercuit?—Val. Max. l. 8. c. 9.

† After some changes had been made in the form of the Athenian government, the supreme authority was at last vested in nine magistrates, called archons, and lasted but one year. One was called rex, another polemarchus, a third archon, and this magistrate was properly at the head of the rest, and gave his name to the year; and six thesmothetæ, who presided immediately over the laws and decrees.

‡ Plut. in Pericl. p. 157. In Cim. p. 488.

§ A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Plut. in Cim. p. 488, 489.

Lacedæmonians to the aggrandizement of his country; declaring in the strongest terms, that it was absolutely weak and inconsistent, "to leave Greece lame of one of its legs, and Athens without a counterpoise:" the people acceded to his opinion, and accordingly a succour was voted. Sparta and Athens might indeed be considered as the two limbs on which Greece stood; so that if one of them was destroyed, the rest were inevitably crippled. It is also certain, that the Athenians were so elated with their grandeur, and were become so proud and enterprising, that they wanted a check; for which none was so proper as Sparta, that state being the only one that was capable of being a counterpoise to the headstrong disposition of the Athenians. Cimon therefore marched to the aid of the Lacedæmonians with four thousand men.

We have here an example of the prodigious influence which a man of fine talents and abilities has in a state, when a great fund of merit unites in his person, with a well-established reputation for probity, disinterestedness, and zeal for the good of his country. Cimon, with very little difficulty, prevailed so far as to inspire the Athenians with noble and magnanimous sentiments, which in outward appearance interfered with their interest; and this in spite of the suggestions of a secret jealousy, which never fails to show itself in the most sensible manner on these occasions. By the ascendancy and authority which his virtue gave him, he raised them above the groveling and unjust, though too common, political views, which prompt a people to consider the calamities of their neighbours as an advantage, which the interest of their own country permits and even enjoins them to lay hold of. The counsels of Cimon were perfectly wise and equitable; but it is surprising, how he could prevail so far as to make a whole people approve them, since that is all that could be expected from an assembly of the wisest and gravest senators.

Some time after, the Lacedæmonians again implored the aid of the Athenians against the Messenians and Helots; who had seized upon Ithoma. But on the arrival of those forces under the command of Cimon, the Spartans began to dread their intrepidity, their power, and great fame; and affronted them so far, as to send them back, upon suspicion of their harbouring ill designs, and of intending to turn their arms against them.*

The Athenians returning full of anger and resentment, declared themselves, from that very day, enemies to all who should favour the Lacedæmonian interest; for which reason they banished Cimon by the ostracism, the first opportunity that presented itself for that purpose. This is the first time that the misunderstanding between these two nations, which afterwards augmented through mutual discontent, displayed itself in so strong a manner. It was however suspended for some years, by truces and treaties, which prevented its consequences; but it at last broke out in the most violent manner, in the Peloponnesian war.

Those who had shut themselves up in Ithoma, after defending themselves for ten years, surrendered at last to the Lacedæmonians, who gave them their lives upon condition that they should never return to Peloponnesus. The Athenians, to exasperate the Lacedæmonians, received them with their wives and children, and settled them in Naupactus, of which they had just before possessed themselves. The inhabitants of Megara at the same time went over from the Spartans to the Athenians. In this manner several leagues were concluded on both sides, and many battles were fought, the most famous of which was that of Tanagra in Bœotia, which Diodorus equals with those of Marathon and Platææ, and in which Mironides, the Athenian general, defeated the Spartans, who came to the aid of the Thebans.†

It was on this occasion that Cimon, thinking himself dispensed from this proscription, repaired with some soldiers to his tribe to serve his country, and to fight in the Athenian army against the Lacedæmonians; but his enemies caused him to be ordered to retire. However, before he went away, he exhorted his companions, who were no less suspected than himself of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to exert themselves to the utmost, and fight with the greatest courage, to prove their innocence, and, if possible, to efface from the minds of the citizens, a suspicion so injurious to them all. Accordingly those brave soldiers, to the number of one hundred, fired by his words, demanded his whole armour of him, which they placed in the centre of their little battallion, in order to have him in a manner present, and before their eyes. They fought with so much valour and fury, that they were all cut to pieces, to the great regret of the Athenians, who deeply repented their having accused them so unjustly.‡

I omit several events of little importance.

* Plut. in Cim. Thucyd. l. i. p. 67, 68.

† A. M. 3543. Ant. J. C. 456. Thucyd. l. i. p. 69—71. Dioid. l. xi. p. 59—65.

‡ Plut. in Cim. p. 489.

SECTION IX.—CIMON IS RECALLED, &C. HIS DEATH.

THE Athenians, perceiving the great occasion they had for Cimon, recalled him from banishment, in which he had spent five years.* It was Pericles himself who proposed and drew up that decree; "so moderate in those times," says Plutarch "were feuds and animosities, and so easy to be appeased, when the welfare of their country required it; and so happily did ambition, which is one of the strongest and most lively passions, yield to the necessity of the times, and comply with the occasions of the public."

The instant Cimon returned, he stifled the sparks of war which were about to break out among the Greeks, reconciled the two cities, and prevailed with them to conclude a truce for five years. And to prevent the Athenians, who were grown haughty on account of the many victories they had gained, from having an opportunity, or harbouring a design of attacking their neighbours and allies, he thought it advisable to lead them at a great distance from home against the common enemy; thus endeavouring, in an honourable way, to inure the citizens to war, and enrich them at the same time. Accordingly he put to sea with a fleet of two hundred sail. He sent sixty of these into Egypt to the aid of Amyrteus, and himself sailed with the rest against the island of Cyprus.† Artabazus was at that time in those seas with a fleet of three hundred sail; and Megabyzus, the other general of Artaxerxes, with an army of three hundred thousand men, on the coast of Cilicia. As soon as the squadron which Cimon sent into Egypt had joined his fleet, he sailed and attacked Artabazus, and took one hundred of his ships. He sunk many of them, and chased the rest as far as the coast of Phœnicia. But, as if this victory had been only a prelude to a second, he made a descent on Cilicia in his return, attacked Megabyzus, defeated him, and cut to pieces a prodigious number of his troops. He afterwards returned to Cyprus with this double triumph, and laid siege to Citium, a strong city of very great importance. His design, after he had reduced that island, was to sail for Egypt, and again embroil the affairs of the barbarians; for he had very extensive views, and meditated no less a design than that of the entire subversion of the mighty empire of Persia. The rumours which prevailed, that Themistocles was to command against him, added fresh fire to his courage; and almost assured of success, he was infinitely pleased with the occasion of trying his abilities with those of that general. But we have already seen that Themistocles laid violent hands on himself about this time.

Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained such great losses, resolved with the advice of his council, to put an end to it. Accordingly he sent orders to his generals to conclude a peace with the Athenians upon the most advantageous conditions they could. Megabyzus and Artabazus sent ambassadors to Athens to propose an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were chosen on both sides, and Callias was at the head of those of Athens. The conditions of the treaty were as follows: 1. That all the Grecian cities of Asia should enjoy their liberty, with such laws and forms of government as they should think fit to choose. 2. That no Persian ship of war should be allowed to enter the seas between the Cyanean and Chelidonian islands, that is, from the Euxine sea to the coasts of Pamphylia. 3. That no Persian general should lead any troops within three days' march of those seas. 4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Persia. These articles being ratified by both parties, peace was proclaimed.‡

Thus ended this war, which, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, had lasted fifty-one years, and in which infinite numbers of Persians, as well as Greeks had perished.§

While the treaty was negotiating, Cimon died, either of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege of Citium. When he was near his end, he commanded his officers to sail with a fleet immediately for Athens, and to conceal his death with the utmost care. Accordingly this was executed with so much secrecy, that neither the enemy nor the allies once suspected it; and they returned safe to Athens, still under the conduct and auspices of Cimon, though he had been dead more than thirty days.

Cimon was universally regretted, which is no wonder, since he was possessed of all those qualities which dignify the soul; the most tender son; a faithful friend; zealous for the good of his country; a great politician; an accomplished general; modest

* Plut. in Cim. p. 490.
‡ Diod. p. 74, 75.

† A. M. 3554. Ant. J. C. 450. Plut. in Cim. p. 490. Diod. l. xii. p. 73, 74.
§ A. M. 3555. Ant. J. C. 449.

when raised to the highest employments and most distinguished honours; liberal and beneficent almost to profusion; simple and averse to ostentation of every kind, even in the midst of riches and abundance; in fine, so great a lover of the poor citizens, as to share his whole estate with them, without being ashamed of such companions of his fortune.* History mentions no statues or monuments erected to his memory, nor any magnificent obsequies celebrated after his death: but the greatest honour that could be paid him, were the sighs and tears of the people; these were permanent and lasting statues, which are not subject to the inclemencies of weather or the injuries of time, and endear the memory of the good and virtuous to the remotest ages. For the most splendid mausoleums, the works of brass and marble that are raised in honour of wicked great men, are despised by posterity, as sepulchres which inclose nothing but vile dust and putrefaction.†

What followed proved more strongly the loss which Greece had sustained by his death: for Cimon was the last of all the Grecian generals who did any thing considerable or glorious against the barbarians. Excited by the orators, who gained the strongest ascendancy over the minds of the people, and sowed the seeds of division in their public assemblies, they turned their animosity against each other, and at last proceeded to open war, the fatal consequences of which no one endeavoured to prevent; a circumstance that was of great advantage to the king of Persia, and the utmost prejudice to the affairs of Greece.

SECTION X.—THUCYDIDES IS OPPOSED TO PERICLES, &c.

THE nobles of Athens, seeing Pericles raised to the highest degree of power and far above all the rest of the citizens, resolved to oppose him with a man, who, in some measure, might make head against him, and prevent his authority from growing up to monarchy. Accordingly they opposed him with Thucydides, Cimon's brother-in-law, a man who had displayed his wisdom on numberless occasions. He, indeed, did not possess military talents in so eminent a degree as Pericles; but then he had as great an influence over the people, shaping their opinions, and directing their assemblies as he pleased: and as he never stirred out of the city, but continually combated Pericles in all his designs, he soon restored things to an equilibrium. On the other side, Pericles was solicitous of pleasing the people on all occasions, and slackened the rein more than ever, entertaining them as often as possible with shows, festivals, games, and other diversions.‡

He found means to maintain, during eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board a fleet, consisting of sixty ships, which he fitted out every year; and thereby did his country an important service, by training up a great number of seamen for its defence; he also planted several colonies in Chersonesus, in Naxos, in Andros, and among the Bisaltæ in Thrace. There was a very noble one in Italy, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak, and which built Thurium. Pericles had different views in settling those colonies, besides the particular design he might have of gaining the affections of the people by that means. His chief motives were, to clear the city of a great number of idle persons, who were ever ready to disturb the government; to relieve the wants of the lowest class of people, who before were unable to subsist themselves; in fine, to awe the allies, by settling native Athenians among them as so many garrisons, which might prevent their engaging in any measure contrary to the interests of the people. The Romans acted in the same manner; and it may be said, that so wise a policy was one of the most effectual methods used by them to secure the tranquillity of the state.

But the circumstances which did Pericles the greatest honour in the opinion of the people, was his adorning the city with magnificent edifices and other works, which raised the admiration and astonishment of all foreigners, and gave them a high idea of the power of the Athenians. It is surprising that, in so short a space, so many works of architecture, sculpture, engraving, and painting, should have been performed, and at the same time carried to the highest perfection; for it is generally found, that edifices raised in haste boast neither a solid and durable grace, nor the regularity required in works of an exquisitely beautiful kind. Commonly, nothing but length of time, joined to assiduous labour, can give them such a strength as may preserve, and make them triumph over ages; and this raises our wonder still more in regard to

* Sic se gerendo minime est mirandum, si et vita ejus fuit secunda, et mors acerba.—Corn. Nep. in Cim. c. 4.

† Hæ pulcherrimæ effigies et mansuræ. Nam quæ saxa struuntur, si judicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernantur.—Tacit. Annal. J. 4. c. 33.

‡ Plut. in Pericl. p. 158—161.

the works of Pericles, which were finished with so much rapidity, and yet subsisted through so great a length of time. For each of those works, the very instant it was finished, had the beauty of an antique; and at this time, *i. e.* "above five hundred years after," says Plutarch, "they retained a freshness and youth as if just finished by the artist; so happily do they preserve the graces and charms of novelty, which will not suffer time to diminish their lustre; as if an ever-blooming spirit, and a soul exempt from age, were diffused into every part of those works."

But that circumstance, which excited the admiration of the whole world, raised the jealousy of the people against Pericles. His enemies were for ever crying aloud in the assemblies, that it was dishonourable to the Athenians, to appropriate to themselves the bank of all Greece, which he had sent for from Delos where it had been deposited; that the allies must necessarily consider such an attempt as a manifest tyranny, when they found that the sums which had been extorted from them, upon pretence of their being employed in the war, were laid out by the Athenians in gilding and embellishing their city, in making magnificent statues, and raising temples that cost millions. They did not exaggerate on these occasions; for the temple of Minerva, alone, called the Parthenon, had cost three millions of livres.*

Pericles, on the contrary, remonstrated to the Athenians, that they were obliged to give the allies an account of the monies they had received from them: that it was enough they defended them from the barbarians, whom they had repulsed, while the allies furnished neither soldiers, horses, nor ships; and were excused for some sums of money, which, from the instant they were paid in, were no longer the property of the donors, but of those who received them, provided they performed the conditions agreed upon, and in consideration of which they were received. He added, that as the Athenians were sufficiently provided with all things necessary for war, it was but just that they should employ the rest of their riches in edifices and other works, which, when finished, would give immortal glory to their city; and the whole time they were carrying on, diffused a plenty of all things, and gave bread to an infinite number of citizens: that they had themselves all kinds of materials, as timber, stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cyprus wood; and all sorts of artificers capable of working them, as carpenters, masons, smiths, stone-cutters, dyers, gold-smiths; artificers in ebony, painters, embroiderers, and turners; men fit to conduct their naval affairs, as merchants, sailors, and experienced pilots; others for land-carriage, as cart-wrights, wagoners, carters, rope-makers, pavers, &c. That it was for the advantage of the state to employ these different artificers and workmen, who, as so many separate bodies, formed, when united, a kind of peaceable and domestic army, whose different functions and employments diffused gain and increase among all sexes and ages: lastly, that while men of robust bodies, and of an age fit to bear arms, whether soldiers or mariners, and those who were in the different garrisons, were supported with the public moneys, it was but just, that the rest of the people who lived in the city should also be maintained in the same way; and that, as all were members of the same republic, they all should reap the same advantages, by doing it services, which though of a different kind, did however all contribute to its security or ornament.

One day, as the debates were growing warm, Pericles offered to defray the expense of all these things, provided it should be declared in the public inscription, that he only had been at the charge of them. At these words the people, either admiring his magnanimity, or fired with emulation, and determined not to let him engross that glory, cried with one voice, that he might take out of the public treasury all the sums necessary for his purpose.

Phidias, the celebrated sculptor, presided over all these works, as director-general. It was he who particularly cast the gold and ivory statue representing Pallas, which was so highly valued by all the judges of antiquity.† There arose an incredible ardour and emulation among the several artificers, who all strove to excel each other, and immortalize their names by master pieces of art.

The Odeon, or music-theatre, which had a great number of seats and columns, within it, and whose roof grew narrower by degrees, and terminated in a point, was built, as history informs us, after the model of Xerxes's tent, according to the direction of Pericles. It was at that time he proposed, with great warmth, a decree, by

* About 8644,444.

† Non Minervæ Athenis factæ amplitudine utemur, cum ea sit cubitorum xxvi. Eboræ hæc et auro constat. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5. This statue was twenty-six cubits in height.

which it was ordained, that musical games should be celebrated on the festival called Panathænæa; and having been chosen the judge and distributor of the prizes, he regulated the manner in which musicians should play on the flute and lyre, as well as sing. From that time, the musical games were always exhibited in this theatre.

I have already taken notice, that the more the beauty and splendour of these works were admired, the greater envy and clamour were raised against Pericles. The orators of the opposite faction were continually exclaiming against him, and tearing his character to pieces; accusing him of squandering the public moneys, and laying out very unseasonably the revenues of the state in edifices, whose magnificence was of no use. At last, the rupture between him and Thucydides rose to such a height, that one or the other must necessarily be banished by the ostracism. He got the better of Thucydides, prevailed in having him banished; by that means crushed the faction which opposed him, and obtained a despotic authority over the city and government of Athens. He now disposed at pleasure of the public moneys, troops, and ships. The land and sea were subject to him; and he reigned singly and alone in that wide domain, which extended, not only over the Greeks, but the barbarians also, and which was cemented and strengthened by the obedience and fidelity of the conquered nations, by the friendship of kings, and treaties concluded with various princes.

Historians expatiate greatly on the magnificent edifices and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, and I have related faithfully their testimony; but I cannot say whether the complaints and murmurs raised against him were very ill grounded. And indeed, was it just in him to expend in superfluous buildings and vain decorations, the immense sums* intended for carrying on the war; and would it not have been better to have released the allies from part of the contributions, which, in his administration, were raised to a third part more than before? According to Cicero, such edifices and other works only are worthy of admiration, as are of use to the public, as aqueducts, city-walls, citadels, arsenals, sea-ports; and to these we must add, the works made by Pericles, to join Athens to the port of Piræus.† But Cicero observes, at the same time, that Pericles was blamed for squandering away the public treasure, merely to embellish the city with superfluous ornaments. Plato, who formed a judgment of things, not from their outward splendour, but from truth, observes, after his master Socrates, that Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind of one of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of their ancient manners.‡

SECTION XI.—PERICLES CHANGES HIS CONDUCT WITH REGARD TO THE PEOPLE.

WHEN Pericles saw himself invested with the whole authority, he began to change his behaviour. He was no longer mild and tractable as before, and ceased to submit or abandon himself to the whims and caprice of the people, as to so many winds; but drawing in, says Plutarch, the reins of this too loose popular government, in the same manner as we screw up the strings of an instrument when too slack, he changed it into an aristocracy, or rather a kind of monarchy, without departing from the public good. Choosing always what was most expedient, and becoming irreproachable in all things, he gained so powerful an ascendancy over the minds of the people, that he turned and directed them at pleasure. Sometimes, by his bare counsel; and by persuasive methods, he would win them over gently to his will, and gain their assent spontaneously; at other times, when he found them obstinate, he would in a manner drag them forward against their will, to those things that were for their good; imitating on this occasion a skilful physician, who, in a tedious and stubborn disease, knows what times are proper for him to indulge his patient in innocent medicaments that are pleasing; in order afterwards to administer those of a strong and violent nature, which indeed put him to pain, but are alone capable of restoring his health.§

And indeed it is manifest that the utmost skill and abilities were required to manage and govern a populace haughty from their power, and exceedingly capricious; and on this occasion Pericles succeeded wonderfully. He used to employ, according to the different situation of things, sometimes hope, and at other times fear, either to check the wild transports and starts of the people, or to raise them when dejected and desponding. By this conduct he showed that eloquence, as Plato observes, is the only art of directing the minds of the people at will; and that the chief excellency of this

* They amounted to upwards of ten millions, French money, or £1,875,000.

† In Gorg. p. 515. In Alcib. c. i. p. 119.

‡ Offic. l. ii. n. 69.

§ Plut. in Pericl. p. 161.

art consists in moving seasonably, the various passions, whether gentle or violent; which being to the soul what strings are to a musical instrument, need only to be touched by an ingenious and skilful hand to produce their effect.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance which gave Pericles this great authority, was not only the force of his eloquence, but, as Thucydides observes, the reputation of his life, and great probity.

Plutarch points out in Pericles, one quality which is very essential to statesmen; a quality well adapted to win the esteem and confidence of the public, and which supposes a great superiority of mind; and that is, for a man to be fully persuaded that he wants the counsel of others, and is not able to manage and direct all things alone; to associate with himself persons of merit in his labours, to employ each of these according to his talents; and to leave the management of small matters which only consume time, and deprive him of the liberty of mind so necessary in the conduct of important affairs. Such conduct says Plutarch, is productive of two advantages. First, it extinguishes or at least breaks the force of envy and jealousy, by dividing in some measure, a power which is grating and offensive to us when we see it united in one single person, as if all merit centered in him alone. Secondly, it advances and facilitates the execution of affairs, and makes their success more certain. Plutarch, the better to explain his thoughts, employs a very natural and beautiful comparison. "The hand," says he, "which, from its being divided into five fingers, so far from being weaker, is the stronger, more active, and better adapted to motion on that very account." It is the same with a statesman, who has the skill to divide his cares and functions in a proper manner, and who by that means makes his authority more active, more extensive and decisive: whereas the indiscreet fire of a narrow-minded man, who takes umbrage at, and is for engrossing all things, serves no other purpose than to set his weakness and incapacity in a stronger light, and to disconcert his affairs. But Pericles, says Plutarch, did not act in this manner. Like a skilful pilot, who though he stands almost motionless himself, yet puts every thing in motion, and will sometimes seat subaltern officers at the helm: so Pericles was the soul of the government; and, seeming to do nothing of himself, he actuated and governed all things; employing the eloquence of one man, the credit and interest of another, the prudence of a third, the bravery and courage of a fourth, and so on.*

To what has been here related, we may add another quality which is no less rare and valuable; I mean, a noble and disinterested soul. Pericles had so great a disinclination to receiving gifts, so utter a contempt for riches, and was so far above all rapaciousness and avarice, that, though he had raised Athens to the richest and most flourishing state; though his power had surpassed that of many tyrants and kings; though he had long disposed in an absolute manner of the treasures of Greece, he did not however add a single drachm to the estate he inherited from his father. This was the source, the true cause, of the supreme authority of Pericles in the republic; the just and merited reward of his integrity and perfect disinterestedness.†

It was not only for a few short moments, nor during the first heats of favour, which are generally short-lived, that he preserved his authority. He maintained it forty years, notwithstanding the opposition of Cimon, of Tolmides, of Thucydides, and many others, who all declared against him; and of these forty years, he spent fifteen without a rival, from the banishment of Thucydides, and disposed all affairs with absolute power. Nevertheless, in the midst of this supreme authority, which he had rendered perpetual and unlimited in his own person, his soul was always superior to the charms and allurements of wealth, though he never neglected improving his estate to the utmost of his power. For Pericles did not act like those rich men, who, notwithstanding their immense revenues, either through negligence or want of economy, or the expenses of pride and folly, are always poor in the midst of their riches; unable and unwilling to do the least service to their virtuous friends, or their faithful and zealous domestics; and at last die in every one's debt, whence their name and memory are had in the utmost detestation by their unfortunatè creditors. I shall not expatiate on another extreme, to which this negligence and want of economy generally lead, I mean rapine, a love of gifts and exactions; for here, as well as in the management of the public moneys, the maxim of Tacitus may be applied, viz. that when a man has squandered away his estate, he then makes it his whole study to retrieve the loss of it by all means, not excepting the most criminal.‡

* Plut. in Præc. de Rep. Ger. p. 812.

† Plut. in Vit. p. 161, 162.

‡ Si ambitione ærarium exhausimus, per scelrèrem supplendum erit.— Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 33.

Pericles knew much better the use a statesman should make of his riches. He was sensible that he ought to expend them in the service of the public, in procuring able men to assist him in the administration; in relieving good officers, who too often are in unhappy circumstances; and in rewarding and encouraging merit of every kind, and a thousand such things; to which, doubtless either on account of the exquisite joy they give, or the solid glory that results from them, no one will be so thoughtless as to compare the expenses lavished away in entertainments, equipages, or gaming. In this view Pericles managed his estate with the utmost economy; having himself taught one of his old servants to take care of his domestic concerns; and he always had the account brought him, at stated times, of all things that had been received as well as expended; confining himself and his family, to a decent subsistence (from which he excluded rigidly all superfluities of a vain and ostentatious kind,) suitable to his estate and condition. This way of life, did by no means please his children when they were come to years of maturity, and much less his wife. They thought Pericles did not live at sufficient expense for persons of their rank; and murmured at that low, sordid economy, as they called it, which carried no air of the plenty which generally reigned in houses where riches and authority are united. Pericles however, paid little regard to these complaints, and directed his view to things of much greater importance.

I believe it will not be improper to apply on this occasion, a very just remark of Plutarch, in his parallel of Aristides and Cato. After saying, that political virtue, or the art of governing cities and kingdoms, is the greatest and most perfect that man can acquire, he adds, that economy is not one of the most inconsiderable branches of this virtue. And indeed, as riches are one of the means which may most contribute to the security or ruin of a state, the art that teaches to dispose of, and make a good use of them, and which is called economy, is certainly a branch of the art of policy; and not one of the most inconsiderable branches of it, since great wisdom is required, in order to observe a just medium on these occasions, and to banish poverty and too great opulence from a country. It is this art, which, avoiding industriously all trifling and needless expenses, prevents a magistrate from being forced to overburden a people with taxes; and keeps always in reserve, in the public coffers, moneys sufficient for carrying on wars that may break out, or for providing against any unforeseen accident. Now what is said of a kingdom, or of a city, may be applied to particular persons. For a city, which is composed of an assemblage of houses, and which forms a whole of several parts united, is either powerful or weak when taken together, in proportion as all the members of which it consists are powerful or weak. Pericles certainly acquitted himself well with regard to that part of this scheme which relates to the government of a family; but I do not know whether the same may be said of his administration of the public revenues.

SECTION XII.—JEALOUSY AND CONTESTS ARISE BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS.

SUCH was the conduct of Pericles with respect to his domestic concerns;* and he was no less famous for his administration of public affairs. The Lacedæmonians beginning to grow jealous of the prosperity of the Athenians, and to take umbrage at it, Pericles, to inspire his citizens with greater courage and magnanimity, published a decree, importing, that orders should be sent to all the Greeks, inhabiting either Europe or Asia, and all the cities great or small, to send immediately their deputies or representatives to Athens, to examine and debate on ways and means to rebuild the temples that had been burnt by the barbarians; to perform the sacrifices, which they had engaged themselves to offer up, for the preservation and safety of Greece, when war was carrying on against them: as also, to determine on the expedients necessary for establishing such an order and discipline in their navy, that all ships might sail in safety, and the Greeks live in peace one with another.

Accordingly twenty persons were chosen for this embassy, each of whom was upwards of fifty years old. Five of these were sent to the Ionians and Dorians of Asia, and the inhabitants of the islands as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to the countries of the Hellespont and Thrace, as far as Byzantium. Five were ordered to go to Bœotia, to Phocis, and to Peloponnesus; and from thence by the country of the Locris, to proceed to the several cities of the upper continent, as far as Arcania and Ambracia. The last five were ordered to cross Eubœa, and to go to the people of

* Plut. in Pericl. p. 162.

mount *Cæta*, and those of the gulf of *Malea*, and to the inhabitants of *Phthiotis*, of *Achaia*, and of *Thessaly*; and to induce the several nations to come to the assembly convened at *Athens*, and to assist at the debates which should be there carried on, concerning peace, and the general affairs of *Greece*. I judged it necessary to enter into this detail, as it shows how far the power of the Greeks extended, and the authority which the Athenians enjoyed among them.

But all these solicitations were in vain; as the cities did not send their deputies, which, according to historians, was owing to the opposition made by the *Lacedæmonians*, a circumstance we are not to wonder at. They were sensible that the design of *Pericles* was, to have *Athens* acknowledged as mistress and sovereign of all the other Grecian cities; and *Lacedæmon* was far from allowing her that honour. A secret spirit of dissension, had, for some years, begun to disturb the tranquillity of *Greece*; and we shall find by the sequel, that this discord augmented continually.

Pericles had acquired great fame for the wisdom with which he formed and conducted his enterprises. The troops reposed the highest confidence in him, and whenever they followed him, assured themselves of success. His chief maxim of war was, never to venture a battle unless he was almost certain of victory, and not to lavish the blood of the citizens. He used to say frequently, that were it in his power, they should be immortal; that when trees were felled, they shoot to life again in a little time, but when men once die, they are lost for ever. A victory that was only the effect of happy temerity, appeared to him to merit but little praise though it was often much admired.

His expedition into the *Thracian Chersonesus* did him great honour, and was of great advantage to all the Greeks of that country; for he not only strengthened the Grecian cities of the peninsula, by the colonies of Athenians which he carried thither, but also shut up the isthmus with a strong wall, and with forts at proper distances from sea to sea; by that means securing the whole country from the perpetual incursions of the *Thracians*, who were very near neighbours to it.

He also sailed with a hundred ships round *Peloponnesus*, spreading the terror of the Athenian arms wherever he came, the success of which was not once interrupted on this occasion.

He advanced as far as the kingdom of *Pontus* with a large, well-manned and magnificent fleet; and granted the Grecian cities all they thought fit to ask of him. At the same time he displayed to the barbarian nations in that neighbourhood, and to their kings and princes, the greatness of the power of the Athenians, and proved to them, by the security with which he sailed to all parts, that they possessed the empire of the seas without a rival.

But so constant and such brilliant success began to dazzle the eyes of the Athenians. Intoxicated with the idea of their power and grandeur, they now resolved on the boldest and most lofty projects. They were for ever speaking of new attempts upon *Egypt*; of attacking the maritime provinces of the great king; of carrying their arms into *Sicily*, a fatal and unhappy design, which at that time did not take effect, though it was revived soon after; and to extend their conquests towards *Etruria* on one side, and *Carthage* on the other. *Pericles* was far from encouraging such extravagant designs, or supporting them with his influence and approbation. On the contrary, his whole study was to damp that restless ardour, and check an ambition which no longer knew either bounds or measure. It was his opinion that the Athenians ought to employ their forces for the future, only in securing and preserving their present acquisitions; and he thought he had gained a great point, in restraining the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, the reducing of which he always meditated; and this was particularly seen in the sacred war.*

This name was given to the war which was raised on account of *Delphos*. The *Lacedæmonians*, having entered armed into the country where that temple is situated, had dispossessed the people of *Phocis* of the superintendance of that temple, and bestowed it on the *Delphians*. As soon as they left it, *Pericles* went thither with an army, and restored the *Phocians*.†

The *Eubœans* having rebelled at the same time, *Pericles* was obliged to march thither with an army. He was no sooner arrived there, than news was brought, that the inhabitants of *Megara* had taken up arms; and that the *Lacedæmonians*, headed by *Plistonax* their king, were on the frontiers of *Attica*. This obliged him to quit

* *Plut. in Pericl. p. 164.*

† *Plut. in Pericl. p. 164.*

Eubœa, and to go with all possible expedition to defend his country. The Lacedæmonian army being retired, he returned against the rebels, and again subjected all the cities of Eubœa to the Athenians.

After this expedition, a truce for thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. This treaty restored tranquillity for the present: but as it did not descend to the root of the evil, nor cure the jealousy and enmity of the two nations, the calm was not of long duration.*

SECTION XIII.—NEW SUBJECTS OF CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS.

THE Athenians, six years after, took arms against Samos in favour of Miletus. These two cities were contesting for that of Priene, to which each claimed a right. It is pretended, that Pericles fomented this war to please a famous courtesan, of whom he was very fond: her name was Aspasia, a native of Miletus. After several events and battles; Pericles besieged the capital of the island of Samos. It is said, that this was the first time he used military engines, as battering-rams and tortoises, invented by Artemon the engineer, who was lame, and therefore was always carried in a chair to the batteries; whence he was surnamed Periphoretus. The use of these machines had long been known in the East. The Samians, after sustaining a siege, of nine months, surrendered; Pericles demolished their walls, dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expenses of the war. Part of this sum they paid down; agreed to disburse the rest at a certain time, and gave hostages by way of security for the payment.†

After the reduction of Samos, Pericles being returned to Athens, buried in a splendid manner all who had lost their lives in this war, and pronounced in person the funeral oration over their graves. This custom, which he first introduced, was afterwards regularly observed. The senate of the Areopagus always appointed the orator on these occasions. He was chosen, ten years after, for the like ceremony, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

Pericles, who foresaw that a rupture would soon ensue between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, advised the former to send aid to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians had invaded; and to win over to their interest that island, which was so very formidable at sea: foretelling them that they should be attacked by the Peloponnesians. The occasion of the quarrel between the people of Corcyra and Corinth, which gave rise to that of Peloponnesus, one of the most considerable events in the Grecian history, was as follows.‡

Epidamnus,§ a maritime city of Macedonia among the Taulantians, was a colony of Corcyrans, founded by Phalius of Corinth. This city growing in time, very large and populous, divisions arose in it, and the common people expelled the most wealthy inhabitants, who went over to the neighbouring nations, and infested them greatly with their incursions. In this extremity they first had recourse to the Corcyrans, and being refused by them, they addressed the Corinthians, who took them under their protection, sent succours to, and settled other inhabitants in it. But they did not continue long unmolested there, the Corcyrans besieged it with a large fleet. The people of Corinth hastened to its aid, but having been defeated at sea, the city surrendered that very day, upon condition that the foreigners should be slaves, and the Corinthians prisoners, till farther orders. The Corcyrans erected a trophy, murdered all their prisoners except the Corinthians, and laid waste the whole country.

The year after the battle, the Corinthians raised a greater army than the former, and fitted out a new fleet. The people of Corcyra, finding it would be impossible for them alone to resist such powerful enemies, sent to the Athenians to desire their alliance. The treaty of peace, concluded between the states of Greece, left such Grecian cities as had not declared themselves, the liberty of joining whom they pleased, or of standing neutral. This the Corcyrans had hitherto done; judging it their interest not to espouse any party; in consequence of which they had hitherto been without allies. They now sent for this purpose to Athens, which coming to the knowledge of the Corinthians, they also sent deputies thither. The affair was debated with great warmth in presence of the people, who heard the reasons on both sides, and it was twice put to the vote in the assembly. The Athenians declared the first time in favour of the Corinthians; but afterwards changing their opinion

* A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 44⁶. Thucyd. l. i. p. 75. Diod. p. 87.

† A. M. 3564. Ant. J. C. 440. Thucyd. l. i. p. 75, 76. Diod. l. xii. p. 88, 89. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165—167.

‡ A. M. 3572. Ant. J. C. 432. Thucyd. l. i. p. 17—37. Diod. l. xii. p. 90—93. Plut. in Pericl. p. 167.

§ This city was afterwards call'd Byrrachium.

(doubtless on the remonstrances of Pericles,) they received the Corcyrans into their alliance. However, they did not go so far as to conclude a league offensive and defensive with them, for they could not declare war against Corinth, without breaking at the same time with all Peloponnesus; but only agreed to succour each other mutually, in case they should be attacked, either personally, or in their allies. Their real design was, to set these two states, very powerful by sea, at variance; and after each should have exhausted the other by a tedious war, to triumph over the weakest: for, at that time, there were but three states in Greece, who possessed powerful fleets; and these were, Athens, Corinth, and Corcyra. They also had a design on Italy and Sicily, which their taking the island of Corcyra would very much promote.

On this plan they concluded an alliance with the Corcyrans, and accordingly sent them ten galleys, but with an order for them not to engage the Corinthians, unless they should first invade the island of Corcyra, or some other place belonging to their allies; this precaution was used, in order that the articles of the truce might not be infringed.

But it was very difficult to obey their orders. A battle was fought between the Corcyrans and the Corinthians near the island of Sybota, opposite to Corcyra. It was one of the most considerable, with regard to the number of ships, that ever was fought between the Greeks. The advantage was almost equal on both sides. About the end of the battle, as night was drawing on, twenty Athenian galleys came up. The Corcyrans, with this reinforcement, sailed the next morning by day-break towards the port of Sybota, whither the Corinthians had retired, to see if they would venture a second engagement. The latter, however, contented themselves with sailing away in order of battle without fighting. Both parties erected a trophy in the island of Sybota, each claiming the victory to themselves.

From this war arose another, which occasioned an open rupture between the Athenians and Corinthians, and afterwards the war of Peloponnesus. Potidæa, a city of Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, which sent magistrates thither annually; but it was dependent at that time on Athens, and paid tribute to it. The Athenians, fearing this city would revolt, and prevail with the rest of the Thracian allies to join them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side next Pallene; to deliver hostages to them as sureties for their fidelity; and to send back the magistrates which Corinth had given them.* Demands of so unjust a nature only fomented the revolt. The Potidæans declared against the Athenians, and several neighbouring cities followed their example. Both Athens and Corinth armed and sent forces thither. The two armies engaged near Potidæa, and that of the Athenians had the advantage. Alcibiades, who was then very young, and Socrates, his master, signalized themselves on this occasion. It is something very singular, to see a philosopher put on his coat of mail, as well as to consider his behaviour and conduct in a battle. There was not a soldier in the whole army who so resolutely supported all the toils and fatigues of the campaign as Socrates. Hunger, thirst, and cold, were enemies he had long accustomed himself to despise and subdue with ease. Thrace, the scene of this expedition, was a frozen region. While the other soldiers, covered with thick clothes and warm furs, lay close in their tents, and scarcely ever dared to stir out of them, Socrates used to come into the open air as thin clad as usual, and bare-footed. His gayety and wit were the life of all tables, and induced others to push the glass round cheerfully, though he himself never drank wine to excess. When the armies engaged, he performed his duty to a miracle. Alcibiades having been thrown down and wounded, Socrates placed himself before him, defended him valiantly, and, in sight of the whole army, prevented him and his arms from being taken by the enemy. The prize of valour was justly due to Socrates; but as the generals seemed inclined to decree it to Alcibiades, on account of his illustrious birth, Socrates, who only sought for opportunities to inflame him with desire of true glory, contributed more than any other person, by the noble eulogy he made on his courage, to cause the crown and complete suit of armour, which was the prize of valour, to be adjudged to Alcibiades.†

Notwithstanding the loss which the Corinthians had sustained in the battle, the inhabitants of Potidæa did not change their conduct. The city was therefore besieged. The Corinthians, fearing to lose a place of so much importance, addressed their allies in the strongest terms; who all, in conjunction with them, sent a deputation to Lace-

* Thucyd. l. i. p. 37—42. Diod. l. xii. p. 93, 94.

† Plut. in Conviv. p. 219, 220. Plut. in Alcib. p. 194.

dæmon, to complain of the Athenians as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians admitted them to audience in one of their ordinary assemblies. The people of Ægina, though very much disgusted at the Athenians, did not send a deputation publicly thither, for fear of giving umbrage to a republic to which they were subject; but they acted in secret as strenuously as the rest. The Megarians complained vehemently against the Athenians, that, contrary to the law of nations, and in violation of the treaty concluded between the Greeks, they had prohibited them, by a public decree, access to their fairs and markets, and excluded them from all the ports dependent on them.* By that decree, according to Plutarch,† the Athenians declared an eternal and irreconcilable hatred against Megara; and ordained that all Megarians should be put to death that set foot in Athens; and that all the Athenian generals, when they took the usual oath, should swear expressly, that they would send a body of soldiers twice a year, to lay waste the territories of that hostile city.‡

The chief complaints were made by the Corinthian ambassador, who spoke with the utmost force and freedom. He represented to the Lacedæmonians, that as they themselves never swerved from the most inviolable integrity, either in public or private transactions, they for that very reason, were less suspicious of the probity of others; and that their own moderation prevented their discovering the ambition of their enemies: that instead of flying with instant activity to meet dangers and calamities, they never attempted to remedy them, till they were quite crushed by them: that by their indolence and supineness, they had given the Athenians an opportunity of attaining, by insensible degrees, their present height of grandeur and power. That it was quite different with regard to the Athenians. "That this active, vigilant, and indefatigable people, were never at rest themselves, nor would suffer any other nation to be so. Employed," says he, "wholly in their projects, they form only such as are of the greatest and most intrepid nature: their deliberations are speedy, and their execution the same. One enterprise serves only as a step to a second. Whether they are successful or unfortunate, they turn every thing to their advantage; and never stop in their career, or are discouraged. But you, who are oppressed by such formidable enemies, are lulled asleep in a fatal tranquillity; and do not reflect, that a man who desires to live calm and at ease, must not only forbear injuring others, but also hinder any one from injuring himself; and that justice consists not only in forbearing to commit evil ourselves, but in avenging that done to us by others. Shall I be so free as to say it? Your integrity is of too antique a cast for the present state of affairs. It is necessary for men, in politics as well as in all other things, to conform always to the times. When a people are at peace, they may follow their ancient maxims; but when they are involved in a variety of difficulties, they must try expedients, and set every engine at work to extricate themselves. It was by these arts that the Athenians have increased their power so much. Had you imitated their activity, they would not have dispossessed us of Coreyra, and would not now be laying siege to Potidæa. Follow their example on this occasion, by succouring the Potidæans and the rest of your allies, as your duty obliges you; and do not force your friends and neighbours, by forsaking them, to have recourse out of despair to other powers."

The Athenian ambassador, who had come to Sparta upon other affairs, and was in the assembly, did not think it advisable to let this speech go unanswered; but put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the still recent services that the republic, by which he was sent, had done to all Greece, which, he said, merited some regard; and that therefore it ought not to be envied, much less should endeavours be used to lessen its power. That the Athenians should not be charged with having usurped an empire over Greece; since it was merely at the entreaty of their allies, and in some measure with the consent of Sparta, that they had been forced to take the abandoned helm; that those who murmured, did it without grounds, and only from the aversion which mankind in general have to dependence and subjection, though of the gentlest and most equitable kind: that he exhorted them to employ a sufficient time in deliberating, before, they came to a resolution, and not involve themselves and all Greece in a war,

* Thueyd. l. i. p. 43—59.

† According to Plutarch, some persons pretended that Pericles had caused this decree to be enacted, to revenge the private injury done to Aspasia, from whose house the people of Megara had carried off two courtizans; and he cites some verses of Aristophanes, who, in a comedy entitled the Acharnians, reproaches Pericles with this action. But Thueydides, a cotemporary author, and who was very well acquainted with all the transactions of Athens, does not say a word of this affair, and he is much more worthy of belief than a poet who was a professed sycophant and satirist.

‡ Plut. in Pericl. p. 168.

which would necessarily be attended with the most fatal consequences. That gentle methods might be found for terminating the differences of the allies, without coming at once to open violence. However, that the Athenians, in case of an invasion, were able to oppose force with force, and would prepare for a vigorous defence, after having invoked against Sparta, the deities who take vengeance on those who forswear themselves, and who violate the faith of treaties.

The ambassadors having withdrawn, and the affair being debated, the majority were for war. But before it passed into an act, Archidamus king of Sparta, setting himself above those prejudices which so strongly biassed the rest, and directing his views to futurity, made a speech, in which he set forth the dreadful consequences of the war in which they were about to embark; showed the strength of the Athenians; exhorted them first to try gentle methods, which they themselves had seemed to approve; but to make, in the mean time, the necessary preparations for carrying on so important an enterprise, and not to be under any apprehensions, that their moderation and delays would be branded with the name of cowardice, since their past actions secured them from any suspicion of that kind.

But, notwithstanding all these wise expostulations, a war was resolved on. The people caused the allies to return into the assembly, and declared to them, that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors: but that it would be expedient first to assemble all those who were in the alliance, in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously. This decree of the Lacedæmonians was made in the fourteenth year of the truce, and was not owing so much to the complaints of the allies, as to the jealousy of the Athenian power, which had already subjected a considerable part of Greece.

Accordingly, the allies were convened a second time. They all gave their votes, in their several turns, from the greatest city to the least, and war was resolved on by general consent. However, as they had not yet made any preparations, it was judged adviseable to begin them immediately; and while this was doing, in order to gain time, and observe the necessary formalities, to send ambassadors to Athens, to complain of the violation of the treaty.*

The first who was sent thither, revived an ancient complaint, which required of the Athenians to expel from their city the descendants of those who had profaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of Cylon.† As Pericles was of that family by the mother's side, the purpose of the Lacedæmonians, in their making this demand, was either to procure his banishment, or lessen his authority. However, it was not complied with. The second ambassadors required that the siege of Potidæa should be raised, and the liberty of Ægina restored, and above all, that the decree against the Megarians should be repealed; declaring that otherwise no accommodation could take place. In fine, a third ambassador came, who took no notice of any of these particulars, but only said, that the Lacedæmonians were for peace; but that this could never be, except the Athenians should cease to infringe the liberties of Greece.

SECTION XIV.—TROUBLES EXCITED AGAINST PERICLES, &c.

PERICLES opposed all these demands with great vigour, and especially that relating to the Megarians.‡ He had great influence in Athens, and at the same time had many enemies. Not daring to attack him, first in person, they cited his most intimate friends, and those for whom he had the greatest esteem, as Phidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras, before the people; and their design in this was, to sound how the people stood affected towards Pericles himself.

Phidias was accused of having embezzled considerable sums in casting the statue of Minerva, which was his master-piece. The prosecution having been carried on with the usual forms, before the assembly of the people, not a single proof of Phidias's pretended embezzlement appeared: for that artist, on beginning the statue, had, by the advice of Pericles, contrived the workmanship of the gold in such a manner, that all of it might be taken off and weighed; which accordingly Pericles bid the informers do in the presence of all the spectators. But Phidias had witnesses against him, the truth of whose evidence he could neither dispute nor silence; these were the fame

* Thueyd. l. i. p. 77—84, et 93.

† This Cylon seized on the citadel of Athens above one hundred years before. Those who followed him, being besieged in it, and reduced to extreme famine, fled for shelter to the temple of Minerva; where they afterwards were taken out by force, and cut to pieces. Those who advised this murder were declared guilty of impiety and sacrilege, and as such banished. They were, however, recalled some time after.

‡ Plut. in Pericl. 168, 169.

and beauty of his works, the ever-existing causes of the envy which attacked him. The circumstance which they could least forgive in him was, his having represented to the life, in the battle of the Amazons, engraved on the shield of the goddess, his own person, and that of Pericles:* and, by an imperceptible art, he had so blended and incorporated these figures with the whole work, that it was impossible to erase them, without disfiguring and taking to pieces the whole statue. Phidias was therefore dragged to prison, where he came to his end, either by the common course of nature or by poison. Other authors say, that he was only banished, and that after his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia. It is not possible to excuse in any manner the ingratitude of the Athenians, in thus making a prison or death, the reward of a master-piece of art; nor their excessive rigour, in punishing, as a capital crime, an action that appears innocent in itself; or, which, to make the worst of it, was a vanity very pardonable in so great an artist.

Aspasia, a native of Miletus in Asia, had settled in Athens, where she was become very famous, not so much for the charms of her person, as for her vivacity and solidity of wit, and her great knowledge. All the illustrious men in the city thought it an honour to frequent her house. Socrates himself used to visit her constantly; and was not ashamed to pass for her pupil, and to own that he had learned rhetoric from her. Pericles declared also, that he was obliged to Aspasia for his eloquence, which so greatly distinguished him in Athens; and that it was from her conversation he had imbibed the principles of the art of policy; for she was exceedingly well versed in the maxims of government. Their intimacy was owing to still greater motives. Pericles did not love his wife; he resigned her very freely to another man, and supplied her place with Aspasia, whom he loved passionately, though her reputation was more than suspicious. Aspasia was therefore accused of impiety and dissolute conduct; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Pericles saved her, by his entreaties, and by the compassion he had raised in the judges, by shedding abundance of tears while her cause was pleading; a behaviour little consistent with the dignity of his character, and the rank of the supreme head of the most powerful state of Greece.†

A decree had passed, by which informations were ordered to be taken out against all such persons as denied what was ascribed to the ministry of the gods; or those philosophers and others who taught preternatural things, and the motions of the heavens, doctrines on this occasion considered injurious to the established religion.‡ The scope and aim of this decree was, to render Pericles suspected with regard to those matters, because Anaxgoras had been his master. This Philosopher taught, that one only Intelligence had modified the chaos, and disposed the universe in the beautiful order in which we now see it; which tended directly to depreciate the gods of the pagan system. Pericles, thinking it would be impossible for him to save his life, sent him out of the city to a place of safety.

The enemies of Pericles seeing that the people approved and received with pleasure all these accusations, impeached that great man himself, and charged him with embezzling the public moneys during his administration. A decree was made, by which Pericles was obliged to give in his accounts immediately; was to be tried for oppression and rapine; and the cause to be adjudged by fifteen hundred judges. Pericles had not real cause of fear, because, in the administration of the public affairs, his conduct had always been irreproachable, especially on the side of interest: he could not however but be under some apprehensions from the ill-will of the people, when he considered their great levity and inconstancy. One day when Alcibiades, then very young, went to visit Pericles, he was told that he was not to be spoken with, because of some affairs of great consequence in which he was then engaged. Alcibiades inquiring what these great affairs were, was answered, that Pericles was preparing to give in his accounts. "He should rather," said Alcibiades, "not give them in:" and indeed this was what Pericles at last resolved. To allay the storm, he resolved to oppose the inclination the people discovered for the Peloponnesian war no longer, preparations for which had been long carrying on, firmly persuaded that this would soon silence all complaints against him; that envy would soon yield to a more powerful motive; and that the citizens, when in such imminent danger, would not fail of throwing

* Aristot. in Tractat de Mund. n. 613.

† Plut. in Menex. p. 235.

‡ Τὴ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας, ἡλόγως περὶ τῶν μερῶν διδύσκοντας. Anaxgoras teaching, that the divine Intelligence alone gave a regular motion to all the parts of nature, and presided in the government of the universe, destroyed, by that system, the plurality of gods, their powers, and all the peculiar functions which were ascribed to them.

themselves into his arms, and submit implicitly to his conduct, from his great power and exalted reputation.

This is what some historians have related; and the comic poets, in the life-time, and under the eye as it were of Pericles, spread such a report in public, to sully, if possible, his reputation and merit, which drew upon him the envy and enmity of many. Plutarch, on this occasion, makes a reflection which may be of great service, not only to those in the administration of public affairs, but to all persons, as well as of advantage in the ordinary commerce of life. He thinks it strange, when actions are good in themselves, and manifestly laudable in all respects, that men, merely to discredit illustrious personages, should pretend to dive into their hearts; and from a spirit of the vilest and most abject malice, should ascribe such views and intentions to them, as they possibly never so much as imagined. He, on the contrary, wishes, when the motive is obscure, and the same action may be considered in different lights, that men would always view it most favourably and incline to judge candidly of it. He applies this maxim to the reports which had been spread concerning Pericles, as the fomentor of the Peloponnesian war, merely for private views of interest; whereas the whole tenor of his past conduct ought to have convinced every body, that it was wholly from reasons of state, and for the good of the public, that he at last acquiesced in an opinion, which he had hitherto thought it incumbent on him to oppose.*

While this affair was carrying on at Athens, the Lacedæmonians sent several embassies thither, one after another, to make the various demands above mentioned. At last the affair was debated in the assembly of the people, and it was resolved that they should first deliberate upon all the articles, before they gave a positive answer. Opinions, as is usual in these cases, were divided; and some were for abolishing the decree enacted against Megara which seemed the chief obstacle to the peace.†

Pericles spoke on this occasion with the utmost force of eloquence, which his view to the public welfare, and the honour of his country rendered more vehement and triumphant than it had ever appeared before. He showed, in the first place, that the decree relating to Megara, on which the greatest stress was laid, was not of so little consequence as they imagined: that the demand made by the Lacedæmonians on that head, was merely to sound the disposition of the Athenians, and to try whether it would be possible to frighten them out of their design; that should they recede on this occasion, it would betray fear and weakness; that the affair was of no less importance than the giving up to the Lacedæmonians the empire which the Athenians had possessed during so many years, by their courage and resolution: that should the Athenians submit on this occasion, the Lacedæmonians would immediately prescribe new laws to them, as to a people seized with dread; whereas, if they made a vigorous resistance, their opponents would be obliged to treat them, at least as equals: that with regard to the present matter in dispute, arbiters might be chosen, in order to adjust them in an amicable way; but that it did not become the Lacedæmonians to command the Athenians, in an imperious way, to quit Potidæa, to free Ægina, and to revoke the decree relating to Megara: that such imperious behaviour was directly contrary to the treaty, which declared in express terms, "that should any disputes arise among the allies, they should be decided by pacific means, AND WITHOUT ANY PARTY'S BEING OBLIGED TO GIVE UP ANY PART OF WHAT THEY POSSESSED:" that the surest way to prevent a government from perpetually contesting its possessions is to take up arms and dispute its rights by the sword: that the Athenians had just reason to believe they would gain their cause this way; and to give them a stronger idea of this truth, he set before them in the most pompous light, the present state of Athens, giving a very particular account of its treasures, revenues, fleets, land as well as sea forces, and those of its allies; contrasting these several things with the poverty of the Lacedæmonians, who, he said, had no money, which is the sinews of war, not to mention the poor condition of their navy, on which they most depended. And indeed it appeared by the treasury, that the Athenians had brought from Delos to their city nine thousand six hundred talents, which amount to more than five millions, three hundred thousand dollars. The annual contributions of the allies amount to four hundred and sixty talents.‡ In cases of necessity, the Athenians would find infinite resources from the ornaments of the temples, since those of the statue of Minerva alone amounted to fifty talents of gold, which might

* Plut. de Herod. Malign. p. 855, 856.

† Thucyd. l. i. p. 93—99. Diod. l. xii. p. 95—97.

‡ § 262, 500.

be taken from the statue without spoiling it in any manner, and be afterwards fixed on again in more auspicious times. With regard to the land-forces, they amounted to very near thirty thousand men, and the fleet consisted of three hundred galleys. Above all, he advised them not to venture a battle in their own country against the Peloponnesians, whose troops were superior in number to theirs; not to regard the laying waste of their lands, as they might easily be restored to their former condition; but to consider the loss of their men as highly important, because irremediable; to make their whole policy consist in defending their city, and preserving the empire of the sea, which would certainly one day give them the superiority over their enemies. He laid down the plan for carrying on the war, not for a single campaign, but during the whole time it might last; and enumerated the evils they had to fear, if they deviated from that system. After adding other considerations, taken from the genius or character, and the internal government of the two republics; the one uncertain and fluctuating in its deliberations, and rendered still slower in the execution, from its being obliged to wait for the consent of its allies; the other speedy, determinate, independent, and mistress of its resolutions, which is no indifferent circumstance with regard to the success of enterprises, Pericles concluded his speech, and gave his opinion as follows: "we have no more to do but to dismiss the ambassadors, and to give them this answer, that we permit those of Megara to trade with Athens, upon condition that the Lacedæmonians do not prohibit either us, or our allies, to trade with them. With regard to the cities of Greece, we shall leave those free who were so at the time of our agreement, provided they shall do the same with regard to those dependent on them. We do not refuse to submit the decision of our differences to arbitration, and will not commit the first hostilities; however, in case of being attacked, we shall make a vigorous defence."*

The ambassadors were answered as Pericles had dictated. They returned home, and never came again to Athens; soon after which the Peloponnesian war broke out.

CHAPTER II.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE GREEKS IN SICILY AND ITALY.

As the Peloponnesian war is a great event, of considerable duration, before I enter on the history of it, it may be proper to relate, in few words, the most considerable transactions which had happened in Grecia Major, to the time we now speak of, whether in Sicily or Italy.

SECTION I.—THE CARTHAGINIANS DEFEATED IN SICILY. OF GELON AND HIS TWO BROTHERS.

I. GELON. We have seen that Xerxes, whose design was no less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, had prevailed with the Carthaginians to make war against the people of Sicily. They landed in it an army of above three hundred thousand men, and sent thither a fleet of two thousand ships, and upwards of three thousand small vessels for the baggage, &c. Hamilcar, the ablest of the Carthaginian generals at that time, was charged with this expedition. However, the success was not answerable to these mighty preparations; the Carthaginians were entirely defeated by Gelon, who at that time had the chief authority in Syracuse.†

This Gelon was born in a city of Sicily, situated on the southern coast, between Agrigentum and Camarina, called Gela, whence perhaps he received his name. He had signalized himself very much in the wars which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on against the neighbouring powers, most of whom he subdued, and was very near taking Syracuse. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, upon pretence of defending the rights and possession of the tyrant's children, took up arms against his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, possessed himself of the government in his own name. Some time after, he made himself also master of Syracuse, by the assistance of some exiles, whom he had caused to return into it, and who had engaged the populace to open the gates of that city to him. He then gave Gela to Hiero his brother, and applied himself wholly in extending the limits of the territory of Syracuse, and soon rendered himself very powerful. We may form a judgment of this from the army which he offered the Grecian ambassadors, who

* Diod. l. xii. p. 96, 97.

† A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Diod. l. xi. p. 1, et 16, 22.

came to desire his aid against the king of Persia; and by his demand of being appointed generalissimo of all their forces, which, however, they refused.* The fear he was in at that time of being soon invaded by the Carthaginians, was the chief occasion of his not succouring the Greeks. He was extremely politic in his conduct; and when news was brought him of Xerxes's having crossed the Hellespont, he sent a trusty person with rich presents, with orders for him to wait the issue of the first battle, and in case Xerxes should be victorious, to pay homage to him in his name, otherwise to bring back the money.† I now return to the Carthaginians.

They landed in Sicily at the earnest solicitations of Terillus, formerly tyrant of Himera, but dethroned by Theron, another tyrant, who reigned at Agrigentum. The family of the latter was one of the most illustrious of all Greece, being descended in a direct line from Cadmus. He married into the family which at that time ruled at Syracuse, and which consisted of four brothers, Gelon, Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus. He married his daughter to the first, and himself married the daughter of the third.

Hamilcar having landed at Panormus, began by laying siege to Himera. Gelon hastened with a great army to the succour of his father-in-law; and uniting, they defeated the Carthaginians. This perhaps was the most complete victory ever gained.

The battle was fought the same day with that of Thermopylæ,‡ the circumstances of which I have related in the history of the Carthaginians. One remarkable circumstance in the conditions of the peace which Gelon prescribed to the conquered, was, that they should cease to sacrifice their children to the god Saturn; which shows, at the same time, the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the piety of Gelon.§

The spoils won on this occasion were of immense value. Gelon allotted the greatest part of them for the ornament of the temples in Syracuse. They also took an incredible number of prisoners. These he shared, with the utmost equity, with his allies, who employed them, after putting irons on their feet, in cultivating their lands, and in building magnificent edifices, as well for the ornament as the utility of the cities. Many of the citizens of Agrigentum had each five hundred for his own share.

Gelon, after so glorious a victory, so far from growing more proud and haughty, behaved with greater affability and humanity than ever towards the citizens and his allies.|| On his return from the campaign, he convened the assembly of the Syracusans, who were ordered to come armed. He however, came unarmed thither; declared to the assembly every step of his conduct; the uses to which he had applied the several sums with which he had been intrusted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that if they had any complaints to make against him, his person and life were at their disposal. All the people, struck with so unexpected a speech, and still more with the unusual confidence he reposed in them, answered by acclamations of joy, praise, and gratitude; and immediately, with one consent, invested him with the supreme authority, and the title of king. And to preserve to the latest posterity, the remembrance of Gelon's memorable action, who had come into the assembly, and put his life into the hands of the Syracusans, they erected a statue in honour of him, wherein he was represented in the ordinary habit of a citizen, ungirded, and unarmed. This statue afterwards met with a very singular fate, and worthy of the motives which had occasioned its being set up. Timoleon, above a hundred and thirty years after, having restored the Syracusans to their liberty, thought it adviseable, in order to erase from it all traces of tyrannical government, and at the same time to assist the wants of the people, to sell publicly all the statues of those princes and tyrants who had governed it till that time. But first he brought them to a trial, as so many criminals; hearing the depositions and witnesses upon each of them. They all were condemned unanimously, the statue of Gelon only excepted, which found an eloquent advocate and defender, in the warm and sincere gratitude which the citizens retained for that great man, whose virtue they revered as if he had been still alive.

The Syracusans had no cause to repent their having intrusted Gelon with unlimited power and authority. This did not add to his known zeal for their interests, but

* He promised to furnish to hundred ships, and thirty thousand men. † Herod. l. vii. c. 153—167.

‡ Herodotus says, that this battle was fought on the same day with that of Salamin, which does not appear so probable. For the Greeks, informed of Gelon's successes, entreated them to succour them against Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamin, which exalted their courage so much, that after this battle, they imagined themselves strong enough to resist their enemies, and to put an end to the war, to their own advantage, without the assistance of any other power.

§ Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

|| A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479. Plut. in Timol. p. 247. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 37.

only enabled him to do them more important services. For, by a change till then unheard of, and of which Tacitus found no example, except in Vespasian, he was the first whom sovereignty made a better man.* He made upwards of ten thousand foreigners, who had served under him, denizens. His views were, to people the capital, to increase the power of the state, to reward the services of his brave and faithful soldiers; and to attach them more strongly to Syracuse, from the sense of the advantageous settlement they had obtained in being incorporated with the citizens.†

He was particularly famous for his inviolable sincerity, truth, and fidelity to his engagements; a quality very essential to a prince, the only one capable of gaining him the love and confidence of his subjects and of foreigners, and which therefore ought to be considered as the basis of all just policy and good government. Having occasion for money to carry on an expedition he meditated, which, very probably was before he had triumphed over the Carthaginians, he addressed the people, in order to obtain a contribution from them; but finding the Syracusans unwilling to be at that expense, he told them, that he asked nothing but a loan, and that he would engage to repay it as soon as the war should be over. †The money was advanced, and repaid punctually at the promised time.‡ How happy is that government where such justice and equity are exercised! and how mistaken are those ministers and princes, who violate them in the slightest degree!

One of the chief subjects of his attention, and in which his successor imitated him, was to make the cultivation of the lands be considered as an honourable employment.§ It is well known how fruitful Sicily was in corn, and the immense revenues which might be produced from so rich a soil when industriously cultivated. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, and delighted sometimes in appearing at their head, in the same manner as on other occasions he had marched at the head of armies. "His intention," says Plutarch, "was not merely to make the country rich and fruitful, but also to exercise his subjects, to accustom and inure them to toils, and by these means to preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably follow a soft and indolent life." There are few maxims, in point of policy, on which the ancients have insisted more strongly, than on that relating to the cultivation of their lands; a manifest proof of their great wisdom, and the profound knowledge they had of what constitutes the strength and solid happiness of a state. Xenophon, in a dialogue, entitled Hiero, the subject of which is government, shows the great advantage it would be to a state, were the king studious to reward those who should excel in husbandry, and what relates to the cultivation of lands. He says the same of war, of trade, and of all the arts; on which occasion, if honours were paid to all those who should distinguish themselves in them, it would give universal life and motion; would excite a noble and laudable emulation among the citizens, and give rise to a thousand inventions for the improvement of those arts.||

It does not appear that Gelon had been educated in the same manner as the children of the rich among the Grecians, who were taught music and the art of playing on instruments very carefully. Possibly this was because of his mean birth, or rather of the little value he set on those kinds of exercises. One day at an entertainment, according to the usual custom, a lyre was presented to each of the guests; when it was Gelon's turn, instead of touching the instrument as the rest had done, he caused his horse to be brought, mounted him with wonderful agility and grace, and showed that he had learned a nobler exercise than playing on the lyre.¶

**From the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, the several cities of it enjoyed a profound peace, and Syracuse was particularly happy in its tranquillity, under the auspicious government of Gelon. He was not born in Syracuse, and yet all the inhabitants of that city, though so extremely jealous of their liberty, had forced him in a manner to be their king. Though an alien, the supreme power was conferred on him, unsought by any art or inducement other than that of merit. Gelon was thoroughly acquainted with all the duties of the regal office, as well as its great weight; and he accepted it with no other view than the good of his people. He thought himself only king for the defence of the state, to preserve the good order of society, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit to all his subjects, in his simple, modest, active, and regular life, a pattern of every civil virtue. The whole of royalty that he assumed were the toils and cares of it, a zeal for the public welfare, and the great

* Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est. — Hist. l. i. c. 50.

† Diod. l. xi. p. 55.

‡ Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

§ Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

|| Xenoph. p. 915, 917.

¶ Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

** Diod. l. xi. p. 29, 30.

satisfaction which results from making millions happy by his cares: in a word, he considered the sovereignty as an obligation, and a means to procure the felicity of a greater number of men. He banished from it pomp, ostentation, licentiousness, and impunity for crimes. He did not affect the appearance of reigning, but contented himself with making the laws to govern. He never made his inferiors feel that he was their master, but only inculcated on them, that both himself and they ought to submit to reason and justice. To induce their obedience, he employed no other methods than persuasion and a good example, which are the weapons of virtue, and alone produce a sincere and uninterrupted obedience.

A revered old age, a name highly dear to all his subjects, a reputation extended through the world, were the fruits of that wisdom which he retained on the throne through life. His reign was short, and only just showed him in a manner to Sicily, to exhibit in his person an example of a great, good, and true king. To the infinite regret of all his subjects, he left the world, after having reigned only seven years. Every family imagined itself deprived of its best friend, its protector and father. The people erected, in the place where his wife Demarata had been buried, a splendid mausoleum, surrounded with nine towers of a surprising height and magnificence; and decreed those honours to him, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demolished the mausoleum, and Agathocles the towers; "but," says the historian, "neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all grocer things, could destroy the glory of his name, or abolish the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved on the hearts of the Sicilians."

II. **HIERO.** After Gelon's death, the sceptre continued nearly twelve years in his family: he was succeeded by Hiero, his eldest brother.*

It will be necessary for us, in order to reconcile the authors who have written about this prince, some of whom declare him to have been a good king, and others a detestable tyrant, to distinguish the periods. It is very probable that Hiero, dazzled, in the beginning of his reign, by the glitter of sovereign power, and corrupted by the flattery of his courtiers, studiously endeavoured to deviate from that path which his predecessor had pointed out to him, and in which he had found himself so happy. This young prince was avaricious, headstrong, unjust, and studious of nothing but the gratification of his passions, without ever endeavouring to acquire the esteem and affection of the people; who on their side, had the utmost aversion for a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them, rather than as a king; and nothing but the veneration they had for Gelon's memory, prevented it from breaking out.†

Some time after he had ascended the throne, he had violent suspicions of Polyzelus his brother, whose great credit among the citizens made him fear that he designed to depose him. In order however, to rid himself without noise of an enemy whom he fancied very dangerous, he resolved to put him at the head of some forces he was about to send to the succour of the Sibarites against the Crotonians, hoping that he would perish in the expedition. His brother's refusal to accept this command, made him the more violent against him.‡ Theron, who had married the daughter of Polyzelus, joined with his father-in-law. This gave rise to great differences of long duration between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum; they however were at last reconciled by the wise mediation of Simonides the poet, and to make their reconciliation lasting, they cemented it by a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's sister; after which the two kings always lived on good terms with each other.§

At first an infirm state of health, which was increased by frequent indispositions, gave Hiero an opportunity of thinking seriously; after which he resolved to send for men of learning, who might converse agreeably with him, and furnish him with useful instructions. The most famous poets of the age came to his court, as Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus; and it is affirmed that their delightful conversation did not a little contribute to soften the cruel and savage disposition of Hiero.||

Plutarch relates a noble saying of his, which shows an excellent disposition in a prince. He declared, that his palace and his ears should be always open to every man who would tell him the truth, and that without disguise or reserve.¶

The poets above-mentioned excelled not only in poetry, but were also possessed of a great fund of learning, and were respected and consulted as the sages of their times.

* A. M. 3532. Ant J. C. 472.

+ Diod. l. xi. p. 51.

† Diod. l. xi. p. 56.

§ Schol. in Pind.

|| Ælian. l. iv. c. 15.

¶ Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

This is what Cicero says particularly of Simonides.* He had a great influence over the king; and the only use he made of it, was to incline him to virtue.

They often used to converse on philosophical subjects. I observed on another occasion, that Hiero, in one of those conversations, asked Simonides his opinion with regard to the nature and attributes of the Deity. The latter desired one day's time to consider of it; the next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion. The prince pressing him to give his reasons for these delays, he confessed that the subject was above his comprehension, and that the more he reflected, the more obscure it appeared to him.†

Xenophon has left us an excellent treatise on the art of governing well, entitled Hiero, and written as a dialogue between this prince and Simonides. Hiero undertakes to prove to the poet, that tyrants and kings are not so happy as is generally imagined. Among the great number of proofs alleged by him, he insists chiefly on their vast unhappiness in being deprived of the greatest comfort and blessing in this life, viz. the enjoyment of a true friend, to whose bosom they may safely confide their secrets and afflictions; who may share with them in their joy and sorrow; in a word, a second self, who may form but one heart, one soul with them. Simonides, on the other side, lays down admirable maxims with respect to the well governing of a kingdom. He represents to him, that a king is not so for himself, but for others: that his grandeur consists, not in building magnificent palaces for his own residence, but in erecting temples, and fortifying and embellishing cities; that it is his glory, not that his people should fear, but be afraid for him: that a truly royal care is, not to enter the lists with the first comer at the Olympic games, for the princes of that age were passionately fond of them, and especially Hiero,‡ but to contend with the neighbouring kings, who should succeed best in diffusing wealth and abundance throughout his dominions, and in endeavouring to form the felicity of his people.

Nevertheless, another poet, Pindar, praises Hiero for the victory he had won in the horse-race. "This prince," says he, in his ode, "who governs with equity the inhabitants of opulent Sicily, has gathered the fairest flowers in the garden of virtue. He takes a noble delight in the most exquisite performance of poetry and music. He loves melodious airs, such as it is customary for us to play at the banquets given us by our dearest friends. Then rouse yourself, take your lyre, and raise it to the Doric pitch. If you feel yourself animated by a glorious fire in favour of Pisa and Phereñice;§ if they have waked the sweetest transports in thy breast, when that generous courser, without being quickened by the spur, flew along the banks of the Alpheus, and carried his royal rider to glorious victory: O! sing the king of Syracuse, the ornament of the Olympic course!"

The whole ode, translated by the late Mr. Massieu, is in the sixth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, from which I have made the short extract above. I was very glad to give the readers some idea of Pindar, by this little specimen.

The next ode to this was composed in honour of Theron, king of Agrigentum, victorious in the chariot-race. The diction of it is so sublime, the thoughts so noble, and the moral so pure, that many look upon it as Pindar's master-piece.

I cannot say how far we may depend on the rest of the praises which Pindar gives Hiero, for poets are not always very sincere in the eulogies they bestow on princes: however, it is certain that Hiero, had made his court the resort of all persons of wit and genius; and that he had invited them to it by his affability and engaging behaviour, and much more by his liberality, which is a great merit in a king.

We cannot bestow on Hiero's court the eulogy which Horace gives the house of Mæcenas, in which a character prevailed rarely found among scholars, and nevertheless worth all their erudition. In this amiable house, says Horace, the mean and grovelling sentiments of envy and jealousy were utterly unknown; and men saw, in those who shared in the master's favour, a superior merit or credit, without taking the least umbrage at it.¶ But it was far otherwise in the court of Hiero, or of Theron.

* Simonides, non poeta solum suavis, verum etiam cæteroque doctus sapiensque traditur.—Lib. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

† Cic. l. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

‡ It is said that Themistocles, seeing him arrive at the Olympic games with a splendid equipage, would have had him forbidden them, because he had not succoured the Greeks against the common enemy, any more than Gelon his brother: which motion did honour to the Athenian general.—Ælian. l. ix. c. 5.

§ Pisa was the city near to which the Olympic games were solemnized, and Phereñice was the name of Hiero's courser, signifying the gainer of victory.

¶ ——— Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu cære, modo: domus hæc nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena nalis: nil mi officit unquam,

It is said that Simonides and Bacchylides his nephew, employed all kinds of criticism, to lessen the esteem which those princes had for Pindar's works. The latter, by way of reprisal, ridicules them very strongly in his ode to Theron, in comparing them to "ravens, who croak in vain against the divine bird of Jove." But modesty was not the virtue which distinguished Pindar.*

Hiero, having driven the ancient inhabitants of Catana and Naxos from their country, settled a colony of ten thousand men there, half of whom were Syracusans and the rest Peloponnesians. This prompted the inhabitants of those two cities to appoint, after his death, the same solemnities in his honour, as were bestowed on heroes or demi-gods, because they considered him as their founder.†

He showed great favour to the children of Anaxilaus, formerly tyrant of Zancle, and a great friend to Gelon his brother. As they were arrived at years of maturity, he exhorted them to take the government into their own hands, after Micythus, their tutor, should have informed them of the perfect state of it, and how he himself had behaved in the administration. The latter, having assembled the nearest relations and most intimate friends of the young princes, gave, in their presence, so good an account of his guardianship, that the whole assembly in perfect admiration bestowed the highest encomiums on his prudence, integrity, and justice. Matters were carried so far, that the young princes were extremely urgent with him to preside in the administration, as he had hitherto done. However, the wise tutor preferring the sweets of ease to the splendour of authority, and persuaded at the same time, that it would be for the interest of the state, if the young princes took the government into their own hands, resolved to retire from public life. Hiero died after having reigned eleven years.‡

III. THRASYBULUS. He was succeeded by Thrasybulus his brother, who, by his evil conduct, contributed very much to the making Hiero to be regretted. Swelled with pride and a brutal haughtiness, he considered men as mere worms; vainly fancying that they were created for him to trample upon, and that he was of a quite different nature from them. He abandoned himself implicitly to the flattering counsels of the giddy young courtiers who surrounded him. He treated all his subjects with the utmost severity; banishing some, confiscating the possessions of others, and putting great numbers to death. So severe a slavery soon grew insupportable to the Syracusans, and therefore they implored the succour of the neighbouring cities, whose interest it was also to throw off the tyrant's yoke. Thrasybulus was besieged even in Syracuse, the sovereignty of part of which he had reserved to himself, viz. Achradina, and the island which was very well fortified; but the third quarter of the city, called Tyche, was possessed by the enemy. After making a feeble resistance, and demanding to capitulate, he left the city, and withdrew into banishment among the Locrians. He had reigned but a year. In this manner the Syracusans recovered their liberty. They also delivered the rest of the cities of Sicily from tyrants; established a popular government in all places, and maintained that form among themselves during sixty years, till the reign of Dionysius the tyrant, who again enslaved them.§

After Sicily had been delivered from the government of tyrants, and all the cities of it were restored to their liberty, as the country was extremely fruitful in itself, and the peace which all places enjoyed, gave the inhabitants of this island an opportunity of cultivating their lands and feeding their flocks, the people grew very powerful, and amassed great riches. To perpetuate to latest posterity the remembrance of the happy day in which they had thrown off the yoke of slavery by the banishment of Thrasybulus, it was decreed in the general assembly of the nation, that a colossal statue should be set up to Jupiter the Deliverer; that on the anniversary of this day, a festival should be solemnized, by way of thanksgiving, for the restoration of their liberty; and that there should be sacrificed, in honour of the gods, four hundred and fifty bulls, with which the people should be entertained at a common feast.||

There nevertheless lay concealed in the minds of many, a secret spirit of tyranny,

Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior: est locus uni.

Cuique suus. — Hor. lib. i. Sat. 9.

Sir, you mistake; that's not our course of life;
We know no jealousies, no brawls, no strife;
From all those ills our patron's house is free,
None, 'cause more learn'd or wealthy, troubles me;
We have our stations, all their own pursue, &c.

Creech.

† Idem, p. 50.

|| A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460. Diod. l. xi. p. 55, &c.

* Scholiast. Pind.
‡ Diod. l. xi. p. 51, 52.

† Diod. l. xi. p. 37.

which frequently disturbed the harmony of this peace, and occasioned several tumults and commotions in Sicily, the particulars of which I shall omit. To prevent the evil consequences of them, the Syracusans established the petalism, which differed very little from the Athenian ostracism; and was so called from the Greek *πέταλον*, signifying a leaf, because the votes were then given on an olive leaf. This judgment was pronounced against those citizens whose great power made the people apprehensive that they aspired to the tyranny, and it banished them for ten years; it did not, however, long continue in force, but was soon abolished; because the dread of falling under its censure, having prompted the most virtuous men to retire, and renounce the government; the chief employments were now filled by such citizens only as had the least merit.*

DEUCETIUS, according to Diodorus,† was chief over the people who were properly called Sicilians. Having united them all, the inhabitants of Hybla excepted, into one body, he became very powerful, and formed several great enterprises. It was he who built the city Palica, near the temple of the gods called Palici. This temple was very famous on account of some wonders which are related of it; and still more from the sacred nature of the oaths which were there taken, the violation of which was said to be always followed by a sudden and exemplary punishment. This was a secure asylum for all persons who were oppressed by superior power; and especially for slaves who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated by their masters. They continued in safety in this temple, till certain arbiters and mediators had made their peace; and there was not a single instance of a master's having ever forfeited the promise he had made to pardon his slave; so famous were the gods who presided over this temple, for the severe vengeance they took on those who violated their oaths.

This Deucetius, after having been successful on a great many occasions, and gained several victories, particularly over the Syracusans, found his fortune change on a sudden by the loss of a battle, and was abandoned by the greatest part of his forces. In the consternation and despondency into which so general and sudden a desertion threw him, he formed such a resolution as despair only could suggest. He withdrew in the night to Syracuse, advanced as far as the great square of the city, and there falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, he abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the Syracusans, that is, to his professed enemies. The singularity of this spectacle drew great numbers of people to it. The magistrates immediately convened the people, and debated on the affair. They first heard the orators, whose business was generally to address the people by speeches; and who greatly inflamed their minds against Deucetius, as a public enemy, whom Providence seemed to throw into their way, to revenge and punish by his death all the injuries he had done the republic. A speech of this kind struck all the virtuous part of the assembly with horror. The most ancient and wisest of the senators represented, "that they were not to consider what punishment Deucetius deserved, but how it behoved the Syracusans to behave on this occasion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as a suppliant, a character by which his person was become sacred and inviolable. That there was a goddess Nemesis, who took vengeance of crimes, especially of cruelty and impiety, and who doubtless would not suffer that to go unpunished: that besides the baseness and inhumanity there is in insulting the unfortunate, and in crushing those who are already under one's foot, it was worthy the grandeur and goodness natural to the Syracusans, to exert their clemency even to those who least deserved it." All the people assented to this opinion, and with one consent spared the life of Deucetius. He was ordered to reside in Corinth, the metropolis and foundress of Syracuse; and the Syracusans engaged to furnish him with all things necessary for an honourable subsistence there. What reader, who compares these two different opinions, does not perceive which of them was the noblest and most generous?

SECTION II.—FAMOUS PERSONS AND CITIES IN GRÆCIA MAJOR, &c.

I. PYTHAGORAS. In treating of what relates to Græcia Major in Italy, I must not omit Pythagoras, who was the glory of it. He was born in Samos. After having travelled into a great many regions, and enriched his mind with the most excellent learning of every kind, he returned to his native country, but did not remain long in it, because of the tyrannical government which Polycrates had established there, who, however, had the highest regard for him, and showed him all the esteem due to his

* Diod. l. xi. p. 65.

† Page 67—70.

extraordinary merit. But the study of the sciences, and particularly of philosophy, is scarcely compatible with slavery, though of the mildest and most honourable kind. He therefore went into Italy, and resided usually either at Crotona, Metapontum, Heraclea, or Tarentum.* Servius Tuilius, or Tarquinius Superbus, reigned in Rome at that time; which absolutely refutes the opinion of those who imagined that Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, who lived upwards of a hundred years before, had been the disciple of Pythagoras; an opinion that very probably was grounded on the resemblance of their manners, dispositions, and principles.†

The whole country soon felt very happy effects from the presence of this excellent philosopher.‡ An inclination for study, and a love of wisdom diffused themselves almost universally in a very short time. Multitudes flocked from all the neighbouring cities to get a sight of Pythagoras, to hear him, and to improve by his salutary counsels. The several princes of the country took a pleasure in inviting him to their courts, which they thought honoured by his presence, and all were delighted with his conversation, and glad to learn from him the art of governing nations with wisdom. His school became the most famous that had ever been till that age. He had no less than four or five hundred disciples. Before he admitted them in that quality, they were probationers five years, during which time he obliged them to keep the strictest silence, thinking it proper for them to be instructed before they should attempt to speak. I shall take notice of his tenets and sentiments, when I come to speak of the various sects of philosophers: it is well known, that the transmigration of souls was one of the chief of them. His disciples had the greatest reverence for every word he uttered; and if he did but rarely aver a thing, he was immediately believed, without its being once examined; and to affirm the truth of any thing, they used to express themselves in this manner, "The master said it."§ However, the disciples carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all inquiry, and in sacrificing implicitly their reason and understanding; a sacrifice that ought to be made only to the divine authority, which is infinitely superior to our reason and all our knowledge; and which consequently, is authorised to prescribe laws to us, and dictate absolute obedience.

The school of Pythagoras produced a great number of illustrious disciples, who did infinite honour to their master; as wise legislators, great politicians, persons skilled in all the sciences, and capable of governing states, and being the ministers of the greatest princes. A long time after his death, that part of Italy, which he had cultivated and improved by his instructions, was still considered as the nursery and seat of men skilled in all kinds of literature, and it maintained that glorious character for several ages.¶ The Romans certainly entertained a high opinion of the virtue of Pythagoras, since the oracle of Delphos having commanded that people, during the war of the Samnites, to erect two statues in the most conspicuous part of Rome, the one to the wisest, and the other to the most valiant among the Greeks, they accordingly set up two in the "Comitium," representing Pythagoras and Themistocles.¶ Historians are not agreed with respect to the time and place of the death of Pythagoras.

II. CROTONA. SYBARIS. THURIUM. Crotona was founded by Myscellus, chief of the Achaïans, the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.** This Myscellus having gone to Delphos to consult the oracle of Apollo, about the spot on which he should build his city, met Archias the Corinthian there, who had come upon a similar errand. The god gave them a favourable audience; and, after having determined them with regard to the place that would best suit their new settlements, he proposed different advantages to them; and left them, among other particulars, the choice of riches or health. The offer of riches struck Archias, but Myscellus desired health; and if history is to be credited, Apollo performed his promise faithfully to both. Archias founded Syracuse, which soon became the most opulent city of Greece. Myscellus laid the foundations of Crotona, which became so famous for the long life and innate strength of its inhabitants, that its name was used proverbially to signify a very healthy spot, whose air was extremely pure.†† The people of it signalized themselves in a great number of victories in the Grecian games, and Strabo relates, that in the

* A. M. 3480. Ant. J. C. 524. Diog. Laert. in Vit. Pythag.

† Liv. l. i. n. 18.

‡ Pythagoras, cum in Italiam venisset, exornavit eam Græciam, quæ Magna diæta est, et privatim et publice, præstantissimis et institutis et artibus.—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 10.

§ Ἀδὲς θεοῦ.

¶ Pythagoras tenuit Magnam illam Græciam cum honore, et disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate, multaque secula postea sic viguit Pythagoreorum nomen, ut nulli alij docti iderentur.—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 33.

‡ Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

** A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709. Strab. l. vi. p. 262, et 269. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. ii. p. 121.

†† Κρότωνος ὑγιεινότης.

same Olympiad, seven Crotonians were crowned in the Olympic games, and carried off all the prizes of the stadium.

Sybaris was ten leagues, two hundred stadia, from Crotona, and had also been founded by the Achaians, but before the other. This city became afterwards very powerful. Four neighbouring states and twenty-five cities were subject to it, so that it was, alone, able to raise an army of three hundred thousand men. The opulence of Sybaris was soon followed by luxury, and such a dissoluteness as is scarcely credible. The citizens employed themselves in nothing but banquets, games, shows, parties of pleasure, and carousals. Public rewards and marks of distinction were bestowed on those who gave the most magnificent entertainments; and even to such cooks as were best skilled in the important art of making new discoveries and dressing dishes, and inventing new refinements to please the palate. The Sybarites carried their delicacy and effeminacy to such a height, that they carefully removed from their city all artificers whose work was noisy; and would not suffer any cocks in it, lest their shrill piercing crow should disturb their balmy slumbers.*

All these evils were heightened by dissension and discord, which at last proved their ruin. Five hundred of the wealthiest in the city, having been expelled by the faction of one Telys, fled to Crotona. Telys demanded to have them surrendered to him; and on the refusal of the Crotonians, to deliver them up, prompted to this generous resolution by Pythagoras, who then lived among them, war was declared. The Sybarites marched three hundred thousand men into the field, and the Crotonians only one hundred thousand; but they were headed by Milo, the famous champion, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak, and over whose shoulders a lion's skin was thrown, and himself armed with a club, like another Hercules. The latter gained a complete victory, and made a dreadful havoc of those who fled, so that very few escaped, and their city was depopulated. About sixty years after, some Thessalians came and settled in it; they did not, however, long enjoy peace, being driven out by the Crotonians. Being thus reduced to the most fatal extremity, they implored the succour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The latter moved to compassion at their deplorable condition, after causing proclamation to be made in Peloponnesus, that all who were willing to assist that colony were at liberty to do it, sent the Sybarites a fleet of ten ships under the command of Lampon and Xenocrates.†

They built a city near the ancient Sybaris, and called it Thurium. Two men, greatly renowned for their learning, the one an orator, and the other a historian, settled in this colony. The first was Lysias, at that time but fifteen years of age. He lived in Thurium, until the Athenians became unfortunate in Sicily, and then went to Athens. The second was Herodotus. Though he was born in Halicarnassus, a city of Caria, he was, however, considered as a native of Thurium, because he settled there with that colony. I will speak more largely of him hereafter.‡

Divisions soon broke out in the city, on account of the new inhabitants, whom the rest would exclude from all public employments and privileges. But as these were much more numerous, they repulsed all the ancient Sybarites, and got the sole possession of the city. Being supported by the alliance they made with the people of Crotona, they soon grew very powerful; and having established a popular form of government in their city, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, which they called by the names of the different nations whence they sprang.

III. CHARONDAS, the legislator. They now bent all their thoughts to the strengthening of their government by wholesome laws; for which purpose they made choice of Charondas, who had been educated in the school of Pythagoras, to digest and draw them up. I will quote some of them in this place.

1. He excluded from the senate, and all public employments, all such as should marry a second wife, in case any children by their first wife were living; being persuaded that any man who was so regardless of his children's interest, would be equally so of his country's, and be as worthless a magistrate as he had been a father.

2. He sentenced all false accusers to be carried through every part of the city, crowned with heath or broom, as the vilest of men; an ignominy which most of them were not able to survive. The city, thus delivered from those pests of society, was restored to its former tranquillity: And indeed from calumniators generally arise all

* Strab. l. vi. p. 263. Athen. l. xii. p. 518—520.

† A. M. 3474. Ant. J. C. 530. Diod. l. xii. p. 76—85.

‡ A. M. 3560. Ant. J. C. 444. Dionys. Halicarn. in Vit. Lys. p. 32. Strab. l. xiv. p. 658.

feuds and contests, whether of a public or private nature; and yet, according to the observation of Tacitus, they are too much tolerated in most governments.*

3. He enacted a new kind of law against another species of pests, which in a state generally first occasions depravity of manners; directing all those to be prosecuted who should form a correspondence, or contract a friendship with wicked men, and by laying a heavy fine upon them.

4. He required all the children of the citizens to be educated in the Belles Lettres; the effect of which is to polish and civilize the minds of men, inspiring them with gentleness of manners, and inclining them to virtue; all which constitute the felicity of a state, and are equally necessary to citizens of all conditions. In this view he appointed salaries (paid by the state) for masters and preceptors, in order that learning, by being communicated *gratis*, might be acquired by all. He considered ignorance as the greatest of evils, and the source whence all vices flowed.

5. He made a law with respect to orphans, which appears sufficiently judicious, by intrusting the care of their education to their relations by the mother's side, as their lives would not be in danger from them; and the management of their estates to their paternal relations, it being the interest of these to make the greatest advantage of them, since they would inherit them, in case of the demise of their wards.

6. Instead of putting to death deserters, and those who quitted their ranks and fled in battle, he only sentenced them to make their appearance during three days in the city, dressed in the habit of women, imagining, that the dread of so ignominious a punishment would produce the same effect as putting to death, and being, at the same time desirous of giving such cowardly citizens an opportunity of atoning for their fault.

7. To prevent his laws from being too rashly or easily abrogated, he imposed a very severe and hazardous condition on all persons who should propose to alter or amend them in any manner. These were sentenced to appear in the public assembly with a halter about their neck; and in case the alteration proposed did not pass, they were to be immediately strangled. There were but three amendments ever proposed, and all of them admitted.

Charondas did not long survive his own laws. Returning one day from pursuing some thieves, and finding a tumult in the city, he came armed into the assembly, though he himself had prohibited this by an express law. A certain person objected to him in severe terms, that he violated his own laws; "I do not violate them," said he, "but thus seal them with my blood;" and instantly plunged his sword into his bosom and expired.

IV. ZALEUCUS, another lawgiver. At the same time, there arose among the Locrians, another famous legislator, Zaleucus, who, as well as Charondas, had been the disciple of Pythagoras.† There is now scarcely any thing extant of his, except a kind of preamble to his laws, which gives a most advantageous idea of them. He requires, above all things, of the citizens, to believe and be firmly persuaded, that there are gods; and adds, that the bare casting up our eyes to the heavens, and contemplating their order and beauty, is sufficient to convince us that it is impossible so wonderful a fabric could have been formed by mere chance or human power. As the natural consequence of this belief, he exhorts men to honour and revere the gods, as the authors of whatever is good and just among mortals; and to honour them, not merely by sacrifices and splendid gifts, but by a sage conduct, and by purity and innocence of manners; these being more grateful to the immortals, than any sacrifice that can be offered.

After this religious exordium, in which he describes the Supreme Being as the source whence all laws flow, as the chief authority which commands obedience to them, as the most powerful motive for our faithful observance of them, and as the perfect model to which mankind ought to conform; he descends to the particulars of those duties which men owe to one another, and lays down a precept which is very well adapted to preserve peace and unity in society, by enjoining the individuals of it not to make their hatred and dissensions perpetual, which would argue an unsocial and savage disposition, but to treat their enemies as men who would soon be their friends. This is carrying morality to as great a perfection as could be expected from heathens.

With regard to the duty of judges and magistrates, after representing to them, that, in pronouncing sentence, they ought never to suffer themselves to be biassed

* Delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum, et pœnis quidem, nunquam satis cœreantum.—Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 30.

† Diod. l. xii. p. 79—85.

by friendship, hatred, or any other passion; he only exhorts them not to behave with the least haughtiness or severity towards the parties engaged in law, since such are but too unhappy in being obliged to undergo all the toils and fatigues inseparable from law-suits. The office indeed of judges, however laborious it may be, is far from giving them a right to use the contending parties with ill nature; the very form and nature of their employment requiring them to behave with impartiality, and to do justice on all occasions; and when they distribute this, even with mildness and humanity, it is only a debt they pay, and not a favour they grant.

To banish luxury from his republic, which he looked upon as the certain destruction of a government, he did not follow the practice established in some nations, where it is thought sufficient, for restraining of it, to punish, by pecuniary mulcts, such as infringe the laws made on that occasion; but he acted, says the historian, in a more artful and ingenious, and at the same time, more effectual manner. He prohibited women from wearing rich and costly stuffs, embroidered robes, precious stones, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, gold rings, and such like ornaments; excepting none from this law but common prostitutes. He enacted a like law with regard to the men; excepting, in the same manner, from the observance of it, such only as were willing to pass for debauchees and infamous wretches. By these regulations, he easily, and without violence, preserved the citizens from the least approaches to luxury and effeminacy.* For no person was so abandoned to all sense of honour, as to be willing to wear the badges of his shame, under the eye, as it were, of all the citizens; since this would make him the public laughing-stock, and reflect eternal infamy on his family.

V. MILO, the champion. We have seen him at the head of an army obtain a great victory. He was still more renowned for his athletic strength, than for his military bravery. He was surnamed Crotoniensis, from Crotona the place of his birth. It was his daughter, whom, as was before related, Democedes, the famous physician, and Milo's countryman, married, after he had fled from the court of Darius, to Greece, his native country.

Pausanias relates, that Milo, when but a boy, was seven times victorious in one day, at the Pythian games; that he won six victories, at wrestling, in the Olympic games; one of which was also gained in his childhood; and that challenging a seventh time, in Olympia, any person to wrestle with him, he could not engage for want of an opponent. He would hold a pomegranate in such a manner, that without breaking it, he would grasp it so fast in his hand, that no one, however strong, could possibly wrest it from him.† He would stand so firm on a discus,‡ which had been oiled to make it the more slippery, that it was impossible to push him off. He would bind his head with a cord, after which, holding his breath strongly, the veins of his head would swell so prodigiously as to break the rope. When Milo, fixing his elbow on his side, stretched forth his right hand quite open, with his fingers held close, one to another, his thumb excepted, which he raised, the utmost strength of man could not separate his little finger from the other three.

All this was only a vain and puerile ostentation of his strength. Chance, however, gave him an opportunity of making a much more laudable use of it. One day, as he was attending the lectures of Pythagoras, for he was one of his most constant disciples, the pillar which supported the ceiling of the school in which the pupils were assembled, being shaken by some accident, Milo supported it by his single strength, gave the auditors some time to get away, and afterwards escaped himself.§

What is related of the voracious appetite of the athletæ is almost incredible.

Milo's appetite was scarcely satiated with twenty minæ (pounds) of meat, the same quantity of bread, and three "congiis"|| of wine every day.¶ Athenæus relates that this champion, having run the whole length of the stadium with a bull of four years old on his shoulder, he afterwards knocked him down with one stroke of his fist, and eat the whole beast that very day. I will take it for granted, that all the other particulars related of Milo are true; but is it probable that one man could devour a whole ox in so short a time?

We are told that Milo, when advanced to a very great age, seeing the rest of the champions wrestling, and gazing upon his own arms, which once were so vigorous and robust, but were then very much enfeebled by time, he burst into tears, and cried, "Alas! these arms are now dead."***

* More inter veteres recepto, qui satis pœnarum adversus impudicas in ipsa professionis flagitii credebant.—Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 85.

† Pausan. l. vi. p. 369—370.

‡ This discus was a kind of quoit, flat and round.

§ Strab. l. vi. p. 263.

|| Thirty pounds, or fifteen quarts.

¶ Athen. l. x. p. 412.

** Cic. de Senect. n. 27

And yet he either forgot or concealed his weakness from himself, the strong persuasion he entertained of his own strength, which he maintained to the last, proving fatal to him. Happening to meet, as he was travelling, an old oak which had been opened by some wedges that were forced into it, he undertook to split it in two by his bare strength. But after forcing out the wedges, his arms were caught in the trunk of the tree, by the violence with which it closed, so that, being unable to disengage his hands, he was devoured by wolves.*

An author has judiciously observed, that this surprisingly robust champion, who prided himself so much in his bodily strength, was the weakest of men with regard to a passion, which often subdues and captivates the strongest; a courtesan having gained so strong an influence over Milo that she tyrannized over him in the most imperious manner, and made him obey whatever commands she laid upon him.†

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR OF PELOPONNESUS.

THE Peloponnesian war, which I am now entering upon, began about the end of the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and lasted twenty-seven years.‡ Thucydides has written the history of it to the twenty-first year inclusively. He gives us an accurate account of the several transactions of every year, which he divides into campaigns and winter-quarters. However I shall only extract such parts of it as appear most entertaining and instructive. Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus will also be of great assistance to me on this occasion.

SECTION I.—THE SIEGE OF PLATÆÆ BY THE THEBANS, &C. &C. THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE first act of hostility by which the war began, was committed by the Thebans, who besieged Platææ, a city of Bœotia, in alliance with Athens. They were introduced into it by treachery; but the citizens falling upon them in the night, killed them, except about two hundred, who were taken prisoners, and shortly after put to death. The Athenians as soon as the news was brought of the action at Platææ, sent succours and provisions thither, and cleared the city of all persons who were incapable of bearing arms.§

The truce being evidently broken, both sides prepared openly for war, and ambassadors were sent to all places to strengthen themselves by the alliance of the Greeks and barbarians. Every part of Greece was in motion, some few states and cities excepted, which continued neutral, till they should see the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece, and espoused their interest very warmly, because the Athenians, forgetting that the moderation and gentleness with which they commanded over others, had procured them many allies, had afterwards alienated the greatest part of them by their pride and the severity of their government, and incurred the hatred, not only of those who were then subject to them, but of all such as were apprehensive of becoming their dependants. Such was the state of public feeling at that time among the Greeks. The confederates of each of those states were as follow.

All Peloponnesus, Argos excepted, which stood neutral, had declared for Lacedæmon. The Achæians, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, were neutral at first, but at length insensibly engaged in the war. Out of Peloponnesus, the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium, were on the side of the Lacedæmonians.

The confederates of the Athenians were, the people of Chios, Lesbos, Platææ, the Messenians of Naupactus; the greatest part of the Acarnanians, Corcyrans, Cephallenians, and Zacynthians; besides the several tributary countries, as maritime Caria, Doria, which lies near it, Ionia, the Hellespont; and the cities of Thrace, except Chalcis and Potidæa, all the islands between Crete and Peloponnesus, eastward: and the Cyclades, except Melos and Thera.

Immediately after the attempt on Platææ, the Lacedæmonians had ordered forces to be levied both within and without Peloponnesus; and made all the preparations necessary for entering the enemy's country. All things being ready, two-thirds of

* Pausan. l. vi. p. 370.

† Ælian. l. ii. c. 24.

‡ A.-M. 3573. Ant. J. C. 431.

§ Thueyd. l. ii. p. 99—122. Diod. l. xii. p. 97—100. Plut. in Periel. n. 170.

the troops marched to the isthmus of Corinth, and the rest were left to guard the country. Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, who commanded the army, assembled the generals and chief officers, and calling up the remembrance of the great actions performed by their ancestors, and those they themselves had done or been eye-witnesses to, he exhorted them to support, with the utmost efforts of their valour, the pristine glory of their respective cities, as well as their own fame. He declared, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; and that, in expectation of the issue of a war which would determine its fate, they were incessantly addressing Heaven in favour of a people, who were as dear to them as the Athenians were become odious; that, however, he could not deny that they were going to march against enemies, who though greatly inferior to themselves in numbers and strength, were nevertheless very powerful, warlike, and daring; and whose courage would be still more inflamed by the sight of danger, and the laying waste of their territories; that therefore they must exert themselves to the utmost, to spread an immediate terror in the country they were going to enter, and to inspire the allies with new vigour.* The whole army answered with the loudest acclamations of joy, and assured their generals that they would do their duty.

The assembly breaking up, Archidamus, still zealous for the welfare of Greece, and meditating how he might best prevent a rupture, the dreadful consequences of which he foresaw, sent a Spartan to Athens, to endeavour, before they should come to hostilities, to prevail if possible with the Athenians to lay aside their designs, or otherwise an army would soon march into Attica. But the Athenians, so far from admitting him to an audience or hearing his reasons, would not so much as suffer him to come into their city: Pericles having prevailed with the people to make an order, that no herald or ambassador should be received from the Lacedæmonians, till they had first laid down their arms. In consequence of this, The Spartan was commanded to leave the country that very day; and an escort was sent to guard him to the frontiers, and to prevent his speaking to any person by the way. At his taking leave of the Athenians, he told them that from that day, great calamities would ensue to all Greece. Archidamus, seeing no hopes of a reconciliation, marched to Attica, at the head of sixty thousand chosen forces.

Pericles, before the Lacedæmonians had entered his country, declared to the Athenians, that should Archidamus, when he was laying waste their territories, spare his (Pericles) lands, either on account of the right of hospitality which subsisted between them, or to furnish his enemies and those who envied him, with a pretext to slander him, as holding intelligence with him, he from that day should make over all his lands and houses to the city of Athens. He remonstrated to the Athenians, that it was their interest to consume the enemy's troops by protracting the war; and that, for this purpose, they must immediately remove all their effects out of the country, retire to the city, and shut themselves up in it, without ever hazarding a battle. The Athenians, indeed, had not forces enough to take the field and oppose the enemy. Their troops, including those in garrison, amounted but to thirteen thousand heavy-armed soldiers, and sixteen thousand inhabitants, including the young and old, the citizens as well as others, who were appointed to defend Athens: and besides these, twelve hundred horsemen, including the archers who rode on horseback, and sixteen hundred foot archers. This was the whole army of the Athenians. But their chief strength consisted in a fleet of three hundred galleys, part of which were ordered to lay waste the enemy's country, and the rest to awe the allies, on whom contributions were levied, without which the Athenians could not defray the expenses of the war.

The Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Pericles, brought from the country their wives, their children, their moveables, and all their effects, after which they pulled down their houses, and even carried off the timber of them. With regard to the cattle of all kinds, they conveyed them into the island of Eubœa and the neighbouring isles. However, they were deeply afflicted at the sad and precipitate migration, and it even forced tears from their eyes. From the time the Persians left their country, that is, for nearly fifty years, they had enjoyed the sweets of peace, wholly employed in cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks. But now, sad fate of war! they were obliged to abandon every thing. They took up their habitation in the city, as conveniently as they could, in the midst of much confusion; retiring either to their relations or friends; and some withdrew even to the temples and other public places.

* *Gnarus primis eventibus metum ut fiduciam gigni.*—Tacit. Ann. l. xiii. c. 31.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, having set out upon their march, entered the country, and encamped at Œnoe, which is the first fortress towards Bœotia. They employed a long time in preparing the attack, and raising the batteries; for which reason complaints were made against Archidamus, as if he carried on the war indolently, because he had not approved of it. He was accused of being too slow in his marches, and of encamping too long near Corinth. He was also charged with having been too dilatory in raising the army, and having desired to give the Athenians an opportunity to carry off all their effects of the country; whereas they said, had he marched speedily into it, all they had, might have been plundered and destroyed. His design, however, was to engage the Athenians, by these delays, to agree to an accommodation, and to prevent a rupture, the consequences of which he foresaw would be pernicious to all Greece. Finding, after making several assaults, that it would be impossible for him to take the city, he raised the siege, and entered Attica in the midst of the harvest. Having laid waste the whole country, he advanced as far as Acharnæ, one of the largest towns near Athens, and about fifteen hundred paces from the city. He there pitched his camp, in hopes that the Athenians, exasperated at seeing him advance so near, would sally out to defend their country, and give him an opportunity of coming to a battle. It was indeed a great mortification to the Athenians, haughty and imperious, to be braved and insulted in this manner by an enemy, whom they did not think superior to themselves in courage. They were eye-witnesses of the dreadful havoc made of their lands, and saw all their houses and farms in a blaze.

This sad spectacle was now so shocking, that they could not bear it any longer, and therefore demanded fiercely to be led out against the Lacedæmonians, be the consequence what it would. Pericles saw plainly, that the Athenians would thereby hazard every thing, and expose their city to certain destruction, should they march out to engage, under the walls of their city, an army of sixty thousand fighting men, composed of the choicest troops at that time in Bœotia and Peloponnesus. Besides, he had made it his chief maxim to spare the blood of the citizens, since that was an irreparable loss. Pursuing inflexibly, therefore, the plan he had laid down, and studious of nothing but how he might check the impatience and ardour of the Athenians, he was particularly careful not to assemble either the senate or the people, lest they should form some fatal resolution, in spite of all the opposition in his power. His friends used all the entreaties imaginable to make him change his conduct. His enemies, on the other side, endeavoured to stagger him by their menaces and slanderous discourses. They strove to rouse him by songs and satires, in which they aspersed him as a man of a cowardly, insensible cast of mind, who basely gave up his country to the sword of the enemy. But no man showed so much rancour against Pericles, as Cleon.* He was the son of a currier, and also followed that trade. He had raised himself by faction, and probably by a species of merit which those must possess who would rise in popular governments. He had a thundering voice and a specious manner; and besides, he possessed, in a wonderful degree, the art of gaining the people and bringing them over to his interest. It was he who enacted a law, that three oboli, not two as before, should be given to each of the six thousand judges. The characteristics which more immediately distinguished him were, an insupportably vain opinion of his own abilities; a ridiculous persuasion of his uncommon merits, and a boldness of speech, which he carried to so high a pitch of insolence as to spare no man. But none of those things could move Pericles. His great strength of mind raised him above low, vulgar clamours.† As a good pilot in a raging storm, who, after he has given out the proper orders, and taken all the precautions necessary, is studious of nothing but how to make the best use of his art, without suffering himself to be moved by the tears or entreaties of those whom fear has distracted: so Pericles, after having put the city in a good state of defence, and posted guards in all places to prevent a surprise, followed those counsels which his prudence suggested, entirely regardless of the complaints, the taunts, and licentious discourses of the citizens, from a firm persuasion, that he knew much better than they in what manner they were to be governed. "It then appeared evidently," says Plutarch, "that Pericles was absolute master of the minds of the Athenians, since he prevailed so far, at such a juncture as this, as to keep them from sallying out of the city, as if he had kept the keys of the city in his own possession; and fixed on their arms, the seal of his authority, to forbid their making use of them."‡ Things happened exactly as Pericles had fore-

* It is he whom Aristophanes has inveighed so much against, in several of his comedies.

† *Sperrendis rumoribus validus*—Tacit.

‡ *Plut. an. Seni. ger. sit. Resp. p. 784.*

told; for the enemy, finding the Athenians determined not to stir out of their city, and having advice that the enemy's fleet carried fire and sword into their territories, raised their camp, and, after making dreadful havoc in the whole country through which they marched, returned to Peloponnesus, and retired to their several homes.

It might here be asked, why Pericles acted, on this occasion, in a quite different manner from what Themistocles had done about fifty years before, when, at the approach of Xerxes, he made the Athenians march out of their city, and abandon it to the enemy. But a little reflection will show, that the circumstances differed widely. Themistocles being invaded by all the forces of the East, justly concluded that it would be impossible for him to withstand, in a single city, those millions of barbarians who would have poured upon it like a deluge, and deprive him of all hopes of being succoured by the allies. This is the reason given by Cicero. *Fluctum enim totius barbariæ ferre urbs una non poterat.* It was therefore prudent in him to retire for some time, and to let the confused multitude of barbarians consume and destroy one another. But Pericles was not engaged in so formidable and oppressive a war. The odds were not very great, and he foresaw it would allow him time to breathe. Thus, like a judicious man and an able politician, he kept close in Athens, and could not be moved either by the remonstrances or murmurs of the citizens. Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, condemns absolutely the resolution which Pompey formed and executed, of abandoning Rome to Cæsar; whereas, he ought in imitation of Pericles, to have shut himself up in it with the senate, the magistrates, and the worthiest of the citizens who had declared in his favour.*

After the Lacedæmonians were retired, the Athenians placed forces in all the important posts both by land and sea, pursuant to the plan they intended to follow as long as the war continued. They also came to a resolution, to keep always a thousand talents† in reserve and a hundred galleys; and never to use them, except the enemy should invade Attica by sea; at the same time making it death for any man to propose the employing them any other way.

The galleys which had been sent into Peloponnesus committed dreadful depredations there, which consoled the Athenians in some measure for the losses they had sustained. One day, as the forces were going on board, and Pericles was entering his own ship, a sudden and total eclipse of the sun took place, and the earth was overspread with the deepest gloom. This phenomenon filled the minds of the Athenians with the utmost terror; superstition and the ignorance of natural causes making them consider such events as fatal omens. Pericles seeing the pilot who was on board his ship astonished, and incapable of managing the helm, threw his cloak over his face, and asked him whether he could see: the pilot answering, that the cloak took away all objects from his sight, Pericles then gave him to understand that the like cause, viz. the interposition of the vast body of the moon between his eyes and the sun, prevented his seeing its splendour.

The first year of the war of Peloponnesus being now elapsed, the Athenians, during the winter, solemnized public funerals, according to ancient custom, a practice truly humane, and expressive of a just gratitude, in honour of those who had lost their lives in that campaign; a ceremony they observed during the whole course of that war. For this purpose they set up, three days before, a tent, in which the bones of the deceased citizens, were exposed, and every person strewed flowers, incense, perfumes, and things of the same kind, upon those remains. They afterwards were put on a kind of chariots, in coffins made of cypress wood, every tribe having its particular coffin and chariot; but in one of the latter a large empty coffin‡ was carried, in honour of those whose bodies had not been found. The procession marched with a grave, majestic, and religious pomp; a great number of inhabitants, both citizens and foreigners, assisted at this mournful solemnity. The relations of the deceased officers and soldiers stood weeping at the sepulchre. These bones were carried to a public monument, in the finest suburb of the city, called the Ceramicus; where were buried in all ages, whose who had lost their lives in the field, except the warriors of Marathon, who, to immortalize their extraordinary valour, were interred in the field of battle. Earth was afterwards laid over them, and then one of the citizens of the greatest distinction pronounced their funeral oration. Pericles was now appointed to perform this honourable office. When the ceremony was ended, he went from

* Lib. vii. Epist. 11.

‡ These are called Cenotaphia.

† More than £600,000.

the sepulchre to the tribunal, in order to be the better heard, and spoke the oration, the whole of which Thucydides has transmitted to us.* Whether it was really composed by Pericles, or by the historian, we may affirm that it is truly worthy the reputation of both those great men, as well for the noble simplicity of the style, as for the just beauty of the thoughts, and the greatness of the sentiments which shine in every part of it. After having paid, in so solemn a manner, this double tribute of tears and applauses, to the memory of those brave soldiers who had sacrificed their lives to defend the liberties of their country, the public who did not confine their gratitude to empty ceremonies and tears, maintained their widows and their infant orphans.† This was a powerful incentive to animate the courage of the citizens; for great men are formed where merit is best rewarded.‡

About the close of the same campaign, the Athenians concluded an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odrysians in Thrace; and, in consequence of this treaty, his son was admitted a citizen of Athens. They also came to an accommodation with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, by restoring to him the city of Thermæ; after which they united their forces, in order to carry on the war in Chalcis.

SECTION II.—THE PLAGUE MAKES DREADFUL HAVOC IN ATTICA, &c. SECOND AND THIRD YEARS OF THE WAR.

In the beginning of the second campaign, the enemy made an incursion into the country as before, and laid it waste. But the plague made a much greater devastation in Athens; the like having never been known. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it descended into Egypt, from thence spread over Libya, and a great part of Persia; and at last broke at once like a flood upon Athens.§ Thucydides, who himself was seized with that deadly disease, has described very minutely the several circumstances and symptoms of it; in order, says he, that a faithful and exact relation of this calamity may serve as an instruction to posterity, in case the like should ever happen. Hippocrates, who was employed to visit the sick, has also described it in a medical,|| and Lucretius in a poetical way.¶ This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attack; and the greatest care and skill of the physicians were a feeble help to those who were infected. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The assistance that was given them was ineffectual, and proved mortal to all such of their relations as had the courage to approach them. The prodigious quantity of baggage, which had been removed out of the country into the city, proved very noxious. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, where they could scarcely breathe, during the raging heat of the summer, so that they were seen either piled one upon the other, the dead as well as those who were dying, or else crawling through the streets, or lying along by the side of fountains, to which they had dragged themselves, to quench the raging thirst which consumed them. The very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death; without the least remedy for the present, or the least hopes with regard to futurity.

The plague, before it spread into Attica had been very destructive in Persia. Artaxerxes, who had been informed of the great reputation of Hippocrates of Cos, the greatest physician of that or any other age, caused his governors to write to him, to invite him into his dominions, in order that he might prescribe to those who were infected. The king made him the most advantageous offers; setting no bounds to his reward on the side of interest, and, with regard to honour, promising to make him equal with the most considerable persons in his court.** The reader has already been told, the high regard which was shown to the Grecian physicians in Persia; and indeed, was it possible that so useful a man as Hippocrates could be too well rewarded? However, all the glitter of the Persian riches and dignities were not capable of corrupting him, nor of stifling the hatred and aversion for the Persians, which was become natural to the Greeks ever since the former had invaded them. This great physician, therefore, sent no other answer but this, that he was free from either wants or desires; that he owed all his cares to his fellow-citizens and countrymen; and was under no obligation to barbarians, the declared enemies of Greece. Kings are not used

* Thucyd. l. ii. p. 122—130.

† Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130.

‡ "Ἄλλο γὰρ οἷς καίτοι θρηστῆς μίγνυται, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀειροὶ ποταίνονται."

§ A. M. 3574. Ant. J. C. 430. Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130—147. Diod. p. 101, 102. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171.

|| Epidem. l. iii. p. 3.

¶ Lib. vi.

** Hippocrat. in Epist.

to denials. Artaxerxes, therefore, in the highest transports of rage, sent to the city of Cos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he was at the time, commanding them to deliver up to him that insolent wretch, in order that he might be brought to condign punishment; and threatening, in case they refused, to lay waste their city and island in such a manner, that not the least trace of it should remain. However, the inhabitants of Cos were not under the least terror. They made answer, that the menaces of Darius and Xerxes had not been able to prevail with them to give them earth and water, or to obey their orders; that the threats of Artaxerxes would be equally impotent; that, let what would be the consequence, they would never give up their fellow-citizen; and that they depended upon the protection of the gods.

Hippocrates had said in one of his letters, that he owed his services entirely to his country. And indeed, the instant he was sent for to Athens, he went thither, and did not once stir out of the city, till the plague had quite ceased. He devoted himself entirely to the service of the sick; and to multiply himself, as it were, he sent several of his disciples into all parts of the country, after having instructed them in what manner to treat their patients. The Athenians were struck with the deepest sense of gratitude, for the generous care of Hippocrates. They therefore ordained, by a public decree, that Hippocrates should be initiated in the most exalted mysteries, in the same manner as Hercules the son of Jupiter; that a crown of gold should be presented to him, of the value of a thousand staters,* amounting to five hundred pistoles French money;† and that the decree by which it was granted him, should be read aloud by a herald, in the public games, on the solemn festivals of Panathenæ: that the freedom of the city should be given him, and himself be maintained at the public charge, in the Prytaneum all his lifetime, in case he thought proper: in fine, that the children of all the people of Cos, whose city had given birth to so great a man, might be maintained and brought up in Athens, in the same manner as if they had been born there.

In the mean time, the enemy, having marched into Attica, came down towards the coast, and, advancing still forward, laid waste the whole country. Pericles still adhering to the maxim he had established, not to expose the safety of the state to the hazard of a battle, would not suffer his troops to sally out of the city: however, before the enemy left the plains, he sailed to Peloponnesus with a hundred galleys, in order to hasten their retreat by his making so powerful a diversion; and after having made a dreadful havoc, as he had done the first year, he returned into the city. The plague was still there as well as in the fleet, and it spread to those troops that were besieging Potidæa.

The campaign being thus ended, the Athenians, who saw their country depopulated by two great scourges, war and pestilence, began to despond, and to murmur against Pericles; considering him as the author of all their calamities, as he had involved them in that fatal war. They then sent a deputation to Lacedæmon, to obtain, if possible, an accommodation by some means or other, firmly resolved to make whatever concessions should be demanded of them: the ambassadors, however, returned without being able to obtain any terms. Complaints and murmurs now broke out afresh; and the whole city was in such a trouble and confusion, as seemed to prognosticate the worst of evils. Pericles, in the midst of this universal consternation, could not forbear assembling the people; and endeavoured to soften, and at the same time to encourage them, by justifying himself. "The reasons," said he, "which determined you to undertake this war, and which you approved at that time, are still the same, and are not changed by the alteration of circumstances, which neither you nor myself could foresee. Had it been left to your option to make choice of peace or war, the former would certainly have been the more eligible; but as there was no other means for preserving your liberty than by drawing the sword, was it possible for you to hesitate? If we are citizens who truly love our country, will our private misfortunes make us neglect the common welfare of the state? Every man feels the evil which afflicts him, because it is present; but no one is sensible of the good which will result from it, because it is not come. Have you forgotten the strength and grandeur of your empire? Of the two parts which form this globe of ours, viz. the land and sea, you have absolute possession of the latter; and no king, or any other power, is able to oppose your fleets. It is now the question whether you will preserve this

* The Attic stater was a gold coin weighing two drachms. It is in the original χρυσῶς χαλκίον.

† About nine hundred and thirty-five dollars.

glory, and this empire, or resign it for ever. Be not therefore grieved because you are deprived of a few country-houses and gardens, which ought to be considered no otherwise than as the frame of the picture, though you would seem to make them the picture itself. Consider, that if you do but preserve your liberty, you will easily recover them; but that should you suffer yourselves to be deprived of this blessing, you will lose every valuable possession with it. Do not show less generosity than your ancestors, who for the sake of preserving it, abandoned even their city; and who, though they had not inherited such a glory from their ancestors, yet suffered the worst of evils, and engaged in the most perilous enterprises, to transmit it to you. I will confess that your present calamities, are exceedingly grievous, and I myself am duly sensible and deeply afflicted for them. But is it just in you to exclaim against your general, merely for an accident that was not to be diverted by all the prudence of man; and to make him responsible for an event in which he has not the least concern? We must submit patiently to those evils which heaven inflicts upon us, and vigorously oppose such as arise from our fellow-creatures. As to the hatred and jealousy which attend on your prosperity, they are the usual lot of all who believe themselves worthy of commanding. However, hatred and envy are not of long continuance, but the glory that accompanies exalted actions is immortal. Revolve therefore perpetually in your minds, how shameful and ignominious it is for men to bow the neck to their enemies, and how glorious it is to triumph over them; and then, animated by this double reflection, march on to danger with joy and intrepidity, and do not crouch so tamely to the Lacedæmonians; and call to mind, that those who display the greatest bravery and resolution in dangers, acquire the most esteem and applause."

The motives of honour and fame, the remembrance of the great actions of their ancestors, the soothing title of sovereigns of Greece, and above all, the jealousy of Sparta, the ancient and perpetual rival of Athens, were the usual motives which Pericles employed to influence and animate the Athenians, and had hitherto never failed of success. But on this occasion, the sense of the present evils prevailed over every other consideration, and stifled all other thoughts. The Athenians, indeed, did not design to sue the Lacedæmonians any more for peace, but the very sight and presence of Pericles was insupportable to them. They therefore deprived him of the command of the army, and sentenced him to pay a fine which, according to some historians, amounted to fifteen talents, and according to others fifty.*

However, this public disgrace of Pericles was not to be very lasting. The anger of the people was appeased by the first efforts, and had spent itself in the injurious treatment of him, as the bee leaves the sting in the wound. But he was not now so happy with regard to his domestic evils; for besides his having lost a great number of his friends and relations by the pestilence, feuds and divisions had long reigned in his family. Xanthippus, his eldest son, who himself was extremely profuse, and had married a young wife no less extravagant, could not bear his father's exact economy, who allowed him but a very small sum for his pleasures. This made him borrow money in his father's name. When the lender demanded his debt of Pericles, he not only refused to pay, but even prosecuted him for it. Xanthippus was so enraged, that he inveighed in the most heinous terms against his father, exclaiming against him in all places, and ridiculing openly the assemblies he held at his house, and his conferences with the sophists. He did not consider, that a son, though treated unjustly, which was far otherwise in his case, ought to submit patiently to the injustice of his father, as a citizen is obliged to suffer that of his country.

The plague carried off Xanthippus. At the same time Pericles lost his sister, with many of his relations and best friends, whose assistance he most needed in the administration. But he did not sink under these losses; his strength of mind was not shaken by them; and he was not seen to weep or show the usual marks of sorrow at the grave of any of his relations, till the death of Paralus, the last of his legitimate children. That severe stroke exceedingly afflicted him, though he did his utmost to preserve his usual tranquillity, and not show any outward symptoms of sorrow. But when he was to put the crown of flowers upon the head of his dead son, he could not support the cruel spectacle, nor stifle the transport of his grief, which forced its way in cries, in sobs, and a flood of tears.

Pericles, misled by the principles of a false philosophy, imagined, that bewailing the death of his relations and children, would betray a weakness that no way suited

* About fifteen or fifty thousand dollars.

the greatness of soul he had ever shown; and on this occasion that the sensibility of the father would sully the glory of the conqueror. How gross an error! how childish an illusion: which either makes heroism consist in wild and savage cruelty, or, leaving the same grief and confusion in the mind, assumes a vain outside of constancy and resolution, merely to be admired. But, does martial bravery extinguish nature? Is a man dead to all human sentiments, because he makes a considerable figure in the state? Antoninus the emperor had a much juster way of thinking, who, when Marcus Aurelius was lamenting the death of the person who had brought him up, said, "suffer him to be a man, for neither philosophy nor sovereignty renders us insensible."*

Fickleness and inconstancy were the prevailing characters of the Athenians; and as these carried them on a sudden to the greatest excesses, they soon brought them back again within the bounds of moderation and gentleness. It was not long before they repented the injury they had done Pericles, and earnestly wished to see him again in their assemblies. By dint of suffering, they began to bear patiently their domestic misfortunes, and to be fired more and more with a zeal for their country's glory; and in their ardour for reinstating its affairs, they did not know any person more capable than Pericles of the administration. Pericles, at that time, never stirred out of his house, and was in the utmost grief at the loss he had sustained. However, Alcibiades and the rest of his friends entreated him to go abroad, and show himself in public. The people asked him pardon for their ungrateful usage of him; and Pericles, moved with their entreaties, and persuaded that it did not become a good man to harbour the least resentment against his country, resumed the government.

About the end of the second campaign, some ambassadors had set out from Lacedæmon, in order to solicit the king of Persia's alliance, and engage him to furnish a sum of money for maintaining the fleet: this reflected great ignominy on the Lacedæmonians, who called themselves the deliverers of Greece, since they thereby retracted or sullied the glorious actions they had formerly achieved in her defence against Persia. They went by the way of Thrace, in order to disengage, if possible, Sitalces from the alliance of the Athenians, and prevail with him to succour Potidæa. But they here met with some Athenian ambassadors, who caused them to be arrested as disturbers of the public peace, and afterwards to be sent to Athens, where, without suffering them to be heard, they were put to death that same day, and their bodies thrown in the open fields, by way of reprisal on the Lacedæmonians, who treated all who were not of their party in the same inhuman manner. It is scarcely possible to conceive how two cities, which but a short time before were so closely united, and ought to have shown a mutual civility and forbearance for each other, could contract so inveterate a hatred, and break into such cruel acts of violence, as to infringe all the laws of war, humanity and nations; and which prompted them to exercise greater cruelties upon one another, than if they had been at war with the barbarians.

Potidæa had now been besieged almost three years, when the inhabitants reduced to extremities, and in such want of provisions that some fed on human flesh, and not expecting any succours from the Peloponnesians, whose attempts in Attica had all proved abortive, surrendered on conditions. The circumstances which made the Athenians treat them with lenity, were, the severity of the weather, which exceedingly annoyed the besiegers; and the prodigious expense of the siege, which had already cost two thousand talents, or upwards of one million, two hundred thousand dollars.† They therefore came out of the city with their wives and children, as well citizens as foreigners, each man having but one suit of clothes, and the women two, and only a little money to carry them home. The Athenians blamed their generals for granting this capitulation without their order; because otherwise, as the citizens were reduced to the utmost extremity, they would have surrendered at discretion. They sent a colony thither.

The first thing that Pericles did, after his being re-elected generalissimo, was to propose the abrogation of that law, which he himself had caused to be enacted against bastards, when there were legitimate children.‡ It declared, that such only

* Permitted ille ut homo sit: neque enim vel philosophia vel imperium tollit affectus.—Jul. Capitol. in Vit. Antonini Pii.

† The army which besieged Potidæa consisted of three thousand men, exclusive of the sixteen hundred who had been sent under the command of Phormio. Every soldier received daily two drachms, or twenty-pence French, for master and man: and those of the galleys had the same pay.—Thucyd. l. iii. p. 182.

should be considered as true and legitimate Athenians, whose fathers and mothers were both natives of Athens; and it had been executed just before with the utmost rigour. For the king of Egypt* having sent to Athens a present of forty thousand measures of corn to be distributed among the people, the bastards, on account of this new law, were involved in a thousand difficulties, till then unpractised, and which had not been so much as thought of. Near five thousand of them were condemned and sold as slaves, while fourteen thousand and forty citizens were confirmed in their privileges, and recognized as true Athenians. It was thought very strange, that the author and promoter of this law should himself desire to have it repealed. But the Athenians were moved to compassion at the domestic calamities of Pericles; so that they permitted him to enter his bastard, in his own name, in the register of the citizens of his tribe.

A short time after, he himself was infected with the pestilence. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his last, the principal citizens, and such of his friends as had not forsaken him, discoursing together in his bed-chamber about his real merit, they recounted his exploits, and computed the number of his victories; for while he was generalissimo of the Athenians, he had erected for the glory of their city nine trophies, in memory of as many battles gained by him. They did not imagine that Pericles heard what they were saying, because he seemed to have lost his senses; but it was far otherwise, for not a single word of their discourse had escaped him; when, breaking suddenly from his silence, "I am surprised," said he, that you should treasure up so well in your memories, and extol so highly, a series of actions, in which fortune had so great a share, and which are common to me with so many other generals; and at the same time should forget the most glorious circumstances in my life; I mean, my never having caused a single citizen to put on mourning. A noble saying! which very few in high stations can declare with truth. The Athenians were deeply afflicted at his death.†

The reader has doubtless observed, from what had been said of Pericles, that in him were united most qualities which constitute the great man; as those of the admiral, by his great skill in naval affairs; of the great captain, by his conquests and victories; of the able treasurer, by the excellent order in which he put the finances; of the great politician, by the extent and justness of his views, by his eloquence in public deliberations, and by the dexterity and the address with which he transacted affairs; of a minister of state, by the methods he employed to increase trade and promote the arts in general; in fine, of father of his country, by the happiness he procured to every individual, and which he always had in view as the true scope and end of his administration.

But I must not omit another characteristic which was peculiar to him. He acted with so much wisdom, moderation, disinterestedness and zeal for the public good; he discovered, in all things, so great a superiority of talents, and gave so exalted an idea of his experience, capacity, and integrity, that he acquired the confidence of all the Athenians; and fixed in his own favour, during forty years that he governed the Athenians, their natural fickleness and inconstancy. He suppressed that jealousy, which an extreme fondness for liberty had made them entertain against all citizens distinguished by their merit and great authority. But the most surprising circumstance is, he gained his great assendency merely by persuasion, without employing force, mean artifices, or any of those arts which a mean politician excuses in himself, upon the specious pretence, that the necessity of the public affairs, and reasons of state, make them necessary.

Anaxagoras died the same year as Pericles. Plutarch relates a circumstance concerning him, which happened some time before, that must not be omitted. He says, that this philosopher, who had voluntarily reduced himself to excessive poverty, in order that he might have the greater leisure to pursue his studies; finding himself neglected in his old age by Pericles, who, in the multiplicity of the public affairs, had not always time to think of him, wrapped his cloak about his head, and threw himself on the ground, in the fixed resolution to starve himself.‡ Pericles hearing of this accidentally, ran with the utmost haste, to the philosopher's house, in the deepest affliction. He conjured him, in the strongest and most moving terms, not to throw

*Plutarch does not name this king. Perhaps it was Inarus, son to Psammetichus king of Libya, who had caused part of the Egyptians to take up arms against Artaxerxes, and to whom the Athenians, above thirty years before, had sent succours against the Persians.—Thucyd. l. i. p. 68.

†A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 428.

‡It was the custom for those to cover their heads with their cloaks, who were reduced to despair, and resolved to die.

his life away; adding, that it was not Anaxagoras, but himself, that was to be lamented, if he was so unfortunate as to lose so wise and faithful a friend; one who was so capable of giving him wholesome counsels with regard to the pressing occasions of the state. Anaxagoras then, uncovering his head a little, spoke thus to him: "Pericles, those who use a lamp take care to feed it with oil."* This was a gentle, and at the same time, a strong and piercing reproach. Pericles ought to have supplied his wants unasked. Many lamps are extinguished in this manner in a country, by the criminal negligence of those who ought to supply them.

SECTION III.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS BESIEGE PLATÆÆ. FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

THE most remarkable transaction of the following years, was the siege of Platææ by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the most famous sieges in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties; but especially for the glorious resistance made by the besieged, and their bold and industrious stratagem, by which several of them got out of the city, and by that means escaped the fury of the enemy. The Lacedæmonians besieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As soon as they had pitched their camp round the city, in order to lay waste the places adjacent to it, the Platæans sent some deputies to Archidamus, who commanded on that occasion, to represent, that he could not attack them with the least shadow of justice, because that, after the famous battle of Platææ, Pausanias, the Grecian general, offering up a sacrifice in their city to Jupiter the deliverer, in presence of all the allies, had given them their freedom, to reward their valour and zeal; and therefore, that they ought not to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their liberties, since it had been granted them by a Lacedæmonians. Archidamus answered that their demand would be very reasonable, had they not joined with the Athenians, the professed enemies to the liberty of Greece; but that, if they would disengage themselves from their present alliance, or at least remain neutral, they then should be left in the full enjoyment of their privileges. The deputies replied, that they could not possibly come to any agreement, without first sending to Athens, whither their wives and their children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to send thither; when the Athenians promising solemnly to succour them to the utmost of their power, the Platæans resolved to suffer the last extremities rather than surrender; and accordingly they informed the Lacedæmonians, from their walls, that they could not comply with what was desired.†

Archidamus then, after calling upon the gods to witness that he did not first infringe the alliance, and was not the cause of the calamities which might befall the Platæans, for having refused the just and reasonable conditions offered them, prepared for the siege. He surrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid length ways, very close together, with their boughs interwoven and turned towards the city, to prevent any person from going out of it. He afterwards threw up a platform to set the batteries on, in hopes that as so many hands were employed, they should soon take the city. He therefore caused trees to be felled on mount Cithæron, and interwove them with fascines, in order to support the terrace on all sides; he then threw in wood, earth, and stones; in a word, whatever could help to fill it up. The whole army worked night and day, without the least intermission, during seventy days; one half of the soldiers resposing themselves while the others were at work.

The besieged, observing that the work began to rise, threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city opposite to the platform, in order that they might always out-top the besiegers, and filled the hollow of this wooden wall with the bricks they took from the rubbish of the neighbouring houses; so that the wall of timber served in a manner as a defence to keep the wall from falling as it was carrying up. It was covered, on the outside, with hides, both raw and dry, in order to shelter the works and the workmen from the fires discharged against it. In proportion as it rose, the platform was raised also, which in this manner was carried to a great height. But the besieged made a hole in the opposite wall in order to carry off the earth that sustained the platform; which the besiegers perceiving, they put large panniers filled with mortar, in place of the earth which had been removed, because they could not be so easily

* Plut. in Pericl. p. 162.

† A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 429. Thucyd. l. ii. p. 147—151. Diocl. l. xii. p. 102—100.

carried off. The besieged, therefore, finding their first stratagem defeated, made a mine under ground as far as the platform, in order to shelter themselves, and to remove from it the earth and other materials of which it was composed, and which they passed from hand to hand, as far as the city. The besiegers were a considerable time without perceiving this, till at last they found that their work did not go forward, and that the more earth they laid on, the weaker it grew. But the besieged, judging that the superiority of numbers would at length prevail, without occupying themselves any longer at this work, or carrying the wall higher on the side towards the battery, contented themselves with building another within, in the form of a half-moon, both ends of which joined to the wall; in order that the besieged might retire behind it when the first wall should be forced, and so oblige the enemy to make new works.

In the mean time the besiegers having set up their machines, doubtless after they had filled up the ditch, though Thucydides does not mention this, shook the city-wall in a very terrible manner, which indeed, alarmed the citizens very much, but did not discourage them. They employed every art that fortification could suggest against the enemy's batteries. They prevented the shock of the battering-rams, by ropes which turned aside their strokes.* They also employed another artifice; the two ends of a great beam were made fast by long iron chains to two large pieces of timber, supported at due distance upon the wall in the manner of a balance; so that whenever the enemy played their machine, the besieged lifted up this beam, and let it fall back on the head of the battering-ram, which quite deadened its force, and consequently destroyed its effect.

The besiegers finding that the attack did not go on successfully, and that a new wall was raised against their platform, despaired of being able to storm the place, and therefore changed the siege into a blockade. However, they first endeavoured to set fire to it, imagining that the town might easily be burnt down, as it was so small, whenever a strong wind should rise; for they employed every artifice imaginable to make themselves masters of it as soon as possible, and with little expense. They therefore threw fascines into the intervals between the walls of the city and the intrenchment with which they had surrounded them; and filled these intervals in a very little time, because of the multitude of hands employed by them; in order to set fire, at the same time, to different parts of the city. They then lighted the fire with pitch and sulphur, which in a moment made a prodigious blaze. This invention was very near carrying the city, which had baffled all others; for the besieged could not at the same time withstand the fire and the enemy in several parts of the town; and had the weather favoured the besiegers, as they flattered themselves it would, it had certainly been taken: but history informs us, that an exceeding heavy rain fell, which extinguished the fire.

This last effort of the besiegers having been defeated as successfully as all the rest, they now turned the siege into a blockade, and surrounded the city with a brick wall, strengthened on each side with a deep ditch. The whole army was engaged successively in this work, and when it was finished, they left a guard over half of it, the Bœotians offering to guard the rest; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned to Sparta about the month of October. There were now, in Plataeæ, but four hundred inhabitants, and eighty Athenians, with a hundred and ten women to dress their victuals, and no other person, whether freeman or slave, all the rest having been sent to Athens before the siege.

During the campaign, some engagements were fought both by sea and land, which I omit, because of no importance.

The next summer, which was the fourth year of the war, the people of Lesbos, the citizens of Methymna excepted, resolved to break their alliance with the Athenians. They had designed to rebel before the war was declared, but the Lacedæmonians would not receive them at that time. The citizens of Methymna sent advice of this to the Athenians, assuring them, that if an immediate succour was not sent, the island would be inevitably lost. The affliction of the Athenians, who had sustained great losses by the war and the plague was greatly increased, when news was brought of the revolt of so considerable an island, whose forces, which were quite fresh, would now join the enemy, and reinforce them on a sudden by the addition of a powerful fleet. The Athenians therefore sent forty galleys designed for Peloponnesus, which accordingly sailed for Mitylene. The inhabitants, though in great con-

* The lower end of these ropes were formed into numerous slip-knots, with which they caught the head of the battering-ram, which they raised up by the help of the machine.

sternation because they were quite unprepared, yet put on an appearance of bravery, and sailed out of the port with their ships; however, being repulsed, they proposed an accomodation, which the Athenians listened to, from an apprehension that they were not strong enough to reduce the island to their allegiance. A suspension of arms was therefore agreed upon, during which the Mitylenians sent ambassadors to Athens. The fear of not obtaining their demands, made them send others to Lacedæmon, to desire succours. This was not ill judged, the Athenians sending them an answer which they had no reason to interpret in their favour.*

The ambassadors of Mitylene, after a dangerous voyage, having arrived in Lacedæmon, the spartans deferred giving them audience, till the solemnization of the Olympic games, in order that the allies might hear the complaints they had to make. I shall repeat their whole speech on that occasion, as it may serve at once to give a just idea of the style of Thucydides, and of the disposition of the several states with regard to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. "We are sensible," said the ambassadors, "that it is the custom to use deserters well at first, because of the service they do those whom they fly to; but to despise them afterwards, as traitors to their country and friends. This is far from being unjust, when they have no inducement to such a change, when the same union subsists, and the same aids are reciprocally granted. But it is far otherwise between us and the Athenians: and we entreat you not to be prejudiced against us, because, after having been treated mildly by the Athenians during the peace, we now renounce their alliance when they are unfortunate. For, having come hither to demand admittance into the number of your friends and allies, we ought to begin our own justification, but showing the justice and necessity of our procedure; it being impossible for a true friendship to be established between individuals, or a solid alliance between cities, unless both are founded on virtue and uniformity of principles and sentiments.

"To come to the point: the treaty we concluded with the Athenians, was not to enslave Greece, but to free it from the yoke of the barbarians; and it was concluded after the retreat of the Persians, when you renounced the command. We adhered to it with pleasure, as long as the Athenians continued to entertain just designs; but when we saw that they discontinued the war they were carrying on against the enemy, merely to oppress the allies, we could not but suspect their conduct. And as it was extremely difficult, in so great a diversity of interests and opinions, for all of them to continue in strict union, and still harder to make head against them when alone and separated, they have subjected, by insensible degrees, all the allies, except the inhabitants of Chios and our people, and used our own forces for this end. For, at the same time that they left us seemingly at liberty, they obliged us to follow them; though we could no longer rely on their words, and had the strongest reason to fear the like treatment. And indeed, what probability is there after enslaving all the other states, that they should show a regard to us only, and admit us upon terms of equality, if they may become our masters whenever they please; especially as their power increases daily, in proportion as ours lessens? A mutual fear between confederates, is a strong motive to make an alliance lasting, and to prevent unjust and violent attempts, by its keeping all things in an equilibrium. Their leaving us the enjoyment of our liberties, was merely because they could not intrench upon them by open force, but only by that specious equity and moderation they have shown us. First, they pretended to prove, from their moderate conduct in regard to us, that as we were free, we should not have marched in conjunction with them against the other allies, had they not given them just grounds for complaint. Secondly, by attacking the weakest first, and subduing them one after another, they enabled themselves, by their ruin, to subject the powerful without difficulty, who at last would be left alone and without support; whereas, had they begun by invading us, at the time that the allies were possessed of all their troops, and were able to make some stand, they could not so easily have completed their designs. Besides, as we had a large fleet, which would strengthen considerably whatever party we should declare for, this was a check upon them. Add to this, that the high regard we have always shown for their republic, and the endeavours we have used to gain the favour of those who commanded it, have suspended our ruin. But we had been undone, had not this war broke out; which the fate of others leaves no room to doubt.

* Thucyd. l. iii. p. 174—207. Diod. l. xii. p. 108, 109.

“What friendship, then, what lasting alliance can be concluded with those who are never friends and allies, but when force is employed to make them continue such? For, as they were obliged to caress us during the war, to prevent our joining with the enemy; we were constrained to treat them with the same regard in time of peace, to prevent their falling upon us. That which love produces in other places, was with us the effect of fear. It was this circumstance that made an alliance subsist some time, which both parties were determined to break upon the very first favourable opportunity: let therefore no one accuse us for the advantage we now take. We had not always the same opportunity to save, as they had to ruin us; but were under the necessity of waiting for a favourable moment before we could venture to declare ourselves.

“Such are the motives which now oblige us to solicit your alliance; the equity and justice of which appear very strong to us, and consequently call on us to provide for our safety; we should have claimed your protection before, had you been sooner inclined to afford it to us; for we offered ourselves to you even before the war broke out: we have now come at the persuasion of the Bœotians, your allies, to disengage ourselves from the oppressors of Greece, and join our arms with its defenders; and to provide for the security of our state, which is now in imminent danger. If any thing can be objected to our conduct, it is the declaring ourselves so precipitately, with more generosity than prudence, and without having made the least preparations. But this also ought to engage you to be more ready in succouring us; that you may not lose the opportunity of protecting the oppressed, and avenging yourselves on your enemies. There never was a more favourable conjuncture than that which now offers itself; a conjuncture, when war and pestilence have consumed their forces, and exhausted their treasure: not to mention that their fleet is divided, by which means they will not be in a condition to resist you, should you invade them at the same time by land and sea. For they either will leave us to attack you, and give us an opportunity of succouring you; or they will oppose us all together, and then you will have but half their forces to contend with.

“For the rest, let no one imagine that you will expose yourselves to dangers for a people incapable of doing you service. Our country indeed lies at a considerable distance from you, but our aid is near at hand. For the war will be carried on, not in Attica, as is supposed, but in that country whose revenues are the support of Attica, and we are not far from it. Consider also, that in abandoning us, you will increase the power of the Athenians by the addition of ours; and that no state will then dare to take up arms against them. But in succouring us, you will strengthen yourselves with a fleet, which you so much want; you will induce many other people, after our example, to join you; and you will take off the reproach cast upon you, of abandoning those who have recourse to your protection, which will be no inconsiderable advantage to you during the course of the war.

“We therefore implore you, in the name of Jupiter Olympus, in whose temple we now are, not to frustrate the hopes of the Greeks, nor reject suppliants, whose preservation may be highly advantageous, and whose ruin may be infinitely pernicious to you. Show yourselves such now, as the idea entertained of your generosity, and the extreme danger to which we are reduced, may demand; that is, the protectors of the afflicted and the deliverers of Greece.”

The allies, struck with these reasons, admitted them into the alliance of Peloponnesus. An immediate incursion into the enemy's country was resolved, and that the allies should rendezvous at Corinth with two thirds of their forces. The Lacedæmonians arrived first, and prepared engines for transporting the ships from the gulph of Corinth into the sea of Athens, in order to invade Attica both by land and sea. The Athenians were no less active on their side; but the allies, being employed in their harvest, and beginning to grow weary of the war, were a long time before they met.

During this interval, the Athenians, who perceived that all these preparations were made against them, from a supposition that they were very weak, to undeceive the world, and show that they alone were able to support a fleet without the aid of Lesbos, sent to sea a fleet of one hundred sail, which they manned with citizens as well as foreigners; not exempting a single citizen, except such only as were obliged to serve on horseback, or whose revenue amounted to five hundred measures of corn. After having showed themselves before the isthmus of Corinth, the more to display their power, they made descents into whatever parts of Peloponnesus they pleased.

The world never saw a finer fleet. The Athenians guarded their own country, and the coasts of Eubœa and Salamin, with a fleet of a hundred ships; they cruised round Peloponnesus with another fleet of the like number of vessels, without including their fleet before Lesbos and other places. The whole amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty galleys. The expenses of this powerful armament entirely exhausted their treasure, which had been very much drained before by the siege of Potidæa.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly surprised at so formidable a fleet, which they by no means expected, returned with the utmost expedition to their own country, and only ordered forty galleys to be fitted out for the succour of Mitylene. The Athenians had sent a reinforcement thither, consisting of a thousand heavy armed troops, by whose assistance they made a contravallation, with forts in the most commodious places; so that it was blocked up, both by sea and land, in the beginning of winter. The Athenians were in such great want of money for carrying on this siege, that they were obliged to assess themselves, which they had never done before, and by this means two hundred talents were sent to it.*

The people of Mitylene being in want of all things, and having waited to no purpose for the succours which the Lacedæmonians had promised them, surrendered, upon condition that no person should be put to death or imprisoned till the ambassadors, whom they should send to Athens, were returned; and that, in the mean time, the troops should be admitted into the city.† As soon as the Athenians had got possession of the city, such of the factious Mityleneans as had fled to the altars for refuge, were conveyed to Tenedos, and afterwards to Athens. There the affair of the Mityleneans was debated. As their revolt had greatly exasperated the people, because it had not been preceded by any ill treatment, and seemed a mere effect of their hatred for the Athenians, in the first transports of their rage, they resolved to put all the citizens to death indiscriminately, and to make all the women and children slaves, and immediately sent a galley to put the decree in execution.

But night gave them leisure to make different reflections. This severity was judged too cruel, and carried farther than consisted with justice. They imagined to themselves, the fate of that unhappy city, entirely abandoned to slaughter, and repented their having involved the innocent with the guilty. This sudden change of the Athenians gave the Mitylenean ambassadors some little glimmerings of hope; and they prevailed so far with the magistrates as to have the affair debated a second time. Cleon, who had suggested the first decree, a man of a fiery temper, and who had great authority over the people, maintained his opinion with great vehemence and heat. He represented, that it was unworthy a wise government to change with every wind, and to annul in the morning what they had decreed the night before; and that it was highly important to take an exemplary vengeance of the Mityleneans, in order to awe the rest of their allies, who were every where ready to revolt.

Diodorus, who had contradicted Cleon in the first assembly, now opposed his arguments more strongly than before. After describing, in a tender and pathetic manner, the deplorable condition of the Mityleneans, whose minds, he said, must necessarily be on the rack, while they were expecting a sentence that was to determine their fate, he represented to the Athenians, that the fame of their mildness and clemency had always reflected the highest honour on them, and distinguished them gloriously from all other nations: he observed, that the citizens of Mitylene had been drawn involuntarily into the rebellion, a proof of which was, their surrendering the city to them the instant it was in their power to do it; they therefore, by this decree, would murder their benefactors and consequently be both unjust and ungrateful, in punishing the innocent with the guilty. He observed farther, that supposing the Mityleneans in general were guilty, it would however be for the interest of the Athenians to dissemble, in order that the rigorous punishment they had decreed might not exasperate the rest of the allies; and that the best way to put a stop to the evil, would be to leave room for repentance and not plunge people into despair, by the absolute and irrevocable refusal of a pardon. His opinion therefore was, that they should examine very deliberately the cause of those factious Mityleneans, who had been brought to Athens, and pardon all the rest.

The assembly was very much divided, so that Diodorus carried it only by a few votes. A second galley was therefore immediately fitted out. It was furnished with

* Two hundred thousand dollars.

† A. M. 3577. Ant. J. C. 427.

every thing that might accelerate its course; and the ambassadors of Mitylene promised a great reward to the crew, provided they arrived time enough. They therefore did not quit their oars, even when they took sustenance, but eat and drank as they rowed, and took their rest alternately; and very happily for them, the wind was favourable. The first galley had got a day and night's sail before them, but as those on board carried ill news, they did not make great haste. Its arrival before the city had spread the utmost consternation in every part of it; but it increased infinitely, when the decree, by which all the citizens were sentenced to die, was read in a full assembly. Nothing was now heard in all places but cries and loud lamentation. The moment the sentence was about to be put in execution, advice came that a second galley had arrived. Immediately the cruel massacre was suspended. The assembly was again convened; and the decree which granted a pardon was listened to with a silence and joy, that is much easier conceived than expressed.

All the factious Mityleneans, though upwards of a thousand, were put to death. The city was afterwards dismantled, the ships delivered up, and the whole island, the city of Methymna excepted, was divided into three thousand parts or portions, three hundred of which were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the rest divided by lot among such Athenians as were sent thither, to whom the natives of the country gave a revenue of two minæ for every portion; on which condition they were permitted to keep possession of the island, but not as proprietors.* The cities which belonged to the Mityleneans on the coast of Asia, were all subjected by the Athenians.

During the winter of the preceding campaign, the inhabitants of Plataeæ, having lost all hopes of succour, and being in the utmost want of provisions formed a resolution to cut their way through the enemy; but half of them, struck with the greatness of the danger, and the boldness of the enterprise, entirely lost courage when they came to the execution; the rest, who were about two hundred and twenty soldiers, persisted in their resolution, and escaped in the following manner:†

Before I begin the relation of their escape, it will be proper to inform my readers, in what sense I use certain expressions I shall employ in it. In strictness of speech, the line or fortification which is made round a city when besieged, to prevent sallies, is called contravallation; and that which is made to prevent any succours from without, is named circumvallation. Both these fortifications were used in the siege; however, for brevity's sake, I shall use only the former term.

The contravallation consisted of two walls, at sixteen feet distance one from the other. The space between the two walls, being a kind of platform or terrace, seemed to be but one single building, and composed a range of cazerns or barracks, where the soldiers had their lodgings. Lofty towers were built around at proper distances, extending from one wall to the other, in order that they might be able to defend themselves at the same time against any attack from within and without. There was no going from one cazern to another without crossing those towers; and on the top of the wall was a parapet on both sides, where a guard was commonly kept; but in rainy weather, the soldiers used to shelter themselves in the towers, which served the purpose of guard-houses. Such was the contravallation, having on both sides a ditch, the earth of which had been employed in making the bricks of the wall.

The besieged first took the height of the wall by counting the rows of bricks which composed it; and this they did at different times, and employed several men for that purpose, in order that they might not mistake in the calculation. This was the easier, because, as the wall stood but at a short distance, every part of it was very visible. They then made ladders of a proper length.

All things being now ready for executing the design, the besieged left the city on a dark night, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain. After crossing the first ditch, they drew near to the wall undiscovered, through the darkness of the night: not to mention that the noise made by the wind and rain prevented their being heard. They marched at some distance from one another, to prevent the clashing of their arms, which were light, in order that those who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked to keep them from slipping so easily in the mire. Those who carried the ladders placed them in the space between the towers, where they knew no guard was posted, because it rained. That instant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the

* The Attic minæ was worth a hundred drachms, that is, fifty French livres or 89, 37½.

† Thucyd. l. iii. p. 185—183.

towers, six on each side. They were followed by soldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the easier; and their shields were carried after them to be used in the charge.

When most of these were got to the top of the wall, they were discovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades, in taking hold of the parapet, had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole camp approached the wall without discovering the occasion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night, and the violence of the storm. Besides which, those who had staid behind in the city, beat an alarm at the same time in another quarter; to make a diversion; so that the enemy did not know which way to turn themselves, and were afraid to quit their posts. But a corps of reserve, of three hundred men who were kept for any unforeseen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noise; and torches were held up towards Thebes, to show that they must run that way. But those in the city, to render the signal of no use, made others at the same time in different quarters, having prepared them on the walls for that purpose.

In the mean time, those who had mounted first having possessed themselves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were set, and having killed those who guarded them, posted themselves there to defend the passage and keep off the besiegers. Then, setting ladders from the top of the wall against the two towers, they caused a great number of their comrades to mount in order to keep off, by the discharge of their arrows, as well those who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as the others who were hastening from the neighbouring towers. While this was doing, they had time to set several ladders, and to throw down the parapet that the rest might come up with the greater ease. As fast as they came up, they went down on the other side and drew up near the ditch on the outside, to shoot at those who appeared. After they were passed over, the men who were in the towers came down last, and made to the ditch to follow after the rest.

That instant the guard of three hundred, with torches, came up. However as the Platæans saw their enemies by this light better than they were seen by them, they took a surer aim, by which means the last crossed the ditch, without being attacked in their passage: but this was not done without difficulty, because the ditch was frozen over, and the ice would not bear, on account of the thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the storm was of great advantage to them.

After all were passed, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat; because it would not appear likely that they had fled towards an enemy's city. Immediately they perceived the besiegers, with torches in their hands, pursuing in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about six or seven stadia,* they turned short towards the mountain, and resumed the route of Athens, where two hundred and twelve arrived, out of two hundred and twenty who had quitted the place; the rest having returned through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the side of the ditch of contravallation. The besiegers, after having pursued them to no purpose, returned to their camp.

In the mean time, the Platæans who remained in the city, supposing that all their companions had been killed; because those who returned, to justify themselves, affirmed that they were sent a herald to demand, the dead dodies; but being told the true state of the affair, he withdrew.

About the end of the following campaign, which is that wherein Mitylene was taken, the Platæans, being in absolute want of provisions, and unable to make the least defence, surrendered upon condition that they should not be punished till they had been tried and adjudged in due form of justice. Five commissioners came for this purpose from Lacedæmon; and these without charging them with any crime, barely asked them whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war? the Platæans were much surprised as well as puzzled at this question; and were sensible, that it had been suggested by the Thebans, their professed enemies; who had vowed their destruction. They therefore put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the services they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemisium and that of Platææ; and particularly in Lacedæmon at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their slaves. The only reason, they declared, of their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was to defend

* Upwards of a quarter of a league.

themselves from the hostilities of the Thebans, against whom they had implored the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpose: that if that was imputed to them for a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not however entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former services. "Cast your eyes," said they, "on the monuments of your ancestors which you see here, to whom we annually pay all the honours which can be rendered to the means of the dead. You thought fit to intrust their bodies with us, as we were eye-witnesses of their bravery; and yet you will now give up their ashes to their murderers, in abandoning us to the Thebans, who fought against them at the battle of Platææ. Will you enslave a province where Greece recovered its liberty? Will you destroy the temples of those gods to whom you owe the victory? Will you abolish the memory of their founders, who contributed so greatly to your safety? On this occasion, we may venture to say, our interest is inseparable from your glory; and you cannot deliver up your ancient friends and benefactors to the unjust hatred of the Thebans, without eternal infamy to yourselves."*

One would conclude, that these just remonstrances should have made some impression on the Lacedæmonians; but they were biassed more by the answer the Thebans made, and which was expressed in the most bitter and haughty terms against the Platæans; and besides, they had brought their instructions from Lacedæmon. They stood therefore to their first question, "Whether the Platæans had done them any service since the war?" and making them pass one after another, as they severally answered no, they were immediately butchered, and not one escaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner; and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the same unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken prisoners, were made slaves. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from Megara and Platææ; but the year after they demolished it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantage from the Thebans, sacrificed the Platæans to their animosity, ninety-three years after their first alliance with the Athenians.

In the sixth year of the war of Peloponnesus, the plague broke out anew in Athens, and again swept away great numbers.†

SECTION IV.—THE ATHENIANS POSSESS THEMSELVES OF PYLUS, &c. SIXTH AND SEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

I PASS OVER several particular incidents of the succeeding campaigns, which differ very little from one another; the Lacedæmonians making regularly every year incursions into Attica, and the Athenians into Peloponnesus: I likewise omit some sieges in different places: that of Pylus, a little city of Messenia, only four hundred furlongs‡ from Lacedæmon, was one of the most considerable. The Athenians, headed by Demosthenes, had taken that city, and fortified themselves very strongly in it; this was the seventh year of the war. The Lacedæmonians left Attica immediately, in order to go and recover, if possible, that place, and accordingly they attacked it both by sea and land. Brasidas, one of their leaders, signalized himself here by the most extraordinary acts of bravery. Opposite to the city was a little island called Sphacteria, whence the besieged might be greatly annoyed, and the entrance of the harbour shut up. They therefore threw a chosen body of Lacedæmonians into it; making in all, four hundred and twenty, exclusive of the Helots. A battle was fought at sea, in which the Athenians were victorious, and accordingly erected a trophy. They surrounded the island, and set a guard in every part of it, to prevent any of the inhabitants from going out, or any provisions from being brought into them.§

The news of the defeat being carried to Sparta, the magistrate thought the affair of the utmost importance, and therefore came himself upon the spot, in order that he might be better able to take proper measures; when concluding that it would be impossible for him to save those who were on the island, and that they at last must necessarily be starved out, or be taken by some other means, he proposed an accommodation. A suspension of arms was concluded, in order to give the Lacedæmonians time to send to Athens; but upon condition that in the mean time they should surround up all their galleys, and not attack the place either by sea or land, till the return of the ambassadors: that if they complied with these conditions, the Athenians would

* Thueyd. l. iii. p. 203.—220. Diod. l. xii. p. 109. + A. M. 3578. Ant. J. C. 426. Thueyd. l. viii. p. 232.

‡ Twenty French leagues.

§ A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425. Thueyd. l. iv. p. 258—280. Diod. l. xii. p. 112—124.

permit them to carry provisions to those who were in the island, at the rate of so much for the master, and half for the servant;* and that the whole should be done publicly, and in sight of both armies; that, on the other side, the Athenians should be allowed to keep guard round the island, to prevent any thing from going in or out of it, but should not attack it in any manner; that in case this agreement should be infringed in the least, the truce should be broken; otherwise, that it should continue in full force till the return of the ambassadors, whom the Athenians obliged themselves, by the articles, to convey backwards and forwards; and that then the Lacedæmonians should have their ships restored, in the same condition in which they had been delivered up. Such were the articles of the treaty. The Lacedæmonians began to put it in execution, by surrendering about sixty ships; after which they sent ambassadors to Athens.

Being admitted to an audience before the people, they began by saying, that they had come to the Athenians to sue for that peace which they themselves were, a little before, in a condition to grant: that they now might acquire the glory of having restored the tranquillity of all Greece, as the Lacedæmonians consented to their being arbitrators in this treaty: that the danger to which their citizens were exposed in the island, had determined them to take such a step as could not but be very grating to the Lacedæmonians: however, that their affairs were far from being desperate: and therefore, that now was the time to establish, between the two republics, a firm and solid friendship, because the affairs of both were still fluctuating, and fortune had not yet declared absolutely in favour of either: that the gods frequently abandoned those whom success makes proud, by changing the scene, and rendering them as unfortunate as they before had been happy: that they ought to consider, that the fortune of war is very uncertain; and that the means to establish a lasting peace, is not to triumph over an enemy by oppressing him, but to agree to a reconciliation on just and reasonable terms, for then, conquered by generosity and not by violence, his future thoughts being all employed, not on revenge, but on gratitude, he is delighted, and thinks it his duty to observe his engagements with inviolable fidelity.

The Athenians had now a happy opportunity for terminating the war, by a peace which would have been as glorious to them, as advantageous to all Greece. But Cleon, who had a great power over the people, prevented its taking effect. They therefore answered, by his advice, that those who were in the island should first surrender at discretion, and afterwards be carried to Athens, on the condition of being sent back from it, as soon as the Lacedæmonians should have restored the cities, &c. which the Athenians had been forced to give up by the last treaty; and that these things being done, a firm and lasting peace should be concluded. The Lacedæmonians demanded that deputies should be appointed, and that the Athenians should engage to ratify what they should conclude. But Cleon exclaimed against this proposal, and said, it was plain they did not deal fairly, since they would not negotiate with the people, but with particular men, whom they might easily bribe: and that if they had any thing to offer, they should do it immediately. The Lacedæmonians, finding there was no possibility for them to treat with the people without advising with their allies, and that if any thing had been granted by them to their prejudice, they must be responsible for it, went away without concluding any thing; fully persuaded that they must not expect equitable treatment from the Athenians, in the present state of their affairs and dispositions consequent on prosperity.

As soon as they were returned to Pylus, the suspension ceased: but when the Lacedæmonians came to demand back their ships, the Athenians refused to give them up, upon pretence that the treaty had been infringed in some particulars of little consequence. The Lacedæmonians inveighed strongly against this refusal, as being a manifest perfidy; and immediately prepared for war with greater vigour and animosity than before. A haughty deportment in success, and want of faith in the observation of treaties, never fail, eventually, to involve a people in great calamities. This will appear by what follows.

The Athenians continued to keep a strict guard round the island, to prevent any provisions from being brought into it, and hoped they should soon be able to starve out the inhabitants. But the Lacedæmonians engaged the whole country in their interest by the views of gain, laying a heavy tax upon provisions and giving such slaves their freedom as should bring any into it. Provisions were therefore now

* For the masters, two chænces of flour, making about four pounds and a half, two cotyles, or half pints of wine, and a piece of meat, with half this quantity for the servants.

brought at the hazard of men's lives, from all parts of Peloponnesus. There were even many who swam from the coast to the island, opposite to the harbour, and drew after them goats' skins filled with pounded linseed, and poppies mixed with honey.

Those who were besieged in Pylus were reduced to almost the like extremities, being in want of both water and provisions. When advice was brought to Athens, that their countrymen, so far from reducing the enemy by famine, were themselves almost starved, it was feared, that as it would not be possible for the fleet to subsist during the winter, on a desert coast which belonged to the enemy, nor to lie at anchor in so dangerous a road, the island must by that means be less securely guarded, which would give the prisoners an opportunity of escaping. But the circumstance they chiefly dreaded was, that the Lacedæmonians, after their countrymen were once extricated from their danger, would refuse to harken to any conditions of peace; so that they now repented their having refused it when offered them.

Cleon saw plainly that these complaints would all fall on him. He therefore began by asserting, that it was all a false report concerning the extreme want of provisions, to which the Athenians, both within and without Pylus, were said to be reduced. He next exclaimed, in presence of the people, against the supineness and inactivity of the leaders who besieged the island, pretending that were they to exert the least bravery, they might soon take the island; and that had he commanded, he would soon have taken it. Upon this he was immediately appointed to command the expedition; Niceas, who was before elected; resigning voluntarily that honour to him, either through weakness, for he was naturally timid, or out of a political view, in order that the ill success which it was generally believed Cleon would meet with in this enterprise, might lose him the favour of the people. But now Cleon was greatly surprised as well as embarrassed; for he did not expect that the Athenians would take him at his word, he being a better talker than soldier, and much more able with his tongue than his sword. However, he desired leave to waive the honour they offered him, for which he alleged several excuses: but finding that the more he declined the command, the more they pressed him to accept it, he changed his note; and supplying his want of courage with rhodomontade, he declared before the whole assembly, with a firm and resolute air, that he would bring, in twenty days, those of the island prisoners, or lose his life. The whole assembly, on hearing these words, set up a laugh, for they knew the man.

Cleon, however, contrary to the expectation of every body, made good his words. He and Demosthenes (the other chief) landed in the island, attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from post to post, and gaining ground perpetually, at last forced them to the extremity of the island. The Lacedæmonians had stormed a fort that was thought inaccessible. There they drew up in order of battle, faced about to that side only where they could be attacked, and defended themselves like so many lions. As the engagement had lasted the greatest part of the day, and the soldiers were oppressed with heat and weariness, and parched with thirst, the general of the Messenians, addressing himself to Cleon and Demosthenes, said, that all their efforts would be to no purpose, unless they charged their enemy's rear; and promised, if they would give him but some troops armed with missile weapons, that he would endeavour to find a passage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain steep and craggy places which were not guarded, when coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a sudden at the rear of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage, and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble resistance; and being oppressed with numbers, attacked on all sides, and dejected through fatigue and despair, they began to give way: but the Athenians seized on all the passes to cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demosthenes, finding, that should the battle continue, not a man of them would escape, and being desirous of carrying them alive to Athens, commanded their soldiers to desist; and caused proclamation to be made by a herald, for them to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. At these words, the greatest part lowered their shields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of suspension of arms was agreed upon; and their commander desired leave might be granted him to despatch a messenger to the camp, to know the resolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coast; and after several messages, a Lacedæmonian came forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not submit to dishonourable terms. Upon this they held a conference; after which they surrendered at discretion, and were kept till the next

day. The Athenians then raising a trophy, and restoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after distributing the prisoners among the several ships, and committing the guard of them to the captain of the galleys.

In this battle a hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell, out of four hundred and twenty, their number at first; so that there survived not quite three hundred, one hundred and twenty of whom were Spartans, that is, inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The siege of the island, to compute from the beginning of it, including the time employed in the truce, had lasted seventy-two days. They all now left Pylus; and Cleon's promise, though so vain and rash, was found literally true. But the most surprising circumstance was, the capitulation that had been made; for it was believed that the Lacedæmonians, so far from surrendering their arms, would die sword in hand.

BOOK EIGHTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CONTINUED DURING THE REIGNS OF
XERXES II, OF SOGDIANUS, AND OF DARIUS NOTHUS.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter contains the history of thirteen years of the Peloponnesian war, to the nineteenth inclusively.

SECTION I.—THE VERY SHORT REIGNS OF XERXES II. AND SOGDIANUS, &c.

ARTAXERXES died about the beginning of the forty-ninth year of his reign.* Xerxes, who succeeded him, was the only son which the queen his wife had brought him; but he had seventeen others by his concubines among, whom were Sogdianus (who is called Secoundianus by Ctesias,) Ochus, and Arsites. Sogdianus, in concert with Pharnacias, one of Xerxes's eunuchs, came insidiously one festival day to the new king, who, after drinking too immoderately, had retired to his chamber, in order to give the fumes of the wine he had drank time to evaporate, where he killed him without any difficulty, after he had reigned but forty-five days, and was declared king in his stead.†

He was scarcely on the throne, when he put to death Bagorazus, the most faithful of his father's eunuchs. It was he who had been appointed to superintend the interment of Artaxerxes, and the queen, Xerxes's mother, who died the same day with her royal consort. After having deposited the two bodies in the mausoleum, where the kings of Persia were interred, he found, at his return, Sogdianus on the throne, who did not receive him favourably, upon account of some difference with him in the lifetime of his father. But the new king did not stop here: not long after he took an opportunity to quarrel with him, on some trifling circumstance relating to the obsequies of his father, and caused him to be stoned.

By these two murders, that of his brother Xerxes and of Bagorazus, he became the horror of the army and nobility, so that he did not think himself safe on a throne, to which he had forced his way by such horrid murders. He suspected that his brothers harboured the like design: and Ochus, to whom his father had left the government of Hyrcania, was the chief object of his suspicion. Accordingly he sent for him, with the intention of getting him murdered as soon as he arrived. Ochus however, who saw through his design, delayed coming upon various pretences; which he continued till he advanced at the head of a strong army, which he openly declared he would employ to revenge the death of his brother Xerxes. This declaration brought over to him a great number of the nobility, and several governors of the provinces, they being justly dissatisfied at the cruelty and ill conduct of Sogdianus. They put the tiara on Ochus's head and proclaimed him king. Sogdianus, seeing himself abandoned in this manner, was as mean and cowardly in the slight defence he made to maintain his crown, as he had been before unjust and barbarous in usurping it. Contrary to the advice of his best friends and the wisest persons who still adhered to him, he concluded a treaty with his brother, who, getting him into his hands, caused

* A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425. Ctes. c. xviii—li. Diod. l. xii. p. 115.

† A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424.

him to be thrown into ashes; where he died a cruel death. This was a kind of punishment peculiar to the Persians, and exercised only on great criminals. One of the largest towns was filled to a certain height with ashes. The criminal was then thrown headlong from the top of the tower into them; after which, the ashes were by a wheel turned perpetually round him till he was suffocated. Thus this wicked prince lost his life and empire, which he enjoyed six months and fifteen days.*

Ochus, by the death of Sogdianus, now found himself possessed of the empire. As soon as he was well settled in it, he changed his name from Ochus to that of Darius. To distinguish him, historians add the epithet *Néōs*, signifying bastard. He reigned nineteen years.†

Arsites, seeing in what manner Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and had himself been dethroned by Ochus, meditated to serve the latter in the same manner.— Though he was his brother by the father's as well as the mother's side, he openly revolted against him, and was assisted in it by Artyphius, son of Megabyzus. Ochus, whom hereafter we shall always call Darius, sent Artasyras one of his generals, against Artyphius; and himself, at the head of another army, marched against Artyphius, with the Grecian troops in his pay, twice defeated the general sent against him. But, engaging a third time, the Greeks were corrupted, and he himself was beat, and forced to surrender, upon his being flattered with hopes that a pardon would be granted him. The king would have had him put to death, but was diverted from that resolution by queen Parysatis, Darius's sister and queen. She also was the daughter of Artaxerxes, but not by the same mother as Darius. She was an intriguing, artful woman, and the king her husband was governed by her on most occasions. The counsel she now gave was perfidious to the last degree. She advised him to exercise his clemency towards Artyphius, and show him kind usage, in order that his brother might hope, when he heard of his treating a rebellious servant with so much generosity, that he himself should meet at least with as mild treatment, and therefore be prompted to lay down his arms. She added, that when once he should have seized that prince, he might dispose of him and Artyphius as he pleased. Darius followed her counsel, which proved successful. Arsites being informed of the gentle usage which Artyphius met with, concluded, that as he was the king's brother, he should consequently meet with still more indulgent treatment; and with this hope he concluded a treaty, and surrendered himself. Darius was very much inclined to save his life, but Parysatis, by representing to him, that he ought to punish this rebel to secure himself, at last prevailed with him to put his brother to death; and accordingly he was suffocated in ashes with Artyphius. Darius, however, had a violent struggle with himself before he could give orders for this sacrifice, having a very tender affection for his brother. He afterwards put some other persons to death, which executions did not procure him the tranquillity he had expected from them; for his reign was afterwards disturbed with such violent commotions, that he enjoyed but little repose.

One of the most dangerous commotions was occasioned by the rebellion of Pisuthnes, who, being governor of Lydia, wanted to throw off his allegiance to the Persian empire, and make himself king in his province. What flattered him with the hopes of succeeding in this attempt, was his having raised a considerable body of Grecian troops, under the command of Lycon the Athenian. Darius sent Tissaphernes against this rebel, and gave him, with a considerable army, the commission of governor of Lydia, of which he was to dispossess Pisuthnes. Tissaphernes, who was an artful man, and capable of acting in all characters, found means of tampering with the Greeks under Pisuthnes; and by dint of presents and promises brought over the troops with their general to his party. Pisuthnes, who by this desertion was unable to carry on his designs, surrendered, upon being flattered with the hopes of obtaining his pardon; but the instant he appeared before the king, he was sentenced to be suffocated in ashes, and accordingly met with the same fate as the rest of the rebels.‡— But his death did not put an end to all troubles; for Amorges his son, with the remainder of his army still opposed Tissaphernes; and for two years laid waste the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, till he at last was taken by the Greeks of Peloponnesus, in Iasus, a city of Ionia, and delivered up by the inhabitants to Tissaphernes, who put him to death.§

Darius was involved in fresh troubles by one of his eunuchs. This kind of officers had for many years, engrossed all power in the court of Persia; and we shall find

* Val. Max. l. ix. c. ii. 2. Mæcenab. c. viii.
† A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 414. Ctes. c. li.

† A. M. 3581. Ant. J. C. 423.
§ Thueyd. l. viii. p. 554.—567. 568.

by the sequel of this history, that they always governed absolutely in it.* We may know their character, and the danger to which they expose princes, by the picture which Diocletian, after he had resigned the empire and reduced himself to a private station of life, drew of freemen, who had gained a like ascendant over the Roman emperors. "Four or five persons," says he, "who are closely united, and resolutely determined to impose on a prince, may do it very easily. They never show things to him but in such a light as they are sure will please. They conceal whatever would contribute to enlighten him: and as they alone beset him continually, he cannot be informed of any thing but through their channel, and does nothing but what they think fit to suggest to him. Hence it is, that he bestows employments on those he ought to exclude from them; and, on the other side, removes from offices such persons as are most worthy of filling them. In a word, the best prince is often sold by these men, though he be ever so vigilant, and even suspicious of them." "Quid multa? Ut Diocletianus ipse dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur imperator."†

In this manner was Darius's court governed. Three eunuchs had usurped all power in it; an infallible mark that a government is bad, and the prince of little merit.‡ But one of those three eunuchs, whose name was Artoxares, presided over and governed the rest. He had found Darius's weak side, by which he insinuated himself into his confidence. He had studied all his passions, to know how to indulge them, and govern his prince by their means. He plunged him continually in pleasures and amusements, to engross his whole authority to himself. In fine, under the name and protection of queen Parysatis, to whose will and pleasure he was the most devoted of slaves, he managed all the affairs of the empire, and nothing was transacted but by his orders. Intoxicated by the supreme authority which the favour of his sovereign gave him, he resolved to make himself king, instead of being prime minister; and accordingly formed a design to get Darius out of the way, and afterwards ascend the throne. However, his plot being discovered, he was seized and delivered up to Parysatis, who put him to a most ignominious cruel death.

But the greatest misfortune which happened in the reign of Darius, was the revolt of the Egyptians. This took place the same year which Pisuthnes rebelled.§ But Darius could not reduce Egypt as he had done that rebel. The Egyptians, weary of the Persian government, flocked from all parts to Amyrteus of Sais, who at last was come out of the fens where he had defended himself since the suppression of the revolt of Inarus. The Persians were driven out, and Amyrteus proclaimed king of Egypt, where he reigned six years.||

After having established himself securely on the throne, and entirely expelled the Persians out of Egypt, he prepared to pursue them as far as Phœnicia, and had already concerted measures with the Arabians, to attack them in that country. News of this being brought to the king of Persia, he recalled the fleet which he had promised the Lacedæmonians, to employ it in the defence of his own dominions.

While Darius was carrying on the war in Egypt and Arabia, the Medes rebelled; however, they were defeated, and reduced to their allegiance by force of arms. To punish them for this revolt, their yoke, which till then had been tolerably easy, was made heavier: a fate that rebellious subjects always experience, when the government which they have endeavoured to throw off, gains the upper hand.

Darius's arms seem to have had the like success against the Egyptians. Amyrteus dying, or probably falling in battle after he had reigned sixty years, was, according to Herodotus, succeeded in the throne by his son Pausiris, assisted by the Persians. To effect this, they must either have been masters of Egypt, or their party the strongest in that kingdom.¶

After having crushed the rebels in Media, and restored the affairs of Egypt to their former situation, Darius gave Cyrus, the youngest of his sons, the supreme command of all the provinces of Asia Minor: an important commission, by which he commanded all the provincial governors in that part of the empire.**

I thought it necessary to anticipate events and throw together the facts which relate to the kings of Persia, to prevent my being often obliged to interrupt the history of the Greeks, to which I now return.

* Ctes. c. lii.

† Seis præcipuum est eindicium non magni principis, magnos libertos. Plin. ad Tragan.

‡ Enseb. in Chron.

† Vopis. in Vit. Aurclian. Imper.

‡ Thucyd. l. i. p. 72, 73.

¶ Herod. l. iii. c. 15.

** A. M. 3597. Ant. J. C. 407.

SECTION II.—THE ATHENIANS MAKE THEMSELVES MASTERS OF THE ISLAND OF CYTHERA, &c. &c. THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE three or four campaigns which followed the reduction of the small island of Sphacteria, were distinguished by very few considerable events.

The Athenians under Nicias took the little island of Cythera, situated on the coast of Lacedæmon, near Cape Malea, and from thence infested the whole country.*

Brasidas, on the other side, marched towards Thrace. The Lacedæmonians were induced by more than one motive to undertake the expedition: imagining they should oblige the Athenians, who had fallen upon them in their country, to divide their forces. The inhabitants of it invited them thither, and offered to pay the army. In fine, they were extremely glad to embrace that opportunity, to rid themselves of the Helots, who they expected would rise in rebellion, on the taking of Pylus. They had already made away with two thousand of them in a most horrid manner. Upon the specious pretence of rewarding merit even in slaves, but, in reality to get rid of a body of men whose courage they dreaded, they caused proclamation to be made, that such of the Helots as had done the greatest service to the state in the last campaigns, should enter their names in the public registers, in order to their being made free. Accordingly two thousand gave in their names. They were carried in procession through the temples, with chaplets of flowers on their heads, as if they were really to be set at liberty. After this ceremony, they all disappeared, and were never heard of more. We have here an instance, in what manner a suspicious policy and power, when filled with jealousy and distrust, excite men to the commission of the blackest crimes, without scrupling to make even religion itself and the authority of the gods, subservient to their dark designs.†

They therefore sent seven hundred Helots with Brasidas, whom they had appointed to head this enterprise. This general brought over several cities, either by force or secret understanding, but still more by his wisdom and moderation. The chief of these were Acanthus and Stagira, two colonies from Andros. He also marched afterwards towards Amphipolis, an Athenian colony, on the river Strymon. The inhabitants immediately despatched a messenger to Thucydides‡ the Athenian general, who was then in Thasus, a little island of the Ægean sea, half a day's journey from Amphipolis. He instantly set sail with seven ships that were near him, to secure the place before Brasidas could seize it; or, at worst, to get into Eion, which lay very near Amphipolis. Brasidas, who was afraid of Thucydides, from his great influence throughout the country, where he was possessed of some gold mines, made all the despatch imaginable to get there before him; and offered such advantageous conditions to the besieged, who did not expect succours so soon, that they surrendered. Thucydides arrived the same evening at Eion; and had he failed to come that day, Brasidas would have taken possession of it the next morning by day-break. Although Thucydides had made all imaginable despatch, the Athenians charged him with being the cause of the taking of Amphipolis, and accordingly banished him.§

The Athenians were greatly afflicted at the loss of that city, as well because they drew great revenues from it, and timber to build their ships, as because it was a kind of gate for entering Thrace. They were afraid that all their allies in that neighbourhood would revolt; especially as Brasidas discovered great moderation and justice, and continually gave out, that he came with no other view but to free the country. He declared to the several nations, that at his leaving Sparta, he had taken an oath, in presence of the magistrates, to leave all those the enjoyment of their liberties, who would conclude an alliance with him; and that he ought to be considered as the most abandoned of men, should he employ oaths to ensnare their credulity. "For," according to Brasidas, "a fraud cloaked with a specious pretence, reflects infinitely greater dishonour on persons in high stations, than open violence; because the latter is the effect of power which fortune has put into our hands; and the former is founded wholly on perfidy, which is the pest of society. Now I (said he) should do a great injury to my country, besides dishonouring it eternally, if by procuring it some slight advantages, I should ruin the reputation it enjoys of being just and faithful to its promises; which renders it much more powerful than all its forces united together, be-

* A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424. Thucyd. l. iv. p. 286.

† Thucyd. l. iv. p. 304—311. Diod. l. xii. p. 117. 118.

‡ The same, who wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war. § Thucyd. l. iv. p. 320—324.

cause this acquires it the esteem and confidence of other states." Upon such noble and equitable principles as these, Brasidas always formed his conduct; believing that the strongest bulwark of a nation is justice, moderation, integrity; and the firm persuasion which their neighbours and allies entertain, that they are not so base as to harbour a design to usurp their dominions, or deprive them of their liberty. By this conduct he brought over a great number of the enemy's allies.

The Athenians, under the command of Demosthenes and Hippocrates, had entered Bœotia, expecting that several cities would join them the moment they should appear. The Thebans marched out to meet them near Delium. A considerable engagement ensued, in which the Athenians were defeated and put to flight.* Socrates was in this battle; and Laches, who accompanied that great man in it, gives the following testimony of him in Plato, that, had the rest of the army behaved as gallantly as Socrates, the Athenians would not have sustained so great a loss before Delium. He was borne away by the crowds who fled, and was on foot; Alcibiades who was on horseback, when he saw him, rode up to him, and did not stir from him, but defended him with the utmost bravery, from the enemy who were pursuing him.†

After the battle, the victors besieged the city. Among other engines employed by them to batter it, they used one of a very extraordinary kind. This was a long piece of timber, cut into two parts, and afterwards made hollow and joined again, so that its shape resembled very much that of a flute. At one of the ends was fixed a long iron tube, with a caldron attached to it; so that, by blowing a large pair of bellows at the other end of the piece of timber, the wind being carried from thence into the tube, lighted a great fire with pitch and brimstone that lay in the caldron. This engine being carried on carts as far as the rampart, to that part where it was lined with stakes and fascines, threw out so great a flame, that the rampart being immediately abandoned, and the palisades burned, the city was easily taken.

SECTION III.—A TWELVEMONTH'S TRUCE IS AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE TWO STATES, &c. &c. NINTH, TENTH, AND ELEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

THE losses and advantages on both sides were nearly equal; and the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expense, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce for a year was therefore concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.‡ The former resolved on it, in order to check the progress of Brasidas's conquests; to secure their cities and fortresses; and afterwards to conclude a general peace, in case they judged it would be of advantage to them. The latter were induced to it, in order that, by the sweets of repose, peace might become desirable to their enemy; and to get out of their hands such of their citizens as the Athenians had taken prisoners in the island of Sphacteria, and which they could never expect to do, if Brasidas extended his conquests farther. The news of this accommodation sensibly afflicted Brasidas, as it stopped him in the midst of his career, and disconcerted all his projects. He could not even prevail with himself to abandon the city of Scione, which he had taken two days before, but without knowing that a truce was concluded. He still went farther, and did not scruple to take Mende, a little city not far from Scione, that surrendered to him as the former had done, which was a direct violation of the treaty: but Brasidas pretended he had other infractions to object to the Athenians.

It will naturally be supposed, that they were far from being pleased with the conduct of Brasidas. Cleon, in all public assemblies, was for ever inflaming the minds of the Athenians, and blowing up the fire of war. His great success in the expedition of Spachteria had raised his credit infinitely with the people: he was now grown insupportably proud, and his audaciousness was not to be restrained. He had a vehement, impetuous, and furious kind of eloquence, which prevailed over the minds of his auditors, not so much by the strength of his arguments, as by the boldness and fire of his style and utterance. It was Cleon who first set the example of bawling in assemblies, where the greatest decorum and moderation had till then been observed; of throwing his robe behind him, to give him the more liberty to display his arms; of striking his thigh; and of running up and down the rostra while he was speaking. In a word, he first introduced among the orators, and all those who were in public employments, an ungovernable licentiousness, and a contempt of decency; a licen-

* Thucyd. l. iv. p. 311—319.

† Plut. in Lach. p. 181. In conviv. p. 221. Plut. in Alcib. p. 196.

‡ A. M. 5381. Ant. J. C. 423. Thucyd. l. iv. p. 323—333. Diod. l. xii. p. 120.

tiousness and contempt which soon introduced terrible irregularities and confusion in public affairs.*

Thus two men, each on his own side, opposed the tranquillity of Greece and raised, but in a very different way, an invincible obstacle to its peace. These were Cleon and Brasidas. The former, because the war screened his vices and malversations; and the latter because it added a new lustre to his virtues. And indeed, it gave Cleon an opportunity of committing enormous oppressions, and Brasidas of performing great and noble actions. But their death, which happened about the same time, made way for a new accommodation.†

The Athenians had appointed Cleon to command the troops which were to oppose Brasidas, and reduce those cities that had revolted from their allegiance. The Athenians were solicitous for none of them so much as Amphipolis: and Brasidas threw himself into that city in order to defend it. Cleon had written to Perdicas king of Macedonia, and to the king of the Odomantes, to furnish him with as many troops as possible, and with the utmost expedition. He waited for them, and had resolved to march immediately towards the enemy; but finding his soldiers, who had followed him involuntarily and with regret, grew weary of continuing so long inactive, and to begin to compare his cowardice and inexperience with the ability and valour of Brasidas, he could no longer bear their contempt and murmurs; and imagining himself a great captain by his taking Sphacteria, he now fancied that the same good fortune would attend him at Amphipolis. He therefore approached it, as he said, to take a view of the place, till such time as all his forces should arrive; not that he thought he wanted them to carry that city, or that he doubted in any manner his success; for he was persuaded that no one would dare to oppose him, but only to enable him to invest the place on all sides, and afterwards to take it by storm. Accordingly he encamped before Amphipolis: when viewing very leisurely its situation, he fondly supposed that it would be in his power to retire whenever he pleased, without drawing the sword; for not a man came out or appeared on the walls; and all the gates of the city were kept shut, so that Cleon began to repent his not having brought the engines, imagining that he wanted only these to make himself master of the city. Brasidas, who was perfectly well acquainted with Cleon's disposition and character, studiously affected an air of fear and reserve, to increase his temerity, and the good opinion he had of himself: besides, he knew that Cleon had brought with him the flower of the Athenian forces and the choicest troops of Lemnos and of Imbrus. Accordingly Cleon, despising an enemy who did not dare to appear before him, but shut himself up in a cowardly manner in the city, went boldly from place to place without precaution, or observing any discipline among his soldiers. Brasidas, whose intention was to attack him on a sudden before all his forces should come up, thought this the critical juncture. He had concerted proper measures, and given the necessary orders. Accordingly he made a sudden sally on the Athenians, which surprised and disconcerted them exceedingly. Immediately the left wing drew off from the main body and fled. Brasidas then turned the whole force of his arms against the right wing, which gave him a warm reception. Here he was wounded and disabled, upon which the soldiers carried him off unperceived by the Athenians. As for Cleon, not having resolved to fight, he fled and was killed by a soldier who happened to meet him. The troops he commanded defended themselves for some time, and sustained two or three attacks without giving ground, but at last they were entirely broken and routed. Brasidas was then carried into the city, where he survived his victory but a few moments.‡

The whole army having returned from the pursuit, stripped the dead, and afterwards set up a trophy. After which, all the allies under arms solemnized the funeral obsequies of Brasidas in a public manner; and the inhabitants of Amphipolis celebrated funeral honours every year to his memory, as to a hero, with games, combats, and sacrifices. They considered him as their founder; and to secure this title the better to him, they demolished all the monuments of him§ who had really been so; so that they might not appear to owe their establishment to an Athenian, and at the same time to make their court to the Lacedæmonians, on whom they depended wholly for their security. The Athenians, after having carried off, with the consent of the victors, their dead, returned to Athens, during which the Lacedæmonians settled the affairs of Amphipolis.

* Plut. in vit. Nicias, p. 528. † Plut. in vit. Nicias, p. 528.
A. M. 3582. Ant. J. C. 422. Thucyd. l. iii. p. 342—351. Diod. l. xii. p. 121, 122.
‡ Agnon the Athenian.

A saying is ascribed to the mother of Brasidas, which strongly intimates the Spartan character. As some persons were applauding in her presence the fine qualities and exalted actions of her son, and declaring him superior to all other generals: "You are mistaken," said she, "my son was a valiant man, but Sparta has many citizens braver than he." A mother's generosity, in thus preferring the glory of the state to that of her son, was admired and did not go unrewarded; for the ephori paid her public honours.*

After this last engagement, in which two persons who were the greatest obstacles to the peace lost their lives, both nations seemed more inclined to an accommodation, and the war was suspended in a manner on both sides. The Athenians, from the loss of the battles of Delium and Anphipolis, which had very much brought down their haughtiness, were undeceived with regard to the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their own strength, which had made them refuse the advantageous offers of their enemies. Besides, they were afraid of the revolt of their allies, who, being discouraged by their losses, might thereby be induced to abandon them, as several had already done.

These reflections made them strongly repent their not having concluded a treaty, after the advantages they had gained at Pylus. The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, no longer flattered themselves with the hopes of being able to ruin the Athenians by laying waste their country; and were besides terrified and dejected by their loss in the island, the greatest they had ever sustained.

They also considered that their country was depopulated by the garrison of Pylus and Cythera; that their slaves deserted; that they had reason to dread a more considerable revolt; and that, as the truce they had concluded with the inhabitants of Argos was near expiring, they had reason to be apprehensive of being abandoned by some of their allies of Peloponnesus, as they accordingly were. These several motives, enforced by the desire they had of recovering the prisoners, the greatest part of whom were the most considerable citizens of Sparta, made them desirous of peace.†

Those who were most solicitous for having it concluded, and whose interest it was chiefly to wish it, were the chiefs of the two states, viz. Plistonax, king of Lacedæmon, and Nicias, general of the Athenians. The former was lately returned from banishment, to which he had been sentenced, on account of his being suspected to have received a bribe in order to draw off his troops from the Athenian territories; and to this precipitate retreat was ascribed several misfortunes which followed after it. He was also charged with having corrupted by gifts, the priestess of Delphos, who had commanded the Spartans, in the name of the god, to recall him from his exile. Plistonax was therefore desirous of peace, in order to put an end to the reproaches which, on account of the perpetual calamities of the war, were daily revived. As for Nicias, the most fortunate general of his age, he was afraid that some unhappy accident should eclipse his glory; and he wished to enjoy the fruits of peace in ease and tranquillity, and that his country might possess the same happiness. Both states began by agreeing to a suspension of arms for twelve months, during which, being every day together, and tasting the sweets of security and repose, and the pleasure of corresponding with their friends and with foreigners, they grew passionately desirous of leading an easy, undisturbed life, remote from the alarms of war, and the horrors of blood and slaughter. They heard with the utmost demonstrations of joy the choruses of their tragedies sing, "May spiders henceforward weave their cobwebs on our lances and shields!" And they remembered with pleasure him who said, "those who sleep in the arms of peace, do not start from it at the sound of the trumpet; and nothing interrupts their slumbers but the peaceful crowing of the cock."‡

The whole winter was spent in conferences and interviews, in which each party proposed their rights and pretensions.§ At last a peace was concluded and ratified for fifty years, one of the chief articles of which was, that they should reciprocally restore the prisoners on each side. This treaty was concluded ten years and some days from the first declaration of the war.|| The Bæotians and Corinthians were exceedingly disgusted at it, and for that reason used their utmost endeavours to excite fresh troubles. But Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to give the last hand to this peace, by concluding an alliance offensive and defensive, which would render them more formidable to those who should desire to break with them, and more

* Diod. l. xii. p. 122:

† Thucyd. l. v. p. 354. Plut. in Nic. p. 522. 529.

‡ A. M. 3583. Ant. J. C. 421.

† Thucyd. l. v. p. 351—354.

§ Diod. l. xii. p. 122.

assured with regard to each other. The Athenians, in consequence of this treaty, at last restored the prisoners they had taken in the island of Sphacteria.*

SECTION IV.—THE CHARACTER OF ALCIBIADES. BANISHMENT OF HYPERBOLUS, &c. &c.
TWELFTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

ALCIBIADES began now to advance himself in the state, and appear in the public assemblies. Socrates had been attached to him for many years, and adorned his mind with a great variety of the noblest erudition.†

The strict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the most remarkable circumstances in his life. This philosopher, observing excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his person, bestowed incredible pains in cultivating so valuable a plant, least being neglected, it should wither as it grew, and absolutely degenerate. And indeed Alcibiades was exposed to numberless dangers; his high birth, his vast riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his personal talents, his exquisite beauty, and still more than these, the flattery and complaisance of all who approached him. One would have concluded, says Plutarch, that fortune had surrounded and invested him with all these pretended advantages as with so many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inaccessible and invulnerable to all the darts of philosophy; those salutary darts which strike to the heart, and leave in it the strongest incitements to virtue and solid glory. But these very obstacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates.

Notwithstanding the strong endeavours that were used to divert this young Athenian from an attachment which alone was capable of securing him from so many snares, he devoted himself entirely to it. As he had abundance of wit, he was fully sensible of Socrates's extraordinary merit; and could not resist the charms of his insinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater ascendancy over him than the allurements of pleasure. He was so zealous a disciple of that great master, that he followed him wherever he went, took the utmost delight in his conversation, was extremely well pleased with his principles, received his instructions, and even his reprimands, with a wonderful docility, and would be so moved with his discourses, as even to shed tears and abhor himself; so weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in so loathsome and odious a light did he expose the vices to which Alcibiades was prone.

Alcibiades, in those moments when he listened to Socrates, differed so much from himself, that he appeared quite another man. However, his headstrong fiery temper, and his natural fondness for pleasure, which was heightened and inflamed by the discourses and advice of young people, soon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him, as it were, from his master; who was obliged to run after him as after a slave who had escaped. This vicissitude of flights and returns, of virtuous resolutions and relapses into vice, continued a long time; but still Socrates was not discouraged by his levity, and always flattered himself with the hope of bringing him back to his duty. And hence certainly arose the strong mixture of good and evil which always appeared in his conduct; the instructions which his master had given him sometimes prevailing, and at other times, the fire of his passions hurrying him, in a manner against his own will into actions of a quite opposite nature.

This intimacy, which continued as long as they lived, did not pass uncensured. But some persons of great learning pretend, that these censures and suspicions, when duly examined, quite disappear; and that they ought to be considered as the effect of the malice of the enemies of both.‡ Plato, in one of his dialogues, gives us a conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades, by which the genius and character of the latter may be known, who was thenceforward to have a very great share in the affairs of the republic of Athens. I shall make a very short extract from it in this place, which I hope will not displease my readers.

In this dialogue, Socrates is introduced conversing with Alcibiades, who at that time was under the guardianship of Pericles. He was then very young, and had been educated like the rest of the Athenians, that is, he had been taught polite literature, and to play on instruments, and had practised wrestling and other bodily exercises. It does not appear that Pericles had hitherto taken much pains in his education, a fault too common in the greatest men, since he had put him under the tutorage

* Thucyd. l. v. p. 358, 359.

† Plut. in Alcib. p. 192, 194.

‡ Abbé Fraguier justifies Socrates in one of his dissertations.—Mem. of the Academy of Belles Lettres. vol. iv. p. 373.

of Zopyrus, a Thracian, a man far advanced in years, and who, of all Pericles's slaves, both from his turn of mind and age, was the least qualified to educate this young Athenian. And indeed Socrates told Alcibiades, that should he compare him with the youths of Lacedæmon, who displayed a spirit of valour, a greatness of soul, a strong desire of glory, a love of labour, attended with gentleness, modesty, temperance, and a perfect obedience to the laws and discipline of Sparta, he would seem a mere child to them. Nevertheless his high birth, his riches, the great families he was related to, and the authority of his guardian; all these things had conspired to make him exceedingly vain and haughty. He was full of esteem for himself, and of contempt for all others. He was preparing to enter upon the administration of public affairs, and promised himself no less than to eclipse entirely the glory of Pericles and to attack the king of Persia even upon his throne. Socrates seeing him about to mount the rostra, in order to give the people some advice relating to the public affairs, demonstrated to him by various questions, and by Alcibiades's answers, that he was quite ignorant of the affairs about which he was going to speak, as he had never studied them himself, nor been informed in them by others. After making Alcibiades confess this, he painted, in the strongest colours, the absurdity of his conduct, and made him fully sensible of it. "What," said Socrates, "would Amestris, the mother of Artaxerxes, who then reigned in Persia, say, were she to hear, that a man in Athens was meditating war against her son, and even intending to dethrone him? She doubtless would suppose him to be some veteran general, a man of intrepid courage, of great wisdom, and the most consummate experience; that he was able to raise a mighty army, and march it wherever he pleased; and, at the same time, that he had long before taken the proper measures for putting so vast a design in execution. But, were she to hear that there are none of these circumstances, and that the person in question was not twenty years old; that he was utterly ignorant of public affairs; had not the least knowledge of war, and no influence with the citizens or the allies; would it be possible for her to refrain from laughing at the folly and extravagance of such an enterprise? This nevertheless," said Socrates, directing himself to Alcibiades, "is your picture, and unhappily resembles most of those who thrust themselves into public employments." Socrates, however excepts Pericles on this occasion; his solid merit and exalted reputation being acquired by his close study, during a long course of years, of every thing capable of forming his mind, and of qualifying him for public employments. Alcibiades could not deny that this was his case; he was ashamed of his conduct, and blushing to see himself so void of merit, he enquired how he should act for the attainment of it. Socrates, unwilling to discourage his pupil, answered him, that as he was so young, these evils might be remedied, and afterwards continually gave him the wisest counsels. He had entire leisure to improve from them; as upwards of twenty years passed between this conversation and his engaging in public affairs.*

Alcibiades was of a versatile disposition, that would take any impression which the difference of times and circumstances might require, still turning either to good or evil, with the same facility and ardour; and shifting almost in an instant from one extreme to its opposite, so that people applied to him, what Homer observes of the land of Egypt, "that it produces a great number of very excellent medicinal drugs, and at the same time as many poisons." It might be said of Alcibiades, that he was not one single man, but, if so bold an expression might be used, a compound of several men; either serious or gay; austere or affable; an imperious master, or a grovelling slave; a friend to virtue and the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and vicious men; capable of supporting the most painful fatigues and toils, or insatiably desirous of voluptuous delights.†

His irregularities and dissolute conduct were become the talk of the whole city; and Alcibiades would very willingly have put a stop to these reports, but without changing his course of life, as appears from a saying of his. He had a very handsome dog, of a prodigious size, which had cost him seventy minæ, or three thousand five hundred French livres.‡ By this we find that a fondness for dogs was of great antiquity. Alcibiades caused his tail, which was the greatest beauty he had about him, to be cut off. His friends censured him very much on that account, and said, that the whole city blamed him very much for spoiling the beauty of so handsome a creature. "This is the very thing I want," replied Alcibiades with a smile. "I would

* Plut. in Alcib. 1.

† *Quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos* — Juvenal.

‡ Upwards of £700.

have the Athenians discourse about what I have done to my dog, that they may not entertain themselves with saying worse things of me.”*

Among the various passions that were discovered in him, the strongest and most prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to submit to it, and could not bear a superior or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents smoothed the way to his attaining the highest employments in the republic; there was nothing, however, to which he was so fond of owing the influence and authority he wanted to gain over the people, as to the force of his eloquence, and the persuasive grace of his orations.† To this his intimacy with Socrates might be of great service.

Alcibiades, with such a cast of mind as we have here described, was not born for repose, and had set every engine at work to traverse the treaty lately concluded between the two states; but not succeeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was disgusted at the Lacedæmonians, because they directed themselves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, seemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his ancestors had enjoyed the rights of hospitality among them.‡

He therefore procured a violation of the peace by the following means, having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to break with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared, he encouraged their hostility, by secretly flattering them with hopes of aid from the Athenians, who were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them.

And indeed the Lacedæmonians were not very careful to observe the several conditions of it religiously, having concluded an alliance with the Bœotians, in direct opposition to the design and tenor of the treaty; and having surrendered up the fort of Panacton to the Athenians, not fortified and in the condition it was in at the concluding of the treaty, as they had stipulated to do but quite dismantled. Alcibiades observing the Athenians to be extremely exasperated at this breach of faith, did his utmost to widen the difference; and taking this opportunity to embarrass Nicias, he made him odious to the people, by causing them to entertain a suspicion of his being too strongly attached to the Lacedæmonians, and by charging him with crimes which were not altogether improbable, though they were absolutely false.

This new attack quite disconcerted Nicias; but happily for him there arrived, at that very instant, ambassadors from Lacedæmon, who were invested with full powers to put an end to all the divisions. Being introduced into the council or senate, they set forth their complaints, and made their demands, which every one of the members thought very just and reasonable. The people were to give them audience the next day. Alcibiades, who was afraid they would succeed with them, used his utmost endeavours to engage the ambassadors in a conference with him. He represented to them, that the council always behaved with the utmost moderation and humanity towards those who addressed them; but that the people were haughty and extravagant in their pretensions; that should the ambassadors mention full powers, they, the people, would not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, and oblige them to agree to whatever they should take it into their heads to ask. He concluded with assuring them, that he would assist them with all his influence, in order to get Pylus restored to them; to prevent the alliance with the people of Argos, and to get that with them renewed; and he confirmed all these promises with an oath. The ambassadors were extremely well pleased with this conference, and greatly admired the profound policy and vast abilities of Alcibiades, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary man; and indeed they were not mistaken in their conjecture.

On the morrow, the people being assembled, the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them, in the mildest terms, the subject of their embassy, and the purport of the powers with which they were invested. They immediately answered, that they were come to propose an accommodation, but were not empowered to conclude any thing. These words were no sooner spoken than Alcibiades exclaimed against them; declared them to be treacherous knaves; called upon the council as witnesses to the speech they had made the night before; and desired the people not to believe or hear men who so impudently advanced falsehoods, and spoke and prevaricated so unaccountably as to say one thing one day, and the very reverse the next.

* Plut. in Alcib. 195.

† Το φιλονεικον, και το φιλοσπρωτον. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195, 196.

‡ A. M. 3684. Ant J. C. 420. Thucyd. l. v. p. 368—378. Plut. in Alcib. p. 197, 198.

Words could never express the surprise and confusion with which the ambassadors were seized, who, gazing wildly on one another, could not believe either their eyes or ears. Nicias, who did not know the treacherous stratagem of Alcibiades, could not conceive the motive of this change, and tortured his brain to no purpose to find out the reason of it. The people were that moment going to send for the ambassadors of Argos, in order to conclude the league with them, when a great earthquake came to the assistance of Nicias, and broke up the assembly. It was with the utmost difficulty he prevailed so far, in that of next day, as to have a stop put to the proceedings, till such time as ambassadors should be sent to Lacedæmon. Nicias was appointed to head them; but they returned without having done the least good. The Athenians then repented very much their having delivered up, at his persuasion, the prisoners they had taken in the island, and who were related to the greatest families in Sparta. However, though the people were highly exasperated at Nicias, they did not proceed to any excesses against him, but only appointed Alcibiades their general, made a league with the inhabitants of Martinea and Elis, who had quitted the party of the Lacedæmonians, in which the Argives were included and sent troops to Pylus, to lay waste Laconia. In this manner they again involved themselves in the war which they were so lately desirous of avoiding.

Plutarch, after relating the intrigues of Alcibiades, adds, "No one can approve the methods he employed to succeed in his design; however, it was a master-stroke, to disunite and shake almost every part of Peloponnesus in this manner, and raise up, in one day, so many enemies against the Lacedæmonians." In my opinion, this is too soft a censure of so knavish and perfidious an action, which, however successful it might have been, was, notwithstanding horrid in itself and of a nature never to be sufficiently detested.*

There was in Athens, a citizen named Hyperbolus, a very wicked man, whom the comic poets generally made the object of their raillery and invectives. He was hardened in evil, and become insensible to infamy, by renouncing all sentiments of honour, which could only be the effect of a soul abandoned entirely to vice. Hyperbolus was not agreeable to any one; and yet the people made use of him to humble those in high stations, and involve them in difficulties. Two citizens, Nicias and Alcibiades, engrossed at that time all the authority in Athens. The dissolute life of the latter shocked the Athenians, who besides, dreaded his audacity and haughtiness. On the other side, Nicias, by always opposing, without the least reserve, their unjust desires, and by obliging them to take the most useful measures, had become very odious to them. One would have imagined that as the people were thus alienated from both, they would not have failed to put the ostracism in force against one of them. Of the two parties which prevailed at that time in the city, one, which consisted of the young men who were eager for war, the other of the old men who were desirous of peace; the former endeavoured to procure the banishment of Nicias, and the latter of Alcibiades. Hyperbolus, whose only merit was in impudence, in hopes of succeeding if either of them should be removed, declared openly against them, and was eternally exasperating the people against both. However, the two factions being afterwards reconciled, he himself was banished, and by that, put an end to the ostracism, which seemed to have been demeaned, in being employed against the man of so base a character, for hitherto there was a kind of honour and dignity annexed to this punishment. Hyperbolus was therefore the last who was sentenced by the ostracism, as Hipparchus, a near relation of Pisistratus the tyrant, had been the first.†

SECTION V.—ALCIBIADES ENGAGES THE ATHENIANS IN THE WAR OF SICILY. SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEETH YEARS OF THE WAR.

I PASS over several inconsiderable events, to hasten to the relation of that of the greatest importance, the expedition of the Athenians into Sicily, to which they were especially excited by Alcibiades. This is the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war.‡

Alcibiades had gained a surprising ascendancy over the minds of the people, though they were perfectly well acquainted with his character. For his great qualities were united with still greater vices, which he did not take the least pains to conceal. He passed his life in such an excess of luxury and voluptuousness, as was a scandal to that city. Nothing was seen in his house but festivals, rejoicings and parties of plea-

* Plut. in Alcib. p. 193.

† Plut. in Alcib. p. 196, 197. Plut. in Nic. 530, 531.

‡ A. M. 3588. Ant. J. C. 416. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 350—402

sure and debauchery. He showed very little regard to the customs of his country, and less to religion and the gods. All persons of sense and judgment, besides the strong aversion they had for his irregularities, dreaded exceedingly the consequences of his audacity, profusion, and utter contempt of the laws, which they considered as so many steps by which Alcibiades would rise to tyrannical power.*

Aristophanes, in one of his comedies,† shows admirably well, in a single verse, the disposition of the people with regard to him: "They hate Alcibiades," says he, "and yet cannot do without him." And, indeed, the prodigious sums he squandered on the people; the pompous games and shows he exhibited to please them; the magnificent and almost incredible presents which he made the city; the grace and beauty of his whole person; his eloquence, his bodily strength, joined to his courage and experience; in a word, this assemblage of great qualities made the Athenians connive at his faults and bear them patiently, always endeavouring to lessen and screen them under soft and favourable names; for they called them sports, polite pastimes, and indications of his humanity and good nature.

Timon the man-hater, morose and savage as he was, formed a better judgment of this conduct of Alcibiades. Meeting him one day as he was coming out of the assembly, vastly pleased at his having been gratified in all his demands, and at seeing the greatest honours paid him by the people in general, who were attending him in crowds to his house; so far from shunning him as he did all other men, he on the contrary, ran to meet him, and stretching out his hand to him in friendly way: "Courage, my son," said he "thou doest right in pushing thy fortune, for your advancement will be the ruin of all these people." The war of Sicily will show that Timon was, not mistaken.

The Athenians, from the time of Pericles, had meditated the conquest of Sicily.— However, that wise guide had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project. He used frequently to inculcate upon them, that by living in peace, by supporting their fleet, by contenting themselves with the conquests they had already gained, and by not engaging in hazardous enterprises, they would raise their city to a flourishing condition, and be always superior to their enemies. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading Sicily, could not suppress the desire they had to conquer it, and their eyes were continually upon that island. Some time after the death of Pericles, the Leontines being invaded by the Syracusans, had sent a deputation to Athens to demand aid. They were originally of Chalcis, an Athenian colony. The chief of the deputies was Gorgias, a famous rhetorician, who was reputed the most eloquent man of his times. His elegant and florid diction, heightened by shining figures, which he first employed, charmed the Athenians, who were prodigiously affected with the beauties and graces of eloquence. Accordingly the alliance was concluded, and they sent ships to Rhegium to the aid of the Leontines. The year following they sent a greater number. Two years after they sent a new fleet, something stronger than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to all their divisions, by the advice of Hermocrates, the fleet was sent back; and the Athenians not being able to prevail with themselves to pardon their generals for not conquering Sicily, sent two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, into banishment and sentenced the third, Eurymedon, to pay a heavy fine; their prosperity having blinded them to such a degree, that they were persuaded no power was able to resist them. They made several attempts afterwards, and upon pretence of sending from time to time arms and soldiers to such cities as were unjustly treated or oppressed by the Syracusans, they by that means prepared to invade them with a greater force.‡

But the person who most inflamed this ardour was Alcibiades, by his feeding the people with splendid hopes, with which he himself was for ever filled, or rather intoxicated. He was every night in his dreams taking Carthage, subduing Africa, crossing from thence into Italy, and possessing himself of all Peloponnesus, looking upon Sicily not as the scope and end of this war, but as the beginning and the first step of the exploits he revolved in his mind. All the citizens favoured his views, and without inquiring seriously into matters, were enchanted with the mighty hopes he gave them. This expedition was the only topic of conversation. The young men in the places where the public exercises were performed, and the old men in their shops and elsewhere, were employed in nothing but in drawing the plan of Sicily; in discoursing on

* Plut. in Alcib. 198—200. Plut. in Nic. p. 531.
‡ Diod. l. xi. p. 99.

† The Frogs, Act 5, Scene 4.

the nature and quality of the sea with which it is surrounded; on its good harbours, and flat shores towards Africa: for these people, infatuated by the speeches of Alcibiades, were, like him, persuaded that they should make Sicily only their military depot and arsenal, from whence they should set out for the conquest of Carthage, and make themselves masters of all Africa and the sea, as far as the pillars of Hercules.

It is related, that neither Socrates, nor Meton the astronomer, believed that this enterprise would be successful; the former, being inspired, as he insinuated, by his familiar spirit, who had always warned him of the evils with which he was threatened; and the other, directed by his reason and good sense, which pointed out what he had to apprehend in respect to the future, induced him to act the madman on this occasion; and to demand, in consideration of the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, that the Athenians would not force away his son, and would dispense with his carrying arms.*

SECTION VI.—ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO INHABITED SICILY.

BEFORE I enter on the relation of the war in Sicily, it will not be improper to give a plan of the country, and of the nations who inhabited it: Thucydides begins in the same manner.

It was first inhabited by the Lestrygonæ and the Cyclopes, of whom we do not know any particulars, except what we are told by the poets. The most ancient after these were the Sicani, who called themselves the original inhabitants of this country, though they are thought to have come into it from the neighbourhood of a river in Spain, called Sicanus, whose name they gave to the island, which before was called Trinacria: these people were afterwards confined to the western part of the island. Some Trojans, after the burning of their city, came and settled near them, and built Erix and Egesta,† and all assumed the name of Elymæi; and were afterwards joined by some inhabitants of Phocis, at their return from the siege of Troy. Those who are properly called Sicilians came from Italy in very great numbers: and having gained a considerable victory over the Sicani, confined them to a corner of their island about three hundred years before the arrival of the Greeks, and in the time of Thucydides they still inhabited the middle part of the island and the northern coast. From them the island was called Sicily. The Phœnicians also spread themselves along the coast, and in the little islands which bordered upon it, for the convenience of trade: but after the Greeks began to settle there, they retired into the country of the Elymæi, in order to be nearer Carthage, and abandoned the rest. It was in this manner the barbarians first settled in Sicily.‡

With regard to the Greeks, the first of them who crossed into Sicily were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, under Theocles, who founded Naxos.§ The year after, which, according to Dionysius Halicarnassæus, was the third of the seventeenth Olympiad, Archias the Corinthian laid the foundations of Syracuse. Seven years after, the Chalcidians founded Leontium and Catania, after having driven out the inhabitants of the country, who were Sicilians. Other Greeks, who came from Megara, a city of Achaia, about the same time, founded Megara, called Hyblæa, or simply Hybla, from Hyblon, a Sicilian king, by whose permission they had settled in his dominions. It is well known that the Hyblæan honey was very famous among the ancients. A hundred years after, the inhabitants of that city built Selinuntum. Gela, built on a river of the same name, forty-five years after the founding of Syracuse, founded Agrigentum about a hundred and eight years after. Zancle, called afterwards Messina or Messene, by Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, who was a native of Messene, a city of Peloponnesus, had several founders, and at different periods. The Zancleans built the city of Hymera: the Syracusans built Acre, Casmene, and Camarina. These are most of the nations, whether Greeks or barbarians, who settled in Sicily.

SECTION VII.—THE PEOPLE OF EGESTA IMPLORE AID OF THE ATHENIANS, &c.

ATHENS was in the disposition above related, when ambassadors arrived from the people of Egesta, who, in quality of allies, came to implore their aid against the inhabitants of Selinuntum, who were assisted by the Syracusans. It was the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. They represented, among other things, that should

* Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 51.

† Thucyd. l. vi. p. 410—413.

‡ It is called Segesta by the Romans.

§ A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710.

they be abandoned, the Syracusans, after seizing their city, as they had done that of Leontium, would possess themselves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponnesians who were their founders; and, that they might put them to as little charge as possible, they offered to pay the troops that should be sent to succour them. The Athenians, who had long waited for an opportunity to declare themselves, sent deputies to Eggesta to inquire into the state of affairs, and to see whether there was money, enough in the treasury to defray the expense of so great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been so artful, as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and silver vases, worth an immense sum of money, and of these they made a show when the Athenians arrived.*

The deputies returned with those of Eggesta, who carried sixty talents in ingots, as a month's pay for the galleys which they demanded; and a promise of larger sums which they said were ready both in the public treasury and in the temples. The people, struck with these fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themselves time to examine, and seduced by the advantageous reports which their deputies made in the view of pleasing them, immediately granted the Eggestans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, to command the fleet, with full power not only to succour Eggesta, and restore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city, but also to regulate the affairs of Sicily, in such a manner as might best suit the interests of the republic.†

Nicias was appointed one of the generals, to his very great regret; for, besides other motives which made him dread that command, he shunned it, because Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But the Athenians promised themselves greater success from this war; should they not resign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardour and audacity with the coolness and wisdom of Nicias.

Five days after, to hasten the execution of the *δέσπεια*, and make the necessary preparations, a second assembly was held. Nicias, who had time enough to reflect deliberately on the affair proposed, and was still better convinced of the difficulties and dangers which would ensue from it, thought himself obliged to speak with some vehemence against a project, the consequences of which he foresaw might be very fatal to the republic. He said, "that it was surprising so important an affair should have been determined almost as soon as it was taken into deliberation: that without once inquiring into matters, they had given credit to whatever was told them by foreigners, who were very lavish of their promises, and whose interest it was to offer mighty things, in order to extricate themselves from their imminent danger. After all, what advantage," said he, "can accrue from thence to the republic? Have we so few enemies at our doors, that we need go in search of others at a distance from us? Will you act wisely to hazard your present possessions, on the vain hopes of an uncertain advantage? to meditate new conquests, before you have secured your ancient ones? to study nothing but the aggrandizing of your state, and quite neglect your own safety? Can you depend in any manner on a truce, which you yourselves know is very precarious; which you are sensible has been infringed more than once; and which the least defeat on our side may suddenly change into an open war? You are not ignorant how the Lacedæmonians have always been and still continue disposed with regard to us. They detest our government as different from theirs; it is with grief and disdain they see us possessed of the empire of Greece; they consider our glory as their shame and confusion; and there is nothing they would not attempt, to humble a power which excites their jealousy, and keeps them perpetually in fear. These are our real enemies, and these are they whom we ought to guard against. Will it be a proper time to make these reflections, when (after having divided our troops, and while our arms will be employed elsewhere, and we shall be unable to resist them) we shall be attacked at once by all the forces of Peloponnesus? We are just beginning to breathe after the calamities in which war and the plague had plunged us; and we are now going to plunge ourselves into greater danger. If we are ambitious of carrying our arms into distant countries, would it not be more expedient to march and reduce the rebels of Thrace, and other nations who are still wavering, and unfixed in their allegiance, than to fly to the succour of the inhabitants of Eggesta, about whose welfare we ought to be very indifferent? And will it suit our interest, to attempt to avenge their injuries, at a time when we do not discover the least resent-

* A. M. 3588. Ant. J. C. 416. Thucyd. l. vi. p. 413—415. Diod. l. xii. p. 129, 130. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. In
 is. p. 531.

† A. M. 3589. Ant. J. C. 415.

ment for those we ourselves receive? Let us leave the Sicilians to themselves, and not engage in their quarrels, which it is their business to decide. As the inhabitants of Egesta undertook the war without us, let them extricate themselves from it without our interference. Should any of our generals advise you to this enterprise, from an ambitious or self-interested view, merely to make a vain parade of his splendid equipages, or to raise money to support his extravagance, be not guilty of so much imprudence as to sacrifice the interest of the republic to his, or permit him to involve it in the same ruin with himself. An enterprise of so much importance ought not to be committed wholly to the conduct of a young man. Remember it is prudence, not prejudice and passion, that gives success to affairs." Nicias concluded with declaring it his opinion, that it would be proper to deliberate again on the affair, in order to prevent the fatal consequences with which their taking rash resolutions might be attended.*

It was plain he had Alcibiades in view, and that his enormous luxury was the object of his censure. And indeed he carried it to an incredible height, and lavished prodigious sums of money on horses, equipages, and moveables; not to mention the delicacy and sumptuousness of his table. He disputed the prize at the Olympic games with seven sets of chariot horses, which no private man had ever done before him; and he was crowned more than once on that occasion. Extraordinary resources were necessary for supporting such luxury; and as avarice often serves as a resource to ambition, there were some grounds to believe, that Alcibiades was no less solicitous for the conquest of Sicily and that of Carthage, (which he pretended would immediately follow,) to enrich his family, than to render it glorious. It is natural to suppose, that Alcibiades did not let this speech of Nicias go unanswered.

"This," said Alcibiades, "is not the first time that merit has excited jealousy, and glory been made the object of envy. That very thing which is imputed to me for a crime, reflects, I will presume to say it, honour on my country, and ought to gain me applause. The splendour in which I live; the great sums which I expend, particularly in the public assemblies; besides their being just and lawful, at the same time give foreigners a greater idea of the glory of Athens; and show, that it is not in such want of money as our enemies imagine. But this is not our present business. Let the world form a judgment of me, not from passion and prejudice, but from my actions. Was it an inconsiderable service I did the republic, in bringing over, in one day, to its alliance, the people of Elis, of Mantinea, and of Argos, that is, the chief strength of Peloponnesus? Make use, therefore, to aggrandize your empire, of the youth and folly of Alcibiades, (since his enemies give it that name,) as well as of the wisdom and experience of Nicias; and do not repent, from vain and idle fears, your engaging in an enterprise publicly resolved upon, and which may redound infinitely both to your glory and advantage. The cities of Sicily, weary of the unjust and cruel government of their princes, and still more of the tyrannical authority which Syracuse exercises over them, wait only for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves, and are ready to open their gates to any one who shall offer to break the yoke under which they have so long groaned. Though the citizens of Egesta, as being your allies, should not have a right to your protection; yet the glory of Athens ought to engage you to support them. States aggrandize themselves by succouring the oppressed, and not by continuing inactive. In the present state of your affairs, the only way to dispirit your enemies, and show that you are not afraid of them, will be to harass one nation, to check the progress of another, to keep them all employed, and carry your arms into distant countries. Athens was not formed for ease; and it was not by inactivity that your ancestors raised it to the height at which we now see it. For the rest, what hazards will you run by engaging in the enterprise in question? If it should be crowned with success, you will then possess yourselves of all Greece, and should it not answer your expectations, your fleet will give you an opportunity of retiring whenever you please. The Lacedæmonians indeed may make an incursion into our country; but, besides that it would not be in our power to prevent it, though we should not invade Sicily, we still shall preserve the empire of the sea in spite of them; a circumstance which makes our enemies entirely despair of ever being able to conquer us. Be not therefore biassed by the arguments of Nicias. The only tendency of them is to sow the seeds of discord between the old and young men, who can do nothing without one another; since it is wisdom and courage, counsel and execution

* Thueyd. l. vi. p. 415—423.

that gives success to all enterprises: and this in which we are going to embark, cannot but turn to your glory and advantage."

The Athenians, flattered and pleased with the speech of Alcibiades, persisted in their first opinion. Nicias, on the other side, did not depart from his; but at the same time did not dare to oppose Alcibiades any farther. Nicias was naturally of a soft and timid disposition. He was not, like Pericles, master of that lively and vehement eloquence, which, like a torrent, bears down every thing in its way. And indeed the latter, on several occasions, and at several times, had never failed to check the wild starts of the populace, who, even then, meditated the expedition into Sicily; because he was always inflexible, and never slackened the reins of that authority and kind of sovereignty which he had acquired over the people; whereas Nicias, both by acting and speaking in an easy, gentle manner, so far from winning over the people, suffered himself to be forcibly and involuntarily carried away; and accordingly he at last yielded to the people, and accepted the command in a war which he plainly foresaw would be attended with the most fatal consequences.*

Plutarch makes this reflection in his excellent treatise, where, speaking of the qualities requisite in a statesman, he shows how very necessary eloquence and inflexible constancy and perseverance are to him.

Nicias, not daring to oppose Alcibiades any longer openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by stating a number of difficulties drawn, especially from the great expense of this expedition. He declared, that since they were resolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in such a manner as might suit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained: that a fleet was not sufficient to oppose so formidable a power as that of the Syracusans and their allies: that they must raise an army, composed of good horse and foot, if they desired to act in a manner worthy of so grand a design: that besides their fleet, which was to make them masters at sea, they must have a great number of transports, to carry provisions perpetually to the army, which otherwise could not possibly subsist in an enemy's country: that they must carry vast sums of money with them, without waiting for that promised them by the citizens of Egesta, who perhaps were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promise: that they ought to weigh and examine the disparity there was between themselves and their enemies with regard to the conveniences and wants of the army; the Syracusans being in their own country, in the midst of powerful allies, disposed by inclination, as well as engaged by interest, to assist them with men, arms, horses, and provisions; whereas the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country possessed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them in less than four months time; a country where all things would oppose the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms; that it would reflect the greatest ignominy on the Athenians, should they be forced to abandon their enterprise, and thereby become the scorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which so important a design required: that as for himself, he was determined not to go, unless he was provided with all things necessary for the expedition, because the safety of the whole army depended on that circumstance; and he would not suffer it to depend upon the caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies.

Nicias had flattered himself, that this speech would cool the ardour of the people, whereas it only inflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raise as many troops, and fit out as many galleys, as they should think necessary; and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens and other places, with inexpressible activity.†

SECTION VIII.—THE ATHENIANS PREPARE TO SET SAIL, &c. &c.

WHEN all things were ready for their departure, and they were preparing to sail, there happened several bad omens, which filled the minds of the people with trouble and inquietude. The women were at that time celebrating the festival of Adonis,‡ during which the whole city was in mourning, and full of images representing dead persons and funeral processions; and every part echoed with the cries and groans of the women who followed those statues with lamentations.§ Whence it was feared,

* Plut. in Præc. de Ger. Rep. 802.

† Diod. l. xiii. p. 134.

‡ This superstitious rite had extended even to God's people. "And behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz." Ezek. viii. 14. N. B. The Latin version of the Bible, which Mr. Rollin follows, says, "weeping for Adonis;" which is the same as Tammuz, the Hebrews calling Adonis by that name.

§ A. M. 3589. Ant. J. C. 415. Thucyd. l. vi. p. 428. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200, 201.

that this gay and magnificent armament would soon lose all its splendour, and wither away like a flower.*

The general affliction was increased by another accident. The statues of Mercury, which stood at the entrance of private houses and temples, were all mutilated in one night, and particularly in the face; and although a great reward was promised to any person who should discover the authors of so audacious a crime, no one was detected. The citizens could not forbear considering this uncommon event, not only as an unlucky omen, but as a contrivance of some factious men, who harboured very ill designs. Some young people had already been accused of committing much the like crime in the midst of their cups; and particularly of having wantonly mimicked the ceremonies and mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, with Alcibiades, who represented the high-priest, at their head. It highly concerns all those in exalted stations to be extremely careful of every step they take, and not to give the least opportunity to the most inveterate malice to censure them. They ought to call to mind, says Plutarch, that the eyes of all men are upon their conduct, and that they are ever eagle-eyed on these occasions; that not only their outward actions pass the most severe scrutiny, but that they penetrate to their most private apartments, and there take the strictest notice of their discourses, their diversions, and the most secret things transacted by them. It was this dread of the piercing eye of the people, that kept Themistocles and Pericles perpetually on their guard, and obliged them to refrain from most of those pleasures in which others indulged themselves.†

As for Alcibiades, he did not know what it was to lay himself under any restraints; and accordingly, as his character was so well known, people were persuaded that he very probably had been concerned in what had happened. His luxury, libertinism, and irreligion, gave an air of probability to this charge, and the accuser was not afraid of mentioning his name. This attack staggered the constancy and resolution of Alcibiades, but hearing the soldiers and sailors declare that they were induced to engage in this expedition by no other motive than their affection for Alcibiades, and that, should the least injury be done to him, they should all leave the service, he took courage, and appeared at his trial on the day appointed for that purpose. His enemies, upon pretence that it was necessary for the fleet to set sail, got the judgment suspended. It was to no purpose for Alcibiades to insist upon being tried, in case he was guilty, and not be ruined in his absence; and to represent, that it would be the most shocking and barbarous injustice to oblige him to embark for so important an expedition, without first making due inquiry into the accusations and horrid slanders which were cast upon him, the bare thoughts of which would keep him in perpetual fear and anxiety. However, none of these remonstrances proved effectual, and the fleet was ordered to set out.

They accordingly prepared to set sail, after having appointed Corcyra as the rendezvous for most of the allies, and such ships as were to carry the provisions, &c. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Piræus. The former attended their children, relations, friends, or companions, with a joy overcast with a little sorrow, upon their bidding adieu to persons who were as dear to them as life, who were setting out on a far distant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they ever would return, though they flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be successful. The foreigners came thither to gratify their eyes with a sight which was highly worthy their curiosity; for no single city in the world had ever fitted out so gallant a fleet. Those indeed which had been sent against Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as considerable with regard to the number of soldiers and ships; but they were not equipped with so much magnificence, neither was their voyage so long, nor their enterprise so important. Here were seen a land and naval army, provided with the utmost care, and at the expense of private individuals as well as of the public, with all things necessary on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furnished a hundred empty galleys, that is, sixty light ones, and forty to transport the soldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a draclm, or ten pence French, for his pay, exclusively of what the captains of ships gave the rowers of the first bench.‡ Add to this, the pomp and magnificence that was displayed universally, every one striving to

* The historian alludes to the plants and flowers that were carried in that ceremony, and which went by the name of the gardens of Adonis.

† Plut. in Præc. de Rep. p. 800

‡ They were called *Σεξιρία*. They had longer oars than the rest, and consequently more trouble in rowing.

excel the rest, and each captain endeavouring to make his ship the lightest, and at the same time the gayest in the whole fleet. I shall not take notice of the choice of the soldiers and seamen, who were the flower of the Athenians; nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatness of their arms and equipage: nor of their officers, who had laid out considerable sums merely to distinguish themselves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their persons and circumstances; so that this sight had the air of a tournament, in which the utmost magnificence is displayed, rather than of a warlike expedition. But the boldness and greatness of the design still exceeded its expense and splendour.

When the ships were loaded, and the troops got on board, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers were offered up for the success of the expedition; gold and silver cups were filling every where with wine, and the accustomed libations were poured out: the people who lined the shore shouting at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven, to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage and success. When the hymn was sung, and the ceremonies were ended, the ships sailed one after another out of the harbour; after which they strove to outsail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina. From thence it made for Corcyra, where the army of the allies was assembling with the rest of the fleet.*

SECTION IX.—SYRACUSE IS ALARMED. THE ATHENIAN FLEET ARRIVES IN SICILY.

ADVICE of this expedition coming to Syracuse from all quarters, it was thought so improbable, that at first nobody would believe it. But as it was more and more confirmed every day, the Syracusans began to think seriously of making the necessary preparations, and sent deputations to every part of the island, to ask assistance of some, and send succours to others. They garrisoned all the castles and forts in the country; reviewed all the soldiers and horses; examined the arms in the magazines; and settled and prepared all things, as if the enemy had been in their country.†

In the mean time, the fleet sailed in three squadrons, each under the command of its particular general. It consisted of a hundred and thirty-six ships, one hundred of which belonged to Athens, and the rest to the allies. On board these ships were five thousand heavy-armed soldiers, two thousand two hundred of whom were Athenian citizens, viz. fifteen hundred of those who had estates, and seven hundred who had none, but were equally citizens;‡ the rest consisted of allies. With regard to the light infantry, there were eighty archers of Crete, and four hundred of other countries; seven hundred Rhodian slingers, and one hundred and twenty exiles of Megara.—There was but one company of horse, consisting of thirty troopers, who had embarked on board a vessel proper for transporting cavalry. Both the fleet and the land forces were afterwards increased considerably. Thirty vessels carried the provisions and cooks, with masons, carpenters, and their several tools; the whole followed by one hundred small vessels for the service, exclusive of merchant-ships, of which there were great numbers. All this fleet had sailed together for Corcyra. Having met with but an indifferent reception from the people of Tarentum and Locris, they sailed with a favourable wind for Rhegium, where they made some stay. The Athenians were very urgent with the inhabitants of Rhegium to succour those of Leontium, who came originally from Chalcis as well as themselves: but these answered that they were determined to remain neutral, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the rest of Italy. Here they debated on the manner in which it was necessary to carry on the war, and waited for the coming up of those ships that had been sent out to make discoveries of a proper place for landing, and to inquire whether the citizens of Eggesta had not their money ready. Upon their return, they brought advice that they had but thirty talents in the treasury. This Nicias had foreseen, but no regard had been paid to his salutary counsels.

He did not fail, the instant this news was brought, to expatiate on the counsel he had given in Athens; to show the wrong step they had taken in engaging in this war; and to magnify the fatal consequences which might be expected from it; in all which he acted very imprudently. I was extremely judicious in Nicias to oppose it in the beginning, and to set every engine at work to crush, if possible, this ill-fated project. But as it was resolved, and he himself had accepted the command, he ought not to be perpetually looking backward, nor to have repeated incessantly, that this

* Thueyd. p. 430—432. Diod. l. xiii. p. 135.

† Thueyd. l. vi. p. 432—445. Diod. l. xiii. p. 135, 136.

‡ These were called *ἑταῖροι*.

war had been undertaken in opposition to all the maxims of prudence; and, by that means, to cool the ardour of his two colleagues in the command, to dispirit the soldiers, and blunt that edge of confidence and ardour, which assure the success of great enterprises. The Athenians, on the contrary, ought to have advanced boldly towards the enemy; should have attacked them with vigour, and have spread a universal terror, by a sudden and unexpected descent.*

But Nicias acted in a quite different manner. His opinion, in the council of war, was, that they should sail for Selinuntum, which had been the first occasion of this expedition; and then if the citizens of Egesta performed their promise, and gave a month's pay to the army, to proceed forward; or otherwise to oblige them to furnish provisions for the sixty galleys they had demanded, and continue in that road till they should have concluded a peace with the citizens of Selinuntum, either by force of arms or some other way. He said, that they afterwards should return to Athens, after having thus made a parade of their forces, and the assistance they gave their allies; unless they should have an opportunity of making some attempt in favour of the Leontines, or of bringing over some city into their alliance.

Alcibiades answered, that it would be inglorious, after their sailing out with so noble a fleet, to return without doing any thing; and that they should first endeavour to conclude an alliance with the Greeks and barbarians, in order to divide them from the Syracusans, and procure troops and provisions from them; and especially to send a deputation to Messina, which was a kind of key to Sicily, and its harbour capacious enough to hold all the fleet. He declared further, that after seeing who were their friends and who were their enemies, and strengthening themselves by the addition of a new reinforcement, they then should attack either Selinuntum or Syracuse, in case the one should refuse to conclude a peace with Egesta, and the other not permit the Leontines to return to their city.

Lamachus offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the most prudent; that was, to sail directly for Syracuse, before its citizens had time to recover from their surprise, or prepare for their defence. He observed, that the sudden arrival of an armed force always strikes the greatest terror; and that, when enemies are allowed time to reflect and make preparations, it also revives their courage; whereas, when they are suddenly attacked, and still in confusion, they are generally overcome; that, as they would be masters of the open country, they should not be in want of any thing, but, on the contrary, would oblige the Sicilians to declare for them: that at last they should settle in Megara, which was quite desert, and a near neighbour to Syracuse, and there lay up their fleet in safety. However, his counsel not being followed, he agreed to that of Alcibiades. Accordingly, they sailed for Sicily, where Alcibiades took Catana by surprise.

SECTION X.—ALCIBIADES RECALLED, &c. &c.

THIS was the only exploit performed by Alcibiades in this expedition, he being immediately recalled by the Athenians, in order to be tried upon the accusation laid against him. For, since the departure of the fleet, his enemies, who had no regard to the welfare of their country, and who, upon the specious pretence of religion, which is often made a cloak to cover the darkest designs, meditated nothing but satiating their hatred and revenge, taking advantage of his absence, had proceeded in the affair with greater rigour than ever. All those against whom informations were lodged were thrown into prison, without so much as being suffered to be heard, and that too on the evidence of the most profligate and abandoned citizens, as if, says Thucydides, it was not as great a crime to punish the innocent, as to suffer the guilty to escape. One of the informers was proved to be perjured by his own words, having declared that he saw and knew one of the accused by moonlight; whereas it appeared that there was no moon at that time. But notwithstanding this manifest perjury, the populace were as furious as ever. The remembrance of the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ made them apprehensive of a similar attempt; and strongly possessed with this fear, they would not give ear to any thing.†

At last they sent out the Salaminian galley,‡ ordering the captain not to carry off Alcibiades by force, for fear of raising a tumult in the army; but only to order him to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his presence. Alcibiades obeyed the order,

* Plut. in Nic. p. 532.

† Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446—450. Plut. in Alcib. p. 202.

‡ This was a sacred vessel, appointed to bring criminals.

and went immediately on board his galley; but the instant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on shore, he disappeared, and eluded the pursuit of those who sought after him. Being asked, whether he would not rely on his country, with regard to the judgment it might pass on him: "I would not;" said he, "rely on my mother, lest she should inadvertently mistake a black bean for a white one.)*" The galley of Salamin returned without the commander, who was ashamed of having suffered his prisoner to escape him in that manner. Alcibiades was sentenced to die for his contumacy. His whole estate was confiscated, and all priests and priestesses, were commanded to curse him. Among the latter was one named Theano, who alone had the courage to oppose this decree, saying, "that she had been appointed priestess, not to curse but to bless."† Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to die, "I shall make them sensible," said he, "that I am alive."

Much about this time Diagoras the Melian was prosecuted at Athens. He had settled himself in that city, where he taught atheism, and was brought to trial for his poisonous doctrine.‡ Diagoras escaped the punishment which would have been inflicted on him, by flying from the city; but he could not wipe off the ignominy of the sentence which condemned him to death. The Athenians had so great an abhorrence for the impious principles inculcated by him, that they even set a price upon his head, and promised a reward of a talent to any man who should bring him, dead or alive.§

About twenty years before, a similar circumstance had happened to Protagoras, for having only treated the same question by way of problem. He had said in the beginning of one of his books: "Whether the gods do or do not exist, is a question which I know not whether I ought to affirm or deny: for our understandings are too much clouded, and the life of man is too short, for the solution of so nice and difficult a point." But the Athenians could not bear to have a subject of this nature made matter of doubt; and for this reason they ordered proclamation to be made by the public crier, for all persons who had any copies of this book, to bring them to the magistrates: after which they were burnt as infamous and impious pieces, and the author was banished for ever from all the territories of the Athenians ||

Diagoras and Protagoras had been the disciples of Democritus, who first invented the philosophy of atoms. I shall speak of him in another place.

From the departure of Alcibiades, Nicias had possessed the whole authority: for Lamachus his colleague, though a man of bravery and experience, was however in no credit, because of his extreme poverty, for which he was despised by the soldiers. But the Athenians were not always of this way of thinking; for we have seen that Aristides, poor as he was, was not less esteemed and respected on that account: but in this last expedition, the people in general had imbibed a passion for luxury and magnificence; the natural consequence of which is a love of riches. As Nicias, therefore, governed solely, all his actions were of the same cast with his disposition, that is, timid and dilatory: he suffered every thing to languish, sometimes either by lying still, and undertaking nothing, sometimes by only sailing along the coast, or losing time in consulting and deliberating; all which soon suppressed, on one side, the ardour and confidence the troops expressed at first; and on the other, the fear and terror with which the enemy had been seized at the sight of so formidable an armament. He besieged Hybla; and though it was but a small city, he was, however, obliged to raise the siege some days after, which brought him into the highest contempt. He retired at last to Catana, after having performed but one exploit, viz. the ruining of Hyccara, a small town inhabited by barbarians, from which place, it is said that Lais the courtesan, at that time very young, was sold with the rest of the captives, and carried to Peloponnesus.¶

In the mean time, Alcibiades having left Thurium, arrived at Argos; and as he quite despaired of ever being recalled home, he sent a messenger to the Spartans, desiring leave to reside among them, under their guard and protection. He promised in the most solemn manner, that if they would consider him as their friend, he would perform greater service for their state, than he before had done injuries to it. The Spartans received him with open arms; and soon after his arrival in their city he

* The judges made use of beans in giving their suffrages, and the black bean denoted condemnation.

† Φάσκαλα εὐχῶν οὐ καταρῶν ἱέρειαν γιγνόμεναι.

‡ Joseph. contr. App.

§ Diod. l. xiii. p. 137.

|| Diog. Laër. in Protag. Joseph. contr. App. Cic. l. i. de Nat. Deo. n. 62.

¶ Thueyd. l. vi. p. 452, 353. Plut. in Nie. p. 533.

gained the love and esteem of all its inhabitants. He charmed, and even enchanted them, by his conforming himself so readily to their way of living. Those who saw Alcibiades shave himself to the skin, bathe in cold water, eat of the coarse, heavy cakes, which were their usual food, and be so well satisfied with their black broth, could not persuade themselves, that a man, who submitted so cheerfully to this kind of life, had ever kept cooks in his palace; had used essences and perfumes; had worn the rich stuffs of Miletus; in a word, that he had hitherto lived in the midst of voluptuousness and the profusion of all things. But flexibility was the characteristic that chiefly distinguished Alcibiades. Cameleon like, he would assume all shapes and colours, to win the favour of those among whom he resided. He immediately assumed their manners, and adapted himself to their taste, as if they had been natural to him; and though he inwardly had an aversion to them, he could however cover his disgust with an easy, simple and unconstrained air. With some, he had all the graces and vivacity of the gayest youth, and with others, all the gravity of old age. In Sparta, he was laborious, frugal and austere; in Ionia, enjoyment, idleness, and pleasure, made up his whole life; in Thrace, he was always on horseback or carousing; and when he resided with Tissaphernes the satrap, he exceeded all the magnificence of the Persians in luxury and profusion.*

But he was not barely satisfied with gaining the esteem of the Lacedæmonians. He insinuated himself so far into the affection of Timæa, the wife of king Agis, that he had a son by her, who, in public, went by the name of Leotyichides; though his mother, in private, and among her women and female friends, did not blush to call him Alcibiades; so violent was her passion for that Athenian. Agis was informed of this intrigue, and therefore refused to own Leotyichides for his son; for which reason he was afterwards excluded the throne.

SECTION XI.—DESCRIPTION OF SYRACUSE.

As the siege of Syracuse is one of the most considerable in the Grecian history, the particular circumstances of which I thought proper to relate, in order to give my readers an idea of the manner of besieging by the ancients, I therefore judge it necessary, before I enter into that detail, to give a description and plan of the city of Syracuse; in which will also be found the different fortifications, both of the Athenians and Syracusans, mentioned in this siege.

Syracuse stood on the eastern coast of Sicily. Its vast extent, its advantageous situation, the conveniency of its two harbours, its fortifications built with the utmost care and labour, and the multitude and wealth of its inhabitants, made it one of the greatest, the most beautiful and most powerful among the Grecian cities.† We are told its air was so pure and serene, that there was no day in the year, however cloudy it might be, in which the sun did not display its beams.‡

It was built by Archias the Corinthian, a year after Naxos and Megara had been founded on the same coast.§

When the Athenians besieged this city, it was divided into three parts, viz. the Island, Achradina, and Tyche. Thucydides mentions only these three divisions. Two more, viz. Neapolis and Epipolæ, were afterwards added.

The ISLAND, situated to the south, was called Νῆσος, (Nasos) signifying, in Greek, an island, but pronounced according to the Doric dialect; and Ortygia. It was joined to the continent by a bridge. It was in this island that the Syracusans afterwards built the citadel, and the palace for their kings. This quarter or division of the city was of very great importance, because it might render those who possessed it, master of the two ports which surround it. It was for this reason the Romans, when they took Syracuse, would not suffer any Syracusans to inhabit the island.||

There was in this island a very famous spring, called Arethusa. The ancients,¶ or rather the poets, from reasons which have not the least shadow of probability, supposed that Alpheus, a river of Elis in Peloponnesus, rolled its waters either through or under the waves of the sea, without ever mixing with them, as far as the spring or fountain of Arethusa. It was this fiction which gave occasion to the following lines of Virgil:

* Plut. in Alcib. p. 230.

† Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117—119.

‡ Urbem Syracusam elegerat, cuius hic situs atque hæc natura esse loci cœlique dicitur, ut nulla unquam diestam magna turbulentaque tempestate fuerit. quin aliquo tempore solem ejus diei homines viderent.—Cic. Verr. 8. n. 26.

§ A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709.—Strad. l. vi. p. 269.

|| Cic. Verr. 2. n. 97.

¶ Strab. l. vi. p. 270. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iii. c. 26.

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.—
Sic tibi, cum fluctus subter labere Sicanos,
Doris amara suam non intermiscat undam.

Virg. Eclog. 10.

Thy sacred succour, Arethusa, bring,
To crown my labour: 'tis the last I sing—
So may thy silver streams beneath the tide,
Unmix'd with briny seas, securely glide.

Dryden.

ARCHADINA, situated entirely on the sea-side, towards the east, was the most spacious, the most beautiful, and best fortified quarter of the city.

TYCHE, so called from the temple of fortune, *τυχη* which embellished that part of the city, extended along Achradina westward from the north towards the south, and was thickly inhabited. It had a famous gate called Hexapylum, which led into the country, and was situated on the north of the city.

EPIPOLÆ, was a hill outside of the city, which it commanded. It was situated between Hexapylum and the foot of Euryalus, towards the north and west. It was exceedingly steep in several places, and for that reason, of very difficult access. At the time of the siege in question, it was not surrounded with walls; and the Syracusans defended it with a body of troops, against the attack, of the enemy: Euryalus was the pass of entrance which led to Epipolæ. On Epipolæ was a fort called Labdalon, or Labdalum.

It was not till long after (under Dionysius the tyrant) that Epipolæ was surrounded with walls, and enclosed within the city, of which it formed a fifth part, but was thinly inhabited. A fourth division had been added before, called NEAPOLIS, that is, the New City, which covered Tyche.

The river Anapis ran at almost half a league distance from the city. The space between them was a large and beautiful plain, terminated by two marshes, the one called Syraco, whence the city was named, and the other Lysimelia. This river emptied itself into the great harbour. Near its mouth, southward, was a kind of castle called Olympia, from the temple of Jupiter Olympus standing there, and in which were great riches. It was five hundred paces from the city.* †

Syracuse had two harbours, very near one another; and separated only by the island, viz. the great harbour, and the small one, called otherwise Laccus. According to the description which the Roman orator gives of them, both were surrounded with the buildings of the city. ‡

The great harbour was a little more than five thousand paces or two leagues in circumference. † It had a gulf called Dascon. The entrance of this port was but five hundred paces wide. It was formed on one side by the point of the island Ortygia, and on the other, by the little island and cape of plenmyrium, which was commanded by a fort or castle of the same name.

Above Achradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilius.

SECTION XII.—NICIAS AFTER SOME ENGAGEMENTS, BESIEGES SYRACUSE, &c. EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

AT the end of the summer, news was brought to Nicias that the Syracusans, having resumed courage, intended to march against him. Already their cavalry advanced with an air of insolence to attack him even in his camp; and asked with a loud laugh, whether he was come into Sicily to settle in Catana. These severe reproaches roused him a little, so that he resolved to sail for Syracuse. The enterprise was bold and dangerous. Nicias could not, without running the utmost hazard, attempt to land in presence of an enemy who waited for him with the greatest resolution, and would not fail to charge him, the instant he should offer to make a descent. Nor was it safer for him to march his troops by land, because, as he had no cavalry, that of the Syracusans, which was very numerous, would, upon the first advice they should have of their march, fall upon him, and overpower him by the superiority of forces.

To extricate himself from this perplexity, and to be able to seize without opposition upon an advantageous post, which a Syracusan exile had discovered to him, Nicias had recourse to stratagem. He caused a false information to be given to the enemy,

* Plut. in Dionys. Vit. p. 970.

† Portus habet prope in ædificatione aspectuque urbis inclusos.—Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117.

‡ According to Strabo, it is eighty stadia in circumference, which is twice its real extent; a plain proof that this passage of Strabo is incorrect.—Cluver. p. 167.

viz. that by means of a conspiracy, which was to take place on a certain day, they might seize on his camp, and possess themselves of the arms and baggage. The Syracusans, on this promise, marched towards Catana, and pitched their camp near Leontium. The moment the Athenians had advice of this, they embarked with all their troops and ammunition and in the evening steered for Syracuse. They arrived by daybreak in the great harbour; landed near Olympia, in the place which had been pointed out to them, and there fortified themselves. The enemy, finding themselves shamefully overreached, returned immediately to Syracuse; and, in the greatest rage, drew up in order of battle, some days after, before the walls of the city. Nicias marched out of the trenches, and a battle was fought. Victory was a long time doubtful, but a very heavy shower of rain accompanied with thunder and lightning, falling unexpectedly, the Syracusans, who were unexperienced, and the greatest part of them having never carried arms before, were frightened at the tempest, while their enemies laughed at it, as the mere effect of the season and regarded nothing but the enemy, who were much more to be dreaded than the storm. The Syracusans, after making a long and vigorous resistance, were forced to give way. The Athenians could not pursue them far, because their horse, which was still in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. The Syracusans retreated in good order into the city, after having thrown a body of troops into the temple of Olympia, to prevent its being plundered.*

This temple stood pretty near the camp of the Athenians, who were very desirous of taking it, because it abounded with gold and silver offerings, which the piety of kings and nations had consecrated. Nicias having delayed sending troops to seize it, lost the opportunity, and gave the Syracusans time to throw into it, as was before observed, a detachment to defend it. It was thought he did this on purpose, and out of reverence to the gods; because, had the soldiers plundered this temple, the public would not have reaped any benefit by it, and himself only had been accused of the sacrilege.

After the battle, the Athenians, who were not yet in a condition to attack Syracuse, retired with their fleet to Naxos and Catana to winter there, with a design to return early in the next spring, and lay siege to the city. To do this, they wanted money, provisions, and particularly horse, of which they were absolutely destitute. The Athenians depended upon obtaining part of these succours from the people of Sicily, who, they supposed would join them the instant they should hear of their victory; and at the same time they sent an express to Athens, to solicit the like aid. They also addressed the Carthaginians for their alliance; and sent deputies to some cities of Italy, situated on the borders of the Tuscan sea, which had promised to assist them.

The Syracusans were far from desponding. Hermocrates, who, of all their leaders, was most distinguished for his valour, his judgment and experience, represented to them, in order to raise their hopes, that they had not been wanting in courage, but in conduct; that the enemy, though very brave, owed their victory to their good fortune, rather than to their merit; that the command being equally divided among so many leaders (fifteen) tended inevitably to confusion and disobedience, and had been prejudicial to them, that it would be absolutely necessary for them to choose experienced generals, to keep the rest in their duty, and exercise their forces continually during the winter season. This advice being followed, Hermocrates and two more were elected generals; after which they sent deputies to Corinth and Lacedæmon to renew the alliance, and at the same time to engage them to make a diversion, in order to oblige, if possible, the Athenians to recall their troops out of Sicily, or at least to prevent their sending a reinforcement thither. The fortifying of Syracuse was the chief object of their care. They accordingly took into the city, by a wall, all the tract of land towards Epipolæ, from the northern extremity of Tyche descending westward towards the quarter or division of the city, called afterwards Neapolis, in order to remove the enemy to a greater distance, and to give them more trouble in making their contravallation, by obliging them to give a larger extent to it. This part, in all probability, had been neglected because it seemed to be sufficiently defended by its rugged and steep situation. They also garrisoned Megara and Olympia, and drove stakes into all those parts of the sea shore, where the enemy might easily make a descent. Hearing afterwards that the Athenians were at Naxos, they went and burnt the camp of Catana, and retired, after laying waste the country adjacent to it.

* Thucyd. l. vi. p. 453—461. Plut. in Nic. p. 533, 534. Diod. l. xiii. p. 137, 138.

The ambassadors of Syracuse, having arrived among the Corinthians, asked succour of them, as having been their founders, which was immediately granted; and at the same time they sent an embassy to the Lacedæmonians to invite them to declare in their favour. Alcibiades enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence, which his resentment against Athens inflamed prodigiously. He advised and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to appoint Gylippus their general, and send him into Sicily, and at the same time to invade the Athenians, in order to make a powerful diversion. In the third place, he counselled them to fortify Decelia in Attica, which quite completed the ruin of the city of Athens, it never being able to recover that blow; for by this fort, the Lacedæmonians made themselves masters of the country, by which the Athenians were deprived of their silver mines of Laurium and of the revenues of their lands; nor could they be succoured by their neighbours, Decelia becoming the asylum of all the malcontents and partisans of Sparta.*

Nicias had received some succour from Athens. It consisted of two hundred and fifty horsemen, whom the Athenians supposed would be furnished with horse in Sicily, the troops bringing only the furniture, and of forty horse archers, with three hundred talents, that is, three hundred thousand French crowns.† Nicias now began to prepare for action. He was accused of often letting slip opportunities, by his losing time in deliberating, arguing, and concerting measures; however, when once he entered upon an action, he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he before had been slow and timorous in undertaking, as he showed on the present occasion.‡

The Syracusans hearing that the Athenians had a reinforcement of cavalry, and would soon march and lay siege to their city; and knowing that they could not possibly approach it, or make a contravallation, unless they should possess themselves of the hill of Epipolæ, which commanded Syracuse, they resolved to guard the avenue to it, which was the only pass by which the enemy could get up to it, every other part being rugged and inaccessible. Marching, therefore, down into the meadow or plain, bordered by the river Anapis, and reviewing their troops there, they appointed seven hundred foot, under the command of Diomilus, to guard that important post; and commanded them to repair to it, at the first signal which should be given for that purpose. But Nicias conducted his design with so much prudence, expedition, and secrecy, that they had no time to do this. He sailed from Catania with all his fleet, without the enemy's having the least suspicion of his design. Having arrived at the port of Trogilus, near Leontium, which is but a quarter of a league, six or seven furlongs, from Epipolæ, he set his land forces on shore, after which he retired with his fleet to Thapsus, a small peninsula of Syracuse, the entrance to which he shut up with a stoccade.

The land forces marched with the utmost expedition to seize on Epipolæ, by the pass of Euryalus, before the enemy, who were in the plains of Anapis, at about a league's distance, had the least notice of their arrival. At the first news of this, the seven hundred soldiers, under the command of Diomilus, advanced in confusion, but were easily defeated; and three hundred of them, with their leader, left dead on the field. The Athenians, after setting up a trophy, built a fort in Labdalon, on the summit of Epipolæ, in order to secure their baggage and most valuable effects in it, whenever they should be forced to fight, or work at the contravallation.

Soon after, the inhabitants of Eggesta sent the Athenians three hundred horse, to which some of the Sicilian allies added a hundred more; that, with the two hundred and fifty sent before by the Athenians, and who had furnished themselves with horses in Sicily, made a body of six hundred and fifty horses.

The plan laid down by Nicias, in order for taking Syracuse, was, to surround all the city on the land side with a strong contravallation, in order to cut off all communication with the place from without, in hopes, no doubt, that his fleet would afterwards enable him to prevent the Syracusans from receiving any succours or provisions by sea.

Having left a garrison in Labdalon, he came down from the hill, advanced towards the northern extremity of Tyche, and halting there, he employed the whole army in throwing up a line of contravallation, to shut up their city northward from Tyche, as far as Trogilus, situated on the sea-side. This work was carried on with a rapidity that terrified the Syracusans. They thought it absolutely necessary to prevent the carrying on of the work, and accordingly made some sallies and attacks, but always

* Thucyd. l. vi. p. 471.—482. Plut. in Alcib. p. 203. In Nic. p. 534, 535. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138.

† Three hundred and thirty thousand dollars.

‡ A. M. 3590. Ant. J. C. 414.

with disadvantage, and even their cavalry was routed. The day after the action, the contravallation, northward, was continued by part of the army, during which the rest carried stones and other materials towards Trogilus, in order to finish it.

The besieged, by the advice of Hermocrates, thought it advisable not to venture a second battle with the Athenians, and only endeavoured to put a stop to their works, or at least to render them useless, by running a line to cut that carried on by the Athenians. They imagined, that in case they should be suffered to complete their wall, it would be impossible for the Athenians to make any farther progress in their work; or that, should they endeavour to prevent it, it would suffice for the Syracusans to oppose them with a part of their forces, after having shut up such avenues as were most accessible, with strong palisades; and that the Athenians, on the contrary, would be obliged to send for all their forces, and entirely abandon their works.

They accordingly, came out of their city, and working with inexpressible ardour, they began to raise a wall; and, in order to carry it on with less molestation, they covered it with strong palisades, and flanked it with wooden towers, at proper distances to defend it. The Athenians suffered the Syracusans to carry on their works undisturbed, because, had they marched only part of their troops against them, they would have been too weak; and if they had brought them all, they then must have been obliged to discontinue their works, which they were resolved not to do. The work being completed, the Syracusans left a body of troops to defend the palisade and guard the wall, and then returned into the city.

In the mean time the Athenians cut off the canals by which water was conveyed into the city; and observing the Syracusan soldiers who had been left to guard the wall very negligent in their duty; some returning at noon either into the city or their tents, and the rest not keeping a proper guard, they detached three hundred chosen soldiers, and some light infantry, to attack this post; during which the rest of the army marched towards the city, to prevent any succours from coming out of it. Accordingly the three hundred soldiers having forced the palisade, pursued those who guarded it as far as the part of the city wall which covered Temenites; where, pouring in indiscriminately with them, they were repulsed by the inhabitants with loss. The whole army afterwards demolished the wall, and pulled up the palisades of the entrenchments, and carried them off.

After this success, whereby the Athenians were masters of the northern parts, they began the very next day a still more important work, and which would quite finish their enclosure of the city; viz. to carry a wall from the hills of Epipolæ westward, through the plain and the marshes as far as the great harbour. To prevent this, the besieged, beginning the same kind of work as they had carried on on the other side, ran a trench, lined with palisades, from the city through the marshes, to prevent the Athenians from carrying their contravallations as far as the sea. But the latter, after finishing the first part of the wall on the hills of Epipolæ, resolved to attack this new work. For this purpose, they ordered their fleet to sail from Thapsus to the great harbour of Syracuse, it having continued in that road hitherto; and the besieged had always the sea open to them, by which the besiegers were obliged to get their provisions from Thapsus by land. The Athenians came down therefore from Epipolæ into the plain, before daybreak; when throwing planks and beams into that part where the marshes was only slimy and more firm than in other places, they immediately carried the greatest part of the fosse lined with palisades, and then the rest, after having beaten the Syracusans, who gave way and retired; such as were on the right towards the city, and the rest towards the river. Three hundred chosen Athenians having attempted to cut off the retreat of the latter, flew towards the bridge; but the enemy's cavalry, the greatest part of which were drawn up in battle, repulsed them; and afterwards charged the right wing of the Athenians, and threw the first battalion into disorder. Lamachus, perceiving this from the left wing, where he commanded, ran thither with the Argives and some archers; but having passed a trench, and being abandoned by his soldiers, he was killed, with five or six who followed him. The enemy immediately passed the river, and seeing the rest of the army come up, they retired.

At the same time their right wing, which had returned towards the city, resumed courage from this success, and drew up in order of battle before the Athenians; after having detached some troops to attack the fort on the hills of Epipolæ, which served as a magazine to the enemy, and was thought to be unguarded. They forced an entrenchment that covered the fort, but Nicias saved it. He was sick in this fort, and at that time in his bed, with only his domestics about him. Animated by the danger,

and the presence of the enemy, he struggled with his indisposition, rose up and commanded his servants immediately to set fire to all the timber lying between the intrenchment and the fort for the military engines, and to the engines themselves. The unexpected conflagration stopped the Syracusans, saved Nicias, the fort and all the rich effects of the Athenians, who made haste to the relief of that general. At the same time, the fleet was seen sailing into the great harbour according to the orders given for that purpose. The Syracusans having perceived this from the hill, and fearing that they should be attacked from behind, and overpowered by the land forces, retired and returned to the city with all their force; now no longer expecting, after having lost their fosse lined with palisades, that it would be possible for them to prevent the enemy from carrying on the contravallation as far as the sea.

In the mean time the Athenians, who had contented themselves with building a single wall on the hills of Epipolæ, and through such places as were craggy, and of difficult access, being come down into the plain, began to build, at the foot of the hills, a double wall, intending to carry it as far as the sea; viz. a wall of contravallation against the besieged, and another of circumvallation against those Syracusan troops which were out of the city, and such allies as might come to its aid.

From thenceforth Nicias, who was now sole general, conceived great hopes; for several cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either side, came and joined him; and there arrived from all quarters vessels laden with provisions for his army, all parties being eager to go over to him, because he had acquired the superiority, and been exceedingly successful in all his undertakings. The Syracusans, seeing themselves blocked up both by sea and land, and losing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already proposed an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their assistance, having heard, in his passage, the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole island as lost, sailed forward nevertheless; not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preserve to the nations of Italy such cities as were subject to them in that island, if it were not too late, and if this could be done. For fame had declared, in all places, that the Athenians had already possessed themselves of the whole island; and were headed by a general, whose wisdom and good fortune rendered him invincible. Nicias himself now, contrary to his natural disposition, confiding in his own strength, and elated with his success, persuaded also by the secret advices which were brought him daily from Syracuse, and the messengers who were sent to him, that the city would immediately capitulate, did not regard the approach of Gylippus, and in consequence took no precautions to prevent his landing, especially when he heard that he brought but very few vessels; terming him a trifling pirate, not worthy, in any manner, his notice. But a general ought to be extremely careful not to abate his cares and vigilance upon account of success, because the least negligence may ruin every thing. Had Nicias sent the smallest detachment to oppose the landing of Gylippus, he would have taken Syracuse, and the whole affair would have been ended.

SECTION XIII.—THE SYRACUSANS RESOLVE TO CAPITULATE, BUT THE ARRIVAL OF GYLIPPUS CHANGES THE FACE OF AFFAIRS, &c.—NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE fortifications of the Athenians were now almost completed; and they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and marshes towards the great port, and had almost reached it. There now remained, on the side towards Trogilus, only a small part of the wall to be finished. The Syracusans were therefore on the brink of ruin, and had no hopes left, as they were no longer able to defend themselves, and did not expect any succours. For this reason they resolved to surrender. Accordingly a council was held to settle articles of capitulation, in order to present them to Nicias; and several were of opinion, that it would be proper to capitulate soon, before the city should be entirely invested.*

It was at that very instant, and at the most critical juncture, that an officer, Gongyles by name, arrived from Corinth on board a ship with three benches of oars. At his arrival, all the citizens flocked round him. He informed them, that Gylippus would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other galleys, which came to their aid. The Syracusans astonished, or rather stupified, as it were, with this news, could scarcely believe what they heard. While they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach, and

* A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. Thucyd. l. vii. p. 485—489. Plut. in Nic. p. 535, 536. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138, 139

order them to march out all their troops to meet him. He himself, after having taken a fort in his way, marched in order of battle directly for Epipolæ; and ascending by Euryalus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, while the Syracusans should charge them, on their side with the Syracusan and his own forces.* The Athenians, exceedingly surprised by his arrival, drew up hastily, and without order, under the walls. With regard to himself, laying down his arms when he approached, he sent word by a herald, that he would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condescend to make the least answer to this proposal; and some of the soldiers bursting into a laugh, asked the herald, "whether the presence of a Lacedæmonian privateer, and a trifling wand, could make any change in the present state of the city? Both sides therefore prepared for battle.

Gylippus stormed the fort of Labdalon, and cut to pieces all who were found in it. The same day an Athenian galley was taken, as it sailed into the harbour. The besieged afterwards drew a wall from the city, towards Epipolæ, in order to cut, about the extremity of it, the single wall of the Athenians, and to deprive them of all communication with the troops, posted in the entrenchments which surrounded the city, on the north side, towards Tyche and Trogilus. The Athenians, after having finished the wall, which extended as far as the sea towards the great harbour, returned to the hills. Gylippus perceiving, in the single wall which the Athenians had built on the hills of Epipolæ, a part that was weaker and lower than the rest, marched thither in the night with his troops; but being discovered by the Athenians, who were encamped without, he was forced to retire upon seeing them advance directly towards him. They raised the wall higher, and themselves undertook the guard of it; after having fixed their allies in the several posts of the remainder of the intrenchment.

Nicias, on the other side, thought proper to fortify the cape of Plemmyrium, which, by its running into the sea, straitened the mouth of the great harbour; and his design thereby was to procure provisions, and all other things he might want, the more easily; because the Athenians, by possessing themselves of that post, drew near the little port, wherein lay the chief naval force of the Syracusans, and were the better able to observe their various motions; and that besides, by having the sea open, they would not be forced to have all their provisions from the bottom of the great harbour, as they must have been, should the enemy, by seizing on the mouth of it, oblige them to keep close in the harbour, in the manner they then did. For Nicias, from the arrival of Gylippus, had no hopes left, but from the side next the sea. Sending therefore his fleet, and part of his troops thither, he built three forts, by which the ships were enabled to lie at anchor; he also secured there a great part of the baggage and ammunition. It was then that the troops on board the fleet suffered very much; for, as they were obliged to go a great way to fetch wood and water, they were surrounded by the enemy's horse, the third part of which were posted at Olympia, to prevent the garrison of Plemmyrium from sallying, and were masters of the open country. Advice being brought to Nicias, that the Corinthian fleet was advancing, he sent two galleys against it; ordering them to observe the enemy towards Locris, Rhegium, and the rest of the avenues of Sicily.

In the mean time Gylippus, employing those very stones which the Athenians had got together for their use, went on with the wall which the Syracusans had begun to carry through Epipolæ, and drew up daily in order of battle before it, as did the Athenians. When he saw it was a proper time for engaging, he began the battle in the space between the two walls. The narrowness of it having rendered his cavalry, and archers useless, he came off with loss, and the Athenians set up a trophy. Gylippus to reanimate his soldiers, by doing them justice, had the courage to reproach himself for the ill success they had met with, and to declare publicly that he, not they, had occasioned the late defeat; because he had made them fight in too narrow a spot of ground. However, he promised soon to give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his, and accordingly, the very next day, he led them against the enemy, after having exhorted them, in the strongest terms, to behave in a manner worthy of their ancient glory. Nicias perceiving that though he should not desire to come to a battle, it would however be absolutely necessary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their line beyond the contravallation, to which they were already very near, because otherwise this would be granting them a certain victory, therefore marched against the Syracusans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place

* Jeges.

where the walls terminated on both sides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle: when, charging the enemy's left wing with his horse, he put it to flight, and soon after defeated the right. We have here an instance of what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing; for Gylippus, with the same men, the same arms, the same horses, and the same ground, by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night, the victors carried on their wall beyond the contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to surround them.

After this success, the Syracusans, to whose aid the Corinthian fleet had arrived, unperceived by that of the Athenians, resumed courage, armed several galleys, and marching into the plains with their cavalry and other forces, took a great number of prisoners. They sent deputies to Lacedæmon, and Corinth, to desire a reinforcement; Gylippus went in person to all the cities in Sicily, to solicit them to join him, and brought over the greatest part of them, who accordingly sent him powerful succours. Nicias finding his troops diminish and those of the enemy increase daily, began to be discouraged; and not only sent expresses to the Athenians, to acquaint them with the situation of affairs, but likewise wrote to them in the strongest terms. I repeat his whole letter, both as it gives a clear and exact account of the state of things at that time in Syracuse, and may serve as a model for such kind of relations.*

"Athenians, I have already informed you, by several expresses, of what passed here: but it is necessary you should know the present situation of affairs, that you may resolve accordingly. After we had been victorious in several engagements, and almost completed our contravallation, Gylippus arrived in Syracuse with a body of Lacedæmonian and Sicilian troops; and having been defeated the first time, he was victorious the second, by means of his cavalry and archers. We are in consequence shut up in our entrenchments, without daring to make any attempt, or complete our works, through the superiority of the enemy's forces; for part of our soldiers are employed in guarding our forts, and consequently we have not an opportunity of employing all our forces in battle. Besides, as the Syracusans have cut our lines, by a wall, in that part where they were not complete, it will no longer be possible for us to invest the city, unless we should force their entrenchments; so that, instead of besieging, we ourselves are besieged, and dare not stir out for fear of their horse.

"Not content with these advantages, they are bringing new succours from Peloponnesus, and have sent Gylippus to force all the neutral cities of Sicily to declare for them; and the rest to furnish them with men and ships, to attack us both by sea and land: I say by sea, which, though very surprising, is however but too true. For our fleet, which before was considerable from the good condition of the galleys and mariners, is now very deficient in those very circumstances, and extremely weakened.

"Our galleys leak every where; because we cannot draw them on shore to careen them, lest those of the enemy, which are more numerous, and in better condition than ours, should attack us on a sudden, which they seem to threaten every moment.— Besides, we are under a necessity of sending many backwards and forwards to guard the convoys which we are forced to fetch from a great distance, and bring along in sight of the enemy; so that should we be ever so little negligent in this point, our army would be starved.

"With regard to the ships' crews, they decrease sensibly every day; for as great numbers disperse to maraud, or to fetch wood and water; they are often cut to pieces by the enemy's horse. Our slaves, allured by the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp, desert very fast to it. The foreigners which we forced into the service, diminish daily; and such as have been raised with money, who came for plunder rather than fighting, finding themselves disappointed, go over to the enemy, who are so near us, or else hide themselves in Sicily, which they may easily do in so large an island. A great number of citizens, though long used to, and well skilled in working of ships, by bribing the captains, put others in their room, who are wholly inexperienced and incapable of serving, and by that means have quite subverted all discipline. I am now writing to men perfectly well versed in naval affairs; and who are very sensible, that, when order is neglected, every thing grows worse and worse, and the fleet must inevitably be ruined.

"But the most unhappy circumstance is, that though I am generalissimo, I cannot put a stop to these disorders. For, Athenians, you are very sensible, that such

* Thucyd. l. vii. p. 490—494. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. l. xiii. p. 139.

is your disposition, that you do not easily brook restraint; besides, I do not know where to furnish myself with seamen, whereas the enemy get numbers from all quarters. It is not in the power of our Sicilian allies to aid us; and should the cities of Italy, from whence we have our provisions, hearing the extremity to which we are reduced, and your not taking the least care to send us any succour, join the Syracusans, we are undone, and the enemy will have no occasion to fight us.

"I could write of things which would be more agreeable, but of none that could be more advantageous to you, nor which could give you a more just idea of the subjects on which you are to deliberate. I am sensible that you love to have such advices only sent you as are pleasing; but, I know, on the other side, that when affairs turn out otherwise than you expected and hoped for, you accuse those who deceived you; which induced me to give you a sincere and genuine account of things; without concealing a single circumstance. By the way, I am to inform you, that no complaints can be justly made either against the officers or common soldiers, both having done their duty very well.

"But now that the Sicilians join all their forces against us, and expect a new army from Peloponnesus, you may lay this down as the foundation for your deliberations, that your present troops are not sufficient; and therefore we either must be recalled, or else a land and naval force, equal to the first must be sent to us, with money in proportion. You must also think of appointing a person to succeed me, it being impossible for me, through my nephritic disorder, to sustain any longer the weight of the command. I imagine I deserve this favour at your hands, on account of the services I have done you in the several commands conferred upon me, so long as my health would permit me to act.

"To conclude, whatever resolution you may come to, the request I have to make is, that you would execute it speedily, and very early in the spring. The succours which our enemies meet with in Sicily are all ready; but those which they expect from Peloponnesus may be longer in coming. However, fix this in your minds, that if you do not exert yourselves, the Lacedæmonians will not fail, as they have already done, to be beforehand with you."

The Athenians were strongly affected with this letter, which made as great an impression on them as Nicias expected. However, they did not think proper to appoint him a successor; and only nominated two officers who were under him, viz. Menander and Euthydemus, to assist him till other generals should be sent. Eurymedon and Demosthenes were chosen to succeed Lamachus and Alcibiades. The former set out immediately with ten galleys, and some money,* about the winter solstice, to assure Nicias that a speedy succour should be sent him; during which, the latter was raising troops and contributions, in order to set sail early in the spring.

The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, being supported by the Corinthians, were very industrious in preparing reinforcements to send into Sicily, and to enter Attica, in order to keep the Athenian fleet from sailing to that island.

Accordingly they entered Attica early, under the command of king Agis; and after having laid waste the country, they fortified Decelia; having divided the work among all the forces, to make the greater despatch. This post is about a hundred and twenty furlongs from Athens, that is, about six French leagues, and the same distance from Bœotia. Alcibiades was perpetually soliciting the Lacedæmonians, and could not be easy, till he had prevailed with them to begin that work. This annoyed the Athenians most of all: for hitherto the enemy retiring, after they had laid waste the Athenian territories, the latter were unmolested all the rest of the year; but from the fortifying of Decelia, the garrison left in it were continually making incursions, and alarming the Athenians, Athens being now become a kind of frontier town; for, in the day-time, a guard was mounted at all the gates, and in the night, all the citizens were either on the walls, or under arms. Such vessels as brought provisions from the island of Eubœa, and which before had a much shorter passage by Decelia, were forced to go round about, in order to double the cape of Sunium; by which means provisions, as well as goods imported, grew much dearer. To heighten the calamity, upwards of twenty thousand slaves, the greater part of whom were artificers, went over to the enemy, to fly from the extreme misery with which the city was afflicted. The cattle of all kinds died. Most of the horses were lamed, being continually upon guard, or upon parties. Every thing being laid waste in this man-

* One hundred and twenty talents.

ner, and the Athenians enjoying no longer the revenues which arose from the produce of their lands, there was a great scarcity of money; so that they were forced to take the twentieth part of all the imports, to supply their usual subsidies.*

In the mean time Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned with as many men as he could raise in the whole Island; and prevailed with the Syracusans to fit out the strongest fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at sea, upon the presumption that the success would answer the greatness of the enterprize. This advice was strongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracusans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the seas. He observed, that the Athenians themselves had not received it from their ancestors, nor been always possessed of it: that the Persian war had in a manner forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, notwithstanding two great obstacles, their disposition, and the situation of the city, which stood at a considerable distance from the sea: that they had made themselves formidable to other nations, not so much by their real strength, as by their courage and intrepidity; that they ought to copy them; and since they had to do with enemies who were so enterprising, it was fit they should be equally daring.†

This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land forces in the night-time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five galleys of Syracuse, which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the lesser, where was an arsenal for ships, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium, to surprise the Athenians, who would see themselves attacked both by sea and land at the same time. The Athenians, at this news, went on board also; and with twenty-five ships sailed to fight the thirty-five Syracusan vessels which were sailing out against them from the great harbour; and opposed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy which were come out of the little port. A sharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour; one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Those who defended the forts of Plemmyrium, having flocked to the shore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by daybreak; and having carried the greatest of them by storm, the soldiers who defended the other two were so terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment. After this advantage, the Syracusans sustained a considerable loss; for such of their vessels as fought at the entrance of the harbour, after having forced the Athenians, bulged furiously, one against the other, as they entered it in disorder; and by this means shifted the victory to their enemies, who were not contented with pursuing, but also gave chase to those who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracusan galleys were sunk, and great numbers of the sailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewise lost three; and after towing off those of the enemy, they raised a trophy in a little island lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the centre of their camp.

The Syracusans also raised three trophies for the capture of the three forts; and after razing one of the smaller, they repaired the fortifications of the other two, and put garrisons into them. Several Athenians had been either killed or made prisoners there; and great sums of money were taken, the property of the public, as well as of merchants and captains of galleys, besides a large quantity of ammunition; this being a kind of magazine for the whole army. They likewise lost the stores and rigging of forty galleys, with three ships that lay in the dock. But a more considerable circumstance was, Gylippus thereby prevented Nicias from getting provisions and ammunition so easily; for, while the latter was possessed of Plemmyrium, they procured these securely and expeditously; whereas, after their being dispossessed of it, it was equally difficult and hazardous, because they could not bring in any thing without fighting, the enemy lying at anchor just off their fort. Thus Athenians could have no provisions but from the point of the sword; which dispirited the soldiers very much, and threw the whole army into great consternation.

There was afterwards a little skirmish in defending a stoccade, which the inhabitants had made in the sea, at the entrance of the old harbour, to secure the shipping. The Athenians having raised towers and parapets on a large ship, advanced it as near as possible to the stoccade, in order that it might serve as a bulwark to some ships which carried military engines, with which they drew up stakes by the help of pulleys and ropes, exclusive of those which the divers sawed in two; the besieged defend-

* A. M. 2591. Ant. J. C. 423. Thucyd. l. vi. p. 494—496. et 502—504. Diod. l. xiii. p. 140.

† Thucyd. l. vii. p. 497, 500. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140.

ing themselves with their harbour, and the enemies with their tower. Such stakes as had been driven in, level with the surface of the water, in order to strand those vessels that should come near them, were the hardest to force away. The divers also bribed the enemy, and most of the stakes were torn up; but then others were immediately driven in their places. The utmost efforts were used on both sides in the attack as well as the defence.*

One circumstance which the besieged considered of the greatest importance, was to attempt a second engagement both by sea and land, before the fleet, and other succours sent by the Athenians, should arrive. They had concerted fresh measures for a battle at sea, by improving from the errors they had committed in the last engagement. The change made in the galleys was, their prows were now shorter, and at the same time stronger and more solid than before. For this purpose, they fixed great pieces of timber, projecting forward, on each side of the prows; and to these pieces they joined beams by way of troops. These beams extended to the length of six cubits on each side of the vessel, both within and without. By this they hoped to gain the advantage over the galleys of the Athenians, which did not dare, because of the weakness of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not to mention, that should the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to spread themselves, nor to pass between two galleys, in which lay their greatest art; nor to tack about after they should have been repulsed, in order to return to the charge; whereas the Syracusans, by their being masters of the whole extent of that harbour, would have all these advantages, and might reciprocally assist one another. On these circumstances the latter founded their hopes of victory.†

Gylippus, therefore, first drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city; while the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their galleys set sail.

Nicias did not care to venture a second battle, saying, as he expected a fresh fleet every moment, and a great reinforcement under Demosthenes, it would betray the greatest want of judgment, should he, as his troops were inferior in number to those of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had just before been appointed to share the command of Nicias till the arrival of Demosthenes, fired with ambition, and jealous of those generals, were eager to perform some great exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and, if possible, eclipse that of the other. The pretence they alleged on this occasion was, the fame and reputation of Athens; and they asserted with so much vehemence, that it would be entirely destroyed, should they shun the battle, as the Syracusans offered it them, that they at last forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had seventy-five galleys, and the Syracusans eighty.

The first day the fleets continued in sight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging; and only a few skirmishes passed, after which both parties retired; and it was just the same with the land forces. The Syracusans did not make the least motion the second day. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, caused the transports to draw up in a line, at some distance from one another, in order that his galleys might retire behind them in safety, in case he should be defeated. On the morrow, the Syracusans came up sooner than usual, when a great part of the day was spent in skirmishing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not suppose they would return, but imagined that fear had made them fly: but having refreshed themselves with great diligence, and returning on board their galleys, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them. The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ships, entered them in great disorder, so that they had not time to draw them up in line of battle, and most of the sailors were fasting. Victory did not long continue in suspense. The Athenians, after making a short and slight resistance, retired behind their line of transport ships. The enemy pursued them thither, and were stopped by the sail-yards of those ships, to which were fixed dolphins of lead,‡ which, being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's galleys, would have sunk them at once. The Athenians lost seven galleys in this engagement, and a great number of soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners.

This loss threw Nicias into the utmost consternation. All the misfortunes he had met with, ever since the time he had first enjoyed the supreme command, came into his mind; and he was now involved in greater than any of them by his complying

* Thucyd. l. vii. p. 500—501.

† Ibid. p. 509—513. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Dioid. p. 140, 141.

‡ This engine, so violent was its motion, broke through a galley from the deck to the hold.

with the advice of his colleagues. While he was revolving these gloomy ideas, Demosthenes's fleet was seen coming forward in great pomp, and with such an air as should fill the enemy with dread; it was now the day after the battle. This fleet consisted of seventy-three galleys, on board of which were five thousand fighting men, and about three thousand archers, slingers, and bowmen. All these galleys were richly trimmed; their prows being adorned with shining streamers, manned with stout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the sound of clarions and trumpets; Demosthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph, purposely to strike terror into the enemy.*

This gallant sight alarmed them indeed beyond expression. They did not see any end, or even the least suspension of their calamities; all they had hitherto done or suffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, since though they had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica, they were however able to send a second army into Sicily, as considerable as the former; and that their power, as well as their courage, seemed, notwithstanding all their losses, instead of diminishing, to increase daily!

Demosthenes, having made an exact inquiry into the state of things, imagined that it would not be proper for him to lose time as Nicias had done, who, having spread a universal terror at his first arrival, became afterwards the object of contempt, for his having wintered in Catania, instead of going directly to Syracuse; and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it. He flattered himself with the hopes, that he should be able to carry the city at the first attack, by taking advantage of the alarm which the news of his arrival would spread in every part of it, and by that means should immediately put an end to the war: otherwise, he intended to raise the siege, and no longer harass and lessen the troops by fighting undecisive battles; nor quite exhaust the city of Athens, by employing its treasures in needless expenses.

Nicias, terrified by this bold and precipitate resolution of Demosthenes, conjured him not to be so hasty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cause to repent of what he should do. He observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their provisions as well as money were entirely exhausted; that their allies were on the point of abandoning them; that they must soon be reduced to such extremity, for want of provisions, as would force them to surrender, as they had before resolved: for there were certain persons in Syracuse who held a secret correspondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient because the Syracusans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that should the necessity to which they were reduced be ever so little increased, they would surrender at discretion.

As Nicias did not explain himself clearly, and would not declare in express terms, that sure and certain advices were sent him of whatever was transacted in the city, his remonstrances were considered as an effect of the timidity and slowness with which he had always been reproached. "Such," said they, "are his usual protraction, delays, distrusts and fearful precaution, whereby he has deadened all the vivacity, and extinguished all the ardour of the troops, in not marching them immediately against the enemy; but, on the contrary, by deferring to attack them, till his own forces were weakened and despised. This made the rest of the generals and all the officers come over to the opinion of Demosthenes, and Nicias himself was at last forced to acquiesce in it.

Demosthenes, after having attacked to no purpose the wall which cut the contravallation of the besiegers, confined himself to the attack of Epipolæ, from a supposition that, should he once be master of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He therefore took provisions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing necessary for him to defend that post after he should possess himself of it. As there was no going up to it in the day time undiscovered, he marched thither in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias staying behind to guard the camp. They went up by the way of Euryalus, as before, unperceived by the sentinels; attacked the first intrenchment, and stormed it, after killing part of those who defended it. Demosthenes, not satisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his soldiers from cooling, and not delay the execution of his design, marched

* Thucyd. l. vii. p. 513—518. Plut. in Nic. p. 537. Dioid. p. 141, 142.

forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, sustained by Gylippus, marched under arms out of the intrenchments. Being seized with astonishment, which the darkness of the night increased, they were immediately repulsed and put to flight. But as the Athenians advanced in disorder, to force whatever might resist their arms, lest the enemy might rally again, should time be allowed them to breathe, and recover from their surprise, they were stopt on a sudden by the Bœotians, who made a vigorous stand, and marching against the Athenians with their pikes presented, they repulsed them with great shouts, and made a dreadful slaughter. This spread a universal terror through the rest of the army. Those who fled, either forced along such as were advancing to their assistance, or else, mistaking them for enemies, turned their arms against them. They now were all mixed indiscriminately, it being impossible to discover objects in the horrors of a night, which was not so gloomy as entirely to make objects imperceptible, nor yet light enough to distinguish those which were seen. The Athenians sought for one another to no purpose: and from their often asking the *word*, by which only they were able to know one another, a strange confusion of sounds was heard, which occasioned no little disorder; not to mention that they, by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; because, by their being together, and in a body, they had no occasion to repeat it. In the mean time, those who were pursued, threw themselves from the top of the rocks, and many were dashed to pieces by the fall; and as most of those who escaped, straggled from one another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horse who pursued them. Two thousand Athenians were slain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; those who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to escape over the precipices.

SECTION XIV.—THE ATHENIANS AGAIN HAZARD A SEA-FIGHT, AND ARE DEFEATED. NICIAS AND DEMOSTHENES SENTENCED TO DIE, AND EXECUTED.

THE Athenian generals; after sustaining so great a loss, were in a great dilemma, and did not know how to act in the present discouragement and despair of the troops, who died daily, either by the diseases of the autumn, or by the bad air of the fens near which they were encamped. Demosthenes was of opinion that it would be proper for them to leave the country immediately, since they had been unsuccessful in so important an enterprise; especially as the season was not too far advanced for sailing; and that they had ships enough to force a passage, in case the enemy should dispute it with them. He declared, that it would be of much greater advantage to oblige the enemy to raise the blockade of Athens, than for them to continue that of Syracuse, by which they exhausted themselves to no purpose; that he was certain they would not be reinforced by a new army; and that they could not hope to overcome the enemy with the weak one under their command.*

Nicias was sensible, that the arguments his colleague used were very just, and he himself was of his opinion: but at the same time he was afraid, lest so public a confession of the weak condition to which they were reduced, and their resolution to leave Sicily, the report of which would certainly reach the enemy, should complete the ruin of their affairs, and perhaps make them unable to execute their resolution when they should attempt it. Besides, they had some little hopes left that the besieged, being themselves reduced to great extremity by their absolute want of provisions and money, would at last be inclined to surrender upon honourable terms. Thus, although he was in reality uncertain and wavering, he insinuated, that he did not care to quit Sicily, till the Athenians should have first sent orders for that purpose: and that otherwise they would be highly displeased; that as those who were to judge them, had not been eye witnesses of the state of things, they would be of a different opinion, and at the instigation of some orator, certainly condemn them: that most of those men, who now exclaimed with the greatest vehemence against the difficulties they laboured under, would then change their note, and accuse them of having been bribed to raise the siege: that knowing so well, as he did, the disposition and character of the Athenians, he chose to die gloriously by the enemy's sword, rather than be ignominiously condemned by his fellow-citizens.

These reasons, though they appeared very strong, were not yet able to convince Demosthenes; and it was still his opinion, that the only proper choice they could make, would be to retire. However, as he had been unsuccessful in his former opinion, he

* Thucyd. l. vii. p. 531—520. Plut. in Nic. p. 538—542. Diod. l. xiii. p. 142.

was afraid of insisting upon this; and he was the more inclined to come into that of Nicias, from imagining, with many others, that this general might have some secret resource, as he was so firmly resolved to stay.

Gylippus, after having made the tour of Sicily, had brought a great body of troops with him. This new reinforcement terrified the Athenians exceedingly, whose army diminished daily by sickness; and they now began to repent their not having raised the siege, especially as the besieged were preparing to attack them both by sea and land. Besides, Nicias no longer opposed this resolution, and only desired to have it kept secret. Orders were therefore given, as privately as possible, for the fleet to prepare for setting sail with the utmost expedition.*

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to set sail, wholly unsuspected by the enemy, who were far from surmising they would leave Sicily so soon, the moon was suddenly eclipsed in the middle of the night, and lost all its splendour; which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who, from ignorance and superstition, were astonished at so sudden a change, the causes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the consequences of it. They then consulted the soothsayers, who, being equally unacquainted with the reasons of this phenomenon, only augmented their consternation. It was the custom, after such accidents had happened, to suspend their enterprises but for three days. The soothsayers pronounced, that he must not sail till three times nine days were past; these are the words of Thucydides, which doubtless was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias, scrupulous to a fault, and full of a mistaken veneration for these blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon; and not return till the same day of the next month; as if he had not seen the planet very clearly, the instant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the intervention of the earth's body.

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians being soon spread over the city, a resolution was taken to attack the besiegers both by sea and land. The Syracusans began the first day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a slight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a second attack; and at the same time sailed with seventy-six galleys, against eighty-six of the Athenians. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having spread along the shore to surround them, this movement proved fatal to him: for, as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracusans, after forcing the main battle, which was in the centre, attacked him; drove him vigorously into the gulf called Dascon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon lost his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chase to the rest of the galleys, and run them against the shore. Gylippus, who commanded the land-army, seeing the Athenian galleys were forced aground, and not able to return into their stoccade, landed with part of his troops, in order to charge the soldiers, in case they should be forced to run ashore; and to give his friends the more room to tow such galleys as they might have taken. However, he was repulsed by the Tyrrhenians, who were posted on that side, and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to sustain them, to retire with some loss as far as the moor called Lysimelia, which lay near it. The latter saved most of their ships, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracusans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, resolving to burn the rest, they filled an old vessel with combustible materials; and having set fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind against the Athenians, who nevertheless extinguished the fire, and drove off that ship.

Each side erected trophies; the Syracusans for the defeat of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before; and the Athenians, for their having driven part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently disposed. The Syracusans, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation at the arrival of Demosthenes with his fleet, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, resumed fresh hope, and assured themselves of a complete victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, frustrated of their only resource, and overcome by sea, so contrary to their expectations, entirely lost courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

The enemy, to deprive them of all resource, and prevent their escaping, shut the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with galleys placed cross-wise, and other vessels fixed with anchors and iron chains; and at the

* Thucyd. l. vii. p. 521—548. Plut. in Nic. p. 538. Diod. l. xiii. p. 142.

same time made the requisite preparations for the battle, in case they should have courage to engage again. When the Athenians saw themselves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers assembled, in order to deliberate on the present state of affairs. They were in absolute want of provisions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire; and they could not procure any from other places, unless they were masters of the sea. This made them resolve to venture a sea-fight. In this view, they were determined to leave their old camp, and to intrench themselves on the shore, near their ships, in the smallest compass possible. Their design was to leave some forces in that place to guard their baggage and the sick; and to fight with the rest on board all the ships they should have saved. They intended to retire into Catana, in case they should be victorious; otherwise to set fire to their ships, and to march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies.

This resolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled a hundred and ten galleys, the others having lost their oars, with the flower of his infantry; and drew up the rest of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on the shore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracusan galleys, Nicias had provided harping-irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to close fight as on shore. But the enemy perceiving this, covered the prows and upper part of their galleys with leather to prevent their being so easily laid hold of. The commanders on both sides had employed all their eloquence to animate their men; and none could ever have been prompted from stronger motives; for the battle which was about to be fought, was to determine not only their lives and liberties, but also the fate of their country.

The battle was very obstinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, easily took those ships which defended the entrance of it; but, when they attempted to break the chain of the rest, to widen the passage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred galleys came rushing on each side, in a narrow place, there must necessarily have been a very great confusion; and the vessels could not easily advance or retire, nor turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the galleys, for this reason, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent discharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed by a shower of stones, which always did execution from whatever place they were thrown; whereas they defended themselves only by shooting darts and arrows, which, by the motion of the ships from the agitation of the sea, did not carry true, and by that means the greatest part of them did very little execution. Ariston the pilot had given the Syracusans this counsel. These discharges being over, the soldiers, heavily armed, attempted to enter the enemy's ships, in order to fight hand to hand: and it often happened, that while they were climbing up one side, their own ships were entered on the other; and two or three ships would be grappled to one, which occasioned a great perplexity and confusion. Further, the noise of the ships that dashed one against the other, the different cries of the victors and vanquished, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a passage, whatever might be the consequence, to secure their return into their own country; and this the enemy endeavoured their utmost to prevent, in order that they might gain a more complete and more glorious victory. The two land-armies, which were drawn up on the highest part of the shore, and the inhabitants of the city who were there, ran to the walls, while the rest, kneeling in the temples, were imploring Heaven to give success to their citizens. All these saw clearly, because of their little distance from the fleets, every thing that passed; and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror. Attentive to, and shuddering at every movement, at the several changes which happened, they discovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries, and different gestures; stretching out their hands sometimes towards the combatants to animate them, and at other times towards heaven, to implore the succour and protection of the gods. At last, the Athenian fleet after sustaining a long battle, and a vigorous resistance, was put to flight, and driven against the shore. The Syracusans, who were spectators of this victory, conveyed to the whole city, by an universal shout, the news of this victory. The victors, now masters of the sea, and sailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuse, erected a trophy; while the Athenians, who were quite dejected and overpowered, did not so much as request that their dead soldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the last sad duty to their remains.

There remained but two methods for them to choose; either to attempt the passage a second time, for which they had ships and soldiers sufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. Demothenes proposed the former; but the sailors, in the deepest affliction, refused to obey, fully persuaded that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. The second method was therefore resolved upon, and accordingly they prepared to set out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who suspected their design; was very sensible that it was of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to escape; since they otherwise might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and renew the war. The Syracusans were at that time in the midst of their festivity and rejoicings, and meditating nothing but how they might best divert themselves, after the toils they had sustained in fight. They were then solemnizing the festival of Hercules. To desire the Syracusans to take up arms again, in order to pursue the enemy, and to attempt to draw them from their diversions either by force or persuasion, would have been to no purpose; for which reason another expedient was employed. Hermocrates sent out a few horsemen, who were to pass for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud, "Tell Nicias not to retire till daylight; for the Syracusans lie in ambush for him, and have seized on the passes." This false advice stopped Nicias at once; and he did not even set out the next day, in order that the soldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure, and carry off whatever might be necessary for their subsistence, and abandon the rest.

The enemy had time enough for seizing the avenues. The next morning early, they possessed themselves of the most difficult passes, fortified those places where the river was fordable, broke down the bridges, and spread detachments of horse up and down the plain; so that there was not one place through which the Athenians could pass without fighting. They set out upon their march the third day after the battle, with design to retire to Catana. The whole army was in an inexpressible consternation, to see such great numbers of men, either dead or dying, some of whom were left exposed to wild beasts, and the rest to the cruelty of the enemy. Those who were sick and wounded conjured them with tears, to take them along with the army, and held by their clothes when they were going; or dragging themselves after them, followed them as far as their strength would permit; and when this failed, they had recourse to tears, sighs, and imprecations; and sending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods as well as men to avenge their cruelty, while every place echoed with lamentations.

The whole army was in as deplorable a condition. All men were seized with the deepest melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguish, when they represented to themselves the greatness from which they were fallen, the extreme misery to which they were reduced, and the still greater evils from which they foresaw it would be impossible for them to escape. They could not bear the comparison for ever present in their thoughts, of the triumphant state in which they had left Athens, in the midst of the good wishes and acclamations of the people, with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and that which most deserved compassion, was Nicias. Dejected and worn out by a tedious illness; deprived of the most necessary things, at a time when his age and infirmities required them most; pierced, not only with his private grief, but with that of others, all which preyed upon his heart; this great man, superior to all his evils, thought of nothing, but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and revive their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that matters were not yet desperate, and that other armies had escaped from greater dangers; that they ought not to accuse themselves, or grieve too immoderately, for misfortunes which they had not occasioned; that if they had offended some god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them; that their bravery and their numbers made them still formidable, being still near forty thousand strong; that no city in Sicily would be able to withstand them, nor prevent their settling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do, but to take care severally of themselves, and march in good order; that by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they would not only save themselves, but also their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the first being commanded by Nicias, and the second by Demosthenes, with the baggage in the centre. Being come to the river Anapis, they forced the passage, and afterwards were charged by all the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who discharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during several days' march; every one of the passes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to dispute every inch of their way. The enemy did not care to hazard a battle against an army, which despair alone might render invincible; and the instant the Athenians offered the Syracusans battle, the latter retired; but whenever the former would proceed in their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

Demosthenes and Nicias, seeing the miserable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of provisions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it advisable to retire towards the sea, by a quite contrary way from that in which they then marched, and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, instead of proceeding to Catana, as they first intended. They set out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confusion and disorder, as generally happens to great armies in the gloomy horrors of the night, especially when the enemy is not far off. However, the van-guard, commanded by Nicias, retired in good order; but above half the rear-guard, with Demosthenes at their head, separated from the main body, and lost their way. On the next day the Syracusans, who, on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmost diligence, came up with him about noon; and having surrounded him with their horse, they drove him into a narrow place inclosed with a wall, where his soldiers fought like lions. Perceiving at the close of the day, that they were oppressed with fatigue, and covered with wounds, they gave the islanders leave to retire, which some of them accepted; and afterwards spared the lives of the rest, who surrendered at discretion with Demosthenes, after having stipulated, that they should not be put to death, nor sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. About six thousand soldiers surrendered on these conditions.

Nicias arrived the same evening at the river Erineus, and passing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender at discretion, as Demosthenes had done. Nicias could not persuade himself at first, that what they told him concerning that general was true, and therefore desired leave to send some horse for information. Upon their returning with the news that Demosthenes had really surrendered in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expenses of the war, upon condition that they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hostages as they should be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this proposal with disdain and insolence, and renewed the attack. Nicias, though in absolute want of all things, yet, sustained the charge the whole night, and marched towards the river Asinarus.—When they were got to the banks of it, the Syracusans advancing up to them, threw most of them into the stream; the rest having already plunged voluntarily into it to quench their thirst. Here, the greatest and most bloody havoc was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the least pity as they were drinking. Nicias, finding all lost, and unable to bear this dismal spectacle, surrendered at discretion; upon condition that Gylippus should discontinue the fight, and spare the rest of the army. A great number were killed, and more taken prisoners, so that all Sicily was filled with them. The Athenians seemed to have been displeased with their general for surrendering in this manner at discretion; and for this reason, his name was omitted in a public monument, on which were engraved the names of those commanders who had lost their lives in fighting for their country.*

The victors adorned with the arms taken from the prisoners, the finest and largest trees they could find on the banks of the rivers, and made trophies of these trees; when crowning themselves with chaplets of flowers, dressing their horses in the richest caparisons, and cropping those of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuse, after having happily terminated the most considerable war in which they had ever been engaged with the Greeks, and won, by their strength and valour, a most signal and most complete victory. The next day a council was held, to deliberate on what was to be done with the prisoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of the greatest authority among the people, proposed that all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all such Sicilians as had joined with them, should be imprisoned,

* Pausan. l. i. p. 56.

and only two measures of flower, and one of water, given them daily; that the slaves and all the allies should be publicly sold; and that the two Athenian generals should be first scourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

This last article was exceedingly disliked by all the wise and compassionate Syracusans. Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and justice, attempted to make some remonstrances to the people, but they would not hear him, and the shouts which echoed on all sides prevented him from continuing his speech. At that instant an old man, named Nicolaus, venerable for his great age and gravity, who in this war had lost two sons, the only heirs to his name and estate, made his servants carry him to the tribunal for harrangues; and the instant he appeared, a profound silence was maintained. "You here behold," said he, "an unfortunate father, who has felt more than any other Syracusan, the fatal effects of this war, by the death of two sons, who formed all the consolation, and were the only support of my old age. I cannot indeed forbear admiring their courage and felicity, in sacrificing, to their country's welfare, a life of which they would one day have been deprived by the common course of nature: but then I cannot but be strongly affected with the cruel wound which their death has made in my heart, nor forbear hating and detesting the Athenians, the authors of this unhappy war, as the murderers of my children. But however, I cannot conceal one circumstance, which is, that I am less sensible to my private affliction, than to the honour of my country; and I see it exposed to eternal infamy, by the barbarous advice which is now given you. The Athenians indeed merit the worst treatment, and every kind of punishment that could be inflicted to them, for so unjustly declaring war against us; but have not the gods, the just avengers of crimes, punished them and avenged us sufficiently? When their generals laid down their arms, and surrendered, did they not do this in the hopes of having their lives spared? And, if we put them to death, will it be possible for us to avoid the just reproach of our having violated the law of nations, and dishonoured our victory by an unheard of cruelty? How! Will you suffer your glory to be thus sullied in the face of the whole world, and have it said, that a nation, who first dedicates a temple in their city to clemency, had not found any in yours? Surely victories and triumph do not give immortal glory to a city; but the exercising mercy towards a vanquished enemy, the using moderation in the greatest prosperity, and fearing to offend the gods by a haughty and insolent pride. You doubtless have not forgot, that this Nicias, whose fate you are going to pronounce, was the very man who pleaded your cause in the assembly of the Athenians; and employed all his influence, and the whole power of his eloquence, to dissuade his country from embarking in this war: Should you therefore pronounce sentence of death on this worthy general, would it be a just reward for the zeal he showed for your interest? With regard to myself, death would be less grievous to me, than the sight of so horrid an injustice, committed by my countrymen and fellow-citizens."*

The people seemed moved to compassion, at this speech, especially as, when this venerable old man first rose up, they expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on those who had brought all his calamities upon him, instead of suing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians having expatiated with vehemence, on the unheard-of cruelties which their republic had exercised on several cities belonging to their enemies, and even to their ancient allies, the inveteracy which their commanders had shown against Syracuse, and the evils they would have made it suffer, had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans of infinite numbers of Syracusans, who bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whose manes could be appeased no other way than by the blood of their murderers: on their representations, the people returned to their sanguinary resolution, and followed the advice of Diocles in every respect. Gylippus used his utmost endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demosthenes given up to him, especially as he had taken them, in order to carry them to Lacedæmon. But his demand was rejected with a haughty scorn, and the two generals were put to death.

All wise and compassionate men could not forbear shedding tears, for the tragical fate of two such illustrious personages, and particularly for Nicias, who, of all men of his time, seemed least to merit so ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the speeches and remonstrances he had made, to prevent this war; and, on the other side, when they considered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion; the greater part of them were tempted to exclaim

* Diod. l. xiii. p. 149—161.

against Providence, in seeing that the man, who had ever shown the highest reverence for the gods, and had always exerted himself to the utmost for their honour and worship, should be so ill rewarded by them, and meet with no better fate than the most abandoned wretches. But it is no wonder that the calamities of good men should inspire the heathens with such thoughts, and make them murmur and despond; since they did not know the holiness of the Divine Being, nor the corruption of human nature.

The prisoners were shut up in the mines, "prisons of Syracuse," where, crowded one upon the other, they suffered incredible torments for eight months. Here they were for ever exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; scorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the sun, or frozen in the night by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrements, by the carcasses of those who died of their wounds and sickness: in fine, worn out by hunger and thirst, for the daily allowance to each was but a small measure of water, and two of meal. Those who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be sold as slaves, many of whom were citizens who had concealed their condition, found a less rigorous fate. Their wisdom, their patience, and a certain air of probity and modesty, were of great advantage to them, for they were soon restored to their liberty, or met with the kindest and most generous treatment from their masters. Several of them even owed the good usage they met with to Euripides, the finest scenes of whose tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them; so that when they returned to their own country, they went and saluted that poet as their deliverer, and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour by his verses.

The news of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens would not believe it at first; and were so far from giving credit to it, that they sentenced that man to death who had first published it. But when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were seized with the utmost consternation; and, as if themselves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and resentment against the orators who had promoted the enterprise, as well as against the soothsayers, who by their oracles, or supposed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of success. They had never been reduced to so deplorable a condition as now; having neither horse, foot, money, galleys, nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepest despair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elate with so great a victory, and strengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens, both by sea and land, with all the forces of Peloponessus.* Cicero had reason to observe, speaking of the battle in the harbour of Syracuse, that it was there the troops of Athens, as well as their galleys, were ruined and sunk; and that, in this harbour, the power and glory of the Athenians were miserably shipwrecked.†

The Athenians, however, did not suffer themselves to be wholly dejected, but resumed courage. They now resolved to raise money on all sides, and to import timber for building of ships, in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the island of Eubœa. They retrenched all superfluous expenses, and established a new council of aged men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they should be proposed to the people. In fine, they omitted nothing which might be of service in the present conjuncture; the alarm which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the necessities of the state, and submissive to all advice that might promote its interest.

The defeat of the army under Nicias was followed by the taking of Athens, of which the ancient form of government was entirely changed by Lysander.

CHAPTER II.

THIS chapter is the sequel of the preceding book, and contains the last eight years of the Peloponessian war, during as many years of the reign of Darius Nothus.

SECTION I.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE DEFEAT OF THE ATHENIANS IN SICILY, &c.

THE defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse gave occasion for great movements throughout all Greece. The people, who had not yet joined either side, and waited to be determined by the event, resolved to declare against them. The allies of the Lacedæmonians believed, that the time was come to deliver them for ever from the

* Thucyd. l. viii. p. 551—553. Plut. de Garrulit. p. 509.

† Hic primum opes illius civitatis victæ, comminutæ, depressæque sunt; in hoc portu, Atheniensium nobilitatis imperii, gloriæ naufragium factum existimatur.—Cic. Verr. 7. n. 97.

expenses of war, which lay very heavy upon them, by the speedy and final ruin of Athens. Those of Athens who followed them only out of constraint, seeing no appearance of any future resource for that republic, after the dreadful blow it had received, thought it best to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture, for throwing off the yoke of dependence, and resuming their liberty. Dispositions of this kind inspired the Lacedæmonians with great views, which were supported by the hopes they had conceived that their Sicilian allies would join them in the spring, with a naval force, augmented by their ruins of the Athenian fleet.*

In fact the people of Eubœa, Chio, and Lesbos, with several others, gave the Lacedæmonians to understand, that they were ready to quit the party of the Athenians, if they would take them under their protection. At the same time came deputies from Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. The first was governor of Lydia and Ionia, the latter of the Hellespont. These viceroys of Darius wanted neither application nor zeal for the interest of their master. Tissaphernes, promising the Lacedæmonians all the necessary expenses for their troops, pressed them to arm directly, and to join him; because the Athenian fleet prevented him from levying the usual contributions in his province, and had put it out of his power to remit those of preceding years to the king. He hoped besides, with that powerful aid, to get into his hands, with more ease, a certain nobleman, who had revolted, and whom he had the king's orders to send to him dead or alive. This was Amorges, the bastard of Pisuthnes. Pharnabazus, at the same time, demanded ships to reduce the cities of the Hellespont from their subjection to the Athenians, who also prevented him from levying the tributes of his government.†

The Lacedæmonians thought it proper to begin by satisfying Tissaphernes; and the influence of Alcibiades contributed very much to the taking that resolution. He embarked with Calcidæus for Chio, which took arms upon their arrival, and declared for the Lacedæmonians. Upon the news of this revolt, the Athenians resolved to take the thousand talents‡ out of the treasury, which had been deposited there from the beginning of the war, after having repealed the decree which prohibited it. Miletus also revolted soon after. Tissaphernes having joined his troops with those of Sparta, attacked and took the city of Iasus, in which Amorges had shut himself up, who was taken alive and sent into Persia.§ That governor gave a month's pay to the whole army, at a drachm, or ten pence a day to each soldier, observing that he had orders to give them only half that sum for the future.

Calcidæus then made a treaty with Tissaphernes, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, one of the principal articles of which was, that all the country which had been subject to the king or his predecessors, should remain in his hands. It was renewed some time after by Theramenes, another general of the Lacedæmonians, with some small alterations. But, when this treaty came to be examined at Sparta, it was found that too great concessions had been made to the king of Persia, in giving up all the places held by himself or his ancestors, which was to make him master of the greatest part of Greece, Thessaly, Locris, and the whole country as far as Bœotia, without mentioning the islands; from whence the Lacedæmonians would appear rather to have enslaved Greece, than re-established its liberty. It was therefore necessary to make farther alterations in it, with which Tissaphernes and the other governors made great difficulties to comply. A new treaty was, however, concluded, as we shall see in the sequel.||

In the mean time, several cities of Ionia declared for Lacedæmon, to which Alcibiades contributed very much. Agis, who was already his enemy on account of the injury he had done him, could not suffer the glory he acquired: for nothing was done without the advice of Alcibiades, and it was generally said, that the success of all enterprises was owing to him. The most powerful and ambitious of the Spartans, from the same sentiments of jealousy, looked upon him with an evil eye, and at length, by their intrigues, obliged the principal magistrates to send orders into Ionia for putting him to death. Alcibiades, being secretly apprised of this order, did not discontinue his services to the Lacedæmonians, but kept himself so well upon his guard, that he avoided all the snares which were laid for him.¶

For his better security he threw himself into the protection of Tissaphernes, the great king's governor at Sardis, and was not long without seeing himself in the highest

* A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. Thucyd. l. vii. p. 553.

† About five hundred and sixty two thousand dollars.

‡ Idem. p. 561—571, 572—576.

† Thucyd. l. viii. p. 555—558.

§ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 568.

¶ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 577—579. Plut. in Alcib. p. 164, 165.

degree of influence and authority in the court of the barbarian. For the Persian, who was full of fraud and artifice, a great friend to knaves and bad men, and set no value upon simplicity and integrity, infinitely admired the smooth address of Alcibiades; the ease with which he assumed all kinds of manners and characters, and his great ability in the conduct of affairs. And indeed, there was no heart so hard, nor temper so untractable, as to hold out against the graces and charms of his conversation and intimacy. Even those who feared and envied him most, enchanted in a manner by his affable air and engaging behaviour, could not dissemble the infinite satisfaction they felt in seeing and conversing with him.*

Tissaphernes, therefore, though otherwise very haughty and brutal, and who of all the Persians hated the Greeks most, who so much taken with the complacency and insinuations of Alcibiades, that he gave himself wholly up to him, and flattered him more than he was flattered by him: insomuch that he gave the name of Alcibiades to the finest and most delightful of his gardens, as well from the abundance of its fountains and canals, and the verdure of its groves, as the surprising beauty of its retreats and solitudes, which art and nature seemed to vie in embellishing, and wherein a more than royal magnificence was displayed.

Alcibiades, who found there was no longer any safety for him in the party of the Spartans, and who always apprehended the resentment of Agis, began to do them ill offices with Tissaphernes, to prevent his aiding them with all his forces, and ruining the Athenians entirely. He had no difficulty in bringing the Persians into his views, which were conformable to his master's interests, and to the orders he had received from him. For after the famous treaty concluded under Cimon, the kings of Persia, not daring to attack the Greeks with open force, took other measures to ruin them. They endeavoured secretly to excite divisions among them, and to foment troubles by considerable sums of money, which they found means to convey sometimes to Athens, and sometimes to Sparta. They applied themselves so successfully to keep up a balance of power between those two republics, that the one could never entirely reduce the other. They granted them only slight aids, that could effect nothing decisive, in order to undermine them insensibly, and exhaust both parties gradually, by weakening them upon one another.

It is in this kind of conduct, that policy makes the ability of ministers consist; who, from the recess of their cabinets, without noise or emotion, without any great expenses, or setting numerous armies on foot, effect the reduction of the states whose power gives them umbrage, either by sowing domestic divisions among them, or by promoting the jealousy of their neighbours, in order to set them at variance with each other.

We must confess, however, that this kind of policy gives us no very favourable idea of the kings of Persia. To reduce themselves, powerful as they were, to such mean, obscure, and indirect measures, was to confess their weakness, and how unable they believed themselves to attack their enemies with open force, and to reduce them by honourable means. Besides, does it consist with justice to employ such methods in regard to people, against whom there is no foundation of complaint, who live in peace under the faith of treaties, and whose sole crime is the apprehension of their being one day in a condition to do injury? And is it lawful by secret corruptions to ensnare the fidelity of subjects, and to be the accomplice of their treasons, by putting arms into their hands against their native country?

What glory and renown would not the kings of Persia have acquired if, content with the vast and rich dominions which Providence had given them, they had applied their good offices, power, and even treasures, to conciliate the neighbouring people with each other, to remove their jealousies, to prevent injustice and oppression; and if, feared and honoured by them all, they had made themselves the mediators of their differences, the security of their peace, and the guarantee of their treaties? Can any conquest, however great, be compared with such glory?

Tissaphernes acted upon other principles, and had no thought but of preventing the Greeks from being in a condition to attack the Persians, their common enemy.—He entered freely therefore into the views of Alcibiades, and at the same time that he declared himself openly for the Lacedæmonians, did not fail to assist the Athenians privately, and by a thousand secret methods; such as deferring the payment of the Lacedæmonian fleet, and retarding the arrival of the Phœnician ships, of which he had long kept them in hopes. He omitted no occasion of giving Alcibiades new marks

* A. M. 3593. Ant. J. C. 411.

of his friendship and esteem, which rendered that general equally considerable to both parties. The Athenians, who had sadly experienced the effects of having drawn his anger upon them, were not now to repent their passing sentence of condemnation upon him. Alcibiades also, on his side, who was extremely sorry to see the Athenians in so mournful a situation, began to fear, that the city of Athens being entirely ruined, he might fall into the hands of the Spartans, who mortally hated him.

SECTION II.—ALCIBIADES RETURNS TO ATHENS. TISSAPHERNES CONCLUDES A NEW TREATY WITH THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

THE Athenians were intent upon nothing so much as Samos, where they had all their forces.* From thence, with their fleet they brought back to their obedience, all the cities that had abandoned them, kept the rest in their duty, and found themselves still in a condition to make head against their enemies, over whom they had obtained several advantages.† But, they were afraid of Tissaphernes and the hundred and fifty Phœnician ships which he hourly expected; and rightly perceived, that if so powerful a fleet should join the enemy, there was no longer any safety for their city. Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that passed among the Athenians, sent directly to the principal of them at Samos, to sound their sentiments, and to let them know, that he was not averse to returning to Athens, provided the administration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, in order to concert with him on the proper measures for the success of that undertaking. He promised to procure the Athenians not only the favour of Tissaphernes, but of the king himself, upon condition that they would abolish the democracy or popular government; because the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon those of the inconstant and capricious multitude.

The deputies lent a willing ear to these proposals, and conceived great hopes of discharging themselves from part of the public impositions, because, being the richest of the people, the burthen lay heaviest upon them, and of making their country triumph after having possessed themselves of the government.

At their return, they began by bringing over such as were most proper to share in their design: after which they caused a report to be spread among the troops, that the king was inclined to declare in favour of the Athenians, upon condition that Alcibiades should be reinstated, and the popular government abolished. That proposal surprised the soldiers, and was generally rejected at first; but the charm of gain, and the hope of a change to their advantage, soon softened what was harsh and shocking in it, and even made them ardently desire the recall of Alcibiades.

Phynicus, one of their generals, rightly judging that Alcibiades affected an oligarchy no more than he did the democracy, and that in decrying the people's conduct, he had no other view than to acquire the favour and confidence of the nobility for his own re-establishment, had the boldness to oppose their resolutions, which were about to take place. He represented, that the change they meditated might very probably excite a civil war, to the ruin of the state; that it was very unlikely that the king of Persia would prefer the alliance of the Athenians to that of the Spartans, so much more advantageous to him; that this change would not retain the allies in their duty, nor bring over those who had renounced it, who would persist in preferring their liberty; that the government of a small number of rich and powerful persons would not be more favourable to either the citizens or allies, than that of the people, because ambition was the great cause of all misfortunes in a republic, and the rich were the sole promoters of all troubles for the aggrandizing of themselves; that a state suffered more oppressions and violences under the rule of the nobility than that of the people, whose authority kept the former within due bounds, and was the asylum of such as they desired to oppress; that the allies were too well acquainted with these truths from their own experience, to want any lessons upon the subject.

These remonstrances, wise as they were, had no effect. Pisander was sent to Athens with some of the same faction, to propose the return of Alcibiades, the alliance of Tissaphernes, and the abolition of the democracy. They represented, that by changing the government, and recalling Alcibiades, Athens might obtain a powerful aid for the king of Persia, and by that means to triumph over Sparta. Upon this proposal great numbers exclaimed against it, and especially the enemies of Alcibi-

* Thucyd. l. viii. p. 579—587.

† Plut. in Alcib. p. 204, 205

ades. They alleged, among other reasons, the imprecations pronounced by the priests and all orders of religion, against him, and even against such as should propose to recall him.

But Pisander, advancing into the midst of the assembly, demanded, whether they knew any other means to save the republic in the deplorable condition to which it was reduced: and as there appeared none, he added, that the preservation of the state was the question, and not the authority of the laws, which might be provided for in the sequel; but at present there was no other method for the attainment of the king's friendship, and that of Tissaphernes. Though this change was very offensive to the people, they gave their consent to it at length, with the hope of re-establishing the democracy in time, as Pisander had promised; and they decreed that he should go with ten more deputies to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, and that in the mean time Phrynics should be recalled, and another general appointed to command the fleet in his stead.

The deputies did not find Tissaphernes in as good a disposition as they had been made to hope. He was afraid of the Lacedæmonians, but did not wish to render the Athenians too powerful. It was his policy, by the advice of Alcibiades, to leave the two parties always at war, in order to weaken and consume them by each other. He therefore made great difficulties. He demanded at first, that the Athenians should abandon all Ionia to him, and afterwards insisted upon their adding the neighbouring islands. Those demands being complied with, he further required, in a third interview, permission to fit out a fleet, and to cruise in the Grecian seas; which had been expressly provided against in the celebrated treaty concluded with Artaxerxes. The deputies thereupon broke up the conference with indignation, and perceived that Alcibiades had imposed upon them.

Tissaphernes, without loss of time concluded a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians, in which what had displeased in the two preceding treaties was retrenched. The article which yielded to Persia the countries in general that had been in the actual possession of the reigning king Darius, or his predecessors, was limited to the provinces of Asia. The king engaged to defray all expenses of the Lacedæmonian fleet, upon the foot, and in the condition it then was, till the arrival of that of Persia; after which they were to support it themselves; unless they should choose that the king should pay it, to be reimbursed after the conclusion of the war. It was further agreed, that they should unite their forces, and continue the war, or make peace, by common consent. Tissaphernes, to keep his promise, sent for the fleet of Phœnicia. This treaty was made in the eleventh year of Darius, and the twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war.

SECTION III.—ALTERATION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS. ALCIBIADES RECALLED, AND AFTERWARDS APPOINTED GENERALISSIMO.

PISANDER, at his return to Athens, found the change he had proposed at his setting out, much forwarded, to which he put the last hand soon after. To give a form to this new government, he caused ten commissioners with absolute power to be appointed, who were, however, at a certain time, to give the people an account of what they had done. At the expiration of that time, the general assembly was summoned, wherein their first resolution was, that every one should be admitted to make such proposals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accusation of infringing the law, or consequential penalty. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council should be formed, with full power to administer the public affairs, and to elect new magistrates. For this purpose, five presidents were established, who nominated a hundred persons including themselves. Each of those chose and associated three more at his own pleasure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an absolute power was lodged. But to amuse the people, and to console them with a shadow of popular government, while they instituted a real oligarchy, it was said that the four hundred should call a council of five thousand citizens, to assist them when they should judge it necessary. The council and assemblies of the people were held as usual; nothing was done, however, but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almost a hundred years, after having abolished the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ.*

This decree being passed without opposition, after the separation of the assembly, he four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by a hundred and twenty young

men, whom they made use of when any execution required it, entered the senate, and compelled the senators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magistrates out of their own body, observing the usual ceremonies upon such occasions. They did not think proper to recall those who were banished, lest they should authorize the return of Alcibiades, whose uncontrollable spirit they apprehended, and who would soon have made himself master of the people. Abusing their power in a tyrannical manner, some they put to death, others they banished, confiscating their estates with impunity. All who ventured to oppose this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon false pretexes; and those would have met with a bad reception, who demanded justice of the murderers. The four hundred, soon after their establishment, sent ten deputies to Samos for the army's concurrence with it.

All that had passed at Athens was already known there, and the news had enraged the soldiers to the highest degree. They deposed immediately several of their chiefs, whom they suspected, and put others into their places, of whom Thrasybulus and Thirasybulus were the principal, and in highest credit. Alcibiades was recalled, and chosen generalissimo by the whole army, which desired to sail directly for Piræus, to attack the tyrants. But he opposed it, representing that it was necessary he should first have an interview with Tissaphernes, and that, as they had chosen him general, they might rely upon him for the care of the war. He set out immediately for Miletus. His principal design was to show himself to that governor, in all the power he had been invested with, and to let him see that he was in a condition to do him much good, or much harm. The consequence of which was, that as he had kept the Athenians in awe by Tissaphernes, he now awed Tissaphernes no less by the Athenians; and we shall see in the sequel that this interview was not unnecessary.*

Alcibiades, upon his return to Samos, found the army more inflamed than at first. The deputies of the four hundred arrived there during his absence, and had endeavoured in vain to justify, to the soldiery, the alteration made at Athens. Their discourses, which were often interrupted by tumultuous cries, served only to exasperate them more, and they earnestly demanded to be led against the tyrants directly. Alcibiades did not act on this occasion, as every body else would have done, in consequence of having been raised to so high a dignity by the favour of the people; for he did not think himself obliged to an absolute and implicit compliance with them in every thing, though, from an exile and fugitive, they had made him general of so great a fleet, and so numerous and formidable an army; but, as a statesman and great politician, he believed it his duty to oppose the blind fury that hurried them on into evident danger, and to prevent them from committing a fault, which must have been attended with their utter ruin. This wise steadiness preserved the city of Athens. For had they sailed thither at first, the enemy would have made themselves masters of Ionia, the Hellespont, and all the islands, without resistance; while the Athenians, by carrying the war into their own city, would have exhausted their whole forces against one another. He prevented the deputies from being ill treated, and dismissed them, saying, that he did not object to the five thousand citizens having the supreme authority in the republic, but that it was necessary to depose the four hundred, and to re-establish the senate.

During this time, the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians impatiently expected, approached, and news came that it was arrived at Aspendus, a city of Pamphylia. Tissaphernes went to meet it; nobody being able to divine the cause of that journey. He had sent for that fleet at first to flatter the Lacedæmonians with the hopes of a powerful aid, and to put a stop to their progress; by making them wait its arrival. It was believed that his journey had the same motive; to prevent their doing any thing in his absence and that their soldiers and mariners might disband for want of pay. However it was, he did not bring the fleet with him, from the view, no doubt, of keeping the balance equal, which was the king of Persia's interest, and to exhaust both parties by the length of the war. For it had been very easy to have put an end to it by the assistance of this additional fleet, as the Lacedæmonians alone were already as strong at sea as the Athenians. His frivolous excuse, of its not being complete, for not bringing it with him, sufficiently shows that he had other reasons for his conduct.†

* Thueyd. l. viii. p. 595—604. Plut. in Alcib. p. 205. Dioid. l. xiii. p. 165. † Thueyd. l. viii. p. 604—606.

The return of the deputies without success, who had been sent to Samos, and the answer of Alcibiades, excited new troubles in the city, and gave a mortal wound to the authority of the four hundred. The tumult increased exceedingly, when news was brought that the enemy, after having beaten the fleet sent by the four hundred to the aid of Eubœa, had made themselves masters of the island. Athens was in the greatest terror and consternation upon this account. For, neither the defeat of Sicily, nor any other preceding it, were so considerable as the loss of this island, from whence the city received considerable supplies, and almost all its provisions. If, in the confusion in which Athens was at that time, between two factions, the victorious fleet had fallen upon the port, as it might have done, the army of Samos would have been indispensably obliged to have flown to the defence of their country: and then the republic would have had only the city of Athens remaining of all its dominions. For the Hellespont, Ionia, and all the islands, seeing themselves abandoned, would have been reduced to declare themselves, and go over to the Peloponnesians. But the enemy were not capable of such great designs; and this was not the first time the Lacedæmonians had been observed to have lost their advantages by the slowness and protraction natural to them.*

Athens without delay deposed the four hundred, as authors of all the troubles and divisions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by unanimous consent, and earnestly solicited to make all possible haste to the assistance of the city. But judging, that if he returned immediately to Athens, he should owe his recall to the compassion and favour of the people, he resolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deserve it by some considerable exploit. For this purpose, leaving Samos with a small number of ships, he cruised about the island of Cos and Cnidos; and having learned that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, had sailed to the Hellespont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in pursuit of him, he steered that way with the utmost diligence to support them, and arrived happily with his eighteen vessels, at the time the fleets were engaged near Abydos in a battle, which lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at first, who believed him still their friend, and dispirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades, hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, fell upon the Lacedæmonians, who were strongest, and were pursuing the Athenians, put them to flight, drove them ashore, and, animated by his success, sunk their vessels, and made a great slaughter of the soldiers, who had thrown themselves into the sea to save themselves by swimming; though Pharnabasis spared no pains to assist them, and had advanced at the head of his troops to the coast, to favour their flight, and to save their ships. The Athenians, after having taken thirty of their galleys, and retaken those they had lost, erected a trophy.†

Alcibiades, vain of his success, had the ambition to desire to appear before Tissaphernes in this triumphant equipage, and to make him rich presents, as well in his own, as in the name of the people of Athens. He went to him, therefore, with a magnificent retinue, worthy of the general of Athens. But he did not meet with the favourable reception he expected. For Tissaphernes, who knew he was accused by the Lacedæmonians, and feared that the king would punish him at length for not having executed his orders, found Alcibiades presenting himself very opportunely, and caused him to be seized and sent prisoner to Sardis; to shelter himself by that injustice against the representations of the Lacedæmonians.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades, having found means to get a horse, escaped from his guards, and fled to Clazomene, where to revenge himself on Tissaphernes, he gave out that he had him set at liberty. From Clazomene he repaired to the Athenian fleet, where he was joined by Theramenes with twenty ships from Macedonia, and by Thrasybulus with twenty more from Thasos. He sailed from thence to Parium in the Propontis. All those ships, to the number of eighty-six being come thither, he left that place in the night, and arrived the next morning at Proconnesus, a small isle near Cyzicum. He heard there, that Mindarus was at Cyzicum with Pharnabasis and his land-army. He rested that whole day at Proconnesus. On the morrow he harangued his soldiers, and represented to them the necessity there was for attacking the enemy by sea and land, and making themselves masters of Cyzicum; demonstrating, at the same time, that without a complete and absolute victory, they could have neither provisions nor money. He had taken great care that the enemy should

* Thucyd. l. viii. p. 607—614. Plut. in Alcib. p. 206—210. Diod. p. 171, 172, et 175—177, et 189—192.

† A. M. 3592. Ant. J. C. 409.

not be apprised of his approach. By good fortune for him, a great storm of rain and thunder, followed by a thick gloom, helped him to conceal his enterprise so successfully; that not only the enemy were prevented from perceiving that he advanced, but the Athenians themselves, whom he had caused to embark with precipitation, did not know that he had weighed anchor and put to sea.

When the gloom was dispersed, the Lacedæmonian fleet appeared, exercising at some distance before the port. Alcibiades, who apprehended that the enemy, upon the sight of so great a number of ships, would make the harbour, ordered the captains to keep back a little, and to follow him at a good distance; and taking only forty vessels, he advanced towards the enemy, to offer them battle. The enemy, deceived by this stratagem, and despising this small number, advanced against him, and began the fight. But when they saw the rest of the Athenian fleet come up, they immediately lost courage, and fled. Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, pursued them to the shore, landed, and killed a great number of them in the flight. Mindarus and Pharnabasis opposed his efforts in vain; the first, who fought with astonishing valour, he killed, and put the other to flight.

The Athenians, by this victory, which made them masters of the slain, the arms, spoils, and whole fleet of the enemy, besides the taking of Cyzicum, not only possessed themselves of the Hellespont, but drove the Spartans entirely out of that sea. Letters were intercepted, in which the latter, with a conciseness truly laconic, advised the ephori of the blow they had received, in terms to this effect: "The flower of your army is cut off; Mindarus is dead; the rest of the troops are dying with hunger; and we neither know what to do, nor what will become of us.

The news of this victory occasioned no less joy to the Athenians than consternation to the Spartans. They despatched ambassadors immediately, to demand that an end should be put to the war, equally destructive to both people, and that a peace should be concluded upon reasonable conditions, for the re-establishment of their ancient concord and amity, the salutary effects of which they had for many years experienced.* The wisest and most judicious of the citizens of Athens were unanimously of opinion, that it was proper to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture for the concluding of a treaty, which might put an end to all jealousies, appease all animosities, and remove all distrusts. But those who found their advantage in the troubles of the state prevented the good effects of that disposition. Cleophon, among others, the most reputed orator at that time, animated the people from the tribunes of harangues, by a violent and seditious discourse, insinuating, that their interests were betrayed by a secret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians which aimed at depriving them of all the advantages of the important victory they had gained, and at making them lose for ever the opportunity of being fully avenged for all the wrongs and misfortunes Sparta had caused them to suffer.†

This Cleophon was an inconsiderable fellow, a musical instrument maker. It was reported also that he had been a slave, and had got himself fraudulently enrolled in the register of the citizens. He carried his audacity and fury so far, as to threaten to plunge his dagger into the throat of any one who should talk of peace. The Athenians, puffed up with their present prosperity, forgetting their past misfortunes, and promising themselves all things from the valour and good fortune of Alcibiades, rejected all proposals of accommodation, without reflecting, that there is nothing so fluctuating and precarious as the success of war. The ambassadors retired without being able to effect any thing. Such infatuation and irrational pride are generally the fore-runners of some great misfortune.

Alcibiades knew well how to make use of the victory he had gained, and presently after besieged Chalcedonia, which had revolted from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrison. During this seige, he took another town, called Selymbria. Pharnabasis, terrified by the rapidity of his conquests, made a treaty with the Athenians to this effect: "That Pharnabasis should pay them a certain sum of money; that the Chalcedonians should return to their obedience, depend upon the Athenians, and pay them tribute; and that the Athenians should commit no hostilities in the province of Pharnabasis, who engaged for the safe conduct of their ambassadors to the great king." Byzantium and several other cities submitted to the Athenians.

Alcibiades, who desired with the utmost passion to see his country again, or rather to be seen by his country, after so many victories over their enemies, set out for

† Diod. l. iii. p. 177.—179.

‡ Æsch. in Orat. de Fals. Legat.

Athens. The sides of his ships were covered with bucklers and all sorts of spoils, in form of trophies; and causing a great number of vessels to be towed after him by way of triumph, he displayed also the ensigns and ornaments of those he had burned, which were more than the others; the whole amounting to about two hundred ships. It is said, that reflecting on what had been done against him, upon approaching the fort, he was struck with some terror, and was afraid to quit his vessel, till he saw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations who were come to the shore to receive him, and earnestly entreated him to land.*

The people came out of the city in a body to meet him, and at his appearance set up incredible shouts of joy. In the midst of an infinite number of officers and soldiers, all eyes were fixed solely on him, whom they considered as victory itself, descended from the skies; all around him passionately caressing, blessing and crowning him, in emulation of each other. Those who could not approach him were never tired with contemplating him at a distance, while the old men showed him to their children. They repeated with the highest praises all the good actions he had done for his country; nor could they refuse their admiration even to those he had done against it during his banishment, of which they imputed the fault to themselves alone. This public joy was mingled with tears and regret, from the remembrance of past misfortunes, which they could not avoid comparing with their present felicity. "We could not have failed," said they, "of the conquest of Sicily; our other hopes could never have proved abortive, if we had referred all our affairs and forces to the disposal of Alcibiades alone. In what a condition was Athens when he took upon him our protection and defence! We had not only almost entirely lost our power at sea, but were scarcely possessed of the suburbs of our city and to add to our misfortunes, were torn in pieces by a horrid civil war. He, notwithstanding, has raised the republic from its ruins; and, not content with having re-instated it in the possession of the sovereignty of the sea, has rendered it universally victorious by land; as if the fate of Athens had been in his hands alone, either to ruin or preserve it, and victory was annexed to his person, and obeyed his orders."

This favourable reception of Alcibiades did not prevent his demanding an assembly of the people, in order to his justification before them; well knowing how necessary it was for his safety to be absolved in form. He appeared therefore, and after having deplored his misfortunes, which he imputed very little to the people, and entirely ascribed to his ill fortune, and 'some dæmon envious of his prosperity, he represented to them the designs of the enemy, and exhorted them not to conceive any other than great hopes. The Athenians, transported with hearing him speak, decreed him crowns of gold, appointed him general by sea and land with unlimited power, restored him all his fortunes, and ordered the Eumolpides and Ceryces† to absolve him from the curses they had pronounced against him by the order of the people; doing their utmost to make him amends for the injury and shame of his banishment; by the glory of his recall, and to efface the remembrance of the anathemas themselves had decreed, by the vows and prayers which they made in his favour. While all the Eumolpides and Ceryces were employed in revoking those imprecations, Theodorus, the principal of them, had the courage to say, "But for me, I have not cursed him, if he had done no evil to his country;" insinuating by that bold expression, that the maledictions, being conditional, could not fall upon the head of the innocent, nor be averted from the guilty.

In the midst of this glory and brilliant prosperity of Alcibiades, the majority of the people could not help being concerned, when they considered the time of his return. For it happened precisely upon the day when the Athenians celebrated the feast in honour of Minerva, worshipped under the name of Agraulis. The‡ priests took off all the ornaments from the statue of the goddess to wash it, from whence that feast was called Πλωτήρια and afterwards covered it; and that day was accounted one of the most ominous and unfortunate. It was the twenty fifth of the month Thargelion, which answers to the second of July. This circumstance displeased that superstitious people, because it seemed to imply, that the goddess, patroness, and protectress of Athens, did not receive Alcibiades agreeably, and with a benign aspect, since she covered and concealed herself, as if she would keep him off and remove him from her.

* A. M. 3597. Ant. J. C. 407.

† The Eumolpides and Ceryces were two families at Athens who had different functions in the mysteries of Ceres. They took their names from Eumolpus and Ceryx, the first who had exercised these offices. Perhaps the employment of the latter had some relation to that of a herald.

All things having, however, succeeded according to his wish, and the hundred ships he was to command being ready, he deferred his departure out of a laudable ambition to celebrate the great mysteries; for from the time the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelia, and taken possession of all the ways from Athens to Eleusina, the feast had not been solemnized in all its pomp, and the procession had been obliged to go by sea.* The particular ceremonies of this solemnity may be seen in book x. chap. iii.

Alcibiades believed it would be a most glorious action, and attract the blessings of the gods, and the praises of men, if he restored all its lustre and solemnity to this feast, in making the procession go by land under the convoy of his troops, to defend it against the attacks of the enemy. For either Agis would suffer it to pass quietly, notwithstanding the numerous troops he had at Decelia, which would considerably lessen the reputation of that king, and be a blot in his glory; or, if he should choose to attack it, and oppose the march, he should then have the satisfaction to fight a sacred battle; a battle grateful to the gods, for the greatest and most venerable of all their mysteries, in the sight of his country and citizens, who would be witnesses of his valour and regard for religion. It is very likely, that by this public and ostentatious act of piety, which struck the people's view in so sensible a manner, and was so extremely to his taste, the principal design of Alcibiades was to efface entirely from their minds the suspicions of impiety, to which the mutilation of statues, and profanation of mysteries, had given birth.

Having taken the resolution, he gave notice to the Eumolpides and Ceryces to hold themselves in readiness, posted centinels upon the hills, sent out runners at the break of day, and taking with him the priests, the initiated, and the probationers, with those who initiated them, he covered them with his army, and disposed the whole pomp with wonderful order and profound silence. "Never was show," says Plutarch, "more august, nor more worthy the majesty of the gods, than this warlike procession and religious expedition; in which even those who envied the glory of Alcibiades were obliged to own, that he was no less happy in discharging the functions of a high-priest than those of a general. No enemy dared to appear to disturb that pompous march, and Alcibiades re-conducted the sacred troops to Athens with entire safety. This success gave him new courage, and raised the valour and boldness of his army to such a degree, that they looked upon themselves as invincible while he commanded them."

He acquired the affection of the poor and the lower sort of people to such a degree, that they most ardently desired to have him for their king. Many of them openly declared themselves to that effect; and there were some who addressed themselves to him, and exhorted him to set himself above envy, and not to trouble himself about laws, degrees or suffrages; to put down those wordy impertinents that disturbed the state with their vain harangues, to make himself master of affairs, and to govern with entire authority, without fearing accusers. For him, what his thoughts of the tyranny and his designs were, are unknown; but the most powerful citizens, apprehending the breaking out of a fire, of which they already saw the sparks, pressed him to depart without delay; granting whatever he demanded, and giving him, for colleagues, the generals most agreeable to him. He set sail accordingly with one hundred ships, and steered for the island of Andos which had revolted. His high reputation and the good fortune which had attended him in all his enterprises caused the citizens to expect nothing from him but what was great and extraordinary.

SECTION IV.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS APPOINT LYSANDER ADMIRAL. HE BEATS THE ATHENIAN FLEET NEAR EPHEBUS. LYSANDER IS SUCCEEDED IN THE COMMAND BY CALLICRATIDAS.

THE Lacedæmonians, justly alarmed at the return and success of Alcibiades, conceived that such an enemy made it necessary to oppose him with an able general, capable of making head against him. For this reason they made choice of Lysander, and gave him the command of the fleet. When he arrived at Ephesus, he found the city very well disposed in his favour, and well affected to Sparta; but otherwise in a very unhappy situation. For it was in danger of becoming barbarous by assuming the manners and customs of the Persians, who had great commerce with it, as well from the neighbourhood of Lydia, as because the king's generals commonly took up

* Plut. in Alcib. p. 210.

their winter-quarters there. An idle and voluptuous life, filled up with luxury and empty show, could not fail of disgusting infinitely a man like Lysander, who had been bred from his birth in the simplicity, poverty, and severe discipline of Sparta. Having brought his army to Ephesus, he gave orders for assembling ships of burden there from all parts, erected an arsenal for building galleys, made the ports free for merchants, gave the public places to artificers, put all arts in motion, and held them in honour; and by these means filled the city with riches, and laid the foundations of that grandeur and magnificence to which it afterwards attained. So great a change can the application and ability of a single person occasion in a state.*

While he was making these dispositions, he received advice, that Cyrus, the king's youngest son had arrived at Sardis. That prince could not be above sixteen years old at that time, being born after his father's accession to the crown in the seventeenth year of his reign. Parysatis, his mother, loved him to idolatry, and had the entire ascendant over her husband. It was she that occasioned his having the supreme government of all the provinces of Asia Minor given to him; a command that subjected all the provincial governors of the most important part of the empire to his authority. The view of Parysatis was, without doubt, to put the young prince into a condition to dispute the throne with his brother, after the king's death; as we shall see he does in some effect. One of the principal instructions given him by his father, upon sending him to his government, was to give effectual aid to the Lacedæmonians against Athens, an order very contrary to the measures observed till then by Tissaphernes, and the other governors of those provinces. It had always been their maxim, sometimes to assist one party, sometimes the other, in order to hold their power in such a balance, that the one might never be able to crush the other entirely; from whence it followed, that both parties were kept weak by the war, and neither in condition to form any enterprises against the Persian empire.

Upon Lysander's being apprised therefore of the arrival of Cyrus at Sardis, he set out from Ephesus to make him a visit and to complain of the delays and breach of faith of Tissaphernes, who, notwithstanding the orders he had received to support the Lacedæmonians, and to drive the Athenians out of the sea, had always covertly favoured the latter, out of regard for Alcibiades, whose measures he entirely gave into, and had been the sole cause of the loss of the fleet, by not supplying it with the necessary quantity of provisions. This discourse pleased Cyrus, who looked upon Tissaphernes as a very bad man, and his particular enemy; and he answered, that the king had given him orders to support the Lacedæmonians powerfully, and that he had received five hundred talents† for that purpose. Lysander, contrary to the common character of the Spartans, was submissive and condescending, full of complacency for the grandees, always ready to pay court to them, and supporting, for the good of the service, all the weight of their haughtiness and vanity with incredible patience; in which behaviour some people make the whole address and merit of a courtier consist.

He did not forget himself on this occasion, and setting at work all that the industry and art of a complete courtier could suggest of flattery and insinuation, he perfectly gained the young prince's favour and good opinion. After having praised his generosity, magnificence, and zeal for the Lacedæmonians, he desired him to give each soldier and mariner a drachm‡ per day: in order to debauch those of the enemy by that means, and thereby terminate the war the sooner. Cyrus very much approved the project; but said, that he could make no change in the king's order, and that the treaty with them expressly settled only half a talent§ to be paid monthly for each galley. The prince, however, at the end of a banquet, which he gave him before his departure, drinking to his health, and pressing him to ask something of him, Lysander desired that an obolus|| a day might be added to the seamen's pay. This was granted, and he gave them four oboli, instead of three which they received before, and paid them all the arrears due to them, with a month's advance; giving Lysander ten thousand darics¶ for that purpose, that is, a hundred thousand livres, or upwards of twenty thousand dollars.

This largess filled the whole fleet with ardour and alacrity, and almost unmanned the enemy's galleys; the greatest part of the mariners deserting to the party where

* Xenoph. Hellen. l. xi. p. 442. Plut. in Lysand. p. 434, 435. Diod. l. xiii. p. 192—197.

† About five hundred thousand dollars

‡ Tenpence, French.

§ Nearly 500 dollars.

|| The drachm was six oboli, or tenpence, French; each obolus being three halfpence; so that the four oboli were sixpence halfpenny a day, instead of five pence, or three oboli.

ric is about £1. 87½

the pay was best. The Athenians, in despair, upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus, by the interposition of Tissaphernes; but he would not hearken to them, notwithstanding the satrap represented, that it was not for the king's interest to aggrandize the Lacedæmonians, but to balance the power of one side with that of the other in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own divisions.

Though Lysander had considerably weakened the enemy by augmenting the mariner's pay, and thereby very much hurt their naval power, he dared not, however, hazard a battle with them, particularly apprehending Alcibiades, who was a man of execution, had the greater number of ships, and had never been overthrown in any battle either by sea or land. But after Alcibiades had left Samos to go into Phocæa and Ionia, to raise money, of which he was in want for the payment of his troops, and had given the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with express orders not to fight or attack the enemy in his absence; the new commander, to make show of his courage and to brave Lysander, entered the port of Ephesus with two galleys, and after having made a great noise, retired with loud laughter, and an air of contempt and insult. Lysander enraged at that affront, immediately detached some galleys, and went himself in pursuit of him. But as the Athenians advanced to support Antiochus, he ordered other galleys of his side to come on, till the whole fleet arrived, and the engagement became general on both sides. Lysander gained the victory, and having taken fifteen of the Athenian galleys, he erected a trophy. Alcibiades, on his return to Samos, sailed even into the port to offer him battle; but Lysander was contented with his victory, and did not think proper to accept it; so that he retired without doing any thing.

Thrasylulus at the same time, the most dangerous enemy he had in his army, left the camp, and went to Athens to accuse him. To inflame his enemies in the city the more, he told the people in a full assembly, that Alcibiades had entirely ruined their affairs, and the navy, by the licentiousness he had introduced; that he had given himself up to the most notorious debauchees and drunkards,* who from common seamen were the only persons in repute about him; that he abandoned his whole authority to them, to be at leisure to enrich himself in the provinces, and there to plunge himself into intemperance and all other infamous excesses, to the disgrace of Athens, while his fleet was left neglected in the face of the enemy.†

Another article of accusation against him was taken from the forts he had built near the city of Byzantium, for an asylum and retreat for him, as neither being able nor willing to return any more to his country. The Athenians, a capricious, inconstant people, gave credit to these impeachments. The loss of the last battle, and his little success since his departure from Athens, instead of the great and wonderful actions expected from him, entirely sunk him in their opinion; and his own glory and reputation may be said to have occasioned his ruin. For he was suspected of not desiring to do what was not done, which they could not believe out of his power, because they were fully persuaded that nothing he desired to do was impossible to him. They made it a crime in Alcibiades, that the rapidity of his conquests did not answer to that of their imaginations; not considering, that he made war without money upon a people who had the great king for their treasurer, and that he was often obliged to quit his camp, to go in quest of what was necessary for the payment and subsistence of his troops. However it was, Alcibiades was deposed, and ten generals nominated in his stead, which coming to his knowledge, he retired in his galley to some castles he had in the Thracian Chersonesus.

About this time died Plistonax, one of the kings of Lacedæmon, and was succeeded by Pausanias, who reigned fourteen years.‡ The latter made a fine answer to one who asked, why it was not permitted to change any thing in the ancient customs of Sparta: "Because," said he, "at Sparta the laws command men, and not men the laws."§

Lysander, who intended to establish the government of the nobility in all the cities dependent on Sparta, that the governors of his choosing might be always at his disposal, from his having rendered them independent of their people, caused such persons of the principal cities to come to Ephesus, as he knew to be the boldest, and most enterprising and ambitious. Those he placed at the head of affairs, promoted

* Antiochus is pointed at in this place, a mean debauched man, who had acquired the favour of Alcibiades by catching a quail for him, which he had let fly.

† A. M. 3593. Ant. J. C. 416.

‡ Diad. l. xiii. p. 196.

§ Plut. in Apoph. p. 230

to the greatest honours and raised to the first employments in the army, thereby rendering himself, says Plutarch, the accomplice of all the crimes and oppressions they committed to advance and enrich themselves. For this reason they were always extremely attached to him, and regretted him infinitely when Callicratidas came to succeed him, and took upon him the command of the fleet. He was not inferior to Lysander either in valour or military knowledge, and was infinitely above him in point of moral virtue. Alike severe to himself and others, inaccessible to flattery and sloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modesty, temperance, and austerity of the ancient Spartans; virtues that began to distinguish him particularly, as they were not too common in his time. His probity and justice were proof against all things; his simplicity and integrity abhorred all falsehood and fraud, to which were joined a truly Spartan nobleness and grandeur of soul. The great and powerful could not hinder themselves from admiring his virtues; but they were better pleased with the facility and condescension of his predecessor, who was blind to the injustice and violence of their actions.*

It was not without mortification and jealousy that Lysander saw him arrive at Ephesus to take upon him the command, and out of a criminal baseness and treachery, not uncommon with those who hearken more to their private ambition than the good of the public, he did him all the injury in his power. Of the ten thousand darics, which Cyrus had given him for the augmentation of the mariners' pay, he returned the remainder to that prince; telling Callicratidas, that he might apply to the king for the money, and that it depended on him to find means for the subsistence of his army. This conduct gave him great trouble, and distressed him exceedingly; for he had brought no money with him from Sparta, and could not resolve to extort any from the citizens, as he found them sufficiently rifled already.

In this urgent necessity, a person having offered him fifty talents, that is to say, fifty thousand crowns, to obtain a favour he could not grant with justice, he refused them. Upon which Cleander, one of his officers, said, "I would accept them were I in your place." And so would I" replied the general, "were I in yours."†

He had no other resource therefore than to go, as Lysander had done, to ask money at the gates of the king's general and lieutenants, for which he was the least proper of all mankind. Nurtured and educated in the love of liberty, full of great and noble sentiments, and infinitely remote from all flattery and baseness, he was convinced at heart, that it was less evil and disonour for Greeks to be overcome by Greeks, than infamously to make their court, and beg at the gates of barbarians, whose only merit consisted in their gold and silver. The whole nation was indeed disgraced by so mean a prostitution.

Cicero, in his offices, draws two very different characters of persons employed in the administration of government, and makes the application of them to the two generals of whom we speak. The one, says he, zealous lovers of the truth, and declared enemies of all fraud, piqued themselves upon their simplicity and candour, and do not believe that it can ever consist with honour to lay snares, or use artifice. The others, prepared to do or suffer any thing, are not ashamed of the meanest actions and prostitutions, provided, from those unworthy means, they had reason to expect the success of their designs. Cicero places Callicratidas among the former, and Lysander among the latter, to whom he gives two epitaphs not much to his honour, and hardly consistent with the Spartan character, when he calls him "very artful and very patient," or rather "very complaisant."‡

Callicratidas, however, forced by necessity, went to Lydia, and repaired immediately to the palace of Cyrus, where he desired that prince might be told, that the admiral of the Grecian fleet was come to speak with him. He was answered, that Cyrus was then at the table, engaged in a party of pleasure;§ to which he replied with a modest tone and air, that he was in no haste, and would wait till the prince came forth. The guards set up a laugh, wondering at the honest stranger's simplicity, which had so little the air of the world in it; and he was obliged to retire. He came thither a second time and was again denied admittance. Upon which he re-

* Xen. Hellen. l. i. p. 442—444. Plut. in Lysand. p. 433—436. Diod. l. xiii. p. 197, 198.

† Plut. in Apoph. p. 222.

‡ Sunt his alii multum dispares, simplices et aperti; qui nihil ex occulto, nihil ex insidiis agendum putant; veritatis cultores, fraudis inimici: itemque alii, qui quidvis perpetiantur, cuius deserviant, dum, quod velint, consequantur. Quo in genere versatissimum et patentiissimum Lacedæmonium Lysandrum accepimus, contraque Callicratidem. Offic. l. i. n. 109.

§ The Greek says literally that he was drinking, *πίψα*. The Persians valued themselves upon drinking a great deal, as an instance of their merit, as we shall see in Cyrus's letter to the Lacedæmonians.

turned to Ephesus, loading those with curses and imprecations who had first made their court to barbarians, and by their flattery and submissions had taught them to make their riches a title and pretence for insulting the rest of mankind. Addressing himself at the same time to those about him, he swore, that as soon as he returned to Sparta, he would use his utmost endeavours to reconcile the Greeks among themselves, that for the future they might become formidable to the barbarians and have no farther occasion for their aid to invade and ruin each other. But that generous Spartan, whose thoughts were so noble, and so worthy the Lacedæmonian name, and whose justice, magnanimity, and valour, might rank him with all that Greece had ever produced of the most excellent and most consummate, had not the good fortune to return to his country, nor apply himself to a work so great and so worthy of him.

SECTION V.—CALLICRATIDAS IS DEFEATED BY THE ATHENIANS. SENTENCE OF DEATH PASSED ON SOME ATHENIAN GENERALS. SOCRATES ALONE OPPOSES THIS SENTENCE.

CALLICRATIDAS, after having gained several victories over the Athenians, had at last pursued Conon one of their generals into the port of Mitylene, where he kept him blocked up. This was in the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. Conon seeing himself besieged by sea and land, without hope of aid, and in want of provisions, found means to apprize Athens of the extreme danger he was in. Extraordinary efforts were made to relieve him, and in less than a month's time a fleet of one hundred and ten sail were fitted out, on board of which were embarked all who were capable of bearing arms, as well slaves as freemen, with some horse. At Samos they were joined by the allies with forty galleys, and steered for the Arginusæ, islands situated between Cuma and Mitylene. Callicratidas being informed of their course, left Eteonicus to continue the siege with fifty ships, and put to sea with a hundred and twenty sail, with design to face the enemy, and prevent their relieving Conon. The right wing of the Athenians was commanded by Protomachus and Thrasyllus, who had each fifteen galleys. They were supported by a second line with a like number of ships, commanded by Lysias and Aristogenes. The left wing, like the other, drawn up in two lines, was under Aristocrates and Diomedon, supported by Erasimidas and Pericles, son of the great Pericles. The main body, consisting of near thirty galleys, among which were the three Athenian admirals, was disposed in one line. They had strengthened each of their wings with a second line; because their galleys were neither so swift, nor so easy to manage, as those of the enemy; so that there was reason to fear their getting between two, and being charged on both sides at the same time. The Lacedæmonians and their allies, who perceived they were inferior in number to the enemy, contented themselves by drawing up in one line in order to equal their front, and for the greater facility of running between the Athenian galleys, and turning nimbly round them. Callicratidas's pilot, daunted at the inequality, advised him not to hazard the battle, and to retire: but he replied, that he could not fly without shame; and that his death was of small importance to the republic, "Sparta," said he, "does not depend upon one man." He commanded the right wing, and Thrasondas the Theban, the left.*

It was terrible to behold the sea covered with three hundred galleys ready to engage. Never had more numerous naval armies of the Greeks joined battle before. The ability, experience and valour of the generals who commanded, left nothing to desire; so that there was reason to believe this battle would decide the fate of both people, and put an end to a war that had endured so long. When the signals were given, the two armies raised great shouts, and began the fight. Callicratidas, who, from the answer of the augurs, expected to fall in the battle, performed amazing acts of valour. He attacked the enemy with incredible courage and boldness, sunk some of their ships, disabled others by breaking their oars, and piercing their sides with the prow or beak of his galley. At length he attacked that of Pericles, and made a thousand holes in it; but the latter having hooked him fast with a grappling iron, he found it impossible to disengage himself, and was surrounded in an instant by several of the Athenian vessels. His own was immediately filled with the enemy, and after a dreadful slaughter, he fell dead, rather overwhelmed by their numbers than vanquished. The right wing, which he commanded, having lost its admiral, was put to flight. The left, composed of Bœotians, and Eubœans, still made a long and vigorous resistance, actuated by a fear of falling into the hands of the Athenians, against

* Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 444—452. Diod. l. xiii. p. 198, et 206, 217—222.

whom they had revolted; but they were at length obliged to give way, and retire in disorder. The Athenians erected a trophy in the Arginusæ. They lost twenty-five galleys in this battle, and the enemy more than seventy, of which number were nine of the ten furnished by the Lacedæmonians.

Plutarch equals Callicratidas, the Lacedæmonian general, for his justice, valour, and magnanimity, with all who had ever rendered themselves most worthy of admiration among the Greeks.*

He blames him, however, exceedingly, for hazarding the battle at the Arginusæ, and observes, that to avoid the reproach of having retired out of fear, he had, through a mistaken sense of honour, failed in the essential duty of his function. "For," says Plutarch, "if, to use the comparison of Iphicrates,† the light armed infantry resemble the hands, the horse, the feet, the main body the breast, and the general the head; the general who abandons himself rashly to the impetuosity of his valour, does not so much neglect or expose his own life, as the lives of those whose safety depends upon his. Our Lacedæmonian chief was therefore in the wrong," continues Plutarch, "to answer the pilot, who advised him to retire, "Sparta does not depend upon one man."‡ For though it be true, that Callicratidas, fighting under the orders of another by sea or land, was no more than one man; yet, commanding an army, all who obeyed his orders were collected in his person; and he, in whom so many thousands might be lost, was no longer one man. Cicero had passed the same judgment upon him before Plutarch. After having said, that there were many persons to be found,§ who were ready to sacrifice their fortunes, and even their lives, for their country, but who out of false delicacy in point of glory, would not hazard their reputation for it in the least; he cites the example of Callicratidas, who answered those who advised him to retreat from the Arginusæ, "That Sparta could fit out another fleet if this were lost; but for himself, he could not fly before the enemy without shame and infamy."§

I return to the sequel of the battle near the Arginusæ. The Athenian generals ordered Theramenes, and some other officers, to return with about fifty galleys, to take up the wrecks and dead bodies, in order to inter them, while they rowed on with the rest against Eteonicus, who kept Conon besieged before Mitylene. But a violent tempest came on suddenly, and prevented the execution of this order. Eteonicus having received news of the defeat, and fearing that it might occasion alarm and terror among the troops, sent back those who brought it, with orders to return with wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and to give out, that Callicratidas had gained the victory, and destroyed the whole Athenian fleet. Upon their return, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving, and having made his troops take some refreshment, he sent the galleys away directly, the wind being fair, and marched off the land army to Methymna, after having burned the camp. Conon being delivered in this manner from the blockade, joined the victorious fleet, which returned forthwith to Samos. But, when it was known at Athens, that the dead bodies had been left without interment, the people were highly enraged, and laid the whole weight of their resentment upon those whom they believed guilty of that crime. The ancients held it a great one not to provide sepulture for the dead; and we may observe, that after all their battles, the first care of the conquered, notwithstanding the sense of their misfortune and their great affliction for a bloody defeat, was to demand a suspension of arms from the victor, in order to pay their last duties to those who had fallen in battle, on which they believed their happiness in another life depended. Although the pagans had but confused ideas of the future state of the body, yet, the concern of the soul for the body after death, the religious regard paid to it and the zeal of their solemn obsequies, seem to argue that tradition had universally impressed upon the minds of all men some indistinct notions of a resurrection.

Hence arose the fury of the people of Athens. They immediately nominated new generals, retaining only Conon and appointing Adimantes and Philocles his colleagues. Eight days after which, two of them absconded, and only six returned to Athens. Theramenes, the tenth general, who returned before the rest of the fleet, accused the other chiefs before the people, making them responsible for not bringing off the dead after the battle; and to clear himself, read the letter they had written to the senate

* Plut. in Lysand. p. 436.

† He was a famous general of the Athenians.

‡ Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

§ *Inventi multi sunt, qui non modo pecuniam, sed vitam etiam, profundere pro patria parati essent, iidem gloria jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem postulante: ut Callicratidas, qui, cum, Lacedæmoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello, multaque fecisset egregie, vertit ad extremum omnia, cum consilio non paruit eorum, qui classem ab Arginusis removendam, nec cum Atheniensibus demicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit, Lacedæmonios, classe illa amissa, aliam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse.*
—Offic. l. i. n. 48.

and people, wherein they excused themselves by the violence of the storm, without charging any body. That calumny was detestably vile, being an abuse of their reserve in not mentioning him in their letter, and in not laying a fault to his charge, of which he might have appeared the most guilty. The generals, at their return, not being able to obtain a reasonable time for making their defence, contented themselves with representing in few words the state of the affair, and appealed for the truth of what they said to the pilots, and all present when it happened. The people seemed to receive their excuse favourably, and several persons offered themselves for their sureties; but night coming on, it was thought proper to adjourn the assembly, and it being the people's custom to give their suffrages by lifting up of hands, their resolution could not be known; besides which, the council were first to give their opinion upon the question to be proposed to the people.

The feast of Apaturia unexpectedly coming on, in which it was the custom to assemble by families, the relations of Theramenes posted several persons in mourning habits and shaved, in proper places, who said they were the kindred of those who had been slain in the battle, and obliged Callixenes to accuse the generals in the senate. It was decreed in consequence, that as the accusation and defence had been heard in the last assembly, the people by their respective tribes should give their voices, and if the accused were found guilty, they should be punished with death, their estates confiscated, and the tenth part consecrated to the goddess Minerva. Some senators opposed this decree as unjust and contrary to the laws: but as the people, at the instigation of Callixenes, threatened to include the opposers in the same cause and crime with the generals, they were so mean as to desist from their opposition, and to sacrifice the innocent generals to their own safety, by consenting to the decree. Socrates, the celebrated philosopher, was the only one of the senators who stood firm, and persisted obstinately in opposing a decree so notoriously unjust, and so contrary to all laws. The orator, who mounted the tribunal in defence of the generals, showed, "that they had failed in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders that the dead bodies should be taken up: that if any one were guilty, it was he, who being charged with these orders, had neglected to put them in execution; but that he accused nobody; and that the tempest which came on expectedly at the very instant, was an unanswerable apology, and entirely discharged the accused from all guilt. He demanded that a whole day should be given them for their defence, a favour not denied to the most criminal, and that they should be tried separately. He represented, that they were not in the least obliged to precipitate a sentence, wherein the lives of the most illustrious of the citizens were concerned; that it was in some measure attacking the gods to make men responsible for the winds and weather;* that they could not, without the most flagrant ingratitude and injustice, put the conquerors to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of those who envied them; that, if they did so, their unjust judgment would be followed with a sudden, but vain repentance, which would leave behind it the sharpest remorse, and cover them with eternal shame and infamy." The people seemed at first to be moved with these reasons; but animated by the accusers, they pronounced sentence of death against eight of their generals; and six of them who were present were seized, in order to their being carried to the place of execution. One of them, Diomedon, a person of great reputation for his valour and probity, demanded to be heard. "Athenians," said he, "I wish the sentence you have passed upon us may not prove the misfortune of the republic; but I have one favour to ask of you in behalf of my colleagues and myself, which is, to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourselves, as we are not in a condition to discharge them; for it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy." There was not one good citizen that did not melt into tears at this discourse, so full of goodness and religion, and admire with surprise the moderation of a person, who, seeing himself unjustly condemned, did not however vent the least resentment, or even complaint against his judges, but was solely intent, in favour of an ungrateful country which had doomed them to perish, upon what it owed the gods in common with them, for the victory they had lately obtained.

The execution of the six generals was scarcely over, when the people opened their eyes, and perceived all the horror of that sentence; but their repentance could not

* *Quem adco iniquum, ut sceleri assignet, quod venti et fluctus deliquerint?—Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 2.*

restore the dead to life. Callixenes, the orator, was put in prison, and was refused to be heard. Having found means to make his escape, he fled to Decelia, to the enemy, from whence he returned some time after to Athens, where he died of hunger, universally detested and abhorred by all the world, as all false accusers and slanderers should be. Diodorus remarks, that the people themselves were justly punished for their crime by the gods, who abandoned them soon after, not to a single master, but to thirty tyrants, who treated them with the utmost rigour and cruelty.

The disposition of a people is very naturally depicted in this account; and Plato, upon the same event, draws in few words their character with much spirit and resemblance. "The commonalty," says he, "is an inconstant, ungrateful, cruel, suspicious animal, incapable of submitting to the government of reason; which is no wonder, adds he, as it is commonly composed of the dregs of a city, and is a monstrous assemblage, without form or order, of all that is worst in it."*

The same relation shows what effect fear can have upon the minds of men, even upon those who pass for the wisest, and how few there are, who are capable of supporting inflexibly the view of present danger and disgrace. Though the justness of the generals' cause; was perfectly known in the senate, at least by the major part of it, as soon as the people's rage was mentioned, and the terrible menaces they murmured, those grave senators, most of whom had commanded armies, and who all of them had frequently exposed themselves to the greatest dangers of war, instantly changed sides, and came over to the most notorious calumny, and crying injustice that ever took place: an evident proof, that there is a courage, though very rare, which infinitely transcends the valour that induces so many thousands of men, every day, to confront the most terrible dangers in battle.

Among all the judges, only one truly worthy of his reputation, the great Socrates, stood firm and immovable, in this general treason and perfidy; and though he knew that his suffrage and unaided voice would be of little or no consequence to the accused, he thought them a just homage to oppressed innocence, and that it was unworthy an honest man to govern himself by the fury of a blind and frantic people.† We see, in this instance, how far the cause of justice may be abandoned. We may conclude that it was not better defended before the people. Of more than three thousand citizens, who composed the assembly, two only took upon them the defence of their generals, Euriptodemus and Axiochus. Plato has preserved their names, and given that of the latter to the dialogic, from whence part of these reflections are taken.

The same year the battle of the Arginusæ was fought, Dionysius possessed himself of the tyranny in Sicily.‡ I shall defer speaking of him till Book IX. in which I shall give the history of Syracuse at large.

SECTION VI.—LYSANDER COMMANDS THE LACEDÆMONIAN FLEET. HIS CELEBRATED VICTORY OVER THE ATHENIANS.

AFTER the defeat at the Arginusæ, the affairs of the Peloponnesians declining, the allies, supported by the influence of Cyrus, sent an embassy to Sparta, to require that the command of the fleet should be again given to Lysander, with the promise of serving with more affection and courage if their request were granted. As it was contrary to the laws of Sparta, that the same person could be twice admiral, the Lacedæmonians, to satisfy the allies, gave the title of admiral to one Aracus, and sent Lysander with him, whom in appearance they commissioned only as vice-admiral; though in effect with all the authority of supreme command.§

All those who had the greatest share in the government of the cities, and were of most authority in them, saw him arrive with supreme joy; promising themselves, from his influence, the final subversion of the democratic power. His character of complacency for his friends, and indulgence to all their faults, suited much better with their ambitious and injurious views than the austere equity of Callicratidas. For Lysander was a man of the most corrupt heart, and gloried in having no principles in point of virtue or the most sacred duties. He made no scruple to employ artifice and deceit upon all occasions, and esteemed justice only as far as it served his measures. When it did not promote them, he never failed to prefer the useful, which with him was alone laudable and excellent; from a persuasion that truth had in its own nature no advantage over falsehood, and that the value of both one and the other was to be determined by the convenience resulting from them. And for those who

* A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 406.

† A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405. Zenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 45. Plut. in Lys. l. ix. p. 436, 437. Died. l. xiii. 223.

‡ Plut. in Axioch. p. 363, 369.

§ Όσιν ου γαρ επ' αρετις και σπουδην ούκω μωροισιν ου συνειρηκεται.

represented to him, that it was unworthy the descendants of Hercules to make use of fraud and treachery, he laughed at them, "For," said he, "where the lion's skin is not long enough, it is necessary to tack the fox's tail to it."

An expression ascribed to him, sufficiently denotes how small an account he made of perjury. He used to say, "Children are amused with baubles, and men with oaths;"* showing by so professed a want of religion, that the gods were more inconsiderable with him than his enemies. For he who deceives with a false oath, plainly declares in so doing that he fears his enemies, but that he despises God.

Here ends the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war.† It was in this year that young Cyrus, dazzled with the unusual splendour of supreme authority, and jealous of the least omission in point of ceremonial homage, discovered, by a remarkable action, the secret of his heart. Brought up from his infancy in the reigning house, nurtured under the shade of the throne, amid the submissions and protestations of the courtiers, entertained for a long time by the discourses of an ambitious mother who idolized him, in the desire and hope of empire, he began already to affect the rights of sovereignty, and to exact the honours paid to it with surprising haughtiness and rigour. Two Persians of the royal family, his cousin-germans by their mother, the sister of Darius his father, had omitted to cover their hands with their sleeves in his presence, according to a ceremony observed only to the kings of Persia. Cyrus resenting that neglect as a capital crime, condemned them both to die, and caused them to be executed at Sardis without mercy. Darius, at whose feet their relations threw themselves to demand justice, was very much affected with the tragical end of his two nephews and looked upon this action of his son as an attempt upon himself, to whom alone that honour was due. He resolved therefore to take his government from him, and ordered him to court upon the pretext of being sick, and having a desire to see him.

Cyrus, before his departure, sent for Lysander to Sardis, and put into his hands great sums of money for the payment of the fleet, promising him still more for the future. And with the ostentation of a young man, to let him see how much he desired to oblige him, he assured him, that though the king his father should cease to afford him any supplies, he would furnish him the more willingly out of his own coffers; and that rather than he should want the necessary provisions, he would even cause the throne of massy gold and silver, upon which he sat in judgment, to be melted down. At length, when he was upon the point of getting out, he empowered him to receive the tributes and revenues of the cities, confided the government of his provinces to him, and conjured him with embraces not to give battle in his absence, unless superior in force; because the king neither wanted the will nor the power to give him that superiority to the enemy; promising at the same time, with the strongest assurances of affection, to bring him a great number of ships from Phœnicia and Cilicia.

After that prince's departure, Lysander sailed towards the Hellespont, and laid seige to Lampsacus.‡ Torax, having marched thither with his land-forces at the same time, assaulted the city on his side. The place was carried by storm, and given up by Lysander to the mercy of the soldiers. The Athenians, who followed him close, came to anchor in the port of Eleontum in the Chersonesus, with one hundred and eighty galleys. But upon the news of the taking of Lampsacus, they immediately steered for Setis, and after having taken in provisions, they stood away from thence, sailing along the coast to a place called Ægospotamos,§ where they came to, opposite to the enemy, who were then at anchor before Lampsacus. The Hellespont in this part is not above two thousand paces broad. The two armies, seeing themselves so near each other, expected only to rest that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next.||

But Lysander had another design in view. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board their galleys, as if they were in reality to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themselves in readiness, and to wait his orders with profound silence. He ordered the land army in like manner to draw up in order of battle upon the coast, and to wait the day without any noise. On the morrow, as soon as the sun was risen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet, in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lysander, though his ships were ranged in order of

* The Greek text admits of another sense, which is perhaps no less good: children may use art, and cheat one another in their games, and men in their oaths. Ἐπίβουε τῆς μὲν παιδῶν ἀστραγάλαις, τῆς ἀνδρῶν δεχοῖς ἐξοματι.

† Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 454.

‡ Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 455--458.

§ The river of the Goat.

|| Plut. in Lys. p. 437, et 440. Idem in Alcib. p. 212. Dioid. l. xiii. p. 225, 226.

battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay still without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not suffer his soldiers to go ashore, till two or three galleys which he had sent out to observe them, were returned with advice, that they had seen the enemy land. The next day passed in the same manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reserve and apprehension, extremely augmented the security and boldness of the Athenians and inspired them with an extreme contempt for an army, which in their opinion, was prevented by fear from showing themselves, and attempting any thing.

While this passed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horse, and came to the Athenian generals, to whom he represented, that they kept on a very disadvantageous coast, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their provisions from Sestos with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to suffer the soldiers and mariners of the fleet, as soon as they were ashore, to straggle and disperse themselves at their own pleasure, while the enemy's fleet faced them in view, accustomed to execute the orders of their general with instant obedience, and upon the slightest signal. He offered also to attack the enemy by land with a strong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, especially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themselves with refusing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall on them, and if favourable, that Alcibiades would engross the honour of it; but rejected also with insult his wise and salutary counsel, as if a man in disgrace lost his sense and abilities, together with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day, the Athenians presented themselves again, and offered him battle; retiring in the evening as usual, in a more insulting manner than the day before. Lysander again detached some galleys to observe them, with orders to return with the utmost diligence, when they saw the Athenians landed, and to put a brazen buckler at the head of each ship, as soon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himself in the mean time passed through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the seamen and soldiers in readiness to row and fight on the first signal.

As soon as the bucklers were put up in the ships' heads, and the admiral's galley had given the signal by the sound of trumpet, the whole fleet advanced in good order. The land-army at the same time made all possible haste to the top of the promontory, to see the battle. The strait that separates the two continents, is, in this place, about fifteen stadia, or three quarters of a league* in breadth, which space was soon cleared, through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first who perceived, from shore, the enemy's fleet advancing in good order to attack him; upon which he immediately called out for the troops to embark. In the utmost distress and perplexity, he in vain endeavoured by calling to them by name, by entreaty, and by force, to get his men on board the galleys, they being dispersed in every direction. For they were no sooner on shore, than some ran to the settlers, some to walk in the country, some to sleep in their tents, and others began to dress their suppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who, not suspecting the least danger, indulged themselves in taking their repose, and gave the soldiers the same liberty.

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries and a great noise of their oars, when Conon, disengaging himself with nine galleys, of which number was the sacred ship called the Paralian, stood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponnesians, falling upon the rest of the fleet, immediately took the galleys which were empty, and disabled and destroyed such as began to fill with men. The soldiers, who ran without order or arms to their relief were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or flying on shore, were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in pursuit of them. Lysander took three thousand prisoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet. After having plundered the camp, and fastened the enemy's galleys to the sterns of his own, he returned to Lampsacus, amid the sounds of flutes and songs of triumph. It was his glory to have achieved one of the greatest military exploits recorded in history, with little or no loss, and to have terminated a war in the small space of an hour, which had already lasted twenty-seven years, and which perhaps, without him, had been of much longer continuance. Lysander immediately sent despatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

* French measure.

The three thousand prisoners, taken in this battle, having been condemned to die, Lysander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had caused all the prisoners taken in two galleys, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly persuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the prisoners of war, in order to disable them from handling the pike, and that they might be fit to serve only at the oar, and asked him what sentence he would pass upon himself, for having induced his city to pass that cruel decree. Philocles, without departing from his haughtiness in the least, notwithstanding the extreme danger he was in, made answer, "Accuse not people of crimes who have no judges; but as you are victor, use your right, and do by us as we had done by you, if we had conquered." At the same instant he went into a bath, afterwards put on a magnificent robe, and marched foremost to the execution. All the prisoners were put to the sword, except Adimantes, who had opposed the decree.

After this expedition, Lysander went with his fleet to all the maritime cities, and gave orders for all Athenians in them to withdraw as soon as possible to Athens, without permitting them to take any other refuge; declaring, that after a certain time fixed, all should be punished with death, who should be found out of Athens. This he did as an able politician, to reduce the city by famine the more easily, and to render it incapable of sustaining a long siege. He afterwards applied himself in subverting the democratic, and all other forms of government throughout the cities; leaving in each of them a Lacedæmonian governor, called Harmostes, and ten archons or magistrates, whom he chose out of the societies he had established in them. He thereby, in some measure, secured to himself universal authority, and a kind of sovereignty over all Greece; putting none in power but such as were entirely devoted to his service.

SECTION VII.—LYSANDER BESIEGES ATHENS. FORM OF GOVERNMENT CHANGED. DEATH OF DARIUS NOTHUS.

WHEN the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens by a ship which arrived in the night at the Piræus, the city was in universal consternation. Nothing was heard but cries of sorrow and despair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates. They represented to themselves the miseries of a long siege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the insolence of a proud victor, and the shameful slavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and insupportable to them than the most severe punishments, and death itself. The next day the assembly was summoned, wherein it was resolved to close all the gates, except one; to repair the breaches in the walls, and mount guard to prepare against a siege.*

Agis and Pausanias, the two kings of Sparta, did in fact advance towards Athens with all their troops. Lysander soon after arrived at the Piræus with a hundred and fifty sail, and prevented all ships from going in or coming out. The Athenians, besieged by sea and land, without provisions, ships, hope of relief, or any resource, reinstated all persons attainted by any decree, without however speaking the least word of a capitulation, though many already died of famine. But when their corn was entirely consumed, they sent deputies to Agis, to propose a treaty with Sparta, upon condition of abandoning all their possessions, the city and port only excepted. He referred the deputies to Lacedæmon, as not being empowered to treat with them.—When they arrived at Salasia, upon the frontier of Sparta, and had made known their commission to the ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other proposals if they expected peace. The ephori had demanded, that twelve hundred paces of the wall on each side of the Piræus should be demolished: but an Athenian, for venturing to advise a compliance, was sent to prison, and prohibition made against proposing any thing of that kind for the future.

In this deplorable condition, Theramenes declared in the assembly, that if he were sent to Lysander, he would learn, whether the proposal made by the Lacedæmonians for dismantling the city was intended to facilitate its ruin, or to prevent a revolt. The Athenians having deputed him accordingly, he was more than three months absent; detained no doubt with the view of reducing them by famine to accept any conditions that should be offered. On his return he told them, that Lysander had detained him all that time, and that at last he had been given to understand, that he might apply

to the ephori. He was therefore sent back with nine others to Sparta, with full powers to conclude a treaty. When they arrived there, the ephori gave them audience in the general assembly, where the Corinthians and several other allies, especially the Thebans, insisted that it was absolutely necessary to destroy the city, without listening any farther to a treaty. But the Lacedæmonians, preferring the glory and safety of Greece to their own grandeur, made answer, that they would never be reproached with having destroyed a city that had rendered such great services to all Greece; the remembrance of which ought to have much greater weight with the allies, than the resentment of private injuries received from it. The peace was therefore concluded under these conditions: "that the fortifications of the Piræus, with the long wall that joined that port to the city, should be demolished; that the Athenians should deliver up all their galleys, except twelve; that they should abandon all the cities they had seized, and content themselves with their own lands and country; that they should recall their exiles, and make a league offensive and defensive with the Lacedæmonians, under whom they should march wherever they thought fit to lead them."

The deputies on their return were surrounded with an innumerable throng of people, who apprehended that nothing had been concluded, for they were not able to hold out any longer, such multitudes dying every day of famine. The next day they reported the success of their negociation; the treaty was ratified, notwithstanding the opposition of some persons; and Lysander, followed by the exiles, entered the port. It was upon the very day the Athenians had formerly gained the famous naval battle of Salamin. He caused the walls to be demolished to the sound of flutes and trumpets, and with all the exterior marks of triumph and rejoicing, as if all Greece had that day regained its liberty. Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, after having lasted for the space of twenty-seven years.

Lysander, without giving the Athenians time to look about them, changed the form of their government entirely, established thirty archons, or rather tyrants, over the city, put a good garrison into the citadel, and left the Spartan Callibius as harmostes, or governor. Agis disbanded his troops. Lysander, before he disbanded his, advanced against Samos, which he pressed so warmly, that it was at last obliged to capitulate. After having established its ancient inhabitants in it, he proposed to return to Sparta with the Lacedæmonian galleys, those of the Piræus, and the beaks of those he had taken.

He had sent Gylippus, who had commanded the army in Sicily, before him to carry the money and spoils, which were the fruit of his glorious campaigns, to Lacedæmon. The money, without reckoning the innumerable crowns of gold given him by the cities, amounted to fifteen hundred talents, that is to say, fifteen hundred thousand crowns.* Gylippus, who carried this considerable sum, could not resist the temptation of converting some part of it to his own use. The bags were sealed up carefully, and did not seem to leave any room for theft. He unsewed them at the bottoms, and after having taken out of each of them what money he thought fit, to the amount of three hundred talents, he sewed them up again very neatly, and thought himself perfectly safe. But when he arrived at Sparta, the accounts, which had been put up in each bag, discovered him. To avoid punishment, he banished himself from his country carrying along with him in all places the disgrace of having sullied, by so base and sordid an avarice, the glory of all his great actions.

From this unhappy example, the wisest and most distinguished of the Spartans, apprehending the all-powerful effects of money, which enslaved not only the vulgar, but even the greatest of men, extremely blamed Lysander for having acted so contradictorily to the fundamental laws of Sparta, and warmly represented to the ephori, how incumbent it was upon them to banish all that gold and silver from the republic, and to lay the heaviest of curses and imprecations upon it, as the fatal bane of all other states, introduced only to corrupt the wholesome constitution of the Spartan government, which had supported itself for so many ages with vigour and prosperity. The ephori immediately passed a decree to proscribe that money, and ordained that none should be current except the useful pieces of iron. But Lysander's friends opposed this decree, and sparing no pains to retain the gold and silver in Sparta, the affair was referred for farther deliberation. There naturally seemed only two methods to be considered; which were, either to make the gold and silver species current, or to cry them down, and prohibit them absolutely. The men of address and

* About £1,650,000.

policy found out a third expedient, which in their sense, reconciled both the others with great success: this was making a proper choice between the vicious extremes of too much rigour and too much neglect. It was therefore resolved, that the new coin of gold and silver should be solely employed by the public treasury; that it should only pass in the occasions and use of the state; and that every private person, in whose possession it should be found, should be immediately put to death.

“A strange expedient!” says Plutarch: “as if Lycurgus had feared gold and silver themselves, and not the avarice they occasioned: an avarice more likely to be inflamed by permitting the state to amass and make uses of it for the public service, than to be suppressed by prohibiting the possession of it to private persons. For it was impossible while that money was in honour and esteem with the public, that it should be despised in private as useless, and that people should look upon that as of no value in their domestic affairs, which the city prized, and was so much concerned to have for its occasions; bad usages, authorized by the practice and example of the public, being a thousand times more dangerous to individuals, than the vices of individuals to the public. The Lacedæmonians therefore,” continues Plutarch, “in punishing those with death who should make use of the new money in private, were so blind and imprudent as to imagine, that the placing of the law, and the terror of punishment, as a guard at the door, was sufficient to prevent gold and silver from entering the house: they left the hearts of their citizens open to the desire and admiration of riches, and introduced themselves to a violent passion for amassing treasure, in causing it to be deemed a great and honourable thing to become rich.

It was about the end of the Peloponnesian war, that Darius Nothus king of Persia died, after a reign of nineteen years. Cyrus had arrived at the court before his death, and Parysatis his mother, whose idol he was, not contented with having made his peace, notwithstanding the faults he had committed in his government, pressed the old king to declare him his successor also, after the example of Darius the First, who gave Xerxes the preference before all his brothers, because born, as Cyrus was, after his father's accession to the throne. But Dariüs did not carry his complaisance for her so far. He gave the crown to Arsaces, his eldest son by Parysatis also, whom Plutarch calls Arsicas, and bequeathed to Cyrus only the provinces he already had.*

* A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

BOOK NINTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE **PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.**

CONTINUED DURING THE

FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter contains the domestic troubles of the court of Persia, the death of Alcibiades, the re-establishment of the liberty of Athens, and Lysander's secret design to make himself king,

SECTION I.—CORONATION OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON. CYRUS ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE HIS BROTHER. REVENGE OF STATIRA. DEATH AND CHARACTER OF ALCIBIADES.

ARSACES upon ascending the throne, assumed the name of Artaxerxes, to whom the Greeks also gave the surname of MNEMON,* from his very retentive memory. Being near his father's bed when he was dying, he asked him, a few moments before he expired, what had been the rule of his conduct during so long and happy a reign as his, that he might make it his example. "It has been," replied he, "to do always what justice and religion required of me. Words of deep import and well worthy of being set up in letters of gold in the palaces of kings, to keep them perpetually in mind of what ought to be the guide and rule of all their actions. It is not uncommon for princes to give excellent instruction to their children on their death-beds, which would be more efficacious if preceded by their own example and conduct: without which they are as weak and impotent as the sick man who gives them, and seldom survive him long.

Soon after the death of Darius, the new king set out from his capital for Pasargada, a city of Persia, built by Cyrus the Great, in order to be crowned, according to custom, by the priests of Persia. There was in that city a temple of the goddess who presided in war, in which the coronation was solemnized. It was attended with very singular ceremonies, which no doubt had some mysterious sense, though Plutarch does not explain it. The prince, at his consecration, took off his robe in the temple, and put on that worn by the ancient Cyrus, before he came to the throne, which was preserved in that place with great veneration. After that, he ate a dry fig, chewed some leaves of the turpentine tree, and drank a draught composed of milk and vinegar. This might signify, that the sweets of sovereign power are mingled with the sour of care and disquiet; and that, if the throne be surrounded with pleasures and honours, it is also attended with pains and anxieties. It seems sufficiently evident, that the design in putting the robes of Cyrus upon the new king, was to make him understand, that he should also clothe his mind with the great qualities and exalted virtues of that prince.‡

Young Cyrus, whose soul was all ambition, was in despair on being for ever prevented from ascending a throne which his mother had given him, and on seeing the

* Which word signifies in the Creek, one of a good memory.

† A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. Athen. i. xii. p. 458.

‡ Plut. Artax. p. 10—12.

sceptre, which he thought his right, transferred into the hands of his brother. The blackest crimes cost the ambitious nothing. Cyrus resolved to assassinate Artaxerxes in the temple itself, and in the presence of the whole court, just when he took off his own, to put on the robe of Cyrus the Great. Artaxerxes was apprised of this design by the priest himself, who had educated his brother, and to whom he had imparted it. Cyrus was seized, and condemned to die, when his mother Parysatis, almost out of her senses, flew to the place, clasped him in her arms, bound herself to him with the tresses of her hair, fastened herself upon his neck, and by her shrieks, and tears, and prayers, prevailed so far as to obtain his pardon, and that he should be sent back to his government of the maritime provinces. He carried thither with him an ambition no less ardent than before, was animated besides with resentment for the check he had received, and the warm desire of revenge, and armed with an almost unbounded power. Artaxerxes upon this occasion acted contrary to the most common rules of policy, which do not admit the cherishing and inflaming, by extraordinary honours, the pride and haughtiness of a bold and enterprising young prince like Cyrus, who had carried his personal enmity to his brother so far as to have resolved to assassinate him with his own hand, and whose ambition for empire was so great as to employ the most criminal methods for the attainment of its end.*

Artaxerxes had espoused Statira. Scarcely had her husband ascended the throne, when she employed the power her beauty gave her over him, to avenge the death of her brother Teriteuchmes. History does not record a more tragical scene, nor a more monstrous complication of adultery, incest, and murder; which, after having occasioned great disorders in the royal family, terminated at length in the most fatal manner to all who had any share in it. But it is necessary, to give the reader a knowledge of the fact, to trace it from the beginning.†

Hidarnes, Statira's father, a Persian of very great quality, was governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Statira was a lady of extraordinary beauty, which induced Artaxerxes to marry her, who was then called Arsaces. At the same time Teriteuchmes, Statira's brother, married Hamestris, sister of Arsaces, one of the daughters of Darius and Parysatis; in consequence of which marriage, Teriteuchmes, upon his father's death, had his government given him. There was also another sister in this family, no less beautiful than Statira, and who besides excelled in the arts of shooting with the bow, and throwing the dart. Teriteuchmes her brother conceived a criminal passion for her, and to gratify it, resolved to set himself at liberty by killing Hamestris, whom he had espoused. Darius having been informed of this design, by the force of presents, and promises, engaged Udiastes, the intimate friend and confidant of Teriteuchmes, to prevent it, by assassinating him. He obeyed, and received for his reward the government of him he had put to death with his own hands.

Among the guards of Teriteuchmes, was a son of Udiastes, called Mithridates, very much attached to his master. The young gentleman, upon hearing that his father had committed this murder in person, uttered all manner of imprecations against him; and full of horror for so infamous and vile an action, seized on the city of Zaris, and openly revolting, declared for the establishment of Teriteuchmes's son. But that young man could not hold out long against Darius. He was shut up in the place with the son of Teriteuchmes, whom he had with him; and all the rest of the family of Hidarnes were put in prison, and delivered to Parysatis, to do with them as she, exasperated to the highest degree by the treatment either done or intended against her daughter Hamestris, should think fit. That cruel princess began by causing Roxana, whose beauty had been the occasion of this evil, to be sawed in two, and ordered all the rest to be put to death, except Statira, whose life she granted to the tears, and the most tender and ardent solicitations of Arsoces, whose love for his wife made him spare no pains for her preservation, though Darius, his father, believed it necessary, even for his own good, that she should share the same fate with the rest of her family. Such was the state of the affair at the death of Darius.

Statira, as soon as her husband was upon the throne, caused Udiastes to be delivered into her hands. She ordered his tongue to be torn out, and made him die in the most exquisite torments she could invent, to punish the crime which had occasioned the ruin of her family. She gave his government to Mithridates, in recom-

* Ne quis mobiles adolescentium animos præmaturis honoribus ad superbiam extolleret.—Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 17.

† *Ctes.* c. li. lv.

pense for his attachment to the interests of her family. Parysatis on her side, took her revenge on the son of Teriteuchmes, whom she caused to be poisoned; and we shall see that Statira's turn was not very remote.

We see here the terrible effects of female revenge, and in general of what excesses they are capable, who find themselves above all laws, and have no other rule for their actions than their will and passions.

Cyrus, having resolved to dethrone his brother, employed Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian general, to raise a body of Grecian troops, under pretence of war, which that Spartan was to carry into Thrace. I shall defer speaking of this famous expedition, and also of the death of Socrates, which happened about the same time, intending to treat of those two great events as fully as they deserve. It was without doubt with the same view, that Cyrus presented Lysander a galley of two cubits in length, made of ivory and gold, to congratulate him upon his naval victory. That galley was consecrated to Apollo in the temple of Delphos. Lysander went soon after to Sardis, charged with magnificent presents for Cyrus from the allies.

It was upon that occasion, that Cyrus had the celebrated conversation with Lysander, related by Xenophon, and which Cicero after him has applied so beautifully.* That young prince, who prided himself more upon his integrity and politeness than nobility and grandeur, pleased himself with conducting in person so illustrious a guest through his gardens, and to make him observe the various beauties of them. Lysander, struck with so fine a prospect, admired the manner in which the several parts were laid out; the height and projection of the trees; the neatness and disposition of the walks; the abundance of fruits, planted with an art which had known how to unite the useful with the agreeable; the beauty of the parterres, and the glowing variety of flowers, exhaling odours throughout the delightful scene. "Every thing in this place charms and transports me," said Lysander, addressing himself to Cyrus; but what strikes me most, is the exquisite taste and elegant industry of the person who drew the plan of the several parts of this garden, and gave it the fine order, wonderful disposition, and happiness of symmetry, which I cannot sufficiently admire." Cyrus, infinitely pleased with this discourse, replied, "It was I that drew the plan, and entirely marked it out: and not only that, many of the trees which you see, were planted by my own hands." "What," replied Lysander, regarding him from head to foot, "is it possible, with these purple robes and splendid vestments, those strings of jewels and bracelets of gold, those buskins so richly embroidered, that you could act the gardener, and employ your royal hands in planting trees." "Does that surprise you?" said Cyrus; "I swear by the god Mithras,† that when my health admits, I never sit down to table without having made myself sweat with some fatigue or other, either in military exercise, rural labour, or some other toilsome employment, to which I apply with pleasure, and without sparing myself." Lysander was amazed at his discourse, and pressing him by the hand, "Cyrus," said he, "you are truly happy, and deserve your high fortune, because you unite it with virtue."‡

Alcibiades was at no small pains to discover the mystery of the levies made by Cyrus and went into the province of Pharnabasis, with design to proceed to the court of Persia, and to apprise Artaxerxes of the scheme laid against him. Had he arrived there, a discovery of such importance would have infallibly procured him the favour of that prince, and the assistance he wanted for the re-establishment of his country. But the Lacedæmonian partizans at Athens, that it is to say, the thirty tyrants, apprehended the intrigues of so superior a genius as his, and represented to their masters, that they were inevitably ruined, if they did not find means to rid themselves of Alcibiades. The Lacedæmonians thereupon wrote to Pharnabasis, and with an abject meanness not to be excused, and which showed how much Sparta had degenerated from her ancient manners, strongly pressed him to deliver them at

* Narrat Socrates in eo libro, Cyrum minorem, regem Persarum, præstantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, eum Lysander Lacedæmonius, vir summæ virtutis, venisset ad eum, Sardes, eique doni a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quemdam conceptum agrum diligenter consitus ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines, et humum subactam atque puram, et suavitatem odorum qui efflarentur e floribus; tum cum dixisset mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam solertiam ejus, a quo essent illa dimensa atque descripta. Et ei Cyrum respondisse: atqui ego ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multa etiam istarum arborum meâ manu sunt statæ. Tum Lysandrum, intuerentem ejus purpuram et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persarum multo auro multisque geminis dixisse: recte vero, te Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta est.—Cic. de Senect. n. 39.

† The Persians adored the sun under that name, who was their principal god, † Διαιτίας, ὃ Κύρε, συδαίμωνις ἀγαθὸς γὰρ εὐ συδαίμωνις. Which Cicero translates: recte vero, to, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta est.

any rate from so formidable an enemy. The satrap complied with their wish. Alcibiades was then in a small town of Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine Timandra.* Those who were sent to kill him, not daring to enter his house, contented themselves with surrounding and setting it on fire. Alcibiades having quitted it through the flames, sword in hand, the barbarians were afraid to remain to come to blows with him, but flying and retreating as he advanced they poured their darts and arrows upon him, and he fell dead upon the spot. Timandra took up his body, and having adorned and covered it with the finest robes she had, she made as magnificent a funeral for it as her condition would admit.

Such was the end of Alcibiades, whose great virtues were stifled and suppressed by still greater vices. It is not easy to say, whether his good or bad qualities were most pernicious to his country; for with one he deceived, and with the other he oppressed it.† In him, distinguished valour was united with nobility of blood. His person was beautiful and finely made; he was eloquent, of great ability in business, insinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory, but without prejudice to his inclination for pleasure; nor was he so fond of pleasure as to neglect his glory for it. He knew how to yield, or abstract himself from it, according to the situation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his. He metamorphosed himself with incredible facility, like a Proteus, into the most contrary forms, and supported them all with as much ease and grace as if each had been natural to him.

This versatility of character, according to occasions, the customs of countries, and his own interests, discover a heart void of principle, without either truth or justice. He did not confine himself either to religion, virtue, laws, duties, or his country. His sole rule of action was his private ambition, to which he reduced every thing. His aim was to please, to dazzle and be beloved, but at the same time to subject those he soothed. He favoured them only as they served his purposes; and made his correspondence and society a means for engrossing every thing to himself.

His life was a perpetual mixture of good and evil. His sallies for virtue were ill sustained, and quickly degenerated into vices and crimes, very little to the honour of the instructions of that great philosopher, who took no small pains to cultivate him into a man of worth. His actions were glorious, but without rule or principle. His character was elevated and grand, but without connexion and consistence. He was successively the support and terror of the Lacedæmonians and Persians. He was either the misfortune or refuge of his own country, according to his declaring for or against it. In fine, he was the author of a general and destructive war in Greece, from the sole motive of commanding, by inducing the Athenians to besiege Syracuse, much less from the hope of conquering Sicily, and afterwards Africa, than with the design of keeping Athens in dependence upon himself; convinced that having to deal with an inconstant, suspicious, ungrateful, jealous people, averse to those that governed, it was necessary to engage them continually in some great affair, in order to make his services always necessary to them, and that they might not be at leisure to examine, censure, and condemn his conduct.

He had the fate generally experienced by persons of his character, and of which they cannot reasonably complain. He never loved any one, self being his sole motive; nor ever found a friend. He made it his merit and glory to amuse all men; and nobody confided in, or adhered to him. His sole view was to live with splendour, and to lord it universally; and he perished miserably, abandoned by the whole world, and obliged at his death to the feeble services and impotent zeal of a single woman, for the last honours rendered to his remains.

About this time died Democritus the philosopher, of whom more will be said elsewhere.

SECTION II.—THE THIRTY EXERCISE HORRID CRUELITIES AT ATHENS, THEY PUT THERAMENES TO DEATH. THRASYBULUS ATTACKS THE TYRANTS, IS MASTER OF ATHENS, AND RESTORES ITS LIBERTIES.

THE council of thirty, established at Athens by Lysander, committed the most incredible cruelties. Upon pretence of restraining the multitude within their duty, and to prevent seditions, they had caused guards to be assigned them, had armed three

* It was said that Lais, the famous courtesan, called the Corinthian, was the daughter of this Timandra.

† Cujus nescio utrum bona an vitia patriæ perniciosiora fuerint; illis enim cives suos decepti, his afflixi, Val. Max. l. iii. c. 1.

thousand of the citizens for that service, and at the same time disarmed all the rest. The whole city was in the utmost terror and dismay. Whoever opposed their injustice and violence, became the victims of them. Riches were a crime that never failed of drawing a sentence upon their owners, always followed with death, and the confiscation of estates; which the thirty tyrants divided among themselves. They put more people to death, says Xenophon, in eight months of peace, than their enemies had done in a war of thirty years.*

The two most considerable persons of the thirty were Critias and Theramenes, who at first lived in great union, and always acted in concert with each other. The latter had some honour, and loved his country. When he saw with what excess of violence and cruelty his colleagues behaved, he declared openly against them, and thereby drew their resentment upon him. Critias became his most mortal enemy, and acted as informer against him before the senate, accusing him of disturbing the tranquillity of the state, and of designing to subvert the present government. As he perceived that the defence of Theramenes was heard with silence and approbation, he was afraid, that if the affair was left to the decision of the senate, they would acquit him. Having therefore caused a band of young men whom he had armed with poniards, to advance to the bar, he said that he thought it the duty of a supreme magistrate to prevent justice from being abused, and that he should act conformably upon this occasion. "But," continued he, "as the law does not admit, that any of the three thousand should be put to death without the consent of the senate, I exclude Theramenes from that number, and condemn him to die, in virtue of my own and my colleagues' authority." Theramenes upon these words leaped upon the altar; "I demand," said he, "Athenians, that I may be tried according to the laws; which cannot be refused me without manifest injustice. Not that I imagine, that the goodness of my cause will avail me any thing, or the sanctity of altars protect me; but I would show at least, that my enemies respect neither the gods nor men. What most astonishes me is, that persons of your wisdom do not see that your own names may as easily be struck out of the list of the citizens, as that of Theramenes." Critias upon this ordered the officers of justice to pull him down from the altar. An universal silence and terror ensued upon the sight of the armed soldiers, that surrounded the senate. Of all the senators, only Socrates, whose disciple Theramenes had been, took upon him his defence, and opposed the officers of justice. But his weak endeavours could not deliver Theramenes, who was led to the place of execution, notwithstanding all he could do, through crowds of the citizens, who saw with tears, in the fate of a man equally distinguished for his love of liberty and the great services he had done his country, what they had to fear for themselves. When they presented him the hemlock, that is, the poison, which was the manner of putting the citizens of Athens to death, he took it with an intrepid air, and after having drunk it, he poured the remainder upon the table, after the usual manner observed in feasts or public rejoicings, saying, "This for the noble Critias." Xenophon relates this circumstance, unimportant in itself, to show, says he, the tranquillity of Theramenes in his last moments.

The tyrants, delivered from a colleague whose presence alone was a continual reproach to them, no longer observed any measures. Nothing passed throughout the city but imprisonments and murders. Every body trembled for themselves or their friends.† The general desolation had no remedy, nor was there any hope of regaining their liberty. Where had they then as many Harmodiuses as they had tyrants?‡ Terror had taken entire possession of their minds, while the whole city deplored in secret the loss of liberty, without having one among them generous enough to attempt the breaking of their chains. The Athenian people seemed to have lost that valour, which till then had made them awful and terrible to their neighbours and enemies. They seemed to have lost the very use of speech; not daring to utter the least complaint, lest it should be made a capital crime in them. Socrates only continued intrepid. He consoled the afflicted senate, animated the desponding citizens, and set all men an admirable example of courage and resolution; preserving his liberty, and sustaining his integrity in the midst of thirty tyrants, who made all else tremble, but could never shake the constancy of Socrates by their menaces.

* Xenoph. H^{ist.} l. ii. p. 462, et 479. Diod. l. xiv. p. 235—238. Justin. l. v. c. 8. 10.

† Poteratne civitas illa conquiret, in qua tot tyranni erant, quot satellites essent? Ne spes quidem illa recipiendæ libertatis animis poterat offerri, nec ulli remedio locus apparebat contra tantam vim malorum. Unde enim misera civitati tot Harmodios? Socrates tamen in medio erat, et lugentes patres consolebatur, et desperantes de republica exhortabantur et imitare volentibus magnum circumferebat exemplar, eum inter triginta dominos liber incederet.—Senec. de Tranquil. Anim. c. 3.

‡ Harmodius formed a conspiracy for the deliverance of Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ.

Critias, who had been his pupil, was the first to declare most openly against him, taking offence at the free and bold discourses which he held against the government of the thirty. He went so far as to prohibit his instructing youth; but Socrates, who neither acknowledged his authority, nor feared the violent effects of it, paid no regard to so unjust an order.*

All the citizens of any consideration in Athens, and who retained the love of liberty, quitted a place reduced to so hard and shameful a slavery, and sought elsewhere an asylum and retreat, where they might live in safety. At the head of these was Thrasylbulus, a person of extraordinary merit, who beheld with the most lively affliction the miseries of his country. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive those unhappy fugitives of this last resource. They published an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge, decreed that they should be delivered up to the thirty tyrants, and condemned all such as should contravene the execution of this edict, to pay a fine of five talents. Only two cities rejected with disdain so unjust an ordinance, Megara and Thebes; the latter of which made a decree to punish all persons whatever, who should see an Athenian attacked by his enemies without doing his utmost to assist him. Lysias, an orator of Syracuse, who had been banished by the thirty, raised five hundred soldiers at his own expense, and sent them to the aid of the common country of eloquence.†

Thrasylbulus lost no time. After having taken Phyla, a small fort in Attica, he marched to the Piræus, of which he made himself master. The thirty flew thither with their troops; and a sharp battle ensued. But as the soldiers on one side fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and on the other with indolence and neglect for the power of others, victory was not long doubtful, but favoured the better cause. The tyrants were overthrown. Critias was killed upon the spot. And as the rest of the army were beginning to fly, Thrasylbulus cried out, "wherefore do you fly from me as your victor, rather than assist me as the avenger of our liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow-citizens; nor have we declared war against the city, but against the thirty tyrants." He called to their remembrance that they had the same origin, country, laws and religion; he exhorted them to compassionate their exiled brethren, to restore their country to them, and resume their liberty themselves. These words had the desired effect. The army, upon their return to Athens, expelled the thirty, and substituted ten persons to govern in their room, whose conduct proved no better than theirs.

It is a matter of surprise, that so sudden, so universal, so tenacious, and so uniform a conspiracy against the public good, should always actuate the several bodies of persons established in the administration of this government. This we have seen in the four hundred formerly chosen by Athens; again in the thirty; and now in the ten. And what increases our wonder is, that this passion for tyranny should so strongly actuate republicans, born in the bosom of liberty, accustomed to an equality of condition, on which it is founded, and formed from their earliest infancy to an abhorrence of all subjection and dependency. There must be on the one side, in power and authority, some violent impulse, to actuate in this manner so many persons, many of whom, no doubt, were not without sentiments of virtue and honour; and to banish so suddenly the principles and manners so natural to them; and on the other an excessive propensity in the mind of man to subject his equals, to rule over them imperiously, to carry him on to the last extremes of oppression and cruelty, and to make him forget at once, all laws, nature, and religion.‡

The thirty being fallen from their power and hopes, sent deputies to Lacedæmon to demand aid. It was not Lysander's fault, who was sent to them with troops, that the tyrants were not re-established. But king Pausanias, moved with compassion for the deplorable condition to which a city, once so flourishing, was reduced, had the generosity to favour the Athenians in secret, and at length obtained a peace from them. It was sealed with the blood of the tyrants, who having taken arms to re-instate themselves in the government, and being present at a parley for that purpose, were all put to the sword, and left Athens in the full possession of its liberty. All the exiles were recalled. Thrasylbulus at that time proposed the celebrated amnesty, by which ten citizens engaged upon oath, that all past transactions should be buried in

* Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 716, 717.

† Quingentos milites, stipendio suo instructos, in auxilium patriæ communis eloquentiæ missit.—Justin. l. v. c. 9.

‡ Vi dominationis convulsus.—Tacit.

oblivion. The government was re-established upon its ancient footing, the laws restored to their pristine vigour, and magistrates elected with the usual forms.

I cannot forbear observing in this place the wisdom and moderation of Thrasybulus, so salutary and essential after so long a continuance of domestic troubles. This is one of the finest events in ancient history, worthy the Athenian lenity and benevolence, and has served as a model to successive ages in good governments.

Never had tyranny been more cruel and bloody than that which the Athenians had lately thrown off. Every house was in mourning; every family bewailed the loss of some relation. It had been a series of public robbery and rapine, in which licence and impunity had authorized all manner of crimes. The people seemed to have a right to demand the blood of all accomplices, in such notorious malversations, and even the interest of the state seemed to authorize such a claim that by exemplary severities such enormous crimes might be prevented for the future. But Thrasybulus, rising above those sentiments, from the superiority of his more extensive genius, and the views of a more discerning and profound policy, foresaw, that by consenting to the punishment of the guilty, eternal seeds of discord and enmity would remain, to weaken the republic by domestic divisions, which it was necessary to unite against the common enemy, and occasion the loss to the state of a great number of citizens, who might render it important services even from the desire of making amends for past misbehaviour.

Such conduct, after great troubles in a state, has always seemed, with the ablest politicians, the most certain and ready means to restore the public peace and tranquillity. Cicero, when Rome was divided into two factions, upon the occasion of Cæsar's death, who had been killed by the conspirators, calling to mind this celebrated amnesty, proposed, after the example of the Athenians, to bury all that had passed in eternal oblivion.* Cardinal Mazarin observed to Don Louis de Haro, prime minister of Spain, that this gentle and humane conduct in France had prevented the troubles and revolts of that kingdom from having any fatal consequences, and "that the king had not, to this day, lost a foot of land by them;" whereas the inflexible severity of the Spaniards "was the occasion, that the subjects of that monarchy, whenever they threw off the mask, never returned to their obedience but by the force of arms; which sufficiently appears," says he, "in the example of the Hollanders, who are in the peaceable possession of many provinces, that not a century ago were the patrimony of the king of Spain."†

Diodorus Siculus takes occasion, from the thirty tyrants of Athens, whose immoderate ambition induced them to treat their country with the most excessive cruelties, to observe how unfortunate it is for persons in power to want a sense of honour, and to disregard either the present opinion, or the judgment of posterity on their conduct. For, from the contempt of reputation, the transition is too common to that of virtue itself.‡ They may perhaps, by the awe of their power, suppress for some time the public voice, and impose a forced silence upon censure; but the more constraint they lay upon it during their lives, the more liberal will it be after their deaths, of complaints and reproaches, and the more infamy and imputation will be affixed to their memories. The power of the thirty was of very short duration; their guilt immortal, which will be remembered with abhorrence throughout all ages; while their names will be recorded in history only to render them odious and to make their crimes detestable. He applies the same reflection to the Lacedæmonians, who, after having made themselves masters of Greece by a wise and moderate conduct, fell from that glory, through the severity, haughtiness, and injustice, with which they treated their allies. There is doubtless no reader, whom their abject and cruel jealousy in regard to Athens, enslaved and humbled, has not prejudiced against them; nor is there any resemblance in such behaviour, to the greatness of mind and noble generosity of ancient Sparta; so much power has the lust of dominion and prosperity over even virtuous men. Diodorus concludes his reflection with a maxim, very true, though very little known; "the greatness and majesty of princess," says he, (and the same may be said of all persons

* In ædem Telluris convocati sumus; in quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamentum pacis; Athenien-
sumque renovavi vetus exemplum. Græcum etiam verbum (some believe that the word was *ἄνεσις*; but as it is
not found in the historians who have treated this fact, it is more likely that it was *ἄνεσις* *ἀνεσις*, which has
the same sense, and is used by them all,) usurpavi quod tum in sedandis discordiis usurpaverat civitas illa; atque
omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui.—Philip. i. n. 1.

† Let. XV. of Card. Mazarin.

‡ Cætera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contempta
fama, contemni virtutes.—Quo magis concordiam eorum rideri libet, qui presentis potentia credunt extingui posse
etiam sequentis ævi memoriam.—suum cuique decus posteritas rependit.—Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 30, et 35.

in high authority,) "can be supported only by humanity and justice with regard to their subjects; as, on the contrary, they are ruined and destroyed by a cruel and oppressive government, which never fails to draw upon them the hatred of their people."

SECTION III.—LYSANDER ABUSES HIS POWER IN AN EXTRAORDINARY MANNER. HE IS RECALLED TO SPARTA.

As Lysander had the greatest share in the celebrated exploits which had raised, the glory of the Lacedæmonians to so high a pitch; so he had acquired a degree of power and authority, of which there was no example before in Sparta; but he suffered himself to be carried away by a presumption and vanity still greater than his power. He permitted the Grecian cities to dedicate alters to him as to a god, and to offer sacrifices, and sing hymns and songs in honour of him. The Samians ordained a public decree, that the feasts celebrated in honour of Juno, and which bore the name of that goddess, should be called "the feast of Lysander." He had always a crowd of poets about him, (who are often a tribe of venal flatterers,) who emulated each other in singing his great exploits, for which they were magnificently paid. Praise is undoubtedly due to noble deeds, but diminishes their lustre when either forged or excessive.*

This sort of vanity or ambition, had he stopped there, would have hurt only himself, by exposing him to envy and contempt; but a natural consequence of it was, that through his arrogance and pride, in conjunction with the incessant flatteries of those around him, he carried the spirit of command and authority to an insupportable excess, and observed no longer any measures either in rewarding or punishing. The absolute government of cities with tyrannic power were the fruits of his friendship, and the ties of hospitality with him; and only the death of those he hated could put an end to his resentment and displeasure, without its being possible to escape his vengeance. What Sylla caused to be inscribed upon his tomb, might with equal propriety have been engraved upon Lysander's: "That no man had ever surpassed him in doing good to his friends, or evil to his enemies."

Treachery and perjury cost him nothing, whenever they promoted his designs; nor was he less cruel than revengeful, a sufficient proof of which is shown in his conduct at Miletus. Apprehending that those who were at the head of the people would escape him, he swore not to do them harm. Those unfortunate men relied on his oath, but no sooner appeared in public, than they were put to the sword, with his consent, by the nobility who killed them all, to the number of eight hundred. The number of those in the party of the people, whom he caused to be massacred in the other cities, is incredible; for he did not only destroy to satiate his own resentments, but to serve in all places the enmity, malice, and avarice of his friends, whom he supported in gratifying their passions by the death of their enemies.

There was no kind of injustice and violence which the people did not suffer under the government of Lysander; while the Lacedæmonians, who were sufficiently informed of his conduct, gave themselves no trouble to prevent its effects. It is too common for those in power to be little affected with the vexations and oppressions laid upon persons of low condition and credit, and to be deaf to their just complaints, though authority is principally confided in them for the defence of the weak and poor, who have no other protectors. But if such remonstrances are made by a great or powerful person, from whom they may have any thing to hope or fear, the same authority that was dilatory and indifferent, becomes immediately active and interested; a certain proof that it is not the love of justice that actuates it. This appears in the conduct of the Lacedæmonian magistrates. Pharnabasis, weary of Lysander's repeated injustices, who ravaged and pillaged the provinces under his command, having sent ambassadors to Sparta, to complain of the wrongs he had received from that general, the ephori recalled him. Lysander was at that time in the Hellespont. The letter of the ephori threw him into great consternation. As he principally feared the complaints and accusations of Pharnabasis, he made all the haste he could to come to an explanation with him, from the hope of softening him, and making his peace. He went for that purpose to him, and desired, that he would write another letter to the ephori intimating a satisfaction in his conduct. "But Lysander," says Plutarch, "in such an application to Pharnabasis, forgot the proverb. The

* Plut. in Lys. p. 443—445.

The Greek proverb is, Cretan against Cretan—from the people of Crete, who passed for the greatest cheats and liars in the world.

satrap promised all he desired; and accordingly wrote such a letter in Lysander's presence as he had asked of him, but prepared another to a quite different effect. When he was to seal it, as both letters were of the same size and form, he dexterously put that he had wrote in secret into the place of the other, without being observed, which he sealed and gave him."

Lysander departed well satisfied; and having arrived at Sparta, alighted at the place where the senate was assembled, and delivered the letter of Pharnabasis to the ephori. But he was strangely surprised when he heard the contents, and withdrew in extreme confusion and disorder. Some days after he returned to the senate, and told the ephori, that he was obliged to go to the temple of Ammon, to acquit himself of the sacrifices he had vowed to that god before his battles. That pilgrimage was no more than a pretence to cover the pain it gave him to live as a private person in Sparta, and to submit to the yoke of obeying; he who till then had always governed. Accustomed long to commanding armies, and to the flattering distinctions of a kind of sovereignty exercised by him in Asia, he could not endure the mortifying equality with the multitude, nor restrain himself to the simplicity of a private life. Having obtained permission, not without great difficulty, he embarked.

As soon as he was gone, the kings, reflecting that he held all the cities dependent on him, by means of the governors and magistrates established therein by him, to whom they were also indebted for their unlimited authority, and that he was thereby effectually lord and master of all Greece, applied themselves vigorously to restore the government of the people, and to depose all his creatures and friends from any participation in it. This alteration occasioned great tumults at first. About the same time Lysander, being apprised of the design of Thrasylbulus to establish the liberty of his country, returned with the utmost diligence to Sparta; and endeavoured to engage the Lacedæmonians to support the party of the nobility at Athens. We have before observed; that Pausanias, from a more noble spirit of equity and generosity, gave peace to Athens, and by that means, according to Plutarch, checked the ambition of Lysander.

CHAPTER II.

YOUNG CYRUS, WITH THE AID OF THE GRECIAN TROOPS, ENDEAVOURS TO DETHRONE HIS BROTHER ARTAXERXES. HE IS KILLED. FAMOUS RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND.

ANTIQUITY has few events so memorable as those I am about to relate in this place. We see on one side a young prince, abounding otherwise with excellent qualities, abandoned to his violent ambition, carry the war from far against his brother and sovereign, and go to attack him almost in his own palace, with a view of depriving him at once of his crown and life. We see him fall dead in the battle at the feet of that brother, and terminate, by so unhappy a fate, an enterprise equally bold and criminal. On the other hand, the Greeks who follow him, destitute of all succour after the loss of their chiefs, without allies, provisions, money, horse, or archers, reduced to no more than ten thousand men, with no resource but in their own persons and valour, supported only by the warm desire of preserving their liberty, and of returning to their native countries; these Greeks, with bold and intrepid resolution, make their retreat before a victorious army of a million of men, traverse five or six hundred leagues, notwithstanding vast rivers and innumerable passes, and arrive at last in their own country through a thousand fierce and barbarous nations, victorious over all obstacles in their way, and over all the dangers which either concealed fraud or open force compel them to undergo.*

This retreat, in the opinion of the best judges, and most experienced in the art of war, is the boldest and best conducted exploit to be found in ancient history, and is deemed a perfect model in its kind. Happily for us, it is described to the most minute circumstance by a historian, who was not only an eye-witness of the facts he relates, but the director, the soul of this great enterprise. I shall only abridge it, and abstract its most material circumstances; but I cannot omit advising young persons, who made

* Post mortem Cyri, neque armis a tanto exer citu vinci, neque dolo capi potuerunt; revertentesque inter tot indomitas nationes et barbaras gentes, per tanta itineris spatia, virtute se usque terminos patriæ defenderunt—Justin. l. v. c. 11.

arms their profession, to consult the original, of which there is a good translation extant in French, though far short of the admirable text. It is very difficult to meet with a more able master than Xenophon in the art of war, to whom may be well applied here, what Homer says of Phœnix, the governor of Achilles, "that he was equally capable of forming his pupil for eloquence or arms."*

SECTION I.—CYRUS RAISES TROOPS AGAINST HIS BROTHER ARTAXERXES.

WE have already said, that young Cyrus, son of Darius Nothus and Parysatis, saw with pain his eldest brother Artaxerxes upon the throne, and that at the very time the latter was taking possession of it, he had attempted to deprive him of his crown and life together.† Artaxerxes was not sensible of what he had to fear from a brother of his enterprising and ambitious spirit, but could not refuse pardoning him to the prayers and tears of his mother Parysatis, who doated upon this youngest son. He removed him therefore into Asia to his government; confiding to him, contrary to all the rules of policy, an absolute authority over the provinces left him by the will of the king, his father.

As soon as he arrived there, his thoughts were solely intent upon revenging the supposed affront he had received from his brother, and to dethrone him.‡ He received all who came from the court with great favour and affability, to induce them insensibly to quit the king's party, and adhere to him. He gained also the hearts of the barbarians under his government: familiarizing himself with them, and mingling with the common soldiery, though without forgetting the dignity of their general; these he formed by various exercises for the duties of war. He applied particularly in secret to raise from several parts, and upon different pretexts, a body of Grecian troops, upon whom he relied much more than upon those of the barbarians. Clearchus retired to his court after having been banished from Sparta, and was of great service to him, being an able, experienced, and valiant captain. At the same time several cities in the provinces of Tissaphernes revolted from their obedience in favour of Cyrus. This incident, which was not an effect of chance, but of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. Cyrus, under the pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, assembled troops openly; and to amuse the court more speciously, sent grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and aid in the most submissive manner. Artaxerxes was deceived by these appearances, and believed that all the preparations by Cyrus only related to Tissaphernes, and continued quiet, from the assurance of having nothing to apprehend for himself.§

Cyrus knew well how to improve the imprudent security and indolence of his brother, which some people conceived the effect of his goodness and humanity. And indeed, in the beginning of his reign, he seemed to imitate the virtues of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore: for he demeaned himself with great mildness and affability to such as approached him; he honoured and rewarded magnificently all those whose services had merited favour; when he passed sentence to punish, it was without either outrage or insult; and when he made presents, it was with a gracious air, and such obliging circumstances, as infinitely exalted their value, and implied that he was never better pleased than when he had an opportunity of doing good to his subjects. To all these excellent qualities it had been very necessary for him to have added one no less royal, and which would have put him upon his guard against the enterprises of a brother, whose character he ought to have known; I mean a wise foresight, that penetrates the future, and renders a prince attentive to prevent or frustrate whatever may disturb the tranquillity of the state.||

The emissaries of Cyrus at the court were perpetually dispersing reports and opinions among the people, to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They said that the state required a king of Cyrus's character; a king, magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and showered his favours upon those who served him; and that it was necessary for the grandeur of the empire to have a prince upon the throne, fired with ambition and valour for the support and augmentation of its glory.

The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. He was then not more than twenty-three years old. After the important services which he had rendered the Lacedæmonians, without which they could never

* Iliad x. ver. 443.

† A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. Diod. l. xiv. p. 243—249, 252. Justin. l. v. c. 11. Xenoph. de Cyri. Exped. l. i. p. 243—248.

‡ A. M. 3601. Ant. J. C. 403.

§ A. M. 3602. Ant. J. C. 402.

|| Plut. in Artax. p. 1014.

have obtained the victories that had made them masters of Greece, he thought he might safely open himself to them. He therefore imparted to them the present situation of his affairs, and the end he had in view; convinced that such a confidence could not but incline them the more in his favour.*

In the letter he wrote them, he spoke of himself in very magnificent terms. He told them he had a greater and more royal heart than his brother: that he was better versed in philosophy and the knowledge of the magi:† and that he could drink more wine than he, without being disordered in his senses; a very meritorious quality among the barbarians, but not proper to recommend him to the opinions of those he wrote to. The Lacedæmonians sent orders to their fleet to join that of the prince immediately, and to obey the commands of Tamos his admiral, in all things, but without the least mention of Artaxerxes, or seeming in any manner privy to his design. They thought that precaution necessary for their justification with Artaxerxes in case affairs should happen to terminate in his favour.‡

The troops of Cyrus, according to the review afterwards made, consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army, and of a hundred thousand regular men of the barbarous nations. Clearchus the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Bæotians were under Proxenes the Theban, and the Thessalians under Menon. The barbarians were commanded by Persian generals, the chief of whom was Ariæus. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships under Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian, and of twenty-five commanded by Tamos the Egyptian admiral of the whole fleet. It followed the land-army, coasting along the shore.§

Cyrus had opened his design only to Clearchus of all the Greeks, rightly foreseeing, that the length and boldness of the enterprise could not fail of discouraging and disgusting the officers as well as soldiers. He made it his sole application to gain their affections during the march, by treating them with kindness and humanity, conversing freely with them, and giving strict orders that they should want for nothing. Proxenes, between whose family and Xenophon's an ancient friendship subsisted, presented that young Athenian to Cyrus who received him very favourably, and gave him an employment in his army among the Greeks.|| He at length set out for Sardis, and marched, towards the upper provinces of Asia. The troops knew neither the occasion of the war, nor into what countries they were going. Cyrus had only caused it to be given out, that he should act against the Pisidians, who had infested his province by their incursions.

Tissaphernes, rightly judging that all these preparations were too great for an enterprise destined only against Pisidia, had hastened from Miletus, to give the king an account of them. This news occasioned great trouble at court. Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus, was looked upon as the principal cause of this war; and all persons in her service and interest were suspected of holding intelligence with Cyrus. Statira especially, the reigning queen, reproached her incessantly in the most violent terms. "Where is now," said she to her, "that faith you have so often engaged for your son's behaviour? Where those ardent prayers you employed to preserve from death that conspirator against his king and brother? It is your unhappy fondness that has kindled this war, and plunged us into an abyss of misfortunes." The antipathy and hatred of the two queens for each other was already very great, and much inflamed by such warm reproaches. We shall hereafter see their consequences. Artaxerxes assembled a numerous army to receive his brother.¶

Cyrus advanced continually by great marches. What troubled him most on the way was the pass of Cilicia, which was a narrow defile between very high and steep mountains, that would admit no more than one carriage to pass at a time. Syennesis, king of the country, prepared to dispute this passage with him, and would infallibly have succeeded, but for the diversion made by Tamos with his fleet, in conjunction with that of the Lacedæmonians. To defend the coasts against the insults of the fleet, Syennesis abandoned that important post, which a small body of troops might have maintained against the greatest army.**

When they arrived at Tarsus, the Greeks refused to march any farther, rightly suspecting that they were intended against the king, and loudly exclaiming, that they

* A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401.

† By this knowledge of the magi, among the Persians, was meant the science of religion and government.

‡ Quærentes apud Cyrum gratiam; et apud Artaxerxem, si vicisset, venie patrociniâ. eum nihil adversus eum aperte decrevissent.—Justin. l. v. c. 11. § Xenoph. Cyri. Exped. l. i. p. 252. ¶ Xenoph. l. i. p. 48—291,

¶ Plut. in Artax. p 1014.

** Xenoph. l. p. 248—261.

had not entered into the service upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occasion for all his address and ability to stifle this commotion in its birth. At first he made use of authority and force, but with very ill success, and desisted therefore from an open opposition to their sentiments: he even affected to enter into their views, and to support them with his approbation and credit. He declared publicly, that he would not separate himself from them, and advised them to depute persons to the prince, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be led, that they might follow him voluntarily if they approved his measures; if not, that they might demand his permission to withdraw. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and pacified them; and they chose him and some other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had secretly apprised of every thing, made answer, that he was going to attack Abrocomas his enemy, at twelve days' march from thence upon the Euphrates.* When this answer was repeated to them, though they plainly saw against whom they were marching, they resolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, instead of one daric a month to each soldier, promised to give them one and a half.†

Some time after, Cyrus was informed that two of the principal officers, upon account of a private quarrel with Clearchus, had deserted with part of their equipage on board a merchant ship. Many were of opinion, that it was proper to send two galleys after them, which might be done with great ease; and that when they were brought back, they should be made an example, by suffering death in the sight of the whole army. Cyrus, convinced that favour‡ was the most certain means to the attainment of affection, and that punishments, like violent remedies, ought never to be used but in extreme necessity, declared publicly that he would not suffer it to be said that he had detained any one in his service by force; and added, that he would send them their wives and children, whom they had left as hostages in his hands. An answer of so much wisdom and generosity had a surprising effect: and even made those his firm adherents, who were before inclined to retire. This is an excellent lesson for all who govern. There is in the mind of man a fund of natural generosity, which it is necessary to know and apply. Threats exasperate them, and chastisement makes them revolt, when endeavours are used to force them to do their duty against their will. They desire a certain degree of confidence in their honour, and that the glory of acquitting themselves of it out of choice be left in their power. To show that you believe men faithful, is often the best means to make them so.§

Cyrus soon after declared, that he marched against Artaxerxes. Upon which some murmuring was heard at first; but it soon gave place to the expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises to the army.

As Cyrus advanced by long marches, he was informed from all parts, that the king did not intend to come directly to a battle, but had resolved to wait in the remote parts of Persia, till all his forces were assembled; and that to stop his enemies, he had ordered an entrenchment to be thrown up in the plains of Babylon, with a fosse five fathoms broad, and three deep, extending the distance of twelve || parasangas or leagues, from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the fosse a way had been left of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus passed with his whole army, having reviewed it the day before. The king had neglected to dispute this pass with him, and suffered him to continue his march towards Babylon. It was Tiribasis who determined him not to fly in such a manner before an enemy, against whom he had infinite advantages, as well from the number of his troops, as the valour of his generals. He resolved therefore to advance against the enemy.¶

SECTION II.—THE BATTLE OF CUNAXA. CYRUS IS KILLED.

THE place where the battle was fought, was called Cunaxa, about twenty-five leagues from Babylon.** The army of Cyrus consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, a hundred thousand barbarians, and twenty chariots armed with scythes. The enemy in horse and foot, might amount to about twelve hundred thousand, under four gene-

* It is not said where he commanded. It appears to have been upon the Euphrates. He marched with three hundred thousand men to join the king's army, but did not arrive till after the battle.

† The daric was worth £1 87½. ‡ Beneficis potius quam remediis ingenia experiiri placuit.—Plin. in Traj.

§ Nescio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos esse patitur, quam qui cogit.—Plin. Traj.

¶ Periumque habita fides ipsam obligat fidem.—Liv.

|| The parasanga is a measure peculiar to the Persians. It was commonly thirty stadia. Some were from twenty to sixty stadia. In the march of Cyrus's army, I suppose the parasanga only twenty stadia, for reasons I shall give hereafter.

¶ Plut. in Artax. p. 1014. Xenoph. l. i. p. 261—266.

** Five hundred stadia.

rals, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, Arbaces, and Abrocomas, without including six thousand chosen horse, that fought where the king was present, and never quitted his person. But Abrocomas, who had the command of three hundred thousand men, did not arrive till five days after the battle. In the king's army were only a hundred and fifty chariots armed with scythes.*

Cyrus believed, from the enemy's not having defended the pass at the fosse, that there would be no battle; so that the next day the army marched with great negligence. But on the third, Cyrus being in his chariot, with a few soldiers in their ranks before him, and the rest marching without any order, or having their arms carried for them, a horseman came in full speed, crying out as he passed, that the enemy approached in order of battle. Upon this, great confusion ensued, from the apprehension that they should not have time to draw up the army. Cyrus, leaping from his chariot, put on his arms immediately, and getting on horseback with his javelin in his hand, gave orders to the troops to stand to their arms, and fall into their ranks; which was executed with so much expedition, that the troops had not time to refresh themselves.

Cyrus posted upon his right a thousand Paphlagonian horse, supported by the Euphrates, and the light armed infantry of the Greeks; and next them, Clearchus, Proxenes, and the rest of the general officers after Menon, at the head of their several corps. The left wing, composed of Lydians, Phrygians, and other Asiatic nations, were commanded by Ariæus, who had a thousand horse. Cyrus placed himself in the centre, where the chosen troops of the Persians and other barbarians were posted. He had round him six hundred horsemen, armed at all points, as were their horses, with head and breast pieces. The prince's head was uncovered, as were those of all the Persians whose custom it was to give battle in that manner. The arms of all his people were red, and those of Artaxerxes were white.

A little before the onset, Clearchus advised Cyrus not to charge in person, but to cover himself in the rear of the Grecian battalions. "What is it you say?" replied Cyrus; "at the time I am endeavouring to make myself king, would you have me show myself unworthy of being so?" That wise and generous answer proves, that he knew the duty of a general, especially in a day of battle. Had he withdrawn, when his presence was most necessary, it would have argued his want of courage, and intimidated others. It is necessary, always preserving the due distinction between the leader and the troops, that their danger should be common, and no one exempted from it, lest the latter should be alarmed by a different conduct. Courage in an army depends upon example, upon the desire of being distinguished; the fear of dishonour, the incapacity of doing otherwise than the rest, and equality of danger. The retiring of Cyrus, would have either ruined, or greatly weakened all these potent motives, by discouraging both the officers and soldiers of his army. He thought, that being their general, it was incumbent on him to discharge all the functions of that office, and to show himself worthy to be the leader and soul of such a number of valiant men, ready to shed their blood for his service.

It was now noon; and the enemy did not yet appear. But about three o'clock a great dust like a white cloud arose, followed soon after by a darkness that overshadowed the whole plain, after which was seen the glittering of armour, lances, and standards. Tissaphernes commanded the left, which consisted of cavalry armed with white cuirasses, and of light-armed infantry: in the centre was the heavy-armed foot, a great part of which had bucklers made of wood, which covered the soldier entirely: these were Egyptians. The rest of the light-armed infantry and of the horse formed the right wing. The foot were drawn up by nations, with as much depth as front; and in that order formed square battalions. The king had posted himself in the main body, with the flower of the whole army, and had six thousand horse for his guard, commanded by Artagerses. Though he was in the centre, he was beyond the left wing of the army of Cyrus; so much did the front of his own exceed that of the enemy in extent. A hundred and fifty chariots armed with scythes were placed in the front of the army, at some distance from one another. The scythes were fixed to the axle downwards and aslant, so as to cut down and overthrow all before them.

As Cyrus relied very much on the valour and experience of the Greeks, he ordered Clearchus, as soon as he had beat the enemies in his front, to take care to incline to his left, and fall upon the centre where the king was posted; the success of the battle

* Xenoph. in exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263—266. Diod. l. xiv. p. 253, 254. Plut. p. 1014—1017.

depending upon that attack. But Clearchus, finding it very difficult to make his way through so great a body of troops, replied that he need not be concerned but that he would take care to do what was necessary.

The enemy in the mean time advanced slowly in good order; Cyrus marched in the space between the two armies, the nearest to his own, and considered both of them with great attention. Xenophon perceiving him, rode directly up to him, to know whether he had any farther orders to give. He called out to him that the sacrifices were favourable, and that he should tell the troops so. He then hastened through the ranks to give his orders, and showed himself to the soldiers with such a joy and serenity in his countenance, as inspired them with new courage, and at the same time with an air of kindness and familiarity that excited their zeal and affection. It is not easy to comprehend what great effects a word, a kind manner, or a look from a general, will have upon a day of action; and with what ardour a common man will rush into danger, when he believes himself not unknown to his general, and thinks his valour will oblige him.

Artaxerxes moved on continually, though with a slow pace, and without noise and confusion. That good order and exact discipline extremely surprised the Greeks, who expected to see much hurry and tumult in so great a multitude, and to hear confused cries, as Cyrus had foretold them.

The armies were not distant from each other more than four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to sing the hymn of battle, and to march on, slowly at first, and with silence. When they came near the enemy, they set up great cries, striking their darts upon their shields to frighten their horse; and then moved all together, they rushed forwards upon the barbarians with all their force, who did not wait their charge, but turned their backs, and fled universally, except Tissaphernes, who stood his ground with a small part of his troops.

Cyrus saw with pleasure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by those around him. But he did not give himself up to a vain joy, nor as yet reckon himself victor. He perceived that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank, and marched directly against him with his six hundred horse. He, with his own hand, killed Artagerses, who commanded the king's guards of six thousand horse, and put the whole body to flight. Discovering his brother, he cried out with his eyes sparkling with rage, "I see him," and spurred against him, followed only by his principal officers; for his troops, had quitted their ranks to pursue the fugitives, which was an essential fault.

The battle then became a single combat in some measure between Artaxerxes and Cyrus; and the two brothers were seen, transported with rage and fury, endeavouring, like Eteocles and Polynices, to plunge their swords into each other's hearts, and to assure themselves of the throne by the death of their rival.*

Cyrus having opened his way through those who were drawn up in battle before Artaxerxes reached him, and killed his horse, that fell with him to the ground. He rose and was remounted upon another; when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his last. The king, like a lion wounded by the hunters, was only the more furious from the smart, and sprung forwards impetuously pushing his horse against Cyrus, who running headlong, and without regard to his person, threw himself into the midst of a volley of darts, aimed at him from all sides, and received a wound from the king's javelin; at that instant all the rest discharged upon him. Cyrus fell dead; some say by the wound given him by the king; others affirm, that he was wounded by a Carian soldier. Mithridates, a young Persian nobleman, asserted that he had given him the mortal stroke with a javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. The greatest persons of his court, resolving not to survive so good a master, were all killed around his body; a certain proof, says Xenophon, that he well knew how to choose his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmest of all his adherents, fled with the left wing as soon as he heard of his death.

Artaxerxes, after having caused the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Mesabates, pursued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not stopped there; but having passed through it, continued his retreat to the place where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues distant.

* *Diod. l. xiv. p. 254.*

Tissaphernes, after the defeat of the greatest part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the rest against them, and by the side of the river, passed through the light armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him passage, and charged him as he passed, without losing a man. They were commanded by Episthenes of Amphipolis, who was esteemed an able captain. Tissaphernes kept on without returning to the charge, because he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to the camp of Cyrus, where he found the king, who was plundering it; but had not been able to force the quarter defended by the Greeks left to guard it, who saved their baggage.

The Greeks on their side, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what had passed elsewhere, each believed that they had gained the victory; the first because they had put the enemy to flight, and pursued them; and the king, because he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought, and plundered their camp. The event was soon cleared up on both sides. Tissaphernes, upon his arrival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and pursued it with great vigour; and the Greeks on their side learned that the king, in pursuing Cyrus's left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice the king rallied his troops, and marched in quest of the enemy; and Clearchus being returned from pursuing the Persians, advanced to support the camp.

The two armies were soon very near each other, when by a movement made by the king, he seemed to intend to charge the Greeks by their left, who, fearing to be surrounded on all sides, wheeled about, and halted with the river in their rear to prevent their being attacked in that direction. On seeing which, the king changed his form of battle also, drew up his army in front of them, and marched on to the attack. As soon as the Greeks saw him approach, they began to sing the hymn of battle, and advanced against the enemy even with more ardour than in the first action.

The barbarians again retired farther than before, and were pursued to a village at the foot of a hill, upon which their horse halted. The king's standard was observed to be there, which was a golden eagle upon the top of a pike, having its wings displayed. The Greeks preparing to pursue them, they abandoned also the hill, fled precipitately, with their troops entirely broken, and in the utmost disorder and confusion. Clearchus, having drawn up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lysias the Syracusan and another to go up to it, and observe what passed in the plain. They returned with an account that the enemies fled on all sides, and their whole army was routed.

As it was almost night, the Greeks laid down their arms to rest themselves, much surprised, that neither Cyrus nor any one from him, appeared; and imagining that he was either engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, or was making haste to possess himself of some important place, for they were still ignorant of his death, and the defeat of the rest of his army, they determined therefore to return to their camp, and found the greatest part of the baggage taken, with all the provisions, and four hundred wagons laden with corn and wine, which Cyrus had expressly caused to be carried along with the army, for the Greeks, in case of any pressing necessity. They passed the night in the camp, the greatest part of them without any refreshment, concluding that Cyrus was alive and victorious.

The success of this battle shows the superiority of valour and military knowledge over a multitude without them. The small army of the Greeks did not amount to more than twelve or thirteen thousand men; but they were veteran and disciplined troops, inured to fatigues, accustomed to confront dangers, sensible to glory, and who, during the long Peloponnesian war, had not wanted either time or means to acquire and complete themselves in the art of war, and the different orders of battle. The army of Artaxerxes was computed at a million of men; but they were soldiers only in name, without force, courage, discipline, experience, or any sense of honour. Hence it was, that as soon as the Greeks appeared, terror and disorder ensued among the enemy; and in the second action, Artaxerxes himself did not dare to wait their attack but shamefully betook himself to flight.

Plutarch here greatly blames Clearchus, the general of the Greeks, and imputes to him as an unpardonable neglect, his not having followed Cyrus's order, who recommended to him above all things, to incline, and charge Artaxerxes in person. This reproach seems groundless. It is not easy to conceive, how it was possible for that captain, who was posted on the right wing, to attack Artaxerxes immediately, who, in the centre of his own army, lay beyond the utmost extent of the enemy's left, as has been said before. It seems that Cyrus, depending as he did with great reason

upon the valour of the Greeks, and desiring they should charge Artaxerxes in his post, ought to have placed them in the left wing, which was directly opposite where the king was posted; that is to the main body, and not in the right, which was very remote from it.

Clearchus may indeed be reproached with having followed the pursuit too warmly and too long. If, after having thrown the left wing, which opposed him, into disorder, he had charged the rest of the enemy in flank, and had opened his way to the centre, where Artaxerxes was, it is highly probable that he had gained a complete victory, and placed Cyrus upon the throne. The six hundred horse of that prince's guard committed the same fault; and by pursuing the body of troops they had put to flight too eagerly, left their master almost alone, and abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; without considering, that they were chosen from the whole army for the immediate guard of his person, and for no other purpose whatever. Too much ardour is often prejudicial in a battle; and it is the duty of an able general to know how to restrain and direct it.

Cyrus himself erred highly in this respect, and abandoned himself too much to his blind passion for glory and revenge. In running headlong to attack his brother, he forgot that there is a wide difference between a general and a private soldier. He ought not to have exposed himself, but as it was consistent with a prince; as a head, not the hand; as the person who was to give orders, and not as those who were to execute them.

I speak in this manner after judges in the art of war; and would not choose to advance my own opinion upon things out of my sphere.

SECTION III.—EULOGY OF CYRUS.

XENOPHON gives us a magnificent character of Cyrus; and that, not upon the credit of others, but from what he saw and knew of him in his own person. "He was," says he, "in the opinion of all who were acquainted with him, after Cyrus the Great, a prince the most worthy of the supreme authority, and had the most noble and most truly royal soul. From his infancy he surpassed all of his own age in every exercise, whether it were in managing the horse, drawing the bow, throwing the dart, or in the chase, in which he distinguished himself once by fighting and killing a bear that attacked him. Those advantages were exalted in him by the nobleness of his air, an engaging aspect, and by all the graces of nature that conduce to commend merit.*

When his father had made him satrap of Lydia, and the neighbouring provinces, Great Phrygia and Capadocia, his chief care was to make the people sensible, that he had nothing so much at heart, as to keep his word inviolably, not only with regard to public treaties, but the most minute of his promises; a quality very rare among princes, but which however is the basis of all good government, and the source of their own, as well as their people's happiness. Not only the places under his authority, but the enemy themselves, reposed an entire confidence in him.

Whether good or ill were done him, he always desired to return it double, and that he might live no longer, as he said himself, than till he surpassed his friends in benefits, and his enemies in vengeance. (It had been more glorious for him to have overcome the latter by the force of favours and benevolence.) Nor was there ever a prince that his people were more afraid to offend, nor for whose sake they were more ready to hazard their possessions, lives, and fortunes.

Less intent upon being feared than beloved, his study was to make his greatness appear only where it was useful and beneficial, and to extinguish all sentiments, except those which flow from gratitude and affection. He was industrious to do good upon all occasions, to confer his favours with judgment and in season, and to show, that he thought himself rich, powerful, and happy, only as he made others sensible of his being so, by his benevolence and liberality. But he took care not to exhaust the means by an imprudent profusion. He did not lavish, but distributed his favours.† He chose rather to make his liberalities the rewards of merit, than mere donations; and that they should be subservient in promoting virtue, and not in supporting the soft and abject sloth of vice.

He was particularly pleased with conferring his favours upon valiant men; and governments and rewards were only bestowed on those who had distinguished them-

* De Exped. l. i. p. 266, 267.

† *Habebit sinum facilem non perforatum: ex quo multa exeant, nihil excidat.*—Senec. de Vit. Bast. 23 c.23.

selves by their actions. He never granted any honour or dignity to favour intrigue or faction, but to merit only; upon which depends not only the glory, but the prosperity of governments. By these means he soon made virtue estimable, and the pursuit of men, and rendered vice contemptible and horrid. The provinces, animated with a noble emulation to deserve, furnished him, in a very short time, with a considerable number of excellent subjects of every kind, who under a different government would have remained unknown, obscure and useless.

Never did any one know how to oblige with a better grace, or to win the hearts of those who could serve him with more engaging behaviour. As he was fully sensible that he stood in need of the assistance of others for the execution of his designs, he thought justice and gratitude required that he should render his adherents all the services in his power. All the presents made him, whether of splendid arms or rich apparel, he distributed among his friends, according to their several tastes or occasions: and used to say, that the brightest ornament and most exalted riches of a prince, consisted in adorning and enriching those who served him well. "In fact," says Xenophon, "to do good to one's friends, and to excel them in liberality, does not seem so admirable in so high a fortune; but to transcend them in goodness of heart and sentiments of friendship and affection, and to take more pleasure in conferring than receiving obligations; in this I find Cyrus truly worthy of esteem and admiration. The first of these advantages he derives from his rank; and the other from himself, and his intrinsic merit."

By these extraordinary qualities he acquired the universal esteem and affection, as well of the Greeks as barbarians. A great proof of what Xenophon here says, is, that none ever quitted the service of Cyrus for the king's; whereas great numbers went over daily to him from the king's party after the war was declared; and even of such as had most influence at the court, because they were all convinced that Cyrus knew best how to distinguish and reward their services.

It is most certain that young Cyrus did not want great virtues, and a superior merit; but I am surprised that Xenophon, in drawing his character, has described only the most beautiful features, and such as are proper to excite our admiration of him, without saying the least word of his defects, and especially of that immoderate ambition that was the soul of all his actions, and which at length put arms into his hands against his elder brother and king. Is it allowable in a historian, whose chief duty it is to paint virtue and vice in their proper colours, to relate at large an enterprise of such a nature, without intimating the least dislike or imputation against it? But with the pagans, ambition was so far from being considered as a vice, that it often passed for a virtue.

SECTION IV.—THE KING IS FOR COMPELLING THE GREEKS TO DELIVER UP THEIR ARMS.

THE Greeks having learned the day after the battle, that Cyrus was dead, sent deputies to Ariæus the general of the barbarians, who had retired with his troops to the place from whence they had marched the day before the action, to offer him, as victor, the crown of Persia in the room of Cyrus. At the same time arrived Persian heralds at arms from the king, to summon them to deliver up their arms; to whom they answered with a haughty air, that they used a strange language to conquerors; that if the king would have their arms, he might come and take them if he could; but that they would die before they would part with them; that if he would receive them into the number of his allies, they would serve him with fidelity and valour; but if he imagined to reduce them into slavery as conquered, he might know they had wherewithal to defend themselves, and were determined to lose their lives and liberty together.* The heralds added, that they had orders to tell them, that if they continued in the place where they were, they would be allowed a suspension of arms; but that if they advanced or retired, they would be treated as enemies. The Greeks after having consulted among themselves, were asked by the heralds what answer they should report. "Peace in continuing here or war in marching," replied Clearchus, without explaining himself farther; from the view of keeping the king always in suspense and uncertainty.†

The answer of Ariæus to the Grecian deputies was, that there were many Persians more considerable than himself, who would not suffer him upon the throne, and that

* *Sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et juventutem, et promptum liberati aut ad mortem animam.*—Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 46.

† Xenophon, in *Exped. Cyr.* l. ii. p. 272—292. Diod. l. xiv. p. 255—257.

should set out early the next day to return to Ionia; that if they would march thither with him, they might join him in the night. Clearchus, with the advice of the officers prepared to depart. He commanded from thenceforth, as being the sole person of sufficient capacity; for he had not been actually elected general in chief.

The same night, Mithocytes the Thracian, who commanded forty horse, and about three hundred foot of his own country, went and surrendered himself to the king; the rest of the Greeks began their march under the conduct of Clearchus, and arrived about midnight at the camp of Ariæus. After they had drawn up in battle, the principal officers waited on him at his tent, where they swore alliance with him; and the barbarian engaged to conduct the army without fraud. In confirmation of the treaty, they sacrificed a wolf, a ram, a boar, and a bull; the Greeks dipped their swords, and the barbarians the point of their javelins, in the blood of the victims.

Ariæus did not think proper to return by the same route they came; because, having found nothing for their subsistence the last seventeen days of their march, they must have suffered much more had they taken the same way back again. He therefore took another; exhorting them only to make long marches at first, in order to evade the king's pursuit; which they could not otherwise effect. Towards evening, when they were not far from some villages where they proposed to halt, the scouts came in with advice that they had seen several equipages and convoys, which made it reasonable to suppose that the enemy were not far off: upon which they stood their ground, and waited their coming up; and the next day before sun-rise, drew up in the same order as in the preceding battle. So bold an appearance terrified the king, who sent heralds, not to demand as before the surrender of their arms, but to propose peace and a treaty. Clearchus, who was informed of their arrival while he was busy in drawing up his troops, gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them that he was not yet at leisure to hear them. He assumed purposely an air of haughtiness and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and at the same time to show the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the most showy of his officers, expressly chosen for the occasion, and had heard what the heralds had to propose, he made answer, that they must begin with giving battle, because the army, being in want of provisions, had no time to lose. The heralds, having carried back this answer to their master, returned immediately; which showed that the king, or whoever spoke in his name, was not very distant. They said they had orders to conduct them to villages, where they should find provisions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

The army staid there three days, during which Tissaphernes arrived from the king with the queen's brother, and three other Persian grandees, attended by a great number of officers and domestics. After having saluted the generals, who advanced to receive him, he told them by his interpreter, that being a neighbour of Greece, and seeing them engaged in dangers out of which it would be difficult to extricate themselves, he had used his good offices with the king to obtain permission to reconduct them into their own country; being convinced, that neither themselves nor their cities would ever be unmindful of that favour; that the king, without having declared himself positively upon that head, had commanded him to come to them, to know for what cause they had taken arms against him; and he advised them to make the king such an answer as might not give any offence, and might enable him to do them service. "We call the gods to witness," replied Clearchus, "that we did not enlist ourselves to make war with the king, or to march against him. Cyrus concealing his true motives under different pretexts, brought us almost hither without explaining himself, the better to surprise you. And when we saw him surrounded with dangers, we thought it infamous to abandon him, after the favours we had received from him. But as he is dead, we are released from our engagement, and neither desire to contest the crown with Artaxerxes, nor to ravage his country, provided he does not oppose our return. However, if we are attacked, we shall endeavour, with the assistance of the gods, to make a good defence; and shall not be ungrateful in regard to those who render us any service." Tissaphernes replied, that he would let the king know what they said, and return with his answer. But his not coming the next day gave the Greeks some anxiety: he however arrived on the third, and told them, that after much controversy, he had at length obtained the king's grace for them: for that it had been represented to the king, that he ought not to suffer people to return with impunity into their own country, who had been so insolent as to come thither to make war upon him. "In fine," said he, "you may now assure yourselves of not finding

any obstacles to your return, and of being supplied with provisions, or suffered to buy them: and you may judge that you are to pass without committing any disorders in your march, and that you are to take only what is necessary, provided you are not furnished with it." These conditions were sworn to on both sides. Tissaphernes and the queen's brother gave their hands to the colonels and captains, in token of amity. After which Tissaphernes withdrew, to dispose his affairs; promising to return as soon as they would admit, in order to go back with them into his government.

The Greeks waited for him above twenty days, continuing encamped near Ariæus, who received frequent visits from his brothers and other relations, as did the officers of his army, from the Persians of the different party; who assured them from the king of an entire oblivion of the past; so that the friendship of Ariæus for the Greeks appeared to cool every day more and more. This change gave them cause of uneasiness. Several of the officers went to Clearchus and the other generals, and said to them, "What do we here any longer? Are we not sensible that the king desires to see us all perish, that others may be terrified by our example? Perhaps he keeps us waiting here, till he re-assembles his dispersed troops, or sends to seize the passes in our way; for he will never suffer us to return into Greece, to divulge our own glory and his shame." Clearchus made answer to this discourse, that to depart without consulting the king, was to break with him, and declare war by violating the treaty; that they should remain without a conductor, in a country where nobody would supply them with provisions; that Ariæus would abandon them; and that even their friends would become their enemies; that he did not know but there might be other rivers to pass; and that, though the Euphrates were the only one, they would not get over it, were the passage ever so little disputed: that if it were necessary to come to a battle, they should find themselves without cavalry against an enemy that had a very numerous and excellent body of horse; so that if they gained the victory, they could make no great advantage of it, and if they were overcome, they were utterly and irretrievably lost. "Besides, why should the king, who has so many other means to destroy us, engage his word only to violate it, and thereby render himself execrable in the sight of gods and men!"

Tissaphernes however arrived with his troops, in order to return into his government; and they set forward all together under the conduct of that satrap, who supplied them with provisions. Ariæus, with his troops, encamped with the barbarians, and the Greeks separately at some distance, which kept up a continual distrust among them. Besides which, there happened frequent quarrels, for wood or forage, that augmented their aversion for each other. After three days' march, they arrived at the wall of Media; which is one hundred feet high, twenty broad, and twenty leagues* in extent, all built of bricks, cemented with bitumen, like the walls of Babylon, from which it was not very distant at one of its extremities. When they had passed it, they marched eight leagues in two days, and came to the river Tigris, after having crossed two of its canals, cut expressly for watering the country. They then passed the Tigris upon a bridge of twenty-seven boats near Sitacum, a very great and populous city.† After four days' march, they arrived at another city, very powerful also, called Opis. They found there a bastard brother of Artaxerxes with a very considerable body of troops which he was bringing from Susa and Ecbatana to his aid. He admired the fine order of the Greeks. From thence, having passed the deserts of Media, they came, after a march of six days, to a place called the lands of Parysatis; the revenues of which appertained to that princess. Tissaphernes, to insult the memory of her son Cyrus, so dearly beloved by her, gave the villages to be plundered by the Greeks. Continuing their march through the desert on the side of the Tigris, which they had on their left, they arrived at Cænæ, a very great and rich city, and from thence at the river Zabates.

The occasions of distrust increased every day between the Greeks and barbarians. Clearchus thought it incumbent on him to come to a final explanation with Tissaphernes. He began by observing the sacred and inviolable nature of the treaties subsisting between them. "Can a man," said he, "conscious of the guilt of perjury, be capable of living at ease? How would he shun the wrath of the gods, the witnesses of treaties, and escape their vengeance, whose power is universal?" He

* Twenty parasangas.

† The march of the Greeks, and the rest of the army, from the day after the battle till the passing of the Tigris, abounds in the text of Xenophon with very great obscurities, to explain which fully, requires a longer dissertation. My plan does not permit me to enter into such discussions, which I must therefore refer to those who are more able than I am.

added afterwards many things to prove that the Greeks were obliged by their own interests to continue faithful to him, and that by renouncing his alliance, they must first inevitably renounce, not only all religion, but reason and common sense. Tissaphernes seemed to relish this discourse, and spoke to him with all the appearance of the most perfect sincerity; insinuating at the same time, that some person had done him bad offices with him. "If you will bring your officers hither," said he, "I will show you those who have wronged you in their representations." He kept him to support, and professed more friendship for him than ever.

The next day, Clearchus proposed in the assembly, to go with the several commanders of the troops to Tissaphernes. He suspected Menon in particular, whom he knew to have had a secret conference with the satrap in the presence of Ariæus; besides which, they had already differed several times with each other. Some objected that it was not proper that all the generals should go to Tissaphernes, and that it did not consist with prudence to rely implicitly upon the professions of a barbarian. But Clearchus continued to insist, upon what he had moved, till it was agreed, that the four other commanders, with twenty captains, and about two hundred soldiers, under the pretext of buying provisions in the Persian camp, where there was a market, should be sent along with him. When they came to the tent of Tissaphernes, the five commanders, Clearchus, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates, were suffered to enter; but the captains remained without at the door. Immediately, on a certain signal before agreed on, those within were seized and the others put to the sword. Some Persian horse afterwards scoured the country, and killed all the Greeks they met, whether freemen or slaves. Clearchus and the other generals, were sent to the king, who ordered their heads to be struck off. Xenophon describes with sufficient extent the characters of these officers.

Clearchus was valiant, bold, intrepid, and of a capacity for forming great enterprises. His courage was not rash, but directed by prudence, and retained all the coolness of his temper and presence of mind in the midst of the greatest dangers. He loved the troops, and let them want for nothing. He knew how to make them obey him, but out of fear. His mein was awful and severe; his language rough; his punishment instant and rigorous: he gave way sometimes to passion, but presently came to himself, and always chastised with justice. His great maxim was, that nothing could be done in an army without a severe discipline; and from him came the saying, that a soldier ought to fear his general more than the enemy. The troops esteemed his valour, and did justice to his merit; but they were afraid of his humour, and did not love to serve under him.* "In a word," says Xenophon, "the soldiers feared him as scholars do a severe pedagogue." We may say of him with Tacitus, that by an excess of severity, he made what had otherwise been well done by him unamiable; "Cupidine severitatis in his etiam quæ rite faceret, acerbis."†

Proxenes was of Bœotia. From his infancy he aspired to great objects, and was industrious to make himself capable of them. He spared no means for the attainment of instruction, and was the disciple of Gorgias the Leontine, a celebrated rhetorician; who sold his lectures at a very high price. When he found himself capable of commanding, and of doing good to his friends, as well as of being served by them, he entered into the service of Cyrus with the view of advancing himself. He did not want ambition, but would take no other path to glory than that of virtue. He would have been a perfect captain, if he had had to act with none but brave and disciplined men, and it had been only necessary to be beloved. He was more apprehensive of being in the displeasure of his soldiers than his soldiers in his. He thought it sufficient for a commander to praise good actions, without punishing bad ones; for which reason, he was beloved by the worthy; but those of a different character abused his gentleness. He died at thirty years of age.

Could the two great persons we have here drawn, after Xenophon, have been moulded into one, something perfect might have been made of them; retrenching their several defects, and retaining only their virtues;‡ but it rarely happens, that the same man, as Tacitus says of Agricola, behaves according to the exigency of times and circumstances, sometimes with gentleness, and sometimes with severity, without lessening his authority by the former, or the affection of the people by the latter.§

* Manebat admiratio viri et fama; sed oderunt.—Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 68. † Tacit. Annual. c. lxxv.

‡ Egregium principatus temperamentum, si, demptis utriusque vitiis, solæ virtutes miscerentur.—Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 5.

§ Pro variis temporibus ac negotiis severus et comis nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritæ tem, aut severitas amorem, diminuit.—Tacit in Agric. c. ix.

Menon was a Thessalian, avaricious and ambitious, but ambitious only from the motive of avarice, pursuing honour and estimation for the mere lucre of money. He courted the friendship of the great, and persons in authority, that he might have it in his power to commit injustice and oppression with impunity. To obtain his ends, all means with him were virtue; falsehood, fraud, perjury; while sincerity and integrity of heart were by him esteemed weakness and stupidity. He loved nobody; and if he professed friendship, it was only to deceive. As others made their glory consist in religion, probity, and honour, he valued himself upon injustice, deceit, and treachery. He gained the favour of the great by false reports, whispering with calumny, and that of the soldiery by licence and impunity. In fine, he endeavoured to render himself terrible by the mischief it was in his power to do, and imagined he favoured those to whom he did none.

I had thought to have retrenched these characters, which interrupt the thread of the history, but as they are a lively image of the manners of men, which in all times are the same, I thought retaining them would neither be useless nor disagreeable to the reader.

SECTION V.—RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS FROM THE PROVINCE OF BABYLON TO TREBISOND.

THE generals of the Greeks having been seized, and the officers who attended them massacred, the troops were in the highest consternation. They were five or six hundred leagues from Greece, surrounded with great rivers and hostile nations, without any supplies of provisions. In this state of general dejection, they could not think of taking either nourishment or repose. In the middle of the night, Xenophon, a young Athenian, but of prudence and capacity superior to his years, went to some of the officers, and represented to them, that they had no time to lose; that it was of the last importance to prevent the bad designs of the enemy; that however small their number, they would render themselves formidable, if they behaved with boldness and resolution; that valour and not multitude determines the success of arms; and that it was necessary above all things to nominate generals immediately; because an army without commanders is like a body without a soul. A council was immediately held, at which a hundred officers were present, and Xenophon being desired to speak, deduced the reasons at large which he had first but lightly touched upon; and by his advice commanders were appointed. They were, Timasion for Clearchus, Zanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Agias, Philesius for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.*

Before the break of day, they assembled the army. The generals made speeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon among the rest. "Fellow soldiers," said he, "the loss of so many brave men by vile treachery, and the being abandoned by our friends, is very deplorable: but we must not sink under our misfortunes; and if we cannot conquer, let us choose rather to perish gloriously, than to fall into the hands of barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greatest miseries. Let us call to mind the glorious battles of Plateæ, Thermopylæ, Salamin, and the many others wherein our ancestors, though with a small number, have fought and defeated the innumerable armies of the Persians, and thereby rendered the name alone of Greek for ever formidable. It is to their invincible valour we owe the honour we possess, of acknowledging no masters upon earth but the gods, nor any happiness but what consists with liberty. Those gods, the avengers of perjury, and witnesses of the enemy's treason, will be favourable to us; and as they are attacked in the violation of treaties, and take pleasure in humbling the proud and exalting the low, they will also follow us to battle, and combat for us. For the rest, fellow-soldiers, as we have no refuge but in victory, which must be our hope, and will make us ample amends for whatever it costs to attain it; I should believe, if it were your opinion, that for making a more ready and less difficult retreat, it would be very proper to rid ourselves of all the useless baggage, and to keep only what is absolutely necessary in our march." All the soldiers that moment lifted up their hands, to signify their approbation and consent to all that had been said, and without loss of time set fire to their tents and carriages; such of them as had too much equipage giving it to others who had too little, and destroying the rest.

It was resolved to march the army without tumult or violence, if their return was not opposed; but otherwise to force themselves a passage through the enemy. They

* Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. iii. et iv.

began their march in the form of a great hollow square, with the baggage in the centre. Chrisophus the Lacedæmonian had the vanguard: two of the oldest captains the right and left; and Timasion with Xenophon were posted in the rear, as the youngest officers. The first day was difficult; because, having neither horse nor slingers, they were extremely harassed by a detachment sent against them: but they provided against inconvenience by following Xenophon's advice. They chose two hundred men out of the Rhodians in the army, whom they armed with slings, and augmented their pay for their encouragement. They could throw as far again as the Persians, because they discharged balls of lead, and the others made use of large flints. They mounted also a squadron of fifty men upon the horses intended for the baggage, and supplied their places with other beasts of burden. By the means of this supply, a second detachment of the enemy were very severely handled.

After some days' march, Tissaphernes appeared with all his forces. He contented himself with harassing the Greeks, who moved on continually. The latter observing the difficulty of retreating in a hollow square in the face of the enemy, from the unevenness of ground, hedges, and other obstacles, which might oblige them to break it, changed their order of battle, and marched in two columns, with the little baggage they had in the space between them. They formed a body of reserve of six hundred chosen men, whom they divided into six companies, and sub-divided by fifties and tens to facilitate their motions according to occasion. When the columns came close to each other, they either remained in the rear, or filed off upon the flanks on both sides, to avoid disorder; and when they opened, they fell into the void space in the rear between the columns. Upon any occasion of attack, they immediately ran where it was necessary. The Greeks stood several charges; but they were neither considerable, nor attended with much loss.

They arrived at the river Tigris. As its depth would not admit them to pass it without boats, they were obliged to cross the Carducian mountains; because there was no other way, and the prisoners reported, that from thence they would enter Armenia, where they might pass the Tigris at its source, and afterwards the Euphrates, not very distant from it. To gain these defiles before the enemy could seize them, it was thought proper to set forwards in the night, in order to arrive at the foot of the mountains by the break of day; which was done accordingly. Chrisophus continued at the head of the advanced guard, with the troops armed with missive weapons, besides his ordinary corps, and Xenophon in the rear, with only the heavy-armed soldiers, because at that time there was nothing to fear on that side. The inhabitants of the country had taken possession of several of the heights, from whence it was necessary to drive them, which could not be done without great dander and difficulty.

The officers having held a council of war, were of opinion, that it was proper to leave behind them all the beasts of burden not absolutely necessary, with all the slaves lately taken; because they would retard their march too much in the great defiles they had to pass; besides which, it required a greater quantity of provisions to support them, and those who had the care of the beasts were useless in flight. That regulation was executed without delay; and they continued their march, sometimes fighting, and sometimes halting. The passing of the mountains, which took up seven days, fatigued the troops exceedingly, and occasioned some loss; but at length they arrived at villages where they found provisions in abundance, and rested some days to recover the severe fatigues the army had suffered; in comparison with which, all they had undergone in Persia was trivial.

They found themselves soon after exposed to new danger. Almost at the foot of the mountains, they came to a river, two hundred feet in breadth, called Centrites, which stopped their march. They had to defend themselves against the enemy, who pursued them in the rear, and the Armenians, the soldiers of the country, who defended the opposite side of the river. They attempted in vain to pass it in a place where the water came up to their arm-pits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, which the weight of their arms made them unable to resist. By good fortune they discovered another place not so deep, where some soldiers had seen the people of the country pass. It required abundance of address, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both sides of them. The army, however, passed the river at length without much loss.

* The French translator of Xenophon says, "he held the king's stirrup when he got on horseback," without considering that the ancients used none.

They marched afterwards with less interruption; passed the source of the Tigris, and arrived at the little river Teleboa, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the western Armenia, which was governed by Tiribasus, a satrap much beloved by the king, and who had the honour to help him to mount on horseback when at the court.* he offered to let the army pass, and to suffer the soldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition that they should commit no ravages in their march; which proposal was accepted, and ratified on each side. Tiribasus kept always a flying camp at a small distance from the army. There fell a great quantity of snow which gave the troops some inconvenience; and they learned from a prisoner, that Tiribasus had a design to attack the Greeks at a pass of the mountains, in a defile through which they must necessarily march. They prevented him by seizing that post, after having put the enemy to flight. After some days' march through deserts, they passed the Euphrates near its source, not having the water above their middles.

They suffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented respiration; so that it was thought necessary to sacrifice to the wind, upon which it seemed to abate. They marched on in snow five or six feet deep, which killed several servants and beasts of burden, besides thirty soldiers. They made fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day, they continued their march through the snow; when many of them, from the excess of hunger, followed with langour or fainting, continued lying upon the ground, through weakness and want of spirits. When something had been given them to eat, they found themselves relieved, and continued their march.

The enemy still pursued them; many of whom, overtaken by the night, remained on the way without fire or provisions, so that several died of their hardships, and the enemy who followed them took some baggage. Some soldiers were also left behind, who had lost their sight, and others their toes, by the snow. Against the first evil it was good to wear something black before the eyes: and against the other, to keep the legs always in motion, and to bare the feet at night. Arriving in a more commodious place, they dispersed themselves into the neighbouring villages, to recover and repose after their fatigues. The houses were built under ground, with an opening at top, like a well, through which the descent was by a ladder; but there was another entrance for cattle. They found there, sheep, cows, goats, poultry; with wheat, barley, and pulse; and for drink, there was beer, which was very strong, when not mingled with water, but was agreeable to those who were used to it. They drank this with a reed out of the vessels that held the beer, upon which they saw the barley swim. The master of the house where Xenophon lay, received him very kindly, and even showed him where he had concealed some wine; besides which, he made him a present of several horses. He taught him also to fasten a kind of hurdles to their feet, and to do the same to the other beasts of burden, to prevent their sinking in the snow; without which, they would have been up to the girth in it at every step. The army, after having rested seven days in these villages, resumed their route.

After a march of seven days, they arrived at the river Araxes, called also the Phasus, which is about one hundred feet in breadth. Two days after, they discovered the Phasians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the pass of the mountains, to prevent their descending into the plain. They saw it was impossible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and resolved to give it the same day. Xenophon, who had observed that the enemy defended only the ordinary passage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, proposed sending a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the enemy; which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all suspicion of their design by a march in the night, and by making a false attack by the main road, to amuse the barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the pass cleared.

They crossed the country of the Chalybes, who were the most valiant of all the barbarians in those parts. When they killed an enemy, they cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph, singing and dancing. They kept themselves close shut up in their cities; and when the army marched, fell suddenly upon the rear, after having carried every thing of value in the country into places of safety. After twelve or fifteen days' march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence

* The French translator of Xenophon says, "he held the king's stirrup when he got on horseback," without considering that the ancients used none.

they descried the sea. The first who perceived it, raised great shouts of joy for a considerable time; which caused Xenophon to imagine that the vanguard was attacked, and go up with all haste to support it. As he approached nearer, the cry of "the sea! the sea!" was heard distinctly, and the alarm changed into joy and gayety; and when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confused noise of the whole army crying out together, "the sea! the sea!" while they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers. And then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of stones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

From thence they advanced to the mountains of Colchis, one of which was higher than the rest; and of that the people of the country had possessed themselves. The Greeks drew up in order of battle at the bottom of it to ascend, for the access was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but by files; because the soldiers could not keep their ranks from the inequality of the ground, being in some places easy, and in others difficult to climb, which might discourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it. The heavy armed troops amounted to eighty files, each consisting of about one hundred men, with eighteen hundred light-armed soldiers, divided into three bodies, one of which was posted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the centre. After having encouraged his troops, by representing to them that this was the last obstacle they had to surmount, and implore the assistance of the gods, the army began to ascend the hill. The enemy were not able to support their charge, and dispersed. They passed the mountain and encamped in villages, where they found provisions in abundance.

A very strange accident happened there to the army, which threw them into great consternation. For the soldiers finding abundance of bee hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomitings and fluxes, attended with raving fits: so that those who were the least ill, seemed like drunken men, and the rest either furiously mad or dying. The earth was strewed with their bodies as after a defeat; however, none of them died, and the distemper ceased the next day about the same hour it had taken them. The third or fourth day the soldiers got up, but in the condition people are in after having taken a violent medicine.

Two days after, the army arrived near Trebisond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, situated upon the Euxine or Black Sea, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themselves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain a happy return into their own country. They also celebrated the games of the horse and foot races, wrestling, boxing, and the pancratiun; the whole attended with the greatest joy and solemnity.

SECTION VI.—THE GREEKS ARRIVED UPON THE SEA COAST OPPOSITE TO BYZANTIUM.
XENOPHON JOINS THIMBRON.

AFTER having offered sacrifices to the several divinities, and celebrated the games, they deliberated upon the proper measures for their return into Greece.* They concluded on going thither by sea; and for that purpose Chirisophus offered to go to Anaxibius, the admiral of Sparta, who was his friend, to obtain ships from him. He set out directly; and Xenophon regulated the order it was necessary to observe, and the precautions to be taken for the security of the camp, provisions, and forage. He believed it also proper to make sure of some vessels besides those that were expected, and made some expeditions against the neighbouring people.

As Chirisophus did not return so soon as was expected, and provisions began to be wanting, it was resolved to proceed by land; because there was not a sufficient number of ships to transport the whole army, and those which the precaution of Xenophon had procured, were allotted to carry the women, the old and sick men, with all the unnecessary baggage. The army continued its march, and lay ten days at Cerasus,† where there was a general review of the troops, who were found to amount to eight thousand six hundred men, out of about ten thousand; the rest having died in the retreat, of their wounds, fatigues, or diseases.

During the short time the Greeks remained in these parts several disputes arose with the inhabitants of the country as well as with some of the officers, who were

* Xenoph. l. iii.

† The city of Cerasus became famous on account of the cherry-trees, which Lucullus first brought into Italy, and which from thence have been dispersed all over the western world.

jealous of Xenophon's authority, and endeavoured to render him odious to the army. But his wisdom and moderation put a stop to these disorders; having made the soldiers sensible that their safety depended upon preserving union and a good understanding among themselves, and obedience to their generals.

From Cerasus they went to Cotyora, which is at no great distance from it. They there deliberated again upon the proper measures for their return. The inhabitants of the country represented the almost insuperable difficulties of going by land, from the defiles and rivers they had to pass, and offered to supply the Greeks with ships. This seemed the best expedient; and the army embarked accordingly. They arrived the next day at Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, and a colony of the Milesians. Chirisophus repaired thither with galleys, but without money, though the troops expected to receive some. He assured them that the army should be paid, as soon as they were out of the Euxine sea; and that their retreat was universally celebrated, and the subject of the discourse and admiration of all Greece.

The soldiers, finding themselves near enough to Greece, desired to make some booty before they arrived there, and with that view resolved to nominate a general with full authority; whereas, till then, all affairs were determined in the council of war by the plurality of voices. They cast their eyes upon Xenophon, and caused him to be desired to accept that office. He was not insensible of the honour of commanding in chief; but he foresaw the consequences, and desired time to consider. After having expressed the highest sense of gratitude for an offer so much to his honour, he represented, that to avoid jealousy and division, the success of affairs, and the interest of the army, seemed to require that they should choose a Lacedæmonian for their general; and that the Spartan state which at that time actually governed Greece, would, in consideration of that choice, be disposed to support them. This argument did not please them; and they objected to it, that they were far from intending a servile dependence upon Sparta, or to submit to regulate their enterprises by the pleasure or dislike of that state; and pressed him again to accept the command. He was then obliged to explain himself sincerely, and without evasion; and declared, that having consulted the gods by sacrifice, upon the offer they made him, they had manifested their will by evident signs, from which it appeared that they did not approve their choice. It was surprising to see the impression which the sole mention of the gods made upon the soldiers, otherwise very warm and tenacious; and who besides are commonly but little affected with motives of religion. Their great ardour abated immediately; and without making any reply, they proceeded to elect Chirisophus, though a Lacedæmonian, for their general.

His authority was of no long continuance. Discord, as Xenophon had foreseen, arose among the troops, who were angry that their general prevented their plundering the Grecian cities, by which they passed. This disturbance was principally excited by the Peloponnesians, who composed one half of the army, and could not see Xenophon, an Athenian, in authority, without pain. Different measures were proposed; but nothing being decided on, the troops divided themselves into three bodies, of which the Achæians and Arcadians, that is, the Peloponnesians, were the principal, amounting to four thousand five hundred heavy armed foot, with Lycon and Callimachus for their generals. Chirisophus commanded another party of about fourteen hundred men, besides seven hundred light armed infantry. Xenophon had the third, almost equal in number, of which three hundred were light armed soldiers, with about forty horse, which were all the cavalry of the army. The first having obtained ships from the people of Heraclea, a city of Pontus, to whom they had sent to demand them. set out before the rest to obtain some booty, and make a decent in the port of Calpe, Chirisophus, who was sick, marched by land; but without quitting the coast, Xenophon landed at Heraclea, and entered into the heart of the country.

New divisions arose. The inprudence of the troops and their leaders had involved them in difficulties, not without loss; from whence the address of Xenophon extricated them more than once. Being all re-united, after various success, they arrived by land at Chrysopolis in Caledonia, opposite to Byzantium, whither they repaired some days after, having passed the small arm of the sea which separates the two continents.— They were on the point of plundering that rich and powerful city, to revenge a fraud and injury which had been done them, and from the hope of enriching themselves at once; when Xenophon made all possible haste thither. He admitted the justness of their revenge; but he made them sensible of the fatal consequences which would attend it. "After your plundering this city, and destroying the Lacedæmonians es-

tablished in it, you will be deemed the mortal enemies of their republic, and of all their allies. Athens, my country, that had four hundred galleys at sea and in the arsenals, when it took up arms against them, great sums of money in its treasury, a revenue of a thousand talents, and was in possession of all the isles of Greece, and of many cities in Europe and Asia, of which this was one; has nevertheless been reduced to yield to their power, and submit to their sway. And do you, who are but a handful of men, hope, without generals, provisions, allies, or any resource, either from Tissaphernes, who has betrayed you, or the king of Persia, whom you have attempted to dethrone; can you hope, I say, in such a condition, to make head against the Lacedæmonians? Let us demand satisfaction from the Byzantines, and not avenge their fault by a much greater of our own, which must draw upon us inevitable ruin." He was believed, and the affair accommodated.

From thence he led them to Salmydessus, to serve Seuthes, prince of Thrace, who had before solicited him by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in order to re-establish him in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him.* He had made Xenophon great promises for himself and his troops; but when they had done him the service he wanted, he was so far from keeping his word, that he did not give them the pay agreed upon. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with this breach of faith; imputing his perfidy to his minister Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his master, by saving him a sum of money, at the expense of justice, faith and honesty; qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the most to his reputation, as well as to the success of affairs and the security of a state. But that treacherous minister, who looked upon honour, probity and justice, as mere chimeras, and that there was nothing real but the possession of much money, had no thought beyond that of enriching himself by any means whatever, and first robbed his master with impunity, and then all his subjects. "However," continued Xenophon, "every wise man, especially when in authority and command, ought to regard justice, probity, and the faith of engagements, as the most precious treasure he can possess, and assured resource, and as an infallible support, in all the events that can happen." Heraclides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner with regard to the troops, as he was a native of Greece, and not a Thracian; but avarice had extinguished all sense of honour in him.

While the dispute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmest, Charminus and Polynices arrived, as ambassadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republic had declared war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus; that Thimbron had already embarked with the troops, and promised a daric per month to every soldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who should engage in the service.—Xenophon accepted the offer; and having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the ambassadors, part of the pay due to him, he went by sea to Lampsacus with the army, which amounted at that time to almost six thousand men. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of Troas. Having met near Parthenia, where ended the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman returning into Persia, he took him, his wife and children, with all his equipage, and by that means found himself in a condition to bestow great liberalities among the soldiers, and to make them satisfactory amends for all the losses they had sustained. Thimbron at length arrived, who took upon him the command of the troops, and having joined them with his own, marched against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

Such was the event of the expedition of Cyrus.† Xenophon reckons from the first setting out of the army of that prince from the city of Ephesus, to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty parasangas or leagues, and ninety three days' march; and in their returns from the place of battle to Cotyora, a city upon the coast of the Euxine or Black Sea, six hundred and twenty parasangas or leagues, and a hundred and twenty days' march.‡ And adding both together, he says, the way, going and coming, was eleven, hundred and fifty-five§ parasangas or leagues, and two hundred and fifteen days' march; and that the whole time occupied by the army in performing that journey, including the days of rest, was fifteen months.||

It appears by this calculation, that the army of Cyrus marched daily, on an average, almost six parasangas or leagues in going, and only five in their re-

* Xenoph. l. vii.

† Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 276.

‡ Ibid. l. iii. p. 355.

§ I add five, which are left out in the text, to make the total agree with the two parts.

|| Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. vii. p. 427.

turn.* It was natural that Cyrus, who desired to surprise his brother, should use all possible diligence for that purpose.

This retreat of the ten thousand Greeks has always been esteemed among judges in the art of war, as I have already observed, a perfect model in its kind, and without a parallel. Indeed no enterprise could be formed with more valour and bravery, conducted with more prudence, nor executed with more success. Ten thousand men, five or six hundred leagues from their own country, who had lost their generals and best officers, and find themselves in the heart of the enemy's vast empire, undertake, in the sight of a victorious and numerous army, with their kings at the head of them, to retire through the seat of his empire, and in a manner from the gates of his palace; to traverse a vast extent of unknown countries, almost all in arms against them, without being dismayed by the prospect of the innumerable obstacles and dangers to which they were every moment opposed; passes of rivers, of mountains and defiles; open attacks; secret ambuscades from the people upon their route; famine, almost inevitable in vast and desert regions; and, above all, the treachery they had to fear from the troops who seemed to be employed in escorting them, but who in reality had orders to destroy them. For Artaxerxes, who was sensible how greatly the return of those Greeks into their country would disgrace him, and tarnish the glory of the empire in the sight of all nations, had left nothing undone to prevent it; and he desired their destruction, says Plutarch, more passionately than to conquer Cyrus himself, or to preserve the sovereignty of his estates. Those ten thousand men, however, notwithstanding so many obstacles, carried their point, and arrived, through a thousand dangers, victorious and triumphant, in their own country. Anthony long after, when pursued by the Parthians almost in the same country, finding himself in like danger, cried out in admiration of their invincible valour, "Oh! the retreat of the ten thousand!"†

It was the success of this famous retreat which filled the people of Greece with contempt for Artaxerxes, by demonstrating to them, that gold, silver, luxury, voluptuousness, and a numerous seraglio of women, were the only merit of the grand monarch; but, that as to the rest, his opulence and all his boasted power were only pride and vain ostentation. It was this prejudice, more general than ever in Greece, after this celebrated expedition, that gave birth to those bold enterprises of the Greeks, of which we shall soon treat, that made Artaxerxes tremble upon his throne and brought the Persian empire to the very brink of destruction.

SECTION VII.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE DEATH OF CYRUS. CRUELTY OF PARYSISIS. STATIRA POISONED.

I RETURN to what passed after the battle of Cunaxa, in the court of Artaxerxes.‡ As he believed that he killed Cyrus with his own hand, and looked upon that action as the most glorious of his life, he desired that all the world should think the same; and it was wounding him in the most tender point to dispute that honour, or endeavour to divide it with him. The Carian soldier, whom we mentioned before, not contented with the great presents the king had made him upon a different pretext, perpetually declared to all that would hear him, that none but himself had killed Cyrus, and that the king did him great injustice in depriving him of the glory due to him. The prince, upon being informed of that insolence, conceived a jealousy equally base and cruel, and had the weakness to cause him to be delivered to Parysatis, who had sworn the destruction of all who had any share in the death of her son. Animated by her barbarous revenge, she commanded the executioners to take the unfortunate wretch, and to make him suffer the most exquisite tortures during ten days; then, after they had torn out his eyes, to pour melted brass into his ears, till he expired in that cruel misery; which was accordingly executed.

Mithridates also, having boasted in an entertainment where he had become heated with the wine, that it was he who gave Cyrus his mortal wound, paid very dear for

* The parasanga is a measure peculiar to the Persians, and consists of three stadia. The stadium is equal with the Greek, and contains, according to the most received opinion, one hundred and twenty five geometrical paces; twenty of which in consequence are required to the common French league. And this has been my rule heretofore; according to which the parasanga is a league and a half.

† I observe here a great difficulty. In this calculation we find the ordinary days' marches of Cyrus, with an army of more than one hundred thousand men, would have been, one day with another, nine leagues, during so long a time, which, according to judges in military affairs, is absolutely impossible. This is what has determined me to compute the parasanga at no more than a league. Several authors have remarked, and indeed it is not to be doubted, that the stadium, and all the other measures of length of the ancients, have differed widely according to times and places, as they still do among us.

‡ Plut. in Artax. p. 1018—1021.

† Plut. in Anton. p. 937.

that sottish and imprudent vanity; he was condemned to suffer the punishment of the troughs,* one of the most cruel that was ever invented; and after having languished in torment during seventeen days, died at last in excruciating misery.

There only remained for the final execution of her project, and fully to satiate her vengeance, the punishment of the king's eunuch, Mesabates, who, by his master's order, had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus. But as there was nothing to take hold of in his conduct, Parysatis laid the following snare for him. She was a woman of great address, had abundance of wit, and excelled in playing at a certain game with dice. After the war, she was reconciled with the king, played often with him, was of all his parties, had an unbounded complaisance for him, and far from contradicting him in any thing, prevented his desires, did not blush at indulging his passions, and even at supplying him with the means of gratifying them. But she took a special care never to lose sight of him, and to leave Statira as little alone with him as she could, desiring to gain an absolute ascendancy over her son.

One day seeing the king entirely unemployed, and with no thoughts but of diverting himself, she proposed playing at dice with him for a thousand darics,† to which he readily consented. She suffered him to win, and paid down the money. But affecting regret and vexation, she pressed him to begin again, and to play with her for an eunuch. The king, who suspected nothing, complied, and they agreed to except five of the favourite eunuchs on each side, that the winner should take their choice out of the rest, and the loser be bound to deliver him. Having made these conditions, they sat down to play. The queen was all attention to the game, and made use of all her skill and address in it; besides which, the dice favoured her. She won, and chose Mesabates, for he was not one of the excepted. As soon as she got him into her hands, and before the king could have the least suspicion of the revenge she meditated, she delivered him to the executioners, and commanded them to flea him alive, to lay him afterwards upon three cross bars,‡ and to stretch his skin at large before his eyes upon two stakes prepared for that purpose, which was performed accordingly. When the king knew this, he was very sorry for it, and violently angry with his mother. But without giving herself any farther trouble about it, she told him with a smile, and in a jesting way, "really you are a great loser, and must be highly in the right, to be so much out of humour for a decrepit wretch of an eunuch, when I, who lost a thousand good darics, and paid them down upon the spot, do not say a word, and I am satisfied."

All these cruelties seem to have been only essays and preparations for greater crime, which Parysatis meditated. She had retained at heart a violent hatred for queen Statira, which she had suffered to escape her upon many occasions. She perceived plainly, that her influence with the king, her son, was only the effect of his respect and consideration for her as his mother; whereas that for Statira was founded in love and confidence, the best security of credit with him. What is the jealousy of an ambitious woman incapable of? She resolved to rid herself, whatever it might cost her, of so formidable a rival.

For the more certain attainment of her ends, she feigned a reconciliation with her daughter-in-law, and treated her with all the exterior marks of sincere friendship and real confidence. The two queens appearing therefore to have forgot their former suspicions and differences, lived well together, saw one another as before, and eat at each other's apartments. But as both of them knew how much the friendships and caresses of the court were to be relied upon, especially among the women, they were neither of them deceived in the other; and the same fears always subsisting, they kept upon their guard, and never eat but of the same dishes and pieces. Could one believe it possible to deceive so attentive and cautious a vigilance? Parysatis one day, when her daughter-in-law was at table with her, took an exquisitely delicious bird, that had been served up, cut it in two parts, gave one half to Statira, and eat the other herself. Statira soon after was seized with sharp pains, and having quitted the table, died in the most dreadful convulsions, not without inspiring the king with the most violent suspicions of his mother, of whose cruelty and implacable and revengeful spirit, he was sufficiently sensible before. He made the strictest inquiry into the crime. All his mother's officers and domestics were siezed and put to the question; when Gigis, one of the women and confidants of Parysatis, confessed the whole.

* See the description of this torture in Page 97 of this volume

† The daric was worth one dollar eighty seven and a half cents.

‡ Plutarch explains this circumstance no farther.

She had caused one side of a knife to be rubbed with poison; so that Parysatis having cut the bird in two, put the sound part into her own mouth directly, and gave Statira the other that was poisoned. Gygis was put to death after the manner in which the Persians punished prisoners, which was to lay their heads upon a great and very broad stone, and beat upon it with another till they were entirely crushed, and had no remains of their former figure. As for Parysatis, the king contented himself with confining her to Babylon, where she demanded to retire, and told her that he would never set his foot within it while she was there.

CHAPTER III.

THE principal contents of this chapter are, the enterprises of the Lacedæmonians in Asia Minor, their defeat at Cnidos, the re-establishment of the walls and power of Athens, the famous peace of Antalcides prescribed to the Greeks by Artaxerxes Mnemon, the wars of that prince against Evagoras, king of Cyprus, and the Cadusians. The persons who are most conspicuous in this interval are, Lysander and Agesilaus, on the side of the Lacedæmonians, and Conon on that of the Athenians.

SECTION I.—GRECIAN CITIES OF IONIA IMPLORE AID OF LACEDÆMON. AGESILAUS ELECTED KING. HIS CHARACTER.

THE cities of Ionia, that had taken part with Cyprus, apprehending the resentment of Tissaphernes, had applied to the Lacedæmonians, as the deliverers of Greece, for their support in the possession of the liberty they enjoyed, and to prevent their country from being ravaged. We have already said that Thimbron was sent thither, to whose troops Xenophon had joined his, after their return from Persia.* Thimbron was soon recalled upon some discontent, and had for his successor Dercyllidas, surnamed Sisypus, from his industry in finding resources, and his capacity in inventing warlike machines. He took upon him the command of the army at Ephesus. When he arrived there, he was apprised that there was a difference between the two satraps who commanded in the country.†

The provinces of the Persian monarchy, many of which, situated at the extremity of the empire, requiring too much application to be governed immediately by the prince, were confided to the care of the great lords, commonly called satraps. They had each of them in their government an almost sovereign authority, and were, properly speaking, not unlike the viceroys we see in our days in some neighbouring states. They were supplied with a number of troops sufficient for the defence of the country. They appointed all officers, disposed of the governments of cities, and were charged with levying and remitting the tributes to the prince. They had power to raise troops, to treat with neighbouring states, and even with the generals of the enemy; in a word, to do every thing necessary to the good order and tranquillity of their governments. They were independent of one another; and though they served the same master, and it was their duty to concur to the same ends, yet each being more desirous of the particular advantage of his own province, than the general good of the empire, they often differed among themselves, formed opposite designs, refused aid to their colleagues in necessity, and sometimes acted directly against them. The remoteness of the court, and the absence of the prince, gave room for these dissensions; and perhaps a secret policy contributed to keep them up, to elude or prevent conspiracies, which too good an understanding among the governors might have excited.

Dercyllidas having heard, therefore, that Tissaphernes and Pharnabasis were at variance, made a truce with the former; that he might not have them both upon his hands at the same time, he entered the province of Pharnabasis, and advanced as far as Æolia.

Zenis, the Dardanian, had governed that province under the satrap's authority; and as after his death it was to have been given to another, Mania, his widow, went to Pharnabasis with troops and presents, and told him, that having been the wife of a man who had rendered him great services, she desired him not to deprive her of her

* Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 479—487.

† A. M. 3605. Ant. J. C. 399.

husband's reward; that she should serve him with the same zeal and fidelity; and that if she failed in either, he was always at liberty to take her government from her. She was continued in it by this means, and acquitted herself with all the judgment and ability that could have been expected from the most consummate person in the art of governing. To the ordinary tributes which her husband had paid, she added presents of an extraordinary magnificence; and when Pharnabasis came into her province, she entertained him more splendidly than any of the other governors. She was not contented with the conservation of the cities committed to her care; she made new conquests, and took from the Lydians and Pisidians, Larissa, Amaxita, and Colona.

Hence we may observe that prudence, good sense, and courage, belong to both sexes. She was present in all expeditions in a chariot, and in person decreed rewards and punishments. None of the neighbouring provinces had a finer army than hers, in which she had a great number of Greek soldiers in her pay. She even attended Pharnabasis in all his enterprises, and was of no common support to him. So that the satrap, who knew all the value of so extraordinary a merit, did more honour to this lady than to all the other governors. He even admitted her into his council, and treated her with a distinction that might have excited jealousy, if the modesty and affability of that lady had not prevented bad effects, by throwing, in a manner, a veil over all her perfections, which softened their lustre, and let them appear only as objects of admiration.

She had no enemies but in her own family. Midias, her son-in-law, stung with the reproach of suffering a woman to command in his place, and abusing the entire confidence she reposed in him, which gave him access to her at all times, strangled her, with her son. After her death, he seized two fortresses, wherein she had secured her treasures; the other cities declared against him. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime. Dereyllidas happily arrived at this juncture. All the fortresses of Æolia, either voluntarily or by force, surrendered to him; and Midias was deprived of the possessions he had so unjustly acquired. The Lacedæmonian general having granted Pharnabasis a truce, took up his winter quarters in Bithynia, to avoid being chargeable to his allies.

The next year, being continued in the command, he marched into Thrace, and arrived at the Chersonesus.* He knew that the deputies of the country had been at Sparta to represent the necessity of fortifying the isthmus with a good wall against the frequent incursions of the barbarians, which prevented the cultivation of the lands. Having measured the space, which is more than a league in breadth, he distributed the work among the soldiers, and the wall was finished in the autumn of the same year. Within this space were enclosed eleven cities, several ports, a great number of arable lands and plantations, with pasture of all kinds. The work being finished, he returned into Asia, after having reviewed the cities, and found them all in good condition.

Conon the Athenian, after losing the battle of Ægospotamos, having condemned himself to a voluntary banishment, continued in the isle of Cyprus with king Evagoras, not only for the safety of his person, but in expectation of a change in affairs; "like one," says Plutarch, "who waits the return of the tide before he embarks." He had always in view the re-establishment of the Athenian power, to which his defeat had given a mortal wound; and full of fidelity and zeal for his country, though little favourable to him, perpetually meditated the means to raise it from its ruins, and restore it to its ancient splendour.†

The Athenian general, knowing that the success of his views required a powerful support, wrote to Artaxerxes to explain his projects to him, and ordered the person who carried his letter to apply himself to Ctesias, who would give it to the king. It was accordingly delivered to that physician, who, it is said, though he did not approve the contents of it, added to what Conon had wrote, "that he desired the king would send Ctesias to him, being a person very capable of his service, especially in maritime affairs." Pharnabasis, in concert with Conon, had gone to court to complain against the conduct of Tissaphernes, as too much in favour of the Lacedæmonians. Upon the warm instances of Pharnabasis, the king ordered five hundred talents‡ to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give Conon

* A.M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 390. Xenoph. p. 437, 438.

† Plut. in Artax. p. 1021.

‡ Five hundred thousand Collars.

the command of it. He sent Ctesias into Greece, who, after having visited Cnidus, his native country went to Sparta.*

This Ctesias was at first in the service of Cyrus, whom he had followed in his expedition. He was taken prisoner in the battle wherein Cyrus was killed, and was called on to dress the wounds which Artaxerxes had received, in which he acquitted himself so well, that the king retained him in his service, and made him his first physician. He passed several years in his service in that capacity. While he was there, the Greeks, upon all their occasions at the court, applied themselves to him; as Conon did on this. His long residence in Persia, and at the court, had given him the necessary time and means for his information in the history of the country, which he wrote in twenty-three books. The first contained the history of the Assyrians and Babylonians, from Ninus and Semiramis down to Cyrus. The other seventeen treated of the Persian affairs, from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus to the third year of the ninety fifth Olympiad, which agrees with the three hundred and ninety-eight before **JESUS CHRIST**. He wrote also a history of India. Photius has given us several extracts of both his histories, which are all that remain of Ctesias. He often contradicts Herodotus, and differs sometimes also from Xenophon. He was in no great estimation with the ancients, who spoke of him as a very vain man, whose veracity was not to be relied on, and who has inserted fables, and sometimes even lies, in his history.†

Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, though secretly each other's enemies, had upon the king's orders united their troops, to oppose, the enterprises of Dercyllidas, who had marched into Caria. They had reduced him to post himself so disadvantageously, that he must inevitably have perished had they charged him immediately, without giving him time to look about him. Pharnabazus was of this opinion: but Tissaphernes, apprehending the valour of the Greeks, who had been in the army of Cyrus, which he had experienced, and which he conceived would be equalled by the rest, proposed an interview, which was accepted. Dercyllidas having demanded that the Grecian cities should continue free, and Tissaphernes, that the army and generals of Lacedæmon should retire; they made a truce, till the answers of their respective masters should be known.‡

While these things passed in Asia, the Lacedæmonians resolved to chastise the insolence of the people of Elis, who, not content with having entered into an alliance with their enemies in the Peloponnesian war, prevented their disputing the prizes in the Olympic games. Upon pretence of the non-payment of a fine by Sparta, they had insulted their citizens during the games, and hindered Agis from sacrificing in the temple of Jupiter Olympus. That king was charged with this expedition, which did not terminate till the third year after. He could have taken their city Olympia, which had no works, but contented himself with plundering the suburbs, and the places for the exercises, which were very fine. They demanded peace, which was granted, and were suffered to retain the superintendency of the temple of Jupiter Olympus, to which they had not much right, but were more worthy of that honour than those who disputed it with them.§

Agis on his return, fell sick, and died on his arrival at Sparta. Almost divine honours were paid to his memory, and after the expiration of some days, according to the custom, Leotychides and Agesilaus, the former son and the latter brother of the deceased, disputed the crown.¶ The latter maintained that his competitor was not the son of Agis, and supported his assertion by the confession of the queen herself, who knew best, and who had often, as well as her husband, acknowledged as much. In fact there was a current report that he was the son of Alcibiades,¶ as has been related in its place, and that the Athenian general had corrupted her by a present of a thousand darics.** Agis protested the contrary at his death. Leotychides having thrown himself at his feet, all bathed in tears, he could not refuse the grace he implored of him, and owned him for his son before all that could were present.

Most of the Spartans, charmed with the virtue and great merit of Agesilaus, and deeming it an extraordinary advantage to have a person for their king who had been

* Diod. l. xiv. p. 267. Justin. l. vi. c. 1.

† Strab. l. xiv. p. 656. Plut. in Artax. p. 1014—1017—1020. Diod. l. xiv. p. 273. Arist. de Hist. Anim. . . . c. 28. Phod. Cod. lxii.

‡ A. M. 3607. Ant. J. C. 397. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 489, 490. Diod. l. xiv. p. 267.

§ Diod. l. xiv. p. 292. ¶ Xenoph. l. iii. p. 493. Plut. in Lys. p. 445. In Agesil. p. 597.

¶ Athen. l. xii. p. 534.

** More than one thousand eight hundred dollars.

educated among them, and passed, like them, through all the rigour of the Spartan education, supported him with their whole power. An ancient oracle, that advised Sparta to beware of "a lame reign," was urged against him. Lysander only made a jest of it, and turned its sense against Leotychides himself; endeavouring to prove, that as a bastard, he was the lame king the oracle intended to caution them against. Agesilaus, as well by his own great qualities, as the powerful support of Lysander, carried it against his nephew, and was declared king.

As by the laws, the kingdom had devolved to Agis, his brother Agesilaus, who seemed to be destined to pass his life as a private person, was educated like other children in the Spartan discipline, which was a very rough manner of life, and full of laborious exercise, but brought up youth to perfect obedience.* The law dispensed with this education only to such children as were designed for the throne. Agesilaus therefore had this peculiar advantage, that he did not arrive at commanding, till he had first learned perfectly well how to obey. From thence it was, that of all the kings of Sparta he best knew how to make his subjects love and esteem him, because, to the great qualities with which nature had endowed him for command and sovereignty, he had united by his education the advantage of being humane and popular.

It is surprising that Sparta, a city so renowned in point of education and policy, should conceive it proper to abate any thing of its severity and discipline in favour of the princes who were to reign; they having the most need of being early habituated to obedience, in order to qualify them the better for command.

Plutarch observes, that from his infancy, Agesilaus was remarkable for uniting qualities in himself, which are generally incompatible; a vivacity of spirit, a vehemence, an invincible resolution in appearance, an ardent passion for being first and surpassing all others, with a gentleness, submission, and docility, that complied instantly, and made him infinitely sensible of the slightest reprimand; so that every thing might be obtained of him from motives of honour, but nothing by fear or violence.†

He was lame; but that defect was covered by the gracefulness of his person, and still more by the gayety with which he supported and rallied it himself. It may even be said, that the infirmity of his body set his valour and passion for glory in a stronger light; there being no labour nor enterprise, however difficult, that he would refuse on account of that inconvenience.

Praise, without an air of truth and sincerity, was so far from giving him pleasure, that it offended him, and was never received by him as such, but when it came from the mouths of those, who upon other occasions, had represented his failings to him with freedom.‡ He would never suffer his picture to be drawn during his life, and even when dying, expressly forbade any image to be made of him, either in colours or *relievo*. His reason was, that his great actions, if he had done any, would supply the place of monuments; without which, all the statues in the world would do him no manner of honour.§ We only know that he was of small stature, which the Spartans did not like in their kings; and Theophrastus affirms, that the ephori laid a fine upon their king Archidamus, the father of Agesilaus, for having espoused a very small woman: "For," said they, "she will give us puppets instead of kings."

It has been remarked, that Agesilaus, in his way of living with the Spartans, behaved better with regard to his enemies than his friends; for he never did the least wrong to the former, and often violated justice in favour of the latter. He would have been ashamed not to have honoured and rewarded his enemies, when their actions deserved it; and was not able to reprove his friends when they committed faults.¶ He would even support them when they were in the wrong, and upon such occasions, looked upon the zeal for justice as a vain pretence to cover the refusal of serving them. In proof of this, a short letter is cited, written by him to a judge, in recommendation of a friend; in which he says: "If Nicias be not guilty, acquit him for his innocence; if he be, acquit him for my sake; but however it be, acquit him."‡

It argues a very imperfect knowledge of the duties and privileges of friendship, to make it, in this manner, subservient to crime and a protection to bad actions. The fundamental law of friendship, says Cicero is never to ask of or to grant any thing to

* Hence it was, that the poet Simonides called Sparta, "the tamer of men," *δαμαστμβροτον*, as the only one of the Grecian cities, which rendered its inhabitants by good habits the most active and vigorous, and at the same time the most obedient to the laws, of all mankind, *ως μάλιστα δια τῶν ἔθων τες πολιτας τοις νομοις πειδομένης καὶ χειροθέεις ποιήσαν.*

† In Agesil. p. 596. ‡ Plut. in Moral. p. 55. § Ibid. p. 191. ¶ Plut. in Agesil. 590. ¶ Plut. in Agesil. p. 602.

friends, that does not consist with justice and honour: "Hæc prima lex in amicitia sanciat, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati."*

Agesilaus was not so scrupulous on this point, at least in the beginning, and omitted no opportunity of gratifying his friends, and even his enemies. By this officious and obliging conduct, supported by his extraordinary merit, he acquired great influence and almost absolute power in the city, which ran so high as to render him suspected by his country. The ephori, to prevent its effects, and give a check to his ambition, laid a fine upon him, alleging as their sole reason, that he attached the hearts of the citizens to himself alone, which were the right of the republic, and ought not to be possessed but in common.

When he was declared king, he was put in possession of the whole estate of his brother Agis, of which Leotyichides was deprived as a bastard. But seeing that the relations of that prince, on the side of his mother Lampito, were all very poor he divided the whole inheritance among them, and by that act of generosity acquired great reputation, and the good will of all the world, instead of the envy and hatred he might have drawn upon himself by keeping the inheritance. These sorts of sacrifices are glorious, though uncommon, and can never be sufficiently esteemed.

Never was a king of Sparta so powerful as Agesilaus; "and it was only," as Xenophon says, "by obeying his country in every thing, that he acquired so great an authority;" which seems a kind of paradox, and is thus explained by Plutarch. The greatest power was vested at that time in the ephori and senate. The office of the ephori subsisted only one year; they were instituted to limit the too great power of the kings, and to serve as a barrier against it, as we have observed elsewhere. For this reason the kings of Sparta, from their establishment, had always retained a kind of hereditary aversion for them, and continually opposed their measures. Agesilaus adopted a quite contrary method. Instead of being perpetually at war with them, and clashing upon all occasions with their measures, he made it his business to cultivate their good opinion, treated them always with the utmost deference and regard, never entered upon the least enterprise without having first communicated it to them, and upon their summons quitted every thing, and repaired to the senate with the utmost promptitude and resignation: whenever he sat upon his throne to administer justice, if the ephori entered, he never failed to rise up to do them honour. By all these instances of respect, he seemed to add new dignity to their office, while in reality he augmented his own power without its being observed, and added to the sovereignty a grandeur the more solid and permanent, as it was the effect of the good will and esteem of the people for him. The greatest of the Roman emperors, as Augustus, Trajan and Marcus Antoninus, were convinced, that the utmost a prince could do to honour and exalt the principal magistrates, was only adding to his own power, and strengthening his authority, which neither should nor can be founded in any thing but justice.

Such was Agesilaus, of whom much will be said hereafter, and with whose character it was therefore necessary to begin.

SECTION II.—AGESILAUS GOES TO ASIA. LYSANDER FALLS OUT WITH HIM.

AGESILAUS had scarcely ascended the throne, when accounts came from Asia, that the king of Persia was fitting out a great fleet with intent to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their empire at sea. The letters of Conon, seconded by the remonstrances of Pharnabazus, who had in concert represented to Artaxerxes the power of Sparta as formidable, had made a strong impression upon that prince. From that time he had it seriously in contemplation to humble that proud republic, by raising up its rival, and by that means re-establish the ancient balance between them, which alone could assure his safety, by keeping them perpetually employed against each other, and thereby prevented from uniting their forces against him.†

Lysander, who desired to be sent into Asia, in order to re-establish his dependants and friends in the government of the cities, from which Sparta had removed them, strongly disposed Agesilaus to take upon himself the charge of the war, and to prevent the barbarian king, by attacking him remote from Greece, before he should have finished his preparations. The republic having made this proposal to him, he could not refuse it, and charged himself with the expedition against Artaxerxes, upon con-

* De Amicit: n. 40.

† A. M. 3608. Ant. J. C. 396. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 495, 496. Idem. de Agesil. p. 652 Plut in. Agesil. p. 598. In Lysand. p. 445.

dition that thirty Spartan captains should be granted him, to assist him and compose his council, with two thousand new citizens, to be chosen out of the helots who had lately been made freemen, and six thousand troops of the allies; which was immediately resolved. Lysander was placed at the head of the thirty Spartans, not only on account of his great reputation, and the authority he had acquired, but for the particular friendship between him and Agesilaus, who was indebted to him for the throne, as well as the honour which had been lately conferred upon him, of being elected generalissimo.

The glorious return of the Greeks who had followed Cyrus, and whom the whole power of Persia was not able to prevent from retreating into their own country, had inspired all Greece with a wonderful confidence in their forces, and a supreme contempt for the barbarians. In this disposition of the people, the Lacedæmonians conceived it would reproach them to neglect so favourable a conjuncture for delivering the Greeks in Asia from their subjection to those barbarians, and for putting an end to the outrages and violences with which they were continually oppressing them.— They had already attempted this by their generals, Thimbron and Dercyllidas; but all their endeavours having hitherto proved ineffectual, they referred the conduct of this war to the care of Agesilaus. He promised them either to conclude a glorious peace with the Persians, or to employ them so effectually as should leave them neither leisure or inclination to carry the war into Greece. The king had great views, and thought of nothing less than attacking Artaxerxes in Persia itself.

When he arrived at Ephesus, Tissaphernes sent to demand for what purpose he had come into Asia, and why he had taken up arms. He replied, that he came to aid the Greeks who inhabited there, and to re-establish them in their ancient liberty. The satrap, who was not yet prepared, preferred art to force, and assured him, that his master would give the Grecian cities of Asia their liberty, provided he committed no acts of hostility till the return of the couriers. Agesilaus agreed; and the truce was sworn to on both sides. Tissaphernes; who laid no great stress upon an oath, took advantage of this delay to assemble troops on all sides. The Lacedæmonian general was apprised of it, but kept his word; being convinced, that in affairs of state, the breach of faith can have but a very short and precarious success; whereas a reputation established upon inviolable fidelity in the observance of engagements, which the perfidy itself of other contracting parties has not power to alter, will establish a credit and confidence equally useful and glorious. In fact, Xenophon remarks, that this religious observation of treaties gained him the universal esteem and opinion of the cities; while the different conduct of Tissaphernes entirely lost him their favour.*

Agesilaus employed this interval in acquiring an exact knowledge of the state of the cities, and in making suitable regulations.† He found great disorder every where, their government being neither democratical, as under the Athenians, nor aristocratical, as Lysander had established it.

The people of the country had no communication with Agesilaus, nor had ever known him; for which reason they paid no respect to him, conceiving that he had the title of general for form's sake only, and that the whole power was really vested in Lysander. As no governor had ever done so much good to his friends, or harm to his enemies, as Lysander, it is not to be wondered at, that he was so much beloved by the one, and feared by the other. All therefore were eager to pay their homage to him, were every day in crowds at his door, and made his train very numerous when he went abroad; while Agesilaus remained almost alone. Such a conduct could not fail of offending a general and king, extremely sensible and delicate in what regarded his authority; though otherwise not jealous of any one's merit, but, on the contrary, much inclined to distinguish it with his favour. He did not dissemble his disgust.— He paid no regard to Lysander's recommendations, and ceased to employ him himself. Lysander presently perceived this alteration in regard to him. He discontinued his applications for his friends to the king, desired them not to visit him any more, nor attach themselves to him, but to address themselves directly to the king, and to cultivate the favour of those who in the present times had power to serve and advance their creatures. The greater part of them ceased to importune him with their affairs, but did not refrain from paying their respect to him. On the contrary, they were only more assiduous than ever about his person, attended him in throngs when he took the air abroad, and regularly assisted at all his exercises. Lysander, naturally

* Xenoph. p. 496, et 652.

† A. M. 3609 Ant. J. C. 395.

vain, and long accustomed to the homage and submission that attended absolute power, did not take sufficient care to remove the busy crowd from his person, that continually made their addresses to him with more application than ever.*

This ridiculous affectation of authority and grandeur grew still more and more offensive to Agesilaus, and seemed intended to insult him. He resented it so highly, that, having given the most considerable commands and best governments to inferior officers, he appointed Lysander commissary of the stores, and distributor of provisions, and afterwards, to insult and deride the Ionians, he told them, "that they might now go and consult his master butcher."

Lysander thought it then incumbent upon him to speak, and to come to an explanation with him. Their conversation was brief and laconic. "Certainly, my lord," said Lysander, "you very well know how to depress your friends." "Yes, when they would set themselves above me; but when they are studious of my dignity, I know also how to let them share in it." "But perhaps, my lord," replied Lysander, "I have been injured by false reports; and things I never did have been imputed to me. I must beg, therefore, if it be only upon account of the strangers, who have all of them their eyes upon us, that you would give me an employment in your army, wherein you shall think me least capable of displeasing, and best qualified for serving you effectually."

In consequence of this conversation, Agesilaus conferred on him the lieutenancy of the Hellespont; in which employment he retained all his resentment, without however, neglecting any part of his duty, or of what conduced to the success of affairs. Some short time after, he returned to Sparta, without any marks of honour or distinction, extremely incensed against Agesilaus, and with the hope of making him perfectly sensible of it.

It must be allowed that Lysander's conduct, as we have here represented it, denotes a vanity and narrowness of mind on his side, very unworthy of his reputation. Perhaps Agesilaus carried his sensibility and delicacy too far in point of honour, and he was a little too severe upon a friend and benefactor, who might have been reclaimed to his duty by secret reproofs, attended with openness of heart and expressions of kindness. But however great Lysander's merit, and however considerable the services he had rendered Agesilaus might be, still they could not give him a right even to an equality with his king and general, far less to the superiority he affected, which in some measure tended to make the other insignificant. He should have remembered, that it is never allowable for an inferior to forget himself, and to exceed the bounds of a just subordination.

Upon his return to Sparta, he had it seriously in mind to execute a project which he had many years revolved within himself. At Sparta there were only two families, or rather branches, of the posterity of Hercules, who had a right to the throne. When Lysander had attained to that degree of power which his great actions had acquired him, he began to feel pain at beholding a city, whose glory had been so much augmented by his exploits, under the government of princes, to whom he yielded neither in valour nor birth; for he was descended, as well as themselves, from Hercules. He therefore sought means to deprive those two houses of the sole succession to the crown, and to extend that right to all the other branches of the Heraclides, and even, according to some, to all the natives of Sparta; flattering himself, that if his design succeeded, no Spartan could be capable of disputing that honour with him, and that he should have the preference to all others.†

This ambitious project of Lysander shows, that the greatest captains are often those from whom a republic has most to apprehend. Those haughty, violent spirits, accustomed to absolute power in armies, bring back with victory a daring loftiness of mind, always to be dreaded in a free state. Sparta, in giving Lysander unlimited power and leaving it for so many years in his hands, did not sufficiently consider, that nothing is more dangerous than to confide in persons of superior merit and abilities, employments of supreme authority, which naturally exposes them to the temptation of rendering themselves independent, and absolute masters of power. Lysander was not proof against it, and practised secretly to open himself a way to the throne.

The undertaking was bold, and required long preparations. He thought it impossible to succeed without first making use of the fear of the divinity, and the terrors of

* Plat. in Agesil. p. 599, 600. In Lysand. p. 447.

† Plat. in Lysand. p. 447, 448. Diocl. l. xix. p. 244, 245.

superstition, to amaze and subdue the citizens into a more easy disposition to receive what he wanted to have them understand; for he knew that at Sparta, as well as throughout all Greece, nothing of the least importance was determined, without the oracles being previously consulted. He tempted with great presents the priests and priestesses of Delphos, Dodona, and Ammon, though ineffectually the first time; and the latter even sent ambassadors to Sparta, to accuse him of impiety and sacrilege; but he extricated himself from that affair by his influence and address.

It was necessary to set other engines at work. A woman in the kingdom of Pontus, affirming that she was with child by Apollo, had been delivered some years before of a son, to whom the name of Silenus was given; and the greatest persons of that nation had disputed the honour of nursing and educating him. Lysander embraced this circumstance for the promotion of his designs, by procuring a number of persons of sufficient note to give it an air of credibility, to circulate the report of this miraculous birth. After which, information was brought from Delphos to Sparta and industriously circulated, that the priests of the temple had in their custody some books of very ancient oracles, which they kept concealed from all the world, a knowledge of which was not permitted either to them, or any other person whatever; and that only a son of Apollo, who was to come in process of time, after having given undoubted proofs of his birth to those who had charge of the books, was to take and carry them away.

All this being premised, Silenus was to present himself to the priests, and demand those oracles as the son of Apollo; and the priests, who were in the secret, as actors well prepared and fully instructed in their parts, were on their side to make the most exact and circumstantial inquiry into every thing, not without affecting great difficulty, and asking many questions for the full proof of his birth. At length, as if absolutely convinced that this Silenus was the real son of Apollo, they were to produce the books, and deliver them to him; after which, this son of Apollo was to read the prophecies contained in them, in the presence of all; and particularly that for which the whole fraud had been contrived. It imported, "that it was more expedient and advantageous for the Spartans to elect no king for the future, but the most worthy of their citizens." Lysander in consequence was to mount the tribunal, to harangue the citizens, and induce them to make this alteration. Cleon of Halicarnassus, a celebrated rhetorician, had composed a very elequent discourse for him upon this subject, which he had committed to memory.

Silenus grew up, and repaired to Greece in order to play his part; when Lysander had the mortification to see his piece miscarry, by the timidity and desertion of one of his principal actors, who broke his word, and disappeared at the very instant it was to have been performed. Though this intrigue had been carried on a great while, it was transacted with so much secrecy as to the time it was to have made its appearance, that nothing of it was known during the life of Lysander. How it came to light after his death, we shall soon relate; but must at present return to Tissaphernes.

SECTION III.—EXPEDITION OF AGESILAUS IN ASIA.

WHEN Tissaphernes had received the troops assigned him by the king, and drawn together all his forces, he sent to command Agesilaus to retire out of Asia, and declared war against him in case of a refusal. His officers were alarmed, not believing him in a condition to oppose the great army of the Persian king. For himself, he heard the heralds of Tissaphernes with a gay and easy countenance, and bade them tell their master, that he was under a very great obligation to him "for having made the gods, by his perjury, the enemies of Persia, and the friends of Greece." He promised himself great things from this expedition, and would have thought it an exceeding disgrace for him, that ten thousand Greeks, under the command of Xenophon, should have passed through the heart of Asia, to the Grecian sea, and defeated the king of Persia as often as he appeared against them; and that he who commanded the Lacedæmonians, whose empire extended all over Greece by sea and land, should not execute some exploit worthy of glory and remembrance.*

At first, therefore, to revenge the perfidy of Tissaphernes by a just and allowable deceit, he made feint of marching his army into Caria, the residence of that satrap; and as soon as the barbarian had caused his troops to march that way, he turned short, and fell upon Phrygia, where he took many towns, and amassed immense treasures,

* Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 497—502. Idem, de Agesil. p. 652—656. Plut. in Agesil. p. 600.

which he distributed among the officers and soldiers; "letting his friends see," says Plutarch, "that to break a treaty, and violate an oath, is to despise the gods themselves; and that, on the contrary, to deceive an enemy by the stratagems of war, is not only just and glorious, but a sensible delight, attended with the greatest advantages."

In the spring he assembled all his forces at Ephesus; and to exercise his soldiers, he proposed prizes both for the horse and foot. This small inducement set every thing in motion. The place for exercises was constantly filled with all kinds of troops; and the city of Ephesus seemed only a palestra, and a school of war. The whole market place was filled with horses and arms, and the shops with different kinds of military equipage. Agesilaus was seen returning from the exercises, followed by a crowd of officers and soldiers, all of them crowned with wreaths, which they were proceeding to deposit in the temple of Diana, to the great admiration and delight of all the world. "For," says Xenophon, "where piety and discipline are seen to flourish, the best hopes must be entertained."

To give his soldiers new valour from a contempt for their enemies, he made use of this contrivance. He ordered the commissaries who had the charge of the booty, to strip the prisoners and expose them to sale. There were very many to purchase their clothes; but, for themselves, their bodies were so soft, white, and delicate, having been nurtured and brought up in the shade, that they were laughed at, as of neither service nor value. Agesilaus took this occasion to approach and say to his soldiers, pointing to them, "See there against whom ye fight;" and showing them their rich spoils, "and there for what you fight."

When the season for taking the field returned, Agesilaus gave out that he would march into Lydia. Tissaphernes, who had not forgot the first stratagem he had used in regard to him, and was not willing to be deceived a second time, caused his troops to march immediately for Caria; not doubting that Agesilaus would, on this occasion, turn his arms in that direction; more especially as it was natural for him, being in want of cavalry to endeavour to make a rough and difficult country the seat of war, so as to render the horse of an enemy useless and unserviceable. But he deceived himself: Agesilaus entered Lydia, and approached Sardis. Tissaphernes hastened thither with his horse, with intent to relieve the place. Agesilaus, knowing that his infantry had not had time to arrive, thought proper to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity. He drew up his army in two lines; the first he formed of his squadrons, whose intervals he filled up with platoons of the light armed foot, and ordered them to begin the charge, while he followed with the second line, composed of his heavy-armed infantry. The barbarians did not sustain the first shock, but fled immediately. The Greeks pursued them, and forced their camp, where they made a great slaughter, and a still greater booty.

After this battle, the troops of Agesilaus were at entire liberty to plunder and ravage the whole country of the Persians, and at the same time, had the satisfaction to see that prince inflict an exemplary punishment upon Tissaphernes, who was a very wicked man, and the most dangerous enemy of the Greeks.* The king had already received numerous complaints against his conduct. Upon this occasion he was accused of treason, as not having done his duty in the battle. Queen Parysatis, always actuated by her hatred and revenge against those who had any share in the death of her son Cyrus, did not a little contribute to the death of Tissaphernes, by aggravating with all her power, the charges against him; for she had been entirely restored to favour by the king her son.†

As Tissaphernes had great authority in Asia, the king was afraid to attack him openly, but thought it necessary to take suitable precautions, in seizing so powerful an officer, who might have proved a dangerous enemy. He charged Tithraustes with that important commission; and gave him two letters at the same time. The first was for Tissaphernes, and contained the king's orders in regard to the war with the Greeks, with full power to act as was requisite. The second was addressed to Ariæus, governor, of Larissa; by which the king commanded him to assist Tithraustes with his counsel, and all his forces, in seizing Tissaphernes. He lost no time, and sent to desire Tissaphernes to come to him, that they might confer together upon the operations of the ensuing campaign. Tissaphernes, who suspected nothing, went to him with only a guard of three hundred men. While he was in a bath, without sabre

* Xenoph. p. 501, et 637. Plut. in Artax. p. 1022. In Agesil. p. 681.

† Diocl. l. xiv. 299. Polyæn. Stratag. l. vii.

other arms, he was seized and put into the hands of Tithraustes, who caused his head to be struck off, and sent it immediately to Persia. The king gave it to Parysatis; an agreeable present to a princess of her violent and vindictive temper. Though this conduct of Artaxerxes seems little worthy of a king, nobody lamented the death of that satrap, who had no veneration for the gods, nor any regard for men; who looked upon probity and honour as empty names; who made a jest of the most sacred oaths, and believed that the whole ability and policy of a statesman consisted in knowing how to deceive others by hypocrisy, fraud, perfidy, and perjury.

Tithraustes had a third writing from the king, whereby he was appointed to command the armies in the room of Tissaphernes. After having executed his commission, he sent great presents to Agesilaus, to induce him to enter more readily into his views and interest; and ordered him to be told that the cause of the war being removed, and the author of all differences put to death, nothing opposed an accommodation; that the king of Persia consented that the cities of Asia should enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, provided he would withdraw his troops, and return into Greece. Agesilaus replied that he would conclude nothing without the orders of Sparta, upon whom alone depended the peace; that as for him, he was better pleased with enriching his soldiers than himself; that the Greeks besides thought it more glorious and honourable to take spoils from their enemies, than to accept their presents. However, as he was not unwilling to satisfy Tithraustes by removing out of his province, and to express his gratitude to him for having punished the common enemy of the Greeks, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabasis. Tithraustes had himself proposed that expedition to him, and paid him thirty talents for the charges of his journey.*

Upon his march, he received a letter from the magistrates of Sparta, with orders to take upon him the command of the naval army, and power to depute whom he thought fit in his stead. By these new powers, he saw himself absolute commander of all the troops of that state in Asia, both by sea and land. This resolution was taken, in order that all operations being directed by one and the same head, and the two armies acting in concert, the plans for the service might be executed with more uniformity, and every thing conspire to the same end. Sparta till then had never done the honour to any of her generals, to confide to him at the same time the command of the armies by sea and land: so that all the world agreed, that he was the greatest personage of his time, and best sustained the high reputation he enjoyed. But he was a man and had his failings.

The first thing he did, was to appoint Pisander his lieutenant in the fleet; in which he seemed to have committed a considerable fault; because, having about him many older and more experienced captains, without regard to the service of the public, to do honour to an ally, and to please his wife, who was the sister of Pisander, he intrusted him with the command of the fleet; that employment being much above his abilities, though he was not without merit.

This is the common temptation of persons in power, who believe they possess it only for themselves and their families: as if the advantage of being related to them was a sufficient title and qualification for posts which require great abilities. They do not reflect, that they not only expose the affairs of a state to ruin by their private views, but sacrifice besides the interests of their own glory, which cannot be maintained but by successes which it would be vain to expect from instruments so ill chosen.

Agesilaus continued with his army in Phrygia, upon the territories of Pharnabasis where he lived in the midst of plenty, and amassed great sums of money. From thence advancing as far as Paphlagonia, he made an alliance with king Cotis, who passionately desired his amity, from the opinion which he entertained of his faith in the observance of treaties, and his other virtues. The same motive had already induced Spithridates, one of the king's principal officers, to quit the service of Pharnabasis, and to go over to Agesilaus, to whom, since his revolt, he had rendered great service; for he had a great body of troops, and was very brave. This officer, having entered Phrygia, had laid waste the whole country under Pharnabasis, who never dared to appear in the field against him, nor even to rely upon his fortresses: but carrying away whatever was most valuable and dear to him, he kept flying continually before him, and retired from one place to another, changing his camp every day. Spithridates at length taking with him some Spartan troops, with Herrippidas, the

chief of the council of thirty sent by the republic to Agesilaus the second year, watched him one day so closely, and attacked him so successfully, that he made himself master of his camp, and of all the rich spoils with which it abounded. But Herippidas, injudiciously setting himself up as an inexorable comptroller, was for bringing the booty that had been sunk to an account; forced even the soldiers of Spithridates to restore what they had taken; and by visiting their tents, and searching them with an unreasonable exactitude and severity affronted Spithridates to such a degree, that he withdrew directly to Sardis with his Paphlagonians.*

It is said, that in his whole expedition, nothing so sensibly affected Agesilaus as the retreat of Spithridates: for, besides his great regret for the loss of so good an officer, and such good troops, he apprehended being reproached with mean and sordid avarice: a vice equally dishonourable to himself and his country, and of which he had taken pains to avoid the slightest suspicion during his whole life. He did not think it consistent with the duty of his office to shut his eyes, through slothful ease and indolence, against all the malversations that were committed under him; but he knew at the same time, that there is an exactitude and severity, that by being carried too far, degenerates into minuteness and petulancy, and which, through an extreme affectation of virtue, becomes a real and dangerous vice.

Some time after, Pharnabasis, who saw his country ravaged, demanded an interview with Agesilaus, which was negotiated by a common friend of them both. Agesilaus arrived first with his friends at the place agreed on, and sat down, in expectation of Pharnabasis, upon the turf under the shade of a tree. When Pharnabasis arrived, his people spread skins upon the ground of exceeding softness, from the length of their hair, with rich carpets of various colours, and magnificent cushions. But when he saw Agesilaus sitting simply upon the ground, without any preparation, he was ashamed of his effeminacy, and sat down also upon the grass. On this occasion the Persian pride was seen to pay homage to the Spartan modesty and simplicity.†

After reciprocal salutation, Pharnabasis spoke to this effect: that he had served the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war to the utmost of his power; fought several battls for them, and supported their naval army, without giving any room to reproach him with fraud or treachery, as Tissaphernes had done: that he was surprised at their coming to attack him in his government; burning the towns, cutting down trees, and laying waste the whole country: that if it were the custom of the Greeks, who made profession of honour and virtue, to treat their friends and benefactors in such a manner, he did not know what they might mean by just and equitable. These complaints were not entirely without foundation, and were uttered with a modest but pathetic air and tone of voice. The Spartans, who attended Agesilaus, not seeing how they could be answered, cast down their eyes, and kept a profound silence. Agesilaus, who observed it, replied almost in these terms: "Lord Pharnabasis, you are not ignorant that war often arms the best friends against each other for the defence of their country. While we were such to the king your master, we treated him as a friend; but as we are become his enemies, we make open war against him, as it is just we should, and endeavour to injure him by what we do against you. However, from the instant you shall think fit to throw off the yoke of bondage, and prefer being called the friend and ally of the Greeks, before the name of the king of Persia's slave, you may reckon that all the troops you now behold, our arms, our ships, our persons, to the last man of us, are here only to defend your possessions, and secure your liberty, which, of all blessings, is the most precious and desirable."

Pharnabasis answered, that if the king sent another general in his place, and subjected him to his successor, he should very willingly accept his offer; that otherwise he would not depart from the faith he had sworn to him, nor quit his service. Agesilaus then taking him by the hand and rising with him, replied, "that it were the pleasure of the gods, Lord Pharnabasis, with such noble sentiments, that you were rather our friend than our enemy!" He promised to withdraw from his government and never return into it while he could subsist elsewhere.

SECTION IV.—AGESILAUS RECALLED BY THE EPHORI TO DEFEND HIS COUNTRY.

AGESILAUS had been two years at the head of the army, and had already made the most remote provinces of Asia tremble at his name, and resound with the fame of

* A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 507—510.
† Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 510—512. Plut. in Agesil. p. 602.

his great wisdom, disinterestedness, moderation, intrepid valour in the greatest dangers, and invincible patience in supporting the greatest fatigues. Of the many thousand soldiers under his command, not one was worse provided, or lay harder than himself. He was so indifferent as to heat or cold, that he seemed formed only to support the most rigorous seasons, and such as it pleased God so send: which are Plutarch's express words.*

The most agreeable of all sights to the Greeks settled in Asia, was to see the lieutenants of the great king, his satraps and other great lords, who were formerly so haughty and untractable, relinquish their pride in the presence of a man meanly clad, and at his single word, however short and laconic, change their language and conduct, and in a manner transform themselves into different creatures. Deputies from all parts were sent by the people to form alliances with him and his army increased every day by the troops of the barbarians that came to join him.

All Asia was already in motion, and most of the provinces ready to revolt. Agesilaus had already restored order and tranquillity in all the cities, had reinstated them in the possession of their liberty under reasonable modifications, not only without shedding of blood, but without even banishing a single person. Not content with such a progress, he had formed the design of attacking the king of Persia in the heart of his dominions, to put him in fear of his own person and the tranquillity which he enjoyed in Ecbatana and Susa, and to keep him so much employed, as to make it impracticable for him to embroil all Greece from his cabinet, by corrupting the orators and persons of the greatest authority in its cities with his presents.

Tithraustes, who commanded for the king in Asia, seeing the tendency of the designs of Agesilaus, and desiring to prevent their effects, had sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with great sums of money, to corrupt the principal persons in the cities, and by their means occasion revolts against Sparta. He knew that the haughtiness of the Lacedæmonians, (for all their generals did not resemble Agesilaus, and the imperious manner in which they treated their neighbours and allies, especially since they considered themselves the masters of Greece,) had universally disgusted the people, and excited a jealousy that waited only an occasion to break out against them. This severity of governing had a natural cause in their education. Accustomed from their infancy to obey without delay or reply, first their tutors, afterwards their magistrates, they exacted a like submission from the cities in their dependence, were easily incensed by the least opposition, and by this excessive severity rendered themselves insupportable.†

Tithraustes therefore did not find it difficult to draw off the allies from their party. Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, entered into his measures: the deputy did not go to Athens. These three cities, influenced by those who governed them, made a league against the Lacedæmonians, who on their side prepared vigorously for the war. The Thebans at the same time sent deputies to the Athenians, to implore their aid, and that they would enter into the alliance. The deputies, after having slightly passed over their ancient divisions, insisted strongly upon the considerable service they had rendered Athens, in refusing to join its enemies, when they attempted its final destruction. They represented to them the favourable opportunity that offered for re-instating themselves in their ancient power; and to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the empire of Greece: that all the allies of Sparta, either in Greece or elsewhere, were weary of their severe and unjust sway, and waited only the signal to revolt: that the moment the Athenians should declare themselves, all the cities would rouse up in arms: and that the king of Persia, who had sworn the ruin of Sparta, would aid them with all his forces both by sea and land.

Thrasylabus, whom the Thebans had supplied with arms and money when he undertook the re-establishment of the Athenian liberty, seconded their demand with great vigour, and the aid was unanimously resolved. The Lacedæmonians on their side took the field without loss of time, and entered Phocis. Lysander wrote to Pausanias, who commanded one of the two armies, to give him notice to march early the next day to Haliartus, which he designed to besiege, and that he should be there himself at sun-rise. This letter was intercepted. Lysander, after having waited his coming up a great while, was obliged to engage, and was killed in the battle. Pausanias received this bad news on his way. He however continued his march to Haliartus,

* A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394. Plut. in Agesil. p. 603, 604. Xenoph. in Agesil. p. 657.

† Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 502-503. Plut. in Lysand. p. 449, 451.

and called a council of war to deliberate on a second battle. He did not think it consistent with prudence to hazard it, and contented himself with making a truce, to remove the bodies of those who had fallen in the former fight. Upon his return to Sparta, he was cited to give an account of his conduct; and, refusing to appear, was condemned to die. But he avoided the execution of that sentence by flight, and retired to Tegeum, where he passed the remainder of his life under the shelter and protection of Minerva, to whom he had rendered himself a suppliant, and died of disease.

Lysander's poverty having been discovered after his death, did great honour to his memory, when it was known, that of all the gold and riches that had passed through his hands, of a power so extensive as his had been, of so many cities under his government, and which made their court to him, in a word, of that kind of dominion and sovereignty always exercised by him, he had made no manner of advantage, for the advancement and enriching of his family.

Some days before his death, two of the principal citizens of Sparta had contracted themselves to his two daughters; but when they knew in what condition he had left his affairs, they refused to marry them. The republic did not suffer so sordid a baseness to go unpunished, nor Lysander's poverty, which was the strongest proof of his justice and virtue, to be treated as an obstacle to an alliance into his family. They were fined in a great sum, publicly disgraced, and exposed to the contempt of all persons of honour. For at Sparta there were penalties established, not only for such as refused to marry, or married too late, but also for those who married amiss; and those especially were reckoned of this number, who, instead of marrying into houses of virtue, and with their own relations, had no motive but wealth and lucre in marriage: an admirable law, and highly tending to perpetuate probity and honour in families which an impure mixture of blood and manners seldom fails to alter and efface.

It must be owned, that a generous disinterestedness in the midst of all that could inflame and gratify the desire of gain, is very uncommon, and well worthy of admiration; but in Lysander, it was attended with great defects which entirely obscure its lustre. Without speaking of his imprudence in introducing gold and silver into Sparta, which he despised himself, though he rendered it estimable to his country, and thereby occasioned its ruin, what opinion can we have of a man, who though brave, well read in men, skilful in affairs, and of great ability in arts of government, and what is commonly called policy, yet regards probity and justice as nothing; to whom falsehood, fraud and perfidy appear legal methods for the attainment of his ends; who does not fear, for the advancement of his friends, and the augmenting of his creatures, to commit the most flagrant injustice and oppressions, and is not ashamed to profane whatever is most sacred in religion, even to the corrupting of priests, and forging of oracles, to satiate the empty ambition of being equal to a king, and of ascending the throne.

When Agesilaus was on the point of leading his troops into Persia, Epicydidas, the Spartan, arrived to let him know that Sparta was threatened with a furious war; that the ephori recalled him, and ordered him to return immediately for the defence of his country.* Agesilaus did not deliberate a moment, but returned this answer immediately to the ephori, which Plutarch has transmitted to us. "Agesilaus to the ephori, greeting. We have reduced part of Asia, put the barbarians to flight, and made great preparations for war in Ionia: but as you order me to return, I am not far behind this letter, and should arrive before it if possible. I received not the command for myself, but my country and its allies. I know that a general does not deserve or possess that name really, but as he submits to the laws and the ephori, and obeys the magistrates."†

This ready obedience of Agesilaus has been much admired and applauded, and not without reason. Hannibal, though depressed with misfortunes, and driven almost entirely out of Italy, obeyed his citizens with great reluctance, when they recalled him to deliver Carthage from the dangers that threatened it. Here a victorious prince, ready to enter the enemy's country, and to attack the king of Persia even upon his throne, almost assured of the success of his arms, on the first order of the ephori, renounces the most soothing hopes, and the most exalted expectations. He demonstrates the truth of what was said, "That at Sparta the laws ruled men, and not men the laws."

On his departure he said, "that thirty thousand of the king's archers drove him out of Asia;" alluding to a species of Persian coin, which had on one side the figure of

* Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Idem, in Agesil. p. 657. Plut. in Agesil. p. 603, 604.

† Plut. in Apoph. Laconic. h. 211.

an archer, thirty thousand of which pieces of money had been dispersed in Greece to corrupt the orators and persons of greatest power in the cities.

Agesilaus, in quitting Asia, where he was regretted as the common father of the people, appointed Euxenes his lieutenant, and gave him four thousand men for the defence of the country. Xenophon went with him. He left at Ephesus, with Megabyzus the guardian of Diana's temple, half the gold he had brought with him from his expedition into Persia with Cyrus, to keep it for him in trust, and in case of death, to consecrate it to the goddess.*

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians had raised an army, and given the command of it to Aristodemus, tutor to king Agesipolis, then an infant. Their enemies assembled to concert the operations of the war. Timolaus of Corinth said, that the Lacedæmonians were like a river that grew larger as it was removed from its source: or a swarm of bees, which it is easy to destroy in their hive, but when suffered to disperse themselves they become formidable by their stings. He was therefore of opinion, that it was proper to attack them in their capital; which was approved and resolved. But the Lacedæmonians did not give them time. They took the field, and found the enemy near Nemea, a city not very far from Corinth, where a severe battle ensued. The Lacedæmonians had the advantage, which was very considerable. Agesilaus having received this news at Amphipolis, as he was hastening to the relief of his country, sent it directly to the cities of Asia for their encouragement, and to give them hopes of his speedy return, if the success of affairs would admit it.†

When the approach of Agesilaus was known at Sparta, the Lacedæmonians who remained in the city, to do him honour for the ready obedience he had paid to their orders, caused proclamations to be made by sound of trumpet, that all young persons who were willing to aid their king might come and enlist themselves for that purpose. Not one of them failed to enter himself immediately with the utmost joy. But the ephori chose only fifty of the bravest and most robust, whom they sent him, and desired that he would enter Bœotia with the utmost expedition; which he did accordingly.‡

About the same time the two fleets came up with each other near Cnidos, a city of Caria. That of the Lacedæmonians was commanded by Pisander the brother-in-law of Agesilaus, and that of the Persians by Pharnabazus, and Conon the Athenian. The latter, observing that the king of Persia's supplies came slowly, and occasioned the loss of many opportunities, had resolved to go in person to the court, to solicit the assistance of the king. As he would not prostrate himself before him, according to the Persian custom, he could not explain himself but by the intervention of others. He represented to him, with a force and a spirit seldom pardoned in those who treat with princes, that it was equally shameful and astonishing, that his ministers, contrary to his intention, should suffer affairs to be disconcerted and ruined for want of the necessary expenses; that the richest king in the world should give place to his enemies in the very point in which he was so infinitely superior to them, that is, in riches; and that for want of remitting the sums his service required, to his generals, all their designs were rendered abortive. The king received them perfectly well, and showed by his example, that truth may often be spoken to princes with success, if courage were not wanting. Conon obtained all he demanded, and the king made him admiral of his fleet.§

It was composed of more than ninety galleys, to which the enemy's was somewhat inferior in number. They came in view of each other near Cnidos, a maritime city of Asia Minor. Conon, who had in some measure occasioned the taking of Athens by the loss of the sea-fight near Egospotamos, used extraordinary efforts in this to retrieve his misfortune, and obliterate by a glorious victory the disgrace of his former defeat. He had this advantage, that in the battle he was about to fight, the Persians would be at the whole expense, and bear all the loss themselves; whereas the entire fruits of the victory would redound to the Athenians, without hazarding any thing of their own ||Pisandar had also strong motives to show his valor on this occasion, that he might not degenerate from the glory of his brother-in-law, and to justify the choice he had made in appointing him admiral. In fact he behaved with great valour, and had at first some advantage; but the battle growing warm, and the allies of

* Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. v. p. 350.

† Xenoph. p. 514—517.

‡ Plut. in Agesil. p. 603. § Xen. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 518. Diod. l. xiv. p. 302. Just. l. vi. c. 2. et 3.

|| *Et speciosius quod ne ipsorum quidem Atheniensium, sed alieni imperii viribus dimicet, pugnaturus periculo regis, victurus premio patriæ—Justin.*

Sparta betaking themselves to flight, he could not resolve to follow them, and died sword in hand. Conon took fifty galleys, and the rest escaped to Cnidus. The consequence of this victory was the revolt of almost all the allies of Sparta; several of whom declared for the Athenians, and the rest resumed their ancient liberty. After this battle the affairs of the Lacedæmonians daily declined. All their actions in Asia were no more than the feeble efforts of an expiring power, till the defeats of Leuctra and Mantinea completed their downfall.

Isocrates makes a very just reflection upon the revolutions of Sparta and Athens, which had always their source and origin in the insolent prosperity of both these republics. The Lacedæmonians, who were at first acknowledged masters of Greece without opposition, fell from their authority only by their enormous abuse of it.—The Athenians succeeded them in power, and at the same time in pride; and we have seen into what an abyss of misfortunes it precipitated them. Sparta having gained the superiority by the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, and the taking of their city, might have improved in their measures from the double experience of the past; as well in regard to what had befallen themselves, as from the recent example of their rival; but the most affecting examples and events seldom or never occasion a people to change their conduct. Sparta became as haughty and untractable as before; and again experienced the same destiny.

To warn the Athenians against this misfortune, Isocrates puts them in mind of the past, and of the times wherein they were successful in every thing, “You imagine,” says he, “that provided with a numerous fleet, absolute masters at sea, and supported by powerful allies always ready to give you aid, you have nothing to fear, and may enjoy in repose and tranquillity the fruits of your victories. For my part, allow me to speak with truth and freedom, I think quite otherwise. The cause of my apprehension is, my having observed that the decline of the greatest republics has always been at the time when they believed themselves most powerful, and that their very security has prepared the precipice over which they have fallen. The reason of this is evident. Prosperity and adversity never come alone, but have each their train of very different effects. The first is attended with vain glory, pride, and insolence, which dazzle the mind, and inspire rash and extravagant measures: On the contrary, the companions of adversity, are modesty, self-diffidence and circumspection, which naturally render men prudent, and apt to amend from their own failings. So that it is hard to judge which of the two conditions we ought to desire for a city; as that which appears unhappy, is an almost certain path to prosperity; and the other, so flattering and splendid, generally leads on to the greatest misfortunes.” The blow which the Lacedæmonians received at the battle of Cnidus is a mournful proof of what he says.*

Agesilaus was in Bœotia, and on the point of giving battle, when this unfavourable news was brought him. Apprehending that it might discourage and deter his troops, he caused it to be reported in the army that the Lacedæmonians had gained a considerable victory at sea: and appearing in public with a wreath of flowers upon his head, he offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the good news, and sent part of it in presents to his officers.† The two armies, almost equal in strength, were in view of each other upon the plains of Coronæ, when they drew up in order of battle. Agesilaus gave the left wing to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. On the other side, the Thebans were upon the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon says that this was the most furious battle in his time; and he may be believed, as he was present in it, and fought near the person of Agesilaus, with whom he had returned from Asia.‡

The first charge was not very obstinate, nor of long continuance. The Thebans soon put the Orchomenians to flight; and Agesilaus overthrew and routed the Argives. But both parties having learned that their left wing had been very severely handled and fled, returned immediately; Agesilaus to oppose the Thebans, and to wrest the victory out of their hands; and the Thebans, to follow their left wing, which was retired to Helicon. Agesilaus at that moment might have assured himself of a complete victory, if he had let the Thebans pass on, and charged them afterwards in the rear; but carried away by the ardour of his courage, he resolved to stop them with an attack in front, and to beat them by main force: “in which,” says Xenophon, “he showed more valour than prudence.”

* Isoc. in Orat. Arcop. p. 278—280.

† Plut. in Agesil. p. 605.

‡ Ibid. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. p. 518—520, et in Agesil. p. 659, 660.

The Thebans, seeing Agesilaus advance against them, drew all their foot immediately into one body, formed a hollow square, and waited his coming up in good order. The engagement was sharp and bloody on all sides, but particularly where Agesilaus fought at the head of the fifty young Spartans sent him by the city. The valour and emulation of those young men were of great service to Agesilaus, and may be said to have saved his life; for they fought around him with exceeding ardour, and exposed themselves foremost in all dangers for the safety of his person. They could not, however, prevent his receiving several wounds through his armour, from pikes and swords. Notwithstanding, after an exceeding warm dispute, they brought him off alive from the enemy, and making their bodies a rampart for him, slew a great number of Thebans in his defence. Many of those young men were also left upon the field. At length, finding it too difficult to break the Thebans in front, they were compelled to have recourse to what they had at first neglected. They opened their phalanx to let them pass; which being done, as they marched afterwards in more disorder, they charged them again upon the flanks and rear. They could, however, neither break them nor put them to flight. Those brave Thebans made their retreat continually fighting, and gained Helicon, elate with the success of the battle, in which they had remained invincible.

Agesilaus, though very much weakened by the great number of his wounds, and the quantity of blood he had lost, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried to the place where his phalanx was drawn up, and had seen all the dead bodies removed even upon their own arms. He was informed there, that many of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Itoniensis, which was not very distant from the field of battle, and asked what he would have done with them. As he was full of veneration for the gods, he gave orders to let them go, and even sent a guard to escort them in safety wherever they thought proper.

The next morning, Agesilaus, to try whether the Thebans would have courage to renew the battle, commanded his troops to crown themselves with flowers, and the music of the army to play, while a trophy was erected and adorned in honour of his victory. At the same instant, the enemy sent heralds to demand permission to bury their dead, which he granted, with a truce; and having confirmed his victory by that act of a conqueror, he caused himself to be carried to Delphos, where the Pythian games were then celebrated. He made there a solemn procession, which was followed by a sacrifice, and consecrated the tenth part of the booty taken in Asis to the god, which amounted to one hundred talents.* These great men, no less religious than brave, never failed to express by presents their gratitude to the gods for their success in arms; declaring, that public homage, that they believed themselves indebted for their victories to their protection.

SECTION V.—AGESILAUS RETURNS VICTORIOUS TO SPARTA. A PEACE, SHAMEFUL TO THE GREEKS, CONCLUDED.

AFTER the festival, Agesilaus returned to Sparta. His citizens received him with all the marks of the most sincere joy, and beheld him with admiration, when they observed the simplicity of his manners, and the constant frugality and temperance of his life; at his return from foreign countries, where pomp, luxury, sloth, and the love of pleasures, entirely prevailed, he was not infected with the manners of the barbarians, as most of the other generals had been: he made no alteration in his diet, bath, equipage of his wife, ornaments of his arms, or furniture of his house. In the midst of so splendid a reputation, and universal applause, always the same, or rather more modest than before, he distinguished himself from the rest of the citizens, only by a greater submission to the laws, and a more inviolable attachment to the customs of his country; convinced, that he was only king to be the brighter example of those virtues to others.†

He made greatness consist in virtue only. Hearing the Great King, (so the kings of Persia used to call themselves,) spoken of in magnificent terms, and his power extremely extolled; "I cannot conceive," said he, "wherein he is greater than me, unless he be more virtuous."‡

There were at Sparta some citizens, who, vitiated by the prevailing taste of Greece, made their merit and glory consist in keeping a great number of horses for the race.

* About one hundred and ten thousand dollars.

† Plut. de sui laud. p. 555

‡ Plut. in Agesil. p. 606.

He persuaded his sister Cynisca to dispute the prize in the Olympic games, in order to show the Greeks, that those victories on which they set so high a value, were not the effects of valour and bravery, but of riches and expense. She was the first of her sex who shared in this honour. He had the same opinion of the exercises which contributed to render the body more robust, and inure it to labour and fatigue; and to place them in greater estimation, would often honour them with his presence.

Some time after Lysander's death, he discovered the conspiracy formed by that captain against the two kings, which till then had not been heard of, and came to light by a kind of accident, in the following manner. Upon some affairs, which related to the government, it was necessary to consult Lysander's papers, and Agesilaus went to his house for that purpose. In examining them, he fell upon the sheets which contained at large, the harangue of Cleon, for the new method of proceeding in the election of kings. Surprised at persuing it, he gave over his search, and went away abruptly to communicate that oration to the citizens, and to let them see what manner of man Lysander was, and how much they had been deceived in regard to him. But Lacratidas, a wise and prudent person, and president of the ephori, interposed, by telling him, that it was highly improper to raise Lysander from the dead; on the contrary, that it was necessary to bury his harangue in the same grave with him, as of dangerous tendency, from the great art with which it was composed, and the force of persuasion that prevailed in it throughout, which, it might prove no easy matter to resist. Agesilaus was of the same opinion, and the piece was consigned to silence and oblivion, as the best course that could be adopted with it.*

As his influence was very great in the city, he caused Telutias, his brother by the mother's side, to be declared admiral of the fleet. It is to be wished that history, to justify this choice, had mentioned any other qualities in that commander, than his nearness of blood to the king. Agesilaus soon after set out with his land army to besiege Corinth, and took the long walls, as they were called, while his brother Telutias attacked it by sea. He performed several other exploits against the people of Greece at war with Sparta, which although they display the valour and experience of the general, yet are neither very important nor decisive, and which we thought, for that reason, might be omitted.†

At the same time, Pharnabasis and Conon, having made themselves masters at sea, ravaged the whole coast of Laconia. That satrap, returning to his government of Phrygia, left Conon the command of the naval army, with very considerable sums for the re-establishment of Athens. Conon, victorious and crowned with glory, repaired thither, where he was received with universal applause. The sad prospect of a city, formerly so flourishing, and at that time reduced to so melancholy a condition, gave him more grief than joy, in seeing his beloved country again, after so many years absence. He lost no time, but fell immediately to work, employing, besides masons and the usual artisans, the soldiers, mariners, citizens, allies; in a word, all who were well inclined to Athens; Providence decreeing, that this city, formerly destroyed by the Persians, should be rebuilt by their own hands; and that having been dismantled and demolished by the Lacedæmonians, it should be reinstated at their own cost, and by the spoils taken from them.‡ What a vicissitude and alteration was this! Athens at this time had for her allies, those who had formerly been her most violent enemies, and for enemies, those with whom she had once contracted the closest and strongest union. Conon, seconded by the zeal of the Thebans, soon rebuilt the walls of Athens, restored the city to its ancient splendour, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies. After having offered to the gods a whole hecatomb, that is, a sacrifice of one hundred oxen, as a thanksgiving for the happy re-establishment of Athens, he made a feast, to which all the citizens without exception were invited.§

Sparta could not see without extreme affliction so glorious a revolution. She looked upon the grandeur and power of a city, her ancient rival, and almost continual enemy, as her own ruin, which made the Lacedæmonians take the mean resolution of avenging themselves at once upon Athens, and Conon her restorer, by making peace with the king of Persia. With this view they despatched Antalcides to Tiribasis. His commission consisted of two principal articles. The first was to accuse Conon to that satrap of having defrauded the king of the money, which he had employed in

* Plut. in Agesil. p. 606.

† Ibid.

‡ A. M. 3611. Ant. J. C. 393. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 534—537. Diod. l. xiv. p. 303. Justin. l. vi. c. 5.

§ Athen. l. i. p. 3.

the re-establishment of Athens: and of having formed the design of depriving the Persians of Æolia and Ionia, and to subject them anew to the republic of Athens, upon which they had formerly depended. By the second, he had orders to make the most advantageous proposals to Tiribasus which his master could desire, who, without giving himself any manner of trouble in regard to Asia, only stipulated, that all the islands and other cities should enjoy their laws and liberty. The Lacedæmonians thus gave up to the king, with the greatest injustice and the utmost baseness, all the Greeks settled in Asia, for whose liberty Agesilaus had so long fought. It is true, he had no share in this most infamous negotiation; the whole reproach of which ought to fall on Antalcides, who, being the sworn enemy of the king of Sparta, hastened the peace by all means, because the war augmented the authority, glory, and reputation of Agesilaus.*

The most considerable cities of Greece had sent deputies at the same time to Tiribasus; and Conon was at the head of those from Athens. They were unanimous in rejecting such proposals. Without speaking of the interests of the Greeks of Asia, with which they were extremely affected, they saw themselves exposed by this treaty; the Athenians, to the loss of the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; the Thebans, to abandon the cities of Bœotia, of which they were in possession, and which would thereby regain their independence; and the Argives, to renounce Corinth, with the loss of which Argos itself would soon, in all probability, be attended. The deputies therefore withdrew, without concluding any thing.

Tiribasus seized Conon, and put him in prison. Not daring to declare openly for the Lacedæmonians, without an express order to that purpose, he contented himself with supplying them privately with considerable sums of money for fitting out a fleet, in order that the other cities of Greece might not be in a condition to oppose them. After having taken these precautions, he set out directly for the court to give the king an account of the state of his negotiation. That prince was well satisfied with it, and directed him in the strongest terms to effect its completion. Tiribasus also laid before him the accusation of Conon by the Lacedæmonians. Some authors, according to Cornelius Nepos, have written, that he was carried to Susa, and there executed by the king's order. The silence of Xenophon, who was his contemporary, in regard to his death, makes it doubtful whether he did not escape from prison, or suffer, as has been said.

While this treaty was negotiating, several inconsiderable actions passed between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. It was also at the same time that Evagoras extended his conquest in the island of Cyprus, of which we shall soon treat.

Tiribasus at length, upon his return, summoned the deputies of the Grecian cities to be present at the reading of the treaty. It imported, that all the Grecian cities of Asia should remain dependent on the king, and that the rest as well small as great should have full possession of their liberty. The king farther reserved to himself the isles of Cyprus and Clazomenæ, and left those of Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros, to the Athenians, to whom they had long appertained. By the same treaty he engaged to join with such people as came into it, in order to make war by sea and land against all who should refuse to agree to it. We have already said that Sparta herself proposed these conditions.†

All the other cities of Greece, or at least the greatest part of them, rejected so infamous a treaty with horror. However, as they were weakened and exhausted by domestic divisions, and not in a condition to support a war against so powerful a prince, who threatened to fall with all his forces upon those who should refuse to come into this peace, they were obliged against their will to comply with it; except the Thebans, who had the courage to oppose it openly at first, but were at length reduced to accept it, with the others, by whom they found themselves universally abandoned.

Such was the fruit of the jealousy and divisions which armed the Grecian cities against each other, and was the end proposed by the policy of Artaxerxes, in distributing sums of money among the several states; invincible in arms, and by the sword, but not by the gold and presents of the Persians; so much did they differ in this respect from the character of the ancient Greeks their forefathers.

To comprehend rightly how much Sparta and Athens differed from what they had been in former times, we have only to compare the two treaties concluded between

* Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 537, 538. Plut. in Agesil. p. 608.

† A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 387. Xenoph. l. v. p. 548—551.

the Greeks and Persians; the former by Cimon the Athenian, under Artaxerxes Longimanus, above sixty years before, and the latter by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian, under Artaxerxes Mnemon. In the first, Greece victorious and triumphant, assures the liberty of the Asiatic Greeks, gives laws to the Persians, imposes what conditions she pleases, and prescribes bounds and limits, by prohibiting them to approach nearer to the sea with their troops than the distance of three days' march; or to appear with vessels of war in any of the seas between the Cyanæan and Chalidonian islands; that is to say, from the Euxine to the coasts of Pamphylia. In the second, on the contrary, Persia, grown haughty and imperious, takes pleasure in humbling its conquerors, in depriving them, with a single stroke of the pen, of their empire in Asia Minor, in compelling them to abandon basely-all the Greeks established in those rich provinces, to subscribe to their own subjection, and to confine themselves in their turn within the narrow bounds of Greece.*

From whence can so strange an alteration arise? Are there not on both sides the same cities, the same people, the same forces, and the same interest? No doubt there are; but they are not the same men, or rather they have no longer the same principles of policy. Let us recall those happy times of Greece, so glorious for Athens and Sparta, when Persia came pouring like a deluge upon this little country with all the forces of the east. What was it that rendered the two cities invincible, and superior to such numerous and formidable armies? Their union and good understanding. No dissention between the two states, no jealousy of command, no private view of interest; in fine, no other contests between them but of honour, glory, and the love of their country.

To so laudable an union may be added an irreconcilable hatred for the Persians, which became a kind of nature in the Greeks, and was the most distinguishing character of that nation. It was a capital crime, and punished with death, only to mention peace, or propose any accommodation with them; and an Athenian mother was seen to throw the first stone at her son, who had dared to make such a motion, and to set others the example of stoning him.†

This strict union of the two states, and declared abhorrence of the common enemy, were a long time the potent barriers of their security, rendered them invincible, and may be said to have been the source and principle of all the glorious successes which raised the reputation of Greece to so high a pitch. But by a misfortune common to the most flourishing states, those very successes became the cause of its ruin, and prepared the way for the disgraces it experienced in the sequel.

These two states, which might have carried their victorious arms into the heart of Persia, and have attacked in their turn the great king even upon his throne; instead of forming in concert such an enterprise, which would at once have crowned them with glory, and laden them with riches, have the folly to leave their common enemy at repose, to embroil themselves with each other upon trivial points of honour and interests of small importance, and to exhaust the forces ineffectually against themselves, which ought to have been employed solely against the barbarians, who could not have resisted them. For it is remarkable, that the Persians never had any advantage over the Athenians, and Lacedæmonians, while they united with each other, and that it was their own divisions only which supplied them with the means to conquer both alternately, and always the one by the other.‡

These divisions induced them to take such measures as neither Sparta nor Athens would ever have otherwise been capable of. We see them both dishonouring themselves by their mean and abject flatteries, not only of the king of Persia, but even of his satraps: paying homage to them, earnestly soliciting their favour, cringing to them, and even suffering their ill humour; and all this to obtain some aid of troops or money, forgetting that the Persians, haughty and insolent to such as seemed afraid of them, became timorous and mean to those who had the courage to despise them. But, in fine, what did they gain by all these mean condescensions? The treaty which gave occasion for these reflections, and will forever be the reproach of Sparta and Athens.

SECTION VI.—WAR OF ARTAXERXES AGAINST EVAGORAS.

WHAT I have said upon the facility with which the Greeks might have rendered themselves formidable to their enemies, will be more evident, if we consider, on one

* *Diod. l. xii. p. 74, 75.*

† *Ibid. in Panegy. p. 145.*

‡ *Ibid. in Panegy. p. 132—137. In Panath. p. 524, 525.*

side, the diversity of people, and extent of country, which composed the vast empire of the Persians, and, on the other, the weakness of the government, incapable of animating so great a mass, and of supporting the weight of so much business and application. In that court, every thing was determined by the intrigues of women, and the cabals of favourites, whose only merit often consisted in flattering their prince, and soothing his passions. It was by their influence officers were chosen, and the first dignities disposed of; by their opinion the services of the generals of armies were judged, and their rewards decided. The sequel will show, that from the same source arose the insurrection of provinces, the distrust of the greatest part of the governors, the discontent and consequent revolt of the best officers, and ill success of almost all the enterprises that were formed.

Artaxerxes, having got rid of the care and perplexity which the war with the Greeks had occasioned, applied himself to the terminating that of Cyprus, which had lasted several years, but had been carried on with little vigour, and turned the greatest part of his forces that way.

Evagoras reigned at that time in Salamin, the capital city of the isle of Cyprus. He was descended from Teucer* of Salamin, who at his return from Troy built this city, and gave it the name of his country. His descendants had reigned there from that time; but a stranger of Phœnicia, having dispossessed the lawful king, had taken his place, and to maintain himself in the usurpation, had filled the city with barbarians, and subjected the whole island to the king of Persia.†

Under this tyrant Evagoras was born. He had been carefully educated, and was distinguished among the youth by the beauty of his countenance, the vigour of his body, and more by the modesty and innocence of his manners, which were the greatest ornaments of that age.‡ As he advanced in years, the greatest virtues, valour, wisdom, and justice, were observed to brighten in him. He afterwards carried these virtues to so conspicuous a height, as to give jealousy to those who governed; who perceived justly that so shining a merit could not continue in the obscurity of a private condition; but his modesty, probity, and integrity, re-assured them, and they reposed an entire confidence in him, to which he always answered by an inviolable fidelity, without ever meditating their expulsion from the throne by violence or treachery.

A more justifiable means conducted him to it, Divine Providence, as Isocrates says, preparing the way for him. One of the principal citizens murdered the person upon the throne, and had contrived to seize Evagoras, and to rid himself of him, in order to secure the crown to himself; but that prince escaping his pursuit, retired to Solos, a city of Cilicia. His banishment was so far from abating his courage, that it gave him new vigour. Attended only with fifty followers, determined like himself to conquer or die, he returned to Salamin, and expelled the usurpers, though supported by the credit and protection of the king of Persia. Having re-established himself in Salamin, he soon rendered his little kingdom most flourishing, by his application to the relief of his subjects, and by protecting them in all things; by governing them with justice and benevolence; by making them active and laborious; by inspiring them with a taste for the cultivation of lands, the breeding of cattle, commerce, and navigation. He formed them also for war, and made them excellent soldiers.

He was already very powerful, and had acquired great reputation, when Conon the Athenian general, after his defeat at Egospotamós, took refuge with him; not thinking it possible to find a safer asylum for himself, nor a more powerful support of his country. The resemblance of their manners and sentiments soon made them contract a strict amity with each other, which continued ever after, and proved equally advantageous to both. Conon was in great credit at the king of Persia's court, which he employed with that prince, by the means of Ctesias the Physician, to accommodate his differences with his host Evagoras, and happily effected it.||

Evagoras and Conon, with the noble design of subverting, or at least of reducing the great power of Sparta, which had rendered itself formidable to all Greece, concerted together the means for the attainment of that end. They were both citizens of Athens; the latter by birth, and the other by right of adoption, which his great services and zeal for that republic merited. The satraps of Asia saw with pain their country ravaged by the Lacedæmonians, and found themselves in great difficulties,

* This Teucer was of Salamin, a little island near Athens, celebrated for the famous battle under Xerxes.

† Isoc. in Evag. p. 380.

‡ Et qui ornat utatem, pudor — Cic.

§ A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 405. Isocrat. in Evag. p. 393, 395.

|| A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 399.

from not being in a condition to resist them. Evagoras remonstrated to them, that it was necessary to attack the enemy as well by sea as land; and he did not contribute a little, by his influence with the king of Persia, to Conon's being appointed general of his fleet.* The celebrated victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidus was the consequence, and gave the mortal wound to that republic.†

The Athenians, in acknowledgement of the important services Evagoras and Conon had rendered them with Artaxerxes, erected statues in honour of them.‡

Evagoras on his side, extending his conquests from city to city, endeavoured to make himself master of the whole island. The Cypriots had recourse to the king of Persia. That prince, alarmed by the rapid progress of Evagoras, of which he apprehended the effects, and conscious of what importance it was to him to prevent an island's falling into the hands of an enemy, so favourably situated for holding Asia Minor in awe, promised them an immediate and powerful support, without declaring openly however against Evagoras.§

Being employed elsewhere by more important affairs, he could not keep his word with them so soon as he expected, and had engaged. The war of Cyprus continued six years, and the success with which Evagoras supported it against the great king, ought to have banished from the Greeks all terror of the Persian name, and united them against the common enemy.¶ It is true, the succours sent by Artaxerxes till then were very inconsiderable, as they also were the two following years. During all that time, it was less a real war, than a preparation for war: but when he had disengaged himself from the Greeks, he applied to it vigorously, and attacked Evagoras with all his forces.‡

The army by land, commanded by Orontes, his son-in-law, consisted of three hundred thousand men, and the fleet of three hundred galleys; of which Tiribasis, a person of the highest rank and greatest reputation, was admiral. Gaos, his son-in-law, commanded under him. Evagoras on his side assembled as many troops and ships as he could; but they were a handful in comparison with the formidable preparations of the Persians. He had a fleet of only ninety galleys, and his army scarcely amounted to twenty thousand men. As he had abundance of light vessels, he laid snares for those that carried the provisions of the enemy, of which he sunk a great number, took many, and prevented the rest from arriving; which occasioned a famine among the Persians, attended with violent seditions, which could only be appeased by the coming of fresh convoys from Cilicia. Evagoras strengthened his fleet with sixty galleys, which he caused to be built, and fifty sent him by Achoris, king of Egypt, with all the money and corn he could have occasion for.

Evagoras with his land forces immediately attacked a part of the enemy's army which was separate from the rest, and entirely routed it. This first action was soon followed by another at sea, in which the Persians were worsted for some time, till animated by the warm reproaches and remonstrances of their admiral, they resumed courage, and obtained a complete victory. Salamin was immediately besieged by sea and land. Evagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his son, Pythagoras, quitted it in the night with ten galleys, and sailed for Egypt, to engage the king to support him vigorously against the common enemy. He did not obtain from him all the aid he expected. At his return, he found the city in exceeding distress; and finding himself without resource or hope, he was obliged to capitulate. The proposals made to him were, that he should abandon all the cities of Cyprus except Salamin, where he should content himself to reign; that he should pay an annual tribute to the king, and remain in obedience to him, as a servant to a master. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were, but he could never resolve to comply with the last, and persisted always in declaring, that he could only treat as a king with a king. Tiribasis, who commanded the siege, would abate nothing of his pretensions.

Orontes, the other general, jealous of his colleague's glory, had written secretly to court against him, accusing him, among other things, of forming designs against the king, and strengthened his accusation from his continuing to hold a secret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, and his manifest endeavours to make the chiefs of the army his creatures, by means of presents, promises, and a complacency of manners, not

* A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398.

† Pausan. l. i. p. 5.

‡ A. M. 3614. Ant. J. C. 390. Isocrat. in Pancg. p. 135, 136.

¶ A. M. 3618. Ant. J. C. 386. Diad. l. xv. p. 323-333.

† A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394.

§ Diad. l. xiv. p. 311.

natural to him. Artaxerxes, upon these letters, believed he had no time to lose, and that it was necessary to prevent a conspiracy ready to break out. He despatched orders immediately to Orantes to seize Tiribasus, and send him to court in chains, which was instantly put in execution. Tiribasus, upon his arrival, demanded to be brought to a trial in form; that the heads of the accusation should be communicated to him, and the proofs and witnesses produced. The king, employed in other cases, had no leisure at that time to take cognizance of the affair.

Orantes in the mean time, seeing that the besieged made a vigorous defence, and that the soldiers of the army, discontented with the removal of Tiribasus, quitted the service, and refused to obey him, was afraid that affairs would take a bad turn with regard to him. He therefore caused Evagoras to be spoken to privately; the negotiation was resumed; the offers made at first by the latter were accepted; and the mortifying article, which had prevented the conclusion of the treaty, retrenched. The siege was raised in consequence. Evagoras continued king of Salamin only, and engaged to pay an annual tribute.*

It appears that this prince lived twelve or thirteen years after the conclusion of the treaty; for his death is dated in the year of the world 3632. His old age was attended with a happiness and tranquillity never interrupted with sickness or disease, the usual effect of a sober and temperate life. Nicocles his eldest son succeeded him, and inherited his virtues as well as his throne. He celebrated his funeral with the utmost magnificence. The discourse entitled *Evagoras*, composed by Isocrates, to inspire the young king with the desire of imitating the example of his father, and from which I have extracted the subsequent eulogium, served for his funeral oration. He also addressed another tract to Nicocles, which bears his name, wherein he gives him admirable precepts for governing well. I shall perhaps have occasion to speak farther of them afterwards.

EULOGY AND CHARACTER OF EVAGORAS.

THOUGH Evagoras was king of only a small state, Isocrates, who was well able to judge of virtue and merit, compares him with the most powerful monarchs, and proposes him as the perfect model of a good king; convinced that not the extent of provinces, but extent of mind and greatness of soul, constitute great princes. He does in fact point out to us many qualities truly royal in him, and which ought to give us a very high idea of his merit.†

Evagoras was not of the number of those princes who believe, that to reign, it is sufficient to be of royal blood: and that the birth which gives a right to the crown, gives also the merit and qualities necessary for wearing it with honour. He did not imagine, that it could be supposed, as every other condition and station of life made a kind of apprenticeship necessary to its success, that the art of reigning, the most difficult and important of all, should require no pains and preparation for its attainment. He came into the world with the most happy dispositions: a great fund of genius, an easy conception, a lively and instant penetration which nothing escaped, a solidity of judgment that immediately resolved what was necessary to be done: qualities which might seem to dispense with all study and application; and yet, as if he had been born without talents, and found himself obliged to supply by study what he might want by nature, he neglected no means for the embellishment of his mind, and devoted a considerable part of his time to improve himself, by reflecting, meditating on, and consulting the judgment and merit of others.

When he ascended the throne, his greatest care and application was to know mankind, in which the ability of a prince, and those who are at the head of affairs, principally consists. He had no doubt prepared himself for that science by the study of history, which gives a kind of anticipation of it, supplies the place of experience, and teaches us what the men are with whom we live, by what they have been in other ages. But we study men quite differently in themselves; by their manners, characters, conduct, and actions. The love of the commonwealth rendered attentive to all persons who were capable of serving or injuring it. He applied himself to the discovery of their most secret inclinations and principles of action, and to the knowledge of their different talents and degrees of capacity, in order to assign to each his proper post, to bestow authority according to merit, and to make the private and public good promote each other. He neither rewarded nor punished his subjects, says Isocrates, from the

* A. M. 3619. Ant. J. C. 355.

† Isocrat. in *Evag.*

report of others, but solely upon his own knowledge and experience of them; and neither the virtues of the good, nor the vices of the bad, escaped his inquiry and penetration.

He had one quality very seldom found in those who possess the first rank in authority, especially when they believe themselves capable of governing alone; I mean, a wonderful docility and attention to the opinion of others, which arose from a diffidence in his own abilities. With his great qualities, he did not seem to have occasion for recourse to the counsel of others, and nevertheless made no resolution, and formed no enterprise, without having first consulted the wise persons whom he had placed about him in his court; instead of which, pride and presumption, the latent poisons of sovereign power, incline the greatest part of those who arrive at thrones, either to ask no advice at all, or not to follow it when they do.

Intent upon discovering the excellent in every form of government and private condition in life, he proposed the uniting of all their high qualities and great advantages in himself; affable and popular as in a republican state; grave and serious as in the councils of the aged and the senate; steady and decisive as monarchy after mature deliberation; a profound politician by the extent and rectitude of his views; an accomplished warrior, from intrepid valour in battle, directed by a wise moderation; a good father, a good relation, a good friend; and what crowns all his praise, in every circumstance of his character, always great, and always himself.

He supported his dignity and rank, not with an air of pride and haughtiness, but by a serenity of aspect, and a mild and easy majesty, resulting from innate virtues, and the evidence of a good conscience. He won the hearts of his friends by his liberality, and conquered others by a greatness of soul, to which they could not refuse their esteem and admiration.

But what was most royal in him, and attracted the entire confidence of his subjects, neighbours, and even enemies, was his sincerity, faith, and regard to all his engagements; and his hatred, or rather detestation, for all deceit, falsehood, and fraud. A single word on his side had as much regard paid to it as the most sacred oath; and it was universally known, that nothing was capable of inducing him to violate it in the least circumstance whatever.

It was by all these excellent qualities that he effectually reformed the city of Salamin, and entirely changed the face of its affairs in a very short time. He found it gross, savage and barbarous, without any taste either for learning, commerce, or arms. What cannot a prince do, who loves his people, and is beloved by them; who believes himself great and powerful only to render them happy; and knows how to set a just value upon and do honour to their labours, industry, and merit of every kind! He had not been many years upon the throne, before arts, science, commerce, navigation, and military discipline, were seen to flourish at Salamin; in so much that the city did not give place to the most opulent of Greece.

Isocrates often repeats, that in the praises he gives Evagoras, of which I have only extracted a part, far from exaggerating any thing, he always falls short of truth. To what can we attribute a reign so wise, so just, so moderate, so constantly employed in rendering his subjects happy, and in promoting the public good? The condition of Evagoras, before he came to govern, seems to me to have contributed very much to it. He being born a prince, and having never experienced any other condition than that of master and sovereign, are, in my opinion, great obstacles to the knowledge and practice of the duties of that high station. Evagoras, who came into the world under a tyrant, had long obeyed before he commanded. He had borne, in a private and dependent life, the yoke of an absolute and despotic power. He had seen himself exposed to envy and calumny, and had been in danger for his merit and virtue. Such a prince had only to be told, upon his ascending the throne, what was said to the emperor Trajan: "You have not always been what you now are. Adversity has prepared you to make a good use of power. You have lived long among us, and like us. You have been in danger under bad princes. You have trembled for yourself, and known by experience how virtue and innocence have been treated."* What he had personally suffered, what he had feared for himself or others, what he had seen unjust and unreasonable in the conduct of his predecessors, had opened his eyes, and taught him all his duty. It sufficed to tell him, what the emperor Galba told Piso,

* *Quam utile est ad usum secundorum per adversa venisse! Vixisti nobiscum, periclitatus es, timuisti. Que tunc erat innocentium vita scis, et exertus es.*—Plin. in Panegyri.

when he adopted him his associate in the empire: "Remember what you condemned or applauded in princes, when you were a private man. You have only to consult the judgment you then passed upon them, and to act conformably to it, for your instruction in the art of reigning well."*

TRIAL OF TIRIBASUS.

WE have already said, that Tiribasus, having been accused by Orontes of forming a conspiracy against the king, had been sent to court in chains. Gaos, admiral of the fleet, who had married his daughter, apprehending that Artaxerxes would involve him in the affair with his father-in-law, and cause him to be put to death upon mere suspicion, conceived that he had no other means for his security than an open revolt. He was very well beloved by the soldiers; and all the officers of the fleet were particularly devoted to him. Without loss of time he sent deputies to Achoris, king of Egypt, and concluded a league with him against the king of Persia. He also solicited the Lacedæmonians warmly to come into that league, with assurances of making them masters of all Greece, and of establishing universally their form of government at which they had long seemed to aspire. They listened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy this occasion of taking up arms against Artaxerxes, especially as the peace they had concluded with him, by which they had given up the Greeks of Asia had covered them with shame, and filled them with remorse.

As soon as Artaxerxes had put an end to the war of Cyprus, he thought of concluding also the affair of Tiribasus. He was so just as to appoint for that purpose three commissioners, who were great lords of Persia of distinguished probity, and of the highest reputation in his court. The affair came to an examination, and a hearing on both sides. For so considerable a crime as that of having conspired against the king's person, no other proofs were produced than the letters of Orontes; that is to say, of a declared enemy, studious to supplant his rival. Orontes was in hopes, from his influence at court, that the affair would not have been discussed in the usual form, and that upon the memorial sent by him, the accused would have been condemned without farther examination. But this was not the custom with the Persians. By an anciently-established regulation, to which among other privileges they had a right by birth, no person was ever to be condemned, without being first heard and confronted with his accusers. This was granted to Tiribasus, who answered to all the articles of the letter. As to his connivance with Evagoras, the treaty itself concluded by Orontes was his apology; as it was absolutely the same which that prince had proposed to him, except a condition which would have done honour to his master. As to his intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, the glorious treaty which he had made them enter into, sufficiently explained whether his own or the king's interests were his motives for it. He did not deny his influence in the army; but apprehended it had not been long a crime to be beloved by the officers and soldiers; and concluded his defence, in representing the long services he had rendered the king, with inviolable fidelity; and especially his good fortune in having formerly saved his life, when he was hunting, and in great danger of being devoured by two lions. The three commissioners were unanimous in declaring Tiribasus innocent. The king restored him to his former favour; and justly enraged at the black design of Orontes, let the whole weight of his indignation fall upon him. A single example of this kind against informers convicted of falsehood, would forever shut the door against calumny. How many innocent persons have been destroyed for want of observing this rule, which even the pagans considered as the basis of all justice, and the guardian of the public tranquillity!†

SECTION VII.—THE EXPEDITION OF ARTAXERXES AGAINST THE CADUSIANS. HISTORY OF DATAMES THE CARIAN.

WHEN Artaxerxes had terminated the Cyprian war, he entered upon another against the Cadusians, who it is probable had revolted, and refused to pay the customary tribute; for authors say nothing of the occasion of this war. Those people inhabited part of the mountains situated between the Euxine and Caspian seas in

* *Utilissimus quidem ac brevissimus honorum malarumque rerum delectus, cogitare quid aut nolueris sub alio principe, aut volueris.*—Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 16.

† Diodorus defers the decision of this affair, till after the war with the Cadusians, of which we shall soon speak: this seems very improbable.

the north of Media. The soil there is so ungrateful, and so ill adapted for cultivation, that no corn is sown upon it. The people subsist almost entirely upon apples, pears, and other fruits of that kind. Inured from their infancy to a hard and laborious life, they looked upon dangers and fatigues as nothing; and for that reason made excellent soldiers. The king marched against them in person, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Tiribasis was with him in this expedition.*

Artaxerxes had not advanced far into the country, when his army suffered extremely by famine. The troops could find nothing to subsist upon; and it was impossible to bring provisions from other places, the ways being difficult and impracticable. The whole camp were reduced to eat their beasts of burden; which soon became so scarce, that the head of an ass was valued at sixty drachmas,† and was very difficult to be obtained at that price. The king's table itself began to fall short, and only a few horses remained, the rest having been entirely consumed.

In this melancholy conjuncture, Tiribasis contrived a stratagem, which saved the king and army. The Cadusians had two kings, who were encamped separately with their troops. Tiribasis, who took care to be informed of all that passed, had been apprised that there was some misunderstanding between them, and that their jealousy of each other prevented their acting in concert, as they should have done. After having communicated his design to Artaxerxes, he went himself to one of the kings, and despatched his son to the other. They each of them informed the king to whom they applied, that the other had sent ambassadors to treat with Artaxerxes privately, and advised him to lose no time, but to make his peace directly, in order that the conditions of it might be the more advantageous; promising to assist them with all their influence. The fraud succeeded. The pagans thought it no crime to use it with enemies.‡ Ambassadors set out from both princes, with Tiribasis and his son in their company.

As this double negotiation lasted some time, Artaxerxes began to suspect Tiribasis; and his enemies taking that opportunity, forgot nothing to his prejudice that might ruin him in the king's opinion. That prince already repented the confidence he had reposed in him, and thereby gave room for those who envied him to vent their calumnies and invectives. Upon what does the fortune of the most faithful subjects depend with a credulous and suspicious prince? While this passed, Tiribasis arrived on his side, and his son on the other, each with ambassadors from the Cadusians. The treaty being concluded with both parties, and the peace made, Tiribasis became more powerful than ever in his master's favour, and returned with him.

The king's behaviour in this march was much admired. Neither the gold with which he was covered, his purple robes, nor the jewels that glittered all over him, and were worth thirty-six millions of livres,§ prevented his taking an equal share in every fatigue with the meanest soldier. He was seen with his quiver at his back, and his shield on his arm, to dismount from his horse and march foremost in those rugged and difficult countries. The soldiers observing his patience and fortitude, and animated by the example, became so cheerful that they seemed rather to fly than walk. At length he arrived at one of his palaces, where the gardens were in admirable order, and there was a park of great extent and well planted, which was the more surprising, as the whole country about it was entirely naked, and bore no kind of trees. As it was the depth of winter, and excessively cold, he gave the soldiers permission to cut down the wood in this park, without excepting the finest trees, either pines or cypresses. But the soldiers being unwilling to sell timber of such exceeding beauty and stateliness, the king took an axe, and began by cutting the finest and largest tree himself; after which the troops spared none, cut down all the wood they wanted, and kindled as many fires as were necessary to their passing the night without any inconvenience. When we reflect how much value great persons generally set upon their gardens and houses of pleasure, we must acknowledge the generosity of Artaxerxes in making this sacrifice, which argued a very laudable goodness of heart, and a sensibility for the distresses and sufferings of his soldiers. But he did not always support that character.

The king had lost in this enterprize a great number of his best troops, and almost all his horses; and as he imagined that he was despised upon that account, and the

* Plut. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024.

‡ *Dulus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?*—Virgil.

† Nearly six dollars.

§ About twelve hundred thousand dollars.

ill success of his expedition, he became very much out of humour with the *grandeeds* of his court, and put to death a great number of them in the emotions of his wrath, and more out of distrust, and the fear of their attempting something against him; for fear, in a suspicious prince is a very destructive and bloody passion; whereas true courage is gentle, humane, and averse to all jealousy and suspicion.

One of the principal officers who perished in this expedition against the Calusians, was Camisares, by nation a Carian, and governor of Leuco-Syria, a province enclosed between Cilicia and Cappadocia. His son Datames succeeded him in that government, which was given him in consideration of the good services he had also rendered the king in the same expedition. He was the greatest captain of his time; and Cornelius Nepos, who has given us his life, does not prefer Amilcar and Hannibal to him among the barbarians. It appears from his history of it, that no one ever excelled him in boldness, valour, and ability in inventing schemes and stratagems, in activity in the execution of his designs, in presence of mind to resolve in the heat of action, and to find resources upon the most desperate occasions; in a word, in every thing that regards military knowledge. It seems that nothing was wanting to his having acquired a more illustrious name, but a noble theatre, and more exalted occasions; and perhaps a historian to have given a more extensive narration of his exploits: for Cornelius Nepos, according to his general plan, could not relate them but in a very succinct manner.*

He began to distinguish himself particularly by the execution of a commission that was given him to reduce Thyus, a very powerful prince, and governor of Paphlagonia, who had revolted against the king. As he was his near relation, he thought it incumbent upon him at first to try methods of lenity and reconciliation, which almost cost him his life, through the treachery of Thyus, by the ambuscades he laid for him. Having escaped so great a danger, he attacked him with open force; though he saw himself abandoned by Ariobarzanes, satrap of Lydia, Ionia, and all Phrygia, whom jealousy prevented from giving aid. He took his enemy prisoner, with his wife and children; and knowing with what joy the king would receive the news, he endeavoured to make it the more sensible by the pleasure of a surprise. He set out with his illustrious prisoner, without giving the court any advice, and made great marches, to prevent its being known from rumour before his arrival. When he came to Susa, he equipped Thyus in a very singular manner. He was a man of a very tall stature, of a haggard and terrible aspect, a black complexion, with the hair of his head and beard very long. He dressed him in a magnificent habit, put a collar and bracelets of gold about his neck and arms, and added to this equipage all the ornaments of a king, as he in fact was. For himself, in the gross habit of a peasant, and clad like a hunter, he led Thyus upon the left in a leash, like a wild beast that had been taken in the snare. The novelty of the sight drew the whole city after it; but nobody was so much surprised and pleased as the king, when he saw them approach in that pleasant masquerade. The rebellion of a prince, very powerful in his country, had given Artaxerxes great and just alarm; and he did not expect to have seen him so soon in his hands. So sudden and successful an execution gave him a higher opinion than ever of the merit of Datames.

To express his sense of it, he gave him an equal share in the command of the army designed against Egypt, with Pharnabazus and Tithraustes, the two principal persons in the state, and even appointed him general-in-chief, when he recalled Pharnabazus.

When he was upon the point of setting out for that expedition, Artaxerxes ordered him to march directly against Aspis, who had made the country revolt, which he commanded in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia. The commission was of little importance to an officer who had been appointed general, and besides very dangerous, because it was necessary to go in quest of the enemy into a very remote country. The king soon perceived his error, and countermanded him: but Datames had set out directly with a handful of men, and marched night and day; judging that diligence, without a great number of troops, was all that was necessary to surprise and vanquish the enemy. It happened according to his expectation; and the couriers despatched by the king, met Aspis in chains upon the road to Susa.

Nothing was talked of at court but Datames. It was not known which to admire most, his ready obedience, his wise and enterprising bravery, or his extraordinary

* Cor. Nep. in Vit. Datamis

success. So glorious a reputation gave offence to the courtiers in power: Enemies in secret to each other, and divided by a contrariety of interests, and a competition in their pretensions, they united together against a superior merit, which reproached their defects, and was therefore a crime in their acceptation. They conspired to ruin him in the king's opinion, and succeeded but too well. As they besieged him perpetually, and he was not upon his guard against persons who appeared so well affected to his service, they inspired him with jealousy and suspicion, to the prejudice of the most zealous and faithful of his officers.

An intimate friend of Datames, who held one of the highest posts at the court, apprised him of what passed, and of the conspiracy which had been formed against him, and had already sunk his credit considerably with the king. He represented to him, that if the Egyptian expedition, with which he was charged, should take a bad turn, he would find himself exposed to great dangers: that it was the custom with kings to attribute good successes to themselves and their auspicious fortune only, and to impute their bad to the faults of their generals, for which they were responsible at the peril of their heads: that he ran the greater risk, as all that were about the king's person, and had any ascendant over him, were his declared enemies, and had sworn his destruction.*

Upon this advice, Datames resolved to quit the king's service, though without doing any thing hitherto contrary to the fidelity he owed him. He left the command of the army to Mandrocles of Magnesia, departed with his own troops for Cappadocia, seized Paphlagonia which joined it, allied himself secretly with Ariobarzanes, raised troops, took possession of fortresses, and put good garrisons in them. He received advice that the Pisidians were arming against him. He did not wait their coming on, but made his army march thither under the command of his youngest son, who had the misfortune to be killed in battle. However lively his affliction might be upon that occasion, he concealed his death, lest the bad news should discourage his troops.

When he approached near the enemy, his first care was to take possession of an advantageous post. Mithrobarzanes, his father-in-law, who commanded the horse, believing his son entirely ruined, determined to go over to the enemy. Datames, without concern or emotion, caused a rumour to be spread throughout the army, that it was only a stratagem concerted between him and his father-in-law, and followed him close, as if he designed to put his troops in a position for charging the enemy in two different attacks. This artifice was attended with all the success he expected from it. When they joined battle, Mithrobarzanes was treated as an enemy on both sides,† and cut to pieces with his troops. The army of the Pisidians was put to flight, and left Datames master of the field, and of all the rich booty found in the camp of the conquered.†

Datames had not till then declared openly against the king, the actions we have related being only against governors, with whom he might have particular differences, which we have observed before was very common. His own eldest son, called Scismas, made himself his accuser, and discovered his whole design to the king. Artaxerxes was highly apprehensive of the consequence. He knew all the merit of this new enemy, and that he did not engage in any enterprise without having maturely considered all its consequences, and taken the necessary measures to secure its success; and that hitherto the execution had always answered the wisdom of his projects. He sent an army against him into Cappadocia, of almost two hundred thousand men, twenty thousand of which were horse, all commanded by Autophradates. The troops of Datames did not amount to the twentieth part of the king's: so that he had no resource but in himself, the valour of his soldiers, and the happy situation of the post he had chosen; for in that consisted his chief excellence; no captain having better known how to take advantage and choose his ground, when he was to draw up an army in battle.

His post, as I have observed, was infinitely superior to that of the enemy. He had pitched upon a situation where they could not surround him; where, upon the least movement they made, he could come to blows with them with very considerable advantage; and where, had they resolved to fight, their odds in number would have

* Docet cum magno fore in periculo, siquid, illo imperante, in Egypto adversi accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regum, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunæ suæ; quo facile fieri, ut impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res male gestæ nuncientur. Illum hoc majore fore in discrimine, quod, quibus rex maxime obediat eos habeat inimicissimos.—Corn. Nep.

† Diod. l. xv. p. 399.

been absolutely useless to them. Autophradates well knew, that according to all the rules of war, he ought not to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture: but he observed at the same time, that it was much to his dishonour, with so numerous an army, to make choice of a retreat, or to continue any longer inactive before a handful of enemies. He therefore gave the signal. The first attack was violent; but the troops of Autophradates soon gave way, and were entirely routed. The victor pursued them for some time with great slaughter. There were only a thousand men killed on the side of Datames.

Several battles, or rather skirmishes, were fought afterwards, in which the latter was always victorious; because, perfectly knowing the country, and succeeding especially in the stratagems of war, he always posted himself advantageously, and engaged the enemy in difficult ground, from whence they could not extricate themselves without loss. Autophradates, seeing all his endeavours ineffectual, and his supplies entirely exhausted, and despairing of ever being able to subject by force so artful and valiant an enemy, entreated an accommodation, and proposed to him his being restored to the king's favour upon honourable conditions. Datames was not ignorant, that there was little security for him in such a choice, because princes are seldom reconciled in earnest with a subject who has failed in his obedience, and to whom they see themselves in some sort obliged to submit. However, as only despair had hurried him into the revolt, and he had always retained at heart sentiments of zeal and affection for his prince, he accepted the offers with joy, which would put an end to the violent condition his misfortune had engaged him in, and afford him the means of returning to his duty, and of employing his talents for the service of the prince to whom they were due. He promised to send deputies to the king; upon which ensued a cessation of arms; and Autophradates retired into Phrygia, which was his government.

Datames was not deceived. Artaxerxes, furiously enraged against him, had changed the esteem and affection he formerly professed for him, into an implacable hatred. Finding himself incapable of conquering him by the force of arms, he was not ashamed to employ artifice and treachery: means unworthy of every man of honour, and much more so of a prince. He hired several murderers to assassinate him; but Datames was so happy as to escape their ambuscades. At length Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, to whom the king had made magnificent promises, if he could deliver him from so formidable an enemy, having insinuated himself into his friendship, and having long treated him with all the marks of the most entire fidelity to acquire his confidence, took the advantage of a favourable opportunity when he was alone, and stabbed him with his sword before he was in a condition to defend himself.

Thus fell this great captain in the snares of a pretended friendship, who had always thought it his honour to observe the most inviolable fidelity, in regard to those with whom he had any engagements.* Happy had he always prided himself also upon being as faithful a subject, as he was a true friend, and if he had not, in the latter part of his life, sullied the lustre of his heroic qualities, by the ill use he made of them, which neither the fear of disgrace, the injustice of those who envied him, the ingratitude of his masters for the services he had rendered him, nor any other pretext, could sufficiently authorise.†

I am surprised that, comparable as he was to the greatest persons of antiquity, he had remained in a manner buried in silence and oblivion. His great actions and exploits are, however, worthy of being preserved in history; for it is in such small bodies of troops as those of Datames, that the whole soul is exerted, in which the highest prudence is shown, in which chance has no share, and the abilities of a general appear in their full light.

* *Ita vir, qui multos consilio, neminem perfidia ceperat, simulata captus est amicitia.*—Corn. Nep.

† This doctrine of Mr. Rollin's may do very well in France, where implicit obedience to the grand monarch is the law of the land; but it has too much of that exploded absurdity, passive obedience, founded in an erroneous acceptance of religion, to be admitted in a free nation; where, by the maxims of the law, and the constitution of the government, the subject in many instances is dispensed from his obedience, and may defend himself, even in arms, against his prince; viz. in cases of life and liberty.—Translator.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF SOCRATES ABRIDGED.

As the death of Socrates is one of the most considerable events of antiquity, I thought it incumbent on me to treat that subject with all the extent it deserves. In this view I shall premise some things, which are necessary to the reader's having a just idea of this prince of philosophers.

Two authors will supply me principally with what I have to say upon this subject, Plato and Xenophon, both disciples of Socrates. It is to them that posterity is indebted for many of his discourses, that philosopher having left nothing in writing, and for an ample account of all the circumstances of his condemnation and death.* Plato was an eye-witness of the whole, and relates, in his *Apology*, the manner of the accusation and defence of Socrates, in his *Criton*, his refusal to make his escape out of prison; in his *Phædon*, his admirable discourse upon the immortality of the soul, which was immediately followed by his death. Xenophon was absent at that time, and upon his return after the expedition of young Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes: so that he wrote his *Apology* of Socrates only upon the report of others; but his actions and discourses, in his four books of memorable things, he repeats from his own knowledge. Diogenes Laertius has given us the life of Socrates, but in a very dry and abridged manner.

SECTION I.—BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF SOCRATES.

SOCRATES was born at Athens, in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad.† His father Sophroniscus was a sculptor, and his mother Phanarete a midwife. Hence we may observe, that meanness of birth is no obstacle to true merit, in which alone solid glory and real nobility consist. It appears from the comparisons which Socrates often used in his discourses, that he was neither ashamed of his father's or mother's profession. He was surprised that a sculptor should employ his whole attention to mould an insensible stone into the likeness of a man, and that a man should take so little pains not to resemble an insensible stone.‡ He would often say, that he exercised the functions of a midwife with regard to the mind, in making it bring forth all its thoughts, which was indeed the peculiar talent of Socrates.§ He treated subjects in so simple, natural, and pure an order, that he made those with whom he disputed say what he would, and find an answer themselves to all the questions he proposed to them. He at first learned his father's trade, in which he made himself very expert. In the time of Pausanias, there was a Mercury the the Graces to be seen at Athens of his workmanship; and it is to be presumed, these statues would not have found place among those of the greatest masters in the art, if they had not been thought worthy of it.||

Criton is reported to have taken him out of his father's shop, from the admiration of his fine genius, and the opinion, that it was inconsistent for a young man, capable of the greatest things, to continue perpetually employed upon stone with a chisel in his hand. He was a disciple of Archelaus, who conceived a great affection for him.—Archelaus had been pupil to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philosopher.¶ His first study was physics, the works of nature and the movement of the heavens, stars, and planets; according to the custom of those times, wherein only that part of philosophy was known, and Xenophon assures us of his being very learned in it.** But after having found by his own experience, how difficult, abstruse, intricate, and at the same time how little useful that kind of learning was to the generality of mankind, he was the first, according to Cicero, who conceived the thought of bringing down philosophy from heaven, to place it in cities, and introduce into private houses; humanizing it, to use that expression, and rendering it more familiar, more useful in common life, more within the reach of man's capacity, and applying it solely to what might make them more rational, just, and virtuous.†† He found there was a kind of folly in devoting

* Socrates, cujus ingenium variosque sermones immortalitati scriptis suis Plato tradidit, literam nullam reliquit.—Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 57.

† A. M. 3533. Ant. J. C. 471. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 100

‡ Ibid. v. 110.

§ Plat. in Theatet. p. 149, &c.

¶ Paus. l. ix. p. 595.

¶ Diod. p. 101.

** Lib. iv. Mem. p. 710.

†† Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit ecclæ, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et eiegit de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis querere.—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 10.

Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, et ab ipsa natura involutus, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerant, avocasse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quaereret; ecclæsiam autem vel procul esse a nostra cognitione cerneret, vel si maxime cognita esset, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre.—Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. i. n. 15.

the whole vivacity of his mind, and employing all his time, in inquiries merely curious, involved in impenetrable darkness, and absolutely incapable of contributing to human happiness; while he neglected to inform himself in the ordinary duties of life, and in learning what is conformable or opposite to piety, justice, and probity: in what fortitude, temperance, and wisdom consist; and what is the end of all government, what the rules of it, and what qualities are necessary for commanding and ruling well.—We shall see in the sequel the use he made of this study.*

It was so far from preventing him from discharging the duties of a good citizen, that it was the means of making him the more observant of them. He bore arms, as did all the people of Athens; but with more pure and elevated motives. He made many campaigns, was present in many actions, and always distinguished himself by his valour and fortitude. He was seen towards the end of his life, giving in the senate, of which he was a member, the most shining proofs of his zeal for justice, without being intimidated by the greatest present dangers.

He had accustomed himself early to a sober, severe, laborious life; without which it seldom happens that men are capable of discharging the greatest part of the duties of good citizens. No man could carry the contempt of riches and the love of poverty farther than he did. He thought it a divine perfection to be in want of nothing: and believed that the loss we are contented with, the nearer we approach to the Divinity.† Seeing the pomp and show displayed by luxury in certain ceremonies, and the infinite quantity of gold and silver employed in them. “How many things,” said he, congratulating himself on his condition, “do I not want!” “Quantis non egeo!”‡

His father left him eighty minæ, which he lent to one of his friends who had occasion for that sum. But the affairs of that friend having taken an ill turn, he lost the whole; and suffered that misfortune with such indifference and tranquillity, that he did not so much as complain of it.§ We find it in Xenophon’s *Economies*, that his whole estate amounted to no more than five minæ.|| The richest persons of Athens were his friends, who could never prevail on him to accept a share of their wealth. When he was in want of any thing, he was not ashamed to declare it: “If I had money,” said he one day in an assembly of his friends, “I should buy me a cloak.” He did not address himself to any one in particular, but contented himself with that general information. His disciples contended for the honour of making him this small present; which was being too slow, says Seneca; their own observation should have prevented both the want and the demand.¶

He generously refused the offers and presents of Archelaus king of Macedon, who was desirous of having him at his court; adding, “that he could not go to a man who could give him more than it was in his power to return.” Another philosopher does not approve this answer. “Was it making a prince a small return,” says Seneca, “to undeceive him in his false ideas of grandeur and magnificence; to inspire him with a contempt for riches; to show him the right use of them; to instruct him in the great art of reigning; in a word, to teach him how to live and how to die? But,” continues Seneca, “the true reason which prevented his going to the court of that prince, was, that he did not think it consistent for him to seek a voluntary servitude, whose liberty a free city could not suffer him to enjoy. “Noluit ire ad voluntariam servitutum, is, cujus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit.”**

The peculiar austerity of his life did not render him gloomy and morose, as was too common with the philosophers of those times.†† In company and conversation he was always gay and facetious, and the sole joy and spirit of the entertainment. Though he was very poor, he took a pleasure in the neatness of his person and house, and could not suffer the ridiculous affectation of Antisthenes, who always wore dirty and ragged clothes. He told him once, that through the holes of his cloak, and the rest of his tatters, abundance of vanity might be discerned.‡‡

One of the most distinguished qualities of Socrates, was a tranquillity of soul, that no accident, no loss, no injury, no ill treatment, could ever alter. Some have believed, that he was by nature hasty and passionate, and that the moderation to which he

* Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 710.

† Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 731.

‡ Sociates in pompa, cum magna vis auri argentique ferretur: Quam multa non desidero? inquit.—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5.

§ Liban in Apolog. Soerat. p. 640.

|| Xenoph. Econ. p. 822.

¶ Socrates, amicis audientibus; “Emissum,” inquit, “pallium, si nunmos haberem.” Neminem poposcit, omnes admonuit. A quo acciperet, ambitus fuit. Post hoc quisquis properaverit, zero dat; Jam Socrati deficit—Senec. de Benef. l. vii. c. 24.

** Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6.

†† Xenoph. in Conviv.

‡‡ Ælian. l. iv. c. 11. et l. ix. c. 35.

had attained, was the object of his reflections and endeavours to subdue and correct himself: which would still add to his merit. Seneca tells us, that he had desired his friends to apprise him whenever they saw him ready to fall into a passion, and that he had given them that privilege over him, which he himself took with them.* Indeed the best time to call in aid against rage and anger, that have so violent and sudden a power over us, is when we are yet ourselves, and in cool blood.† At the first signal, the least animadversion, he either softened his tone, or was silent. Finding himself in great emotion against a slave: "I would beat you," said he, "if I were not angry:" "Cæderem te, nisi irascerer."‡ Having received a box on the ear, he contented himself with only saying, with a smile, "Tis a misfortune not to know when to put on a helmet."§

Without going out of his own house, he found enough to exercise his patience to its full extent. Xantippe his wife put it to the severest proofs by her capricious, passionate, and violent disposition. It seems, before he took her for his companion, that he was not ignorant of her character; and he says himself in Xenophon, "that he had expressly chosen her from the conviction, that if he should be capable of bearing her insults, there would be nobody, though ever so difficult to endure, with whom he could not live."|| Never was woman of so violent and capricious a spirit, and so bad a temper. There was no kind of abuse or injurious treatment which he had not to experience from her. She would sometimes be transported with such an excess of rage, as to tear off his cloak in the open street; and even one day, after having vented all the reproaches her fury could suggest, she emptied a pot upon his head; at which he only laughed and said, "That so much thunder must needs produce a shower."¶

Some ancient authors write, that Socrates married a second wife, named Myrto, who was the grand-daughter of Aristides the Just; and that he suffered exceedingly from them both, who were continually quarrelling with each other and never agreed, but in loading him with reproaches, and doing him all the injury they could invent. They pretend, that during the Peloponnesian war, after the pestilence had swept off great numbers of the Athenians, a decree was made, whereby, the sooner, to retrieve the ruins of the republic, each citizen was permitted to have two wives at the same time, and that Socrates took advantage of this new law. Those authors found this circumstance solely upon a passage in a treatise on nobility, ascribed to Aristotle. But besides that, according to Plutarch himself, Panetius, a very grave author, has fully refuted this opinion; neither Plato nor Xenophon, who were well acquainted with all that related to their master, say any thing of this second marriage of Socrates: and on another side, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, who have treated at large all the particulars of the Peloponnesian war, are alike silent in regard to the pretended decree of Athens, which permitted bigamy. We may see in the first volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters, a dissertation of Monsieur Hardon's upon this subject, wherein he demonstrates, that the second marriage of Socrates, and the decree upon bigamy, are supposititious facts.

SECTION II.—OF THE DÆMON, OR FAMILIAR SPIRIT OF SOCRATES.

OUR knowledge of Socrates would be defective if we knew nothing of the genius, which, he said, had assisted him with its counsel and protection in the greatest part of his actions. It is not agreed among authors what this genius was commonly called, "The Dæmon of Socrates," from the Greek word *Δαίμωνιον*, which signifies something of a divine nature, conceived as a secret voice, a sign, or such an inspiration as diviners are supposed to have had. This genius diverted him from the execution of his designs when they were prejudicial to him, without ever inducing him to act any thing; "Esse divinum quoddam, quod Socrates demonium appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti, sæpe revocanti."*** Plutarch, in his treatise, entitled, "Of the Genius of Socrates," repeats the different opinions of the ancients upon the existence and nature of this genius. I shall confine myself to that one which seems the most natural and reasonable, though he does not lay much stress upon it.†

We know that the divinity has a clear and unerring knowledge of futurity; that

* Senec. de Ira. l. iii. c. 15.

† Contra potens malum et apud nos gratiosum, dum conspicimus, nostri sumus, advoceimus.

‡ Senec. de Ira. l. i. c. 15.

§ Idem. l. iii. c. 11.

[Xenoph. in Conviv. p. 876.

¶ Diog. in Socrat. p. 112

** Page 530.

†† Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 122.

man cannot penetrate into its darkness, but by uncertain and confused conjectures; that those who succeeded best in that research, are they who by a more exact and studied comparison of the different causes capable of influencing future events; distinguish, with greater force and perspicuity, what will be the result and issue of the conflict of those different causes, in conducting to the success or miscarriage of an effect or enterprise. This foresight and discernment has something divine in it, exalts us above the rest of mankind, assimilates us to the divinity, and makes us participate in some measure in his councils and designs, by giving us an insight and prescience, to a certain degree, of what he has ordained concerning the future. Socrates had a just and penetrating judgment, joined with the most consummate prudence. He might call this judgment and prudence, *Δαίμωνιον*, "something divine," using indeed a kind of equivocation in the expression, without attributing to himself, however, the merit of his wisdom in conjecturing upon the future. The Abbe Fraguier comes very near the same opinion in the dissertation he has left us upon this subject, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters*.*

The effect, or rather function of this genius, was to stop and prevent his acting, without ever inducing him to act. He received also the same impulse, when his friends were about to engage in any bad affair, and communicated it to them; and several instances are related, wherein they found themselves very unfortunate from not having believed him.† Now, what other signification can be given to this, than that under mysterious terms, it implies a mind which by its own lights, and the knowledge of mankind, has attained a sort of insight into futurity? And if Socrates had not intended to lessen in his own person the merit of unerring judgment, by attributing to it a kind of instinct, if at bottom he had desired any thing to be understood, besides the general aid of the divine wisdom, which speaks in every man by the voice of reason, would he have escaped, says Xenophon, the censure of arrogance and falsehood?‡

"God has always prevented me from speaking to you," says he to Alcibiades, "while the weakness of your age would have rendered my discourses ineffectual to you. But I conceive I may now enter into dispute with you, as an ambitious young man, for whom the laws open a way to the dignities of the republic.§ Is it not here evident, that prudence prevented Socrates from treating Alcibiades seriously, at a time when grave and severe conversation would have created in him a disgust, of which perhaps he might never have got the better? And when, in his dialogue upon the commonwealth, Socrates ascribes his avoiding public business to inspiration from above, does he mean any thing more than what he says in his apology, "that a just and good man, who intermeddles with the government in a corrupt state, is not long without perishing?"|| If, when he appeared before the judges who were to condemn him, that divine voice was not heard to prevent him, as it was usually upon dangerous occasions, the reason is, that he did not deem it a misfortune for him to die, especially at his age, and in his circumstances.¶ It is well known what his prognostication had been long before, upon the unfortunate expedition to Sicily. He attributed it to his *dæmon*, and declared it to be the inspiration of that spirit. A wise man, who sees an affair ill concerted, and conducted with passion, may easily prophecy upon the event of it, without the aid of a *dæmon's* inspiration.

It must be allowed, however, that the opinion which gives to men genii and angels to direct and guard them, was not unknown even to the pagans. Plutarch cites the verses of Menander, in which that poet expressly says, "That every man at his birth has a good genius given him, which attends him during the whole course of his life, as a guide and director."***

Ἄπικτι δαίμων ἀνδρῶν συμπραξατοῖ
 Ἐυθύς γ' ἐνομένη, μυσταγωγὸς τῆς βίης
 Ἄγαθός;

It is highly probable, that the *Dæmon* of Socrates, which has been so differently spoken of, and thereby made a question whether it was a good or bad angel, was no more than the force and rectitude of his judgment, which acting according to the rules of prudence, aided by long experience, and supported by wise reflections, made him foresee the events of those things, upon which he was either consulted, or deliberated himself.

† Plat. in Theag. p. 123.

* Vol. IV. p. 368.

‡ Memorab. li. p. 703.

§ Lib. vi. de Rep. p. 495. Apolog. Soc. p. 31, 32.

¶ Plut. in Alcib. p. 150.

‡ Apolog. Soc. p. 40.

*** De Anim. tranquil. p. 474.

I conceive, at the same time, that he was not sorry the people should believe him inspired, or that he knew futurity by any aid whatever of the divinity. That idea might exalt him very highly in the opinion of the Athenians, and give him an authority, of which the greatest persons of the pagan world were very fond, and which they endeavoured to acquire by secret communications, and pretended conferences with some divinity: but it drew the jealousy of many of the citizens upon him.*

SECTION III.—SOCRATES DECLARED THE WISEST OF MANKIND BY THE ORACLE.

THIS declaration of the oracle, so advantageous in appearance for Socrates, did not a little contribute to the excitement of envy and stirring up of enemies against him, as he tells us himself in his apology, wherein he recounts the occasion and true sense of that oracle.†

Chærephon, a zealous disciple of Socrates, when at Delphos, inquired of the oracle, whether there was a wiser man than Socrates in the world: the priestess replied there was none. This answer perplexed Socrates extremely, who could scarcely comprehend the meaning of it. For on the one side, he well knew, as he says of himself, that there was neither much nor little wisdom in him; and on the other, he could not suspect the oracle of falsehood, the divinity being incapable of telling a lie. He therefore considered it attentively, and took great pains to discover the sense of it. At first he applied himself to a powerful citizen, a statesman, and a great politician, who passed for one of the wisest men of the city, and who was himself as much convinced of his own merit as any body. He found by his conversation that he knew nothing, and insinuated as much to him in terms sufficiently intelligible, which made him extremely odious to that citizen, and all who were present. He did the same by several others of the same profession; and the only result of his inquiry was, to draw upon himself a greater number of enemies. From the statesmen he addressed himself to the poets, whom he found still fuller of self-esteem, but really more void of knowledge and wisdom. He pursued his inquiries to the artisans, and could not meet with one, who, because he succeeded in his own art, did not believe himself very capable, and fully informed in all that was great besides; which presumption was the almost universal failing of the Athenians. As they had naturally an abundance of wit, they pretended to a knowledge of every thing, and believed themselves capable of pronouncing upon all things. His inquiries among strangers were not more successful.

Socrates, afterwards on comparing himself with all those he had questioned, discovered that the difference between him and them was, that they all believed they knew what they did not know, and that for his part, he sincerely professed his ignorance. From thence he concluded, that God only is truly wise; and that the true meaning of the oracle was to signify, that all human wisdom was of little value, or, to speak more properly, of no value at all. And, as to the oracle's naming him, it no doubt did so, says he, by way of setting him up for an example, as if it intended to declare to all men, "the wisest among you is he, who knows, like Socrates, that there is no real wisdom in him."‡

SECTION IV.—SOCRATES DEVOTES HIMSELF ENTIRELY TO THE INSTRUCTION OF THE YOUTH OF ATHENS.

AFTER having related some particulars in the life of Socrates, it is time to proceed to that in which his character principally and peculiarly consisted; I mean the pains he took to instruct mankind, and particularly to form the youth of Athens.

He seemed, says Lybanus, to be the common father of the republic; so attentive was he to the happiness and advantage of his whole country. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the instruction of youth, in order to sow the seeds of virtue in a soil more fit to produce the fruits of it.§

* Lycurgus and Solon had recourse to the authority of oracles to advance their credit. Zeluclus pretended that his laws had been dictated to him by Minerva. Numa Pompilius boasted his conferences with the goddess Egeria. The first Scipio Africanus made the people believe that the gods gave him secret counsels. Even the hand of Sertorius had something divine in it.

† Plut. in Apolog. p. 21, 22.

‡ Socrates in omnibus fere sermonibus sic disputat, ut nihil affirmet ipse, refellat alios; nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum, eoque præstare cæteris, quod illi, quæ nesciant, scire se putent; ipse se nihil scire id unum sciat, ob eamque rem se arbitrari ab Apolline omnium sapientissimum esse dictum, quod hæc esset una omnia sapientia, non arbitrari se scire quod nesciat.—Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. 1. n. 15, 16.

§ In Apol. Socrat. p. 641.

He had no open school, like the rest of the philosophers, nor set times for his lessons. He had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a professor's chair. He was the philosopher of all times and seasons. He taught in all places, and upon all occasions. In walking, in conversation, at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the public assemblies of the senate or people, in prison itself, and when he drank the poison, he philosophized, says Plutarch, and instructed mankind. And from thence the same judicious author takes occasion to establish a great principle in point of government, which Seneca* before him had placed in all its true light. "To be a public man," says he, "it is not necessary to be actually in office, to wear the robe of judge or magistrate, and to sit in the highest tribunals for the administration of justice. Many do this, who, though honoured with the appellation of orators, prætors, and senators, yet if they want the merit of those characters, ought to be regarded as private persons, and often confounded with the lowest and vilest of the populace. But whoever knows how to give wise counsels to those who consult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to inspire them with sentiments of probity, equity, generosity, and a love of their country, is the true magistrate and ruler, in whatever condition or place he may be."†

Such was Socrates. The services he rendered the state, by the instructions he gave the youth, and the disciples he formed, were inexpressibly great. No master ever had a great number of pupils, or more illustrious. Plato, though alone, was worth a multitude. When at the point of death, he blessed and thanked God for three things; that he had been endued with a rational soul, that he was born a Greek and not a barbarian, and that his birth had taken place in the lifetime of Socrates.‡—Xenophon had the same advantage. It is said, that Socrates one day met him in the street, and stopping him with his staff, asked him if he knew where provisions were sold? It was not difficult to answer this question. But Socrates having asked in what place men learned virtue, and observing that the second question perplexed him: "If you desire to know," continued the philosopher, "follow me, and you shall be informed." Which he did immediately, and was afterwards the first who collected and published his master's discourses.§

Aristippus, upon a conversation with Ischomachus, in which he had introduced some of the doctrines of Socrates, conceived so ardent a desire to become his disciple, that his health was greatly impaired, till he could go to the fountain head, and imbibe his fill of a philosophy that taught the knowledge and cure of evil.||

What is reported of Euclid the Megarian, gives us a still stronger idea of the desire among the disciples of Socrates to receive the benefit of his instructions. There was at that time an open war between Athens and Megara, which was carried on with so much animosity, that the Athenians obliged their generals to take an oath to lay waste the territory of Megara twice a year, and prohibited the Megarians from setting foot in Attica upon pain of death.¶ This decree could not extinguish nor suspend the zeal of Euclid. He left his city in the evening in the disguise of a woman, with a veil upon his head, and came to the house of Socrates in the night, where he continued till the approach of day, when he returned in the same manner he came.**

The ardour of the young Athenians to follow him, was incredible. They left father and mother, and renounced all parties of pleasure, to attach themselves to him, and to hear his discourses. We may judge of this in the example of Alcibiades, the most ardent and fiery of all the Athenians. The philosopher, however, never spared him, and was always ready to calm the sallies of his passions, and to rebuke his pride, which was his great fault. I have before related some instances of his temper. One day, when Alcibiades was boasting of his wealth, and the great estates in his possession, which generally excites the pride of young people of quality, he carried him to a geographical map, and asked him to find Attica. It was so small that it could scarcely be discerned, he found it, however, though with some difficulty: but upon being desired to point out his own estate there, "It is too small," said he, "to be dis-

* *Habet ubi se etiam in privato late explicet magnus animus. Ita delituerit (vir ille) ut ubicunque otium suum absconderit, prodise velit et singulis et universis, ingenio, voce, consilio. Næc enim is solus reip. prodest, qui candidatos extrahit, et tuetur reos, et de pace belloque senset, sed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanto bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute instruit animos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque cursu ruentes prensat ac retrahit, et si nihil aliud certe moratur, in privato publicæ negotium agit. An ille plus præstat, qui inter peregrinos et cives, aut urbanus prætor auditibus adsectoris verba pronunciat, quam qui docet, quid sit justitia, quid pietas, quid patientia, quid fortitudo, quid mortis contemptus, quid deorum intellectus, quam gratuitum bonum sit conscientia?*—Senec. de Tranquil. Anim. c. iii.

† Plut. an seni. sit ger. resp. p. 796.

‡ Plut. in Mario, p. 433.

§ Diog. in Xenoph. p. 120.

|| Plut. de Curios, p. 516.

¶ Plut. in Pericl. p. 163.

** Aul. Gél. Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 10.

tinguished in so small a space." "See then," replied Socrates, "how much you are affected about an imperceptible point of land."* This reasoning might have been urged much farther. For what was Attica, compared so all Greece, Greece to Europe, Europe to the whole world, and the world itself to the vast extent of the infinite orbs which surround it? What an insect, what a nothing, is the most powerful prince of the earth in the midst of these innumerable bodies and immense spaces, and how much of it does he occupy!

The young people of Athens, dazzled with the glory of Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles, and full of a wild ambition, after having received for some time the lessons of the sophists, who promised to make them very great politicians, conceived themselves capable of every thing, and aspired to the highest employments. One of these, named Glauco, had conceived so strong an idea of entering upon the administration of the public affairs, though not twenty years old, that none of his family or friends were able to divert him from a design so little consistent with his age and capacity. Socrates, who had an affection for him on account of Plato his brother was the only person who could prevail upon him to change his resolution.†

Meeting him one day, he accosted him so happily with discourse, that he engaged him to listen. "You are desirous then to govern the republic," said he to him.— "True," replied Glauco. "You cannot have a more noble design," answered Socrates: "For if you succeed, you will have it in your power to serve your friends effectually, to aggrandize your family, and to extend the boundaries of your country. You will make yourself known not only at Athens, but throughout all Greece; and perhaps your renown, like that of Themistocles, may spread abroad among the barbarous nations. In short, wherever you are, you will attract the respect and admiration of the whole world."

So smooth and insinuating a prelude was extremely pleasing to the young man, who was taken on the blind side. He staid willingly, and the conversation continued. "Since you desire to be esteemed and honoured, no doubt your view is to be useful to the public?" "Certainly." "Tell me then, I request you, in the name of the gods, what is the first service you propose to render the state?" As Glauco seemed at a loss, and meditated upon what he would answer, "I presume," continued Socrates, "it is to enrich it, that is to say, to augment its revenues." "My very thought." "You are well versed then, undoubtedly, in the revenues of the state, and know perfectly to what they may amount; you have not failed to make them your particular study, in order, that, if a fund should happen to fail by any unforeseen accident, you might be able to supply the deficiency by another." "I protest," replied Glauco, "that never entered into my thoughts." "At least you will tell me to what the expenses of the republic amount; for you must know the importance of retrenching such as are superfluous." "I own I am as little informed in this point as the other." "You must therefore refer your design of enriching the state till another time, for it is impossible you should do it, while you are unacquainted with its revenue and expenses."

"But," said Glauco, "there is still another means which you have not mentioned. A state may be enriched by the ruin of its enemies." "You are in the right," replied Socrates; "but that depends upon its being the strongest; otherwise it incurs the danger of losing what it has. For which reason, he who talks of engaging in a war, ought to know the forces on both sides; that if he finds his own party strongest, he may boldly advise the war, and if weakest, dissuade the people from undertaking it. Now, do you know the strength of our republic and that of our enemies by sea and land? Have you a statement of them in writing? be so kind as let me see it." "I have it not at present," said Glauco. "I see then," said Socrates, "that we shall not presently enter into a war, if you are charged with the government; for you have abundance of inquiries to make, and much pains to go through, before you will resolve upon it."‡

He ran over in this manner several other articles no less important, with which Glauco appeared equally unacquainted; till he brought him to confess, how ridiculous those people were, who have the rashness to intrude into government, without any other preparation for the service of the public, than that of a high esteem for themselves, and an immoderate ambition of rising to the first places and dignities. "Be

* *Ælian*, l. iii. c. 28.† *Xenoph. Memorab.* l. iii. p. 772—774.‡ *Ibid.*

careful, dear Glauco," said he to him, "lest a too warm desire of honours should deceive you into pursuits that may cover you with shame, by setting your incapacity and slender abilities in full light."

Glauco improved from the wise admonitions of Socrates, and took time to inform himself in private, before he ventured to appear in public. This is a lesson for all ages, and may be very useful to persons in all stations and conditions of life.

Socrates did not urge his friends to enter early upon public employments; but first to take pains for the attainment of the knowledge necessary to their success in them.* "A man must be very simple," said he, "to believe that the mechanic arts are to be acquired without the help of proper masters, and that the knowledge requisite in governing states, which is the highest degree of human prudence, demands no previous labour and application."† His great care in regard to those who aspired to public employments, was to form their manners upon the solid principles of probity and justice; and especially to inspire them with a sincere love of their country, with the most ardent passion for the public good, and a high idea of the power and goodness of the gods, because without these qualities, all other abilities serve only to render men more wicked, and more capable of doing evil. Xenophon has transmitted to us a conversation of Socrates with Euthydemus, upon Providence, which is one of the finest passages to be found in the writings of the ancients.

"Did you ever reflect within yourselves," said Socrates to Euthydemus, "how much care the gods have taken to bestow upon man all that is necessary to his nature?" "Never, I assure you," replied he. "You see," continued Socrates, "how necessary light is, and how precious that gift of the gods ought to appear to us." "Without it," added Euthydemus, "we should be like the blind, and all nature, as if it were not, or were dead: but because we have occasion for suspense and relaxation, they have also given us the night for our repose." "You are in the right, and for this we ought to render them continual praises and thanksgiving. They have ordained that the sun, that bright and luminous star, should preside over the day to distinguish its different parts, and that its light should not only serve to discover the wonders of nature, but to disperse universal life and heat; and at the same time they have commanded the moon and stars to illuminate the night, of itself dark and obscure. Is there any thing more admirable than this variety and vicissitude of day and night, of light, and darkness, of labour and rest; and all this for the convenience and good of man?" Socrates enumerates in like manner the infinite advantages we receive from fire and water in the necessities of life; and continuing to observe upon the wonderful attention of Providence in all that regards us, "what say you," continued he, "upon the sun's return after winter to revisit us; and that as the fruits of one season wither and decay, he ripens new ones to succeed them? that having rendered man this service, he retires, lest he should incommode him by excess of heat; and then, after having removed to a certain point, which he could not pass without putting us in danger of perishing with cold, that he returns in the same path to resume his place in those parts of the heavens where his presence is most beneficial to us? and because we could neither support the cold nor heat, if we were to pass in an instant from the one to the other, do you not admire, that while this star approaches and removes so slowly, the two extremities arrive by almost insensible degrees? Is it possible not to discover, in this disposition of the seasons of the year, a providence and goodness, not only attentive to our necessities, but even our delights and enjoyments?"

"All these things," said Euthydemus, "make me doubt, whether the gods have any other employment than to shower down their gifts and graces upon mankind. There is one point, however, that puts me to a stand, which is, that the brute animals partake of all these blessings as well as ourselves." "Yes," replied Socrates: "but do you not observe, that all these animals subsist only for men's service? the strongest and most vigorous of them he subjects at his will, he makes them tame and gentle, and uses them successfully in his wars, his labours, and the other occasions of life!"

"What if we consider man in himself?" Here Socrates examines the diversity of the senses, by the ministry of which man enjoys all that is best and most excellent in nature; the vivacity of his wit, and the force of his reason, which exalt him infinitely above all other animals; the wonderful gift of speech, by means of which we communicate our thoughts reciprocally, publish our laws, and govern states.

* Xenoph. Memorab. iv. p. 800.

† Ibid. p. 792.

"From all this," says Socrates, "it is easy to discern that there are gods, and that they have man in their particular care, though he cannot discover them by his senses. Do we perceive the thunder, while it strikes through all things which oppose it? Do we distinguish the winds, while they are tearing up all before them in our view? Our soul itself, with which we are so intimate, which moves and acts us, is it visible? can we behold it? It is the same with regard to the gods, of whom none are visible in the distribution of their favours. The GREAT GOD himself!" These words are remarkable, and demonstrates that Socrates acknowledged one Supreme God, the author of all being, and superior to all others, who were only the ministers of his will; "this great God, who has formed the universe, and supports the stupendous work, whose every part is finished with the utmost goodness and harmony; he who preserves them perpetually in immortal vigour, and causes them to obey him with a never-failing punctuality, and a rapidity not to be followed by our imagination; this God makes himself sufficiently visible by the endless wonders of which he is author; but continues always invisible in himself. Let us not then refuse to believe even what we do not see, and let us supply the defects of our corporeal eyes, by using those of the soul; but especially let us learn to render the just homage of respect and veneration to the Divinity, whose will it seems to be, that we should have no other perception of him than by his effects in our favour. Now, this adoration, this homage, consists in pleasing him, and we can only please him in doing his will."

In this manner Socrates instructed youth; these are the principles and sentiments with which he inspired them; on the one side, a perfect submission to the laws and magistrates, in which he made justice consist; on the other, a profound regard for the Divinity, which constitutes religion. In things surpassing our understanding, he advises us to consult the gods; and as they impart themselves only to those who please them, he recommends above all things the making them propitious to us by a wise regularity of conduct.* "The gods are wise," says he, "and it depends upon them either to grant what we ask, or to give us directly the reverse of it."† He cites an excellent prayer from an anonymous poet: "Great God, give us, we beseech thee, those good things of which we stand in need, whether we crave them or not; and remove, from us all those which may be hurtful to us, though we implore them of thee." The vulgar imagined, that there are things which the gods observe, and others of which they take no notice: but Socrates taught, that the gods observe all our actions and words; that they penetrate into our most secret thoughts, are present in all our deliberations, and that they inspire us in all our actions.

SECTION V.—SOCRATES APPLIES HIMSELF TO DISCREDIT THE SOPHISTS IN THE OPINION OF THE YOUNG ATHENIANS.

SOCRATES found it necessary to prejudice the young people against a bad taste, which had prevailed for some time in Greece. A set of assuming men arose, who, ranking themselves as the first sages of Greece, were entirely the reverse in their conduct. For, instead of being infinitely remote from all avarice and ambition, like Pittacus, Bias, Thales, and others, who made the study of wisdom their principal occupation these men were ambitious and covetous, entered into the intrigues and affairs of the world, and made a trade of their pretended knowledge.‡ They were called sophists, and wandered from city to city. They caused themselves to be cried up as oracles, and walked about attended by crowds of their disciples, who, through a kind of enchantment, abandoned the embraces of their parents, to follow these proud teachers, to whom they paid a great price for their instruction.§

There was nothing which these masters did not profess: theology, physics, ethics, arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, music, poetry, rhetoric and history. They knew every thing, and could teach every thing. Their greatest supposed skill lay in philosophy and eloquence. Most of them, like Georgias, valued themselves upon giving immediate answers to all questions that could be proposed to them. Their young disciples acquired nothing from their precepts, but a silly esteem for themselves, and a universal contempt for every body else; so that not a scholar quitted these schools, who was not more impertinent than when he first entered them.

It was necessary to decry the false eloquence and bad logic of these proud teachers, in the opinion of the young Athenians. To attack them openly, and dispute

* Xenoph. Memorab. l. iv. p. 803, et 805.

† Plut. in Alcib. l. ii. p. 148.

‡ Sic enim appellantur hi, qui ostentationis aut quæstus causa Philosophantur.—Cic. in Lucul. n. 129.

§ Plut. in Apolog. p. 19, 20.

with them in a direct manner by a continued discourse, was what Socrates could well have done, for he possessed in a supreme degree the talents of speaking and reasoning; but this was not the means of succeeding against great harangues, whose sole aim was to captivate their auditors with a vain glitter, and rapid flow of words. He therefore took another course, and employing the turns and address of irony, which he knew how to apply with wonderful art and delicacy, he chose to conceal, under the appearance of simplicity and the affectation of ignorance, all the beauty and great force of his genius.* Nature, which had given him so fine a soul, seemed to have formed his outside expressly for supporting the ironic character. He was very ugly, and besides that had something very dull and stupid in his physiognomy.† The whole air of his person, which had nothing but what was very common and very poor in it, perfectly corresponded with that of his countenance.

Happening to be in company with one of the sophists, he proposed his doubts with a diffident and modest air, asked simple questions in a plain manner, and, as if he had been incapable of expressing himself otherwise, made use of trivial comparisons, and allusions taken from the meanest employments. The sophist heard him with a scornful attention; and instead of giving him a precise answer, fell into his common place expressions, and talked a great deal, without saying any thing to the purpose. Socrates, after having praised his adversary, not with the view of enraging him, entreated him to adapt himself to his weakness, and to come down to his capacity, by satisfying his questions in a few words; because neither his wit nor memory were capable of comprehending or retaining so many fine and exalted notions, and that all his knowledge was confined to question and answer.‡

This passed in a numerous assembly; and the sophist could not recede. When Socrates had once got him out of his intrenchment, by obliging him to answer his questions succinctly, he carried him on from one to another, to the most absurd consequences; and after having reduced him either to contradict himself, or be silent, he complained that the learned man would not vouchsafe to instruct him. The young people, however, perceived the incapacity of their master, and changed their admiration for him into contempt. Thus the name of sophist became odious and ridiculous.

It is easy to judge, that men of the sophists' character, of whom I have now spoken, who were in high repute with the great; who lorded it among the youth of Athens, and had been long celebrated for their wit and learning, could not be attacked with impunity; especially as they had been taken in the two most sensible points, their fame and their interest. Socrates, for having endeavoured to unmask their vices, and discredit their false eloquence, experienced, from these corrupt and haughty men, all that could be feared or expected from the most malignant envy, and the most envenomed hatred; to which it is now time to proceed.§

SECTION VI.—SOCRATES IS ACCUSED OF HOLDING BAD OPINIONS IN REGARD TO THE GODS.
HE IS CONDEMNED TO DIE.

SOCRATES was accused a little before the first year of the 95th Olympiad, soon after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants from Athens, in the sixty ninth year of his life; but the prosecution had been projected long before.¶ The oracle of Delphos, which had declared him the wisest of mankind; the contempt into which he had brought the doctrine and morals of the sophists of his time, who were then in high reputation; the liberty with which he attacked all vice; the singular attachment of his disciples for his person and maxims; had all concurred in alienating people from him, and had drawn upon him, abundance of envy.

His enemies having sworn his destruction, and perceiving the difficulty of the attempt, prepared the way for it at a distance, and at first attacked him in the dark, and by obscure and secret means. It is said, that to sound the people's disposition in regard to Socrates, and to try whether it would ever be safe to cite him before the judges, they engaged Aristophanes to introduce him at the theatre in a comedy, wherein the first seeds of the accusation meditated against him were sown. It is

* Socrates in ironia dissimulantiaque longe omnibus lepore atque humanitate præstitit.—Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 270
† Zopyrus physiognomon—stupidum esse Socratem dixit et bardum.—Cic. de Fat. n. 10.

‡ Socrates de se ipse detrahit in disputatione, plus tribubat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita, cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est illa dissimulatione, quam Græci ἐγώνιστον vocant.—Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 25.

§ Sed et illum quem nominavi (Gorgiam) et cæteros sophistas, ut e Platone intelligi potest, lusus videmus a Socrate. Is enim percantando atque interrogando elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibuscum differebat, ut ad ea, quæ non respondissent, si quid videretur, diceret.—Cic. de Finib. l. ii. n. 2.

¶ Plut. in Apolog. p. 23.

|| A. M. 3602. Ant. J. C. 402.

not certain whether Aristophanes was suborned by Anytus, and the rest of the enemies of Socrates to compose that satirical piece against him. It is very likely, that the declared contempt of Socrates for all comedies in general, and for those of Aristophanes in particular, while he professed an extraordinary esteem for the tragedies of Euripides, might be the poet's true motive for taking his revenge of the philosopher. However that might be, Aristophanes, to the disgrace of poetry, lent his pen to the malice of the enemies of Socrates or his own resentment, and employed his whole genius and capacity to depreciate the best and most excellent man that ever the pagan world produced.*

He composed a piece called "The Clouds," wherein he introduced the philosopher, placed in a basket, and lifted up to the clouds, from whence he proclaims maxims, or rather the most ridiculous subtleties. A very aged debtor who desires to escape the close pursuits of his creditors, comes to him to be taught the art of tricking them at law; to prove by unanswerable reasons that he owes them nothing, and in a word, to convert a very bad into a very good cause. But finding himself incapable of any improvements from the sublime lessons of his new master, he brings his son to him in his stead. This young man soon after quits his learned school so well instructed, that at their first meeting he beats his father, and proves to him by subtle, but invincible arguments, that he has reason for treating him in that manner. In every scene where Socrates appears, the poet makes him utter a thousand follies, and as many impieties against the gods; and in particular against Jupiter. He makes him talk like a man of the greatest vanity and opinion of himself, with an equal contempt for all others, who out of criminal curiosity, is for penetrating what passes in the heavens, and for diving into the abysses of the earth; who boasts of having always the means to make injustice triumph; and who is not contented with keeping those secrets for his own use, but teaches them to others, and thereby corrupts youth. All this is attended with refined raillery, and a wit, which could not fail of pleasing a people of so quick and delicate a taste as the Athenians, who were besides, naturally invidious of all transcendent merit. They were so much charmed with it, that without waiting the conclusion of the representation, they ordered the name of Aristophanes to be set down above those of all his competitors.

Socrates, who had been informed that he was to be ridiculed in the theatre, went thither upon the day to see the comedy, contrary to his custom; for it was not common for him to go to those assemblies, unless when some new tragedy of Euripides was to be performed, who was his intimate friend, and whose pieces he esteemed, on account of the solid principles of morality he took care to intersperse in them. It was, however, observed that he had not patience to wait the conclusion of one of them, wherein the actor had begun with a dangerous maxim, and went out immediately† without considering the injury his withdrawing might do to the reputation of his friend. He never went to comedies, unless when Alcibiades and Critias forced him thither against his will, offended at the unbounded licence which reigned in them, and incapable of seeing the reputation of his fellow citizens publicly torn to pieces. He was present at this without the least emotion, and without expressing any discontent; and some strangers being desirous of knowing who the Socrates intended by the play was, he rose up from his seat, and showed himself during the whole representation. He told those who were near him, and were amazed at his indifference and patience, that he imagined himself at a great entertainment, where he was agreeably laughed at, and that it was necessary to let raillery pass.‡

It does not appear, as I have already observed, that Aristophanes, though he was not the friend of Socrates, had entered into the black conspiracy of his enemies, and had any thought of causing his destruction. It is more probable that a poet, who diverted the public at the expense of the principal magistrates and most celebrated generals, was also willing to make them laugh at the expense of a philosopher. All the guilt was on the side of those who envied him, and his enemies, who were in hopes of making great use of the representation of this comedy against him. The artifice was indeed profound, and conceived with skill. In acting a man upon the stage, he is only represented on his bad, weak, or ambiguous sides. That view of him is followed with ridicule; ridicule accustoms people to the contempt of his person; and contempt proceeds to injustice. For mankind are naturally bold in insulting, abusing, and injuring a man, when once he becomes the object of their general contempt.

* Eian. l. ii. c. 13. Plut. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 19.

† Plut. de Educ. Liber. p. 10.

These were the first blows struck at him, and served as an essay and trial of the great affair meditated against him. It lay dormant a long while, and did not break out until twenty years afterwards. The troubles of the republic might well occasion that long delay; for it was in that interval the enterprise against Sicily was undertaken, the event of which was so unfortunate, that Athens was besieged and taken by Ly-sander, who changed its form of government, and established the thirty tyrants, who were not expelled till a very short time before the affair we speak of.

Melitus then appeared as accuser, and entered a process in form against Socrates.* His accusation consisted of two heads. The first was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and that he introduced new divinities; the second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens, and concluded with inferring, that sentence of death should pass against him.

Never had accusation so little probability, pretext, or foundation as this. It was now forty years that Socrates had made it his profession to instruct the Athenian youth. He had advanced no opinions in secret or privately. His lessons were given publicly, and in the presence of great numbers of auditors. He had always observed the same conduct, and taught the same principles. What then could be the motive of Melitus for this accusation, after such a length of time? how came his zeal for the public good, after having been languid for so many years, to awake on a sudden, and become so violent? Is it pardonable, for so zealous and worthy a citizen as Melitus would appear, to have continued mute and inactive, while any one corrupted all the youth of that city, by instilling seditious maxims into them, and by inspiring them with a disgust and contempt for the established government? "for he who does not prevent an evil, when it is in his power, is equally criminal with him that commits it." Libanius speaks thus in one of his declamations, called the Apology of Socrates. "But," continues he, "though Melitus, whether out of distraction, indifference, or constant employment in his affairs, never thought for so many years of entering an accusation against Socrates; how came it to pass, that in a city like Athens, which abounded with wise magistrates, and what is more, with bold informers, so public a conspiracy as that imputed to Socrates, should escape the eyes of those whom either the love of their country, or invidious malignity, render so vigilant and attentive? nothing was ever less feasible, or more void of all probability."†

As soon as the conspiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence.‡ Lysias, the most able orator of his time, brought him an elaborate discourse of his composing, wherein he had set forth the reasons and measures of Socrates in all their light, and interspersed the whole with tender and pathetic strokes, capable of moving the most obdurate hearts.§ Socrates read it with pleasure, and highly approved it; but, as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetoric than the sentiments and fortitude of a philosopher, he told him frankly, that it did not suit him. Upon which Lysias, having asked how it was possible to be well done, and at the same time not suit him, "in the same manner," said he, using, according to his custom, a simple comparison, "that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or shoes embroidered with gold, in which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which, however, would not fit me." He persisted therefore inflexibly in the resolution, not to demean himself by begging suffrages in the low, abject manner common at that time. He employed neither artifice, nor the glitter of eloquence. He had no recourse either to solicitation or entreaty. He brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their sighs and tears. Although he firmly refused to have any person besides himself to speak in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the submissive posture of a suppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal.|| It was from a noble and intrepid assurance, resulting from greatness of soul, and the consciousness of his truth and innocence. So that his defence had nothing timorous or weak in it. His discourse was bold, manly, generous, without passion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philosopher, with no other ornament than that of truth, and brightened throughout with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was present, transcribed it afterwards, and without any additions, composed from it the work, which he calls the Apology of Socrates, one of the most consummate masterpieces of antiquity. I shall here make an extract from it.

* A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401. † Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 645—648. ‡ Cicero. l. i. de Orat. n. 231. 232.
§ Quint. l. xi. c. l.

|| His et talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæsit ad iudicium capitis, nec iudicibus supplex fuit; adhibuitque liberam contumaciam a magnitudine animi ductam, non a superbia.—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i.

“Upon the day assigned, the proceeding commenced in the usual forms. The parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus spoke. The worse his cause, and the less provided it was with proofs, the more occasion he had for address and art to cover its weakness. He omitted nothing that might render the adverse party odious; and instead of reasons, which could not but fail him, he substituted the delusive glitter of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in observing that he could not tell what impression the discourse of his accusers might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part he scarcely knew himself, they had given such artful colouring and plausibility to their arguments, though there was not the least word of truth in all they had advanced.*

I have already said, that their accusation consisted of two heads. The first regarded religion, and stated that Socrates inquired, out of an impious curiosity, into what passed in the heavens, and in the bowels of the earth; that he denied the gods adored by his country, and endeavored to introduce a new worship; and, that if he might be believed, an unknown god inspired him in all his actions. In short, that he believed there were no gods.†

The second head related to the interest and government of the state, and stated that Socrates corrupted the youth by instilling bad sentiments concerning the Divinity into them, by teaching them a contempt of the laws, and the order established in the republic; by declaring openly against the choice of the magistrates by lot,‡ by exclaiming against the public assemblies, where he was never seen to appear; by teaching the art of making the worst of causes good; by attaching the youth to himself out of a spirit of pride and ambition, under the pretence of instructing them; and by proving to children, that they may abuse their parents with impunity: that he gloried in a pretended oracle, and believed himself the wisest of mankind: that he taxed all others with folly, and condemned without reserve all their maxims and actions; constituting himself, by his own authority, the general censor and reformer of the state. Notwithstanding which, the effects of his lessons may be seen in the persons of Critias and Alcibiades, his most intimate friends, who have done great mischief to their country, and have been the most wicked of citizens, and the most abandoned of men.

This concluded with recommending to the judges to be very much upon their guard against the dazzling eloquence of Socrates, and to suspect extremely the insinuating and artificial turns of address which he would employ to deceive them.

Socrates began his discourse with this point, and declared that he would speak to the judges as it was his custom to talk in his common conversation, that is to say, with much simplicity, and no art.§

He then proceeded to particulars. Upon what foundation could it be alleged that he did not acknowledge the gods of the republic; he, who had often been seen to sacrifice in his own house, and in the temples? Could it be doubted whether he used divination or not, while it was made a crime in him to report, that he received counsels from a certain divinity; and thence concluded that he aimed at introducing new deities? But in this he innovated nothing more than others, who, putting their faith in divination, observed the flight of birds, consulted the entrails of victims, and remarked even words and accidental occurrences: different means which the gods employed to give mankind a fore-knowledge of the future. Old or new, it was still evident, that Socrates acknowledged divinities, by the confession of even Melitus himself, who in his information averred, that he believed in dæmons, that is to say, inferior spirits, the offspring of the gods. Now, every man who believes in the offspring of the gods, believes in the gods.||

As to what related to the impious inquiries into natural things imputed to him, without despising or condemning those who applied themselves to the study of physics, he declared, that as for him, he had entirely devoted himself to what concerns moral virtue, the conduct of life, and the rules of government, as a knowledge infinitely more useful than any other; and he called upon all those who had been his hearers, to come forward and deny him if he did not say what was true.¶

*Plut. in Apolog. Socrat.—Xenoph. in Apolog. Socrat. et in Memor.

† Plut. in Apolog. p. 24.

‡Socrates in reality did not approve this manner of electing the magistrates. He observed, that when a pilot, a musician, or an architect was wanted, nobody was willing to take him at a venture; though the faults of these people were far from being of the great importance of those errors which were committed in the administration of the republic.—Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 712.

§ Plut. p. 17.

|| Plut. p. 27. Xenoph. p. 703.

¶ Xenoph. p. 710.

"I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in regard to the worship of the gods, as the rules of government. You know, Athenians, that I never made it my profession to teach: nor can envy, however violent against me, reproach me with having ever sold my instructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this respect, which is my poverty. Always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them entire leisure to question or answer me, I lend myself to every one who is desirous of becoming virtuous; and if among those who hear me, there are any who prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be ascribed to me. My whole employment is to persuade the young and old against too much love for the body, for riches, and all other precarious things, of whatever nature they be, and against too little regard for the soul, which ought to be the object of their affection: for I incessantly urge to you, that virtue does not proceed from riches, but on the contrary, riches from virtue; and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their source in the same principle.

"If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confess Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is most easy to convict me of my falsehood. I see here a great number of my disciples; they have only to appear. But perhaps the reserve and consideration for a master who has instructed them, will prevent them from declaring against me: at least their fathers, brothers, and uncles, cannot, as good relations and good citizens, dispense with their not standing forth to demand vengeance against the corruptor of their sons, brothers, and nephews. But these are the persons who take upon them my defence, and interest themselves in the success of my cause.

"Pass on me what sentence you please, Athenians; but I can neither repent nor change my conduct. I must not abandon nor suspend a function, which God himself has imposed on me, now he has charged me with the care of instructing my fellow citizens. If, after having faithfully kept all the posts wherein I was placed by our generals at Potidæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death should at this time make me abandon that in which the Divine Providence has placed me, by commanding me to pass my life in the study of philosophy, for the instruction of myself and others; this would be a most criminal desertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal, as an impious man who does not believe the gods. Should you resolve to acquit me, for the future, I should not hesitate to make answer, Athenians, that I honour and love you, but I shall choose rather to obey God than you;* and to my latest breath shall never renounce my philosophy, nor cease to exhort and reprove you according to my custom, by telling each of you when you come in my way, 'My good friend,† and citizen of the most famous city in the world for wisdom, and valour, are you not ashamed to have no other thoughts than that of amassing wealth, and of acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, while you neglect the treasures of prudence, truth, and wisdom, and take no pains in rendering your soul as good and perfect as it is capable of being.‡'

"I am reproached with abject fear and meanness of spirit, for being so busy in imparting my advice to every one in private, and for having always avoided being present in your assemblies, to give my counsels to my country. I think I have sufficiently proved my courage and fortitude both in the field, where I have borne arms with you, and in the senate, when I alone opposed the unjust sentence you pronounced against the ten captains, who had not taken up and interred the bodies of those who were killed or drowned in the sea-fight near the island Arginusæ, and when, upon more than one occasion, I opposed the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants. What is it, then, that has prevented me from appearing in your assemblies? It is that dæmon, that divine voice, which you have so often heard me mention, and Melitus has taken so much pains to ridicule. That spirit has attached itself to me from my infancy, it is a voice which I never hear, but when it would prevent me from persisting in something I have resolved; for it never exhorts me to undertake any thing. It is the same being that has always opposed me, when I would have intermeddled in the affairs of the republic; and that with the greatest reason; for I should have been among the dead long ago, had I been concerned in the measures of the state, without effecting any

* Πείσομαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν.

† The Greek signifies, Obest of men, ὡς εἰσι ἑνδεῶν, which was an obliging manner of salutation.

‡ Plat. p. 28, 29.

thing to the advantage of myself or our country. Do not take it ill, I beseech you, if I speak my thoughts without disguise, and with truth and freedom. Every man who would generously oppose a whole people, either among us or elsewhere, and who inflexibly applies himself to prevent the violation of the laws, and the practice of iniquity in a government, will never do so long with impunity. It is absolutely necessary for him who would contend for justice, if he has any thoughts of living, to remain in a private station, and never to have any share in public affairs.*

"For the rest, Athenians, if, in the extreme danger in which I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of those, who upon less emergencies have implored and supplicated their judges with tears, and have brought forth their children, relations, and friends, it is not through pride and obstinacy, or any contempt for you, but solely for your honour, and for that of the whole city. You should know, that there are among our citizens, those who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injustice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation, true or false, which I have, would it be consistent for me, after all the lessons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myself, and to belie in my last action all the principles and sentiments of my past life?

"But without speaking of my fame, which I should extremely injure by such a conduct, I do not think it allowable to entreat a judge, nor to be absolved by supplications: he ought to be persuaded and convinced. The judge does not sit upon the bench to show favour by violating the laws, but to do justice in conforming to them. He does not swear to discharge with impunity whom he pleases; but to do justice where it is due. We ought not therefore to accustom you to perjury, nor you to suffer yourselves to be accustomed to it; for in so doing, both of us equally injure justice and religion, and both are criminals.

"Do not therefore expect from me, Athenians, that I should have recourse among you to means which I believe neither honest nor lawful; especially on this occasion, wherein I am accused of impiety by Melitus. For if I should influence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evident that I teach you not to believe in the gods; and even in defending and justifying myself, should furnish my adversaries with arms against me, and prove that I believe no divinity. But I am very far from such bad thoughts. I am more convinced of the existence of God than my accusers, and so convinced, that I abandon myself to God and you, that you may judge of me as you shall deem best for yourselves and me."†

Socrates pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone. His air, his action, his visage, expressed nothing of the accused: he seemed the master of his judges, from the assurance and greatness of soul with which he spoke, without however losing any thing of the modesty natural to him.‡ So noble and majestic a deportment displeased and gave offence. It is common for judges, who look upon themselves as the absolute dispensers of life or death to such as are before them, to expect, out of a secret desire, that they should appear in their presence with humble submission and respectful awe; a homage which they think due to their supreme authority.§

This was the case on this occasion. Melitus however had not at first the fifth part of the voices. We have reason to suppose that the judges assembled upon this occasion might amount to five hundred, without reckoning the president. The law condemned the accuser to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas|| if he had not the fifth part of the suffrages. This law had been wisely established, to check the boldness and impudence of calumniators. Melitus would have been obliged to pay this fine, if Anytus and Lycon had not joined him, and presented themselves also as the accusers of Socrates. Their influence obtained a great number of voices; and there were two hundred and eighty against Socrates, and consequently, only two hundred and twenty for him. He wanted only thirty one to have been acquitted; for he would then have had two hundred and fifty one, which would have been the majority.

By this first sentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty, without imposing any penalty.¶ For when the law did not determine the punishment, and when a

* Plut. p. 31.

† Plat. p. 34, 35.

‡ Socrates ita in iudicio capitis pro se inse dixit, ut non supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse iudicium.—Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231.

§ Odit iudex fere litigantis securitatem; cumque jus suum intelligat, tacitus reverentiam postulat.—Quint. l. iv. c. 1. ¶ Nearly one hundred dollars.

¶ Primis sententiis statuebant tantum iudices damnatum absolvent. Erat autem Athenis, reo damnato, si fraus capitalis non esset, quasi pœnæ æstimatio. Ex sententia, cum iudicibus daretur, interrogabatur rem, quam quasi æstimatiõem commiserit se maxime confiteretur.—Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231, 232.

crime against the state was not in question, in which manner I conceive Cicero's terms, "fraus capitalis," may be understood, the person found guilty had a right to choose the penalty he thought he deserved. Upon his answer the judges deliberated a second time, and afterwards passed their final sentence. Socrates was informed that he might demand an abatement of the penalty, and change the condemnation of death into banishment, imprisonment, or a fine. He replied generously, that he would choose neither of those punishments, because that would be to acknowledge himself guilty. "Athenians," said he, "to keep you no longer in suspense, as you oblige me to sentence myself, according to what I deserve, I condemn myself, for having passed my life in instructing yourselves and your children; for having neglected with that view my domestic affairs, and all public employments and dignities; for having devoted myself entirely to the service of my country, in labouring incessantly to render my fellow citizens virtuous; I condemn myself, I say, to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the expense of the republic for the rest of my life." This last answer so much offended the judges,* that they condemned him to drink hemlock, a punishment very common among them.†

This sentence did not shake the constancy of Socrates in the least. "I am going" said he, addressing himself to his Judges with a noble tranquillity, "to suffer death by your order, to which nature had condemned me from the first moment of my birth; but my accusers will suffer no less from infamy and injustice by the decrees of truth. Did you expect from me that to extricate myself out of your hands, I would have employed, according to custom, flattery and pathetic expressions, and the timorous and cringing behaviour of a suppliant? But in trials, as well as in war, an honest man ought not to use all sorts of means for the preservation of his life. It is equally dishonourable, in both, to ransom it only by prayers and tears, and all those abject methods which you see every day practised by people in my present condition."‡

Apollodorus, who was one of his friends and disciples having advanced to him to express his grief for his dying innocent: "What!" replied he with a smile, "would you have had me die guilty?"

Plutarch, to show that only our weakest part, the body, is in the power of man, but that there is another infinitely more noble part of us entirely superior to their threats, and inaccessible to their inflictions, cites these admirable words of Socrates, which are more applicable to his judges than his accusers: "Anytus and Melitus may kill me, but they cannot hurt me." As if he had said, in the language of the pagans,—Fortune may deprive me of my goods, my health, and my life; but I have a treasure within me, of which no violence can deprive me; I mean virtue, innocence, fortitude, and greatness of mind.§

This great man, fully convinced of the principle he had so often inculcated to his disciples, that guilt is the only evil a wise man ought to fear, chose, rather to be deprived of some years which he might have to live, than to forfeit in an instant the glory of his whole past life, in dishonouring himself for ever, by the shameful behaviour he was advised to observe with his judges. Seeing that his own times had but a slight knowledge of him, he referred himself from it to the judgment of posterity, and, by the generous sacrifice of a very advanced life, acquired and assured himself the esteem and admiration of all succeeding ages.||

SECTION VII.—SOCRATES REFUSES TO ESCAPE OUT OF PRISON. HE DRINKS THE POISON.

AFTER the sentence had been passed upon him, Socrates, with the same intrepid countenance with which he had held the tyrants in awe, went forward towards the prison, which lost that name, says Seneca, when he entered it, and became the residence of virtue and probity.¶ His friends followed him thither, and continued to visit

* Cujus responsio sic iudices exarserunt, ut capitishominem innocentissimum condemnarent.—Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 235.

† It appears in Plato, that, after this discourse, Socrates, without doubt to remove from him all imputation of pride and contumacy, modestly offered to pay a fine proportionate to his indigence; that is to say, one mina, or about ten dollars, and that, at the instance of his friends, who had bound themselves for him, he rose in his offer to thirty minæ.—Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 28. But Xenophon positively asserts the contrary, p. 705. This difference may be reconciled perhaps, by supposing that Socrates refused at first to make any offer, and that he suffered himself at length to be overcome by the earnest solicitation of his friends.

‡ Plat. p. 39.

§ De Anim. Tranquil. p. 475.

¶ Maluit vir sapientissimus quod superesset ex vita sibi perire, quam quod præterisset; et quando ab hominibus sui temporis parum intelligebatur, posterorum se iudicis reservavit, brevi detrimento jam ultimæ senectutis ævum senelorum omnium consecutus.—Quint. l. i. c. 1.

¶ Socrates eodem illo vultu, quo aliquando solus triginta tyrannos in ordinem redegerat, carcerem intravit, ignominiam ipsi loco detracturus. Neque enim poterat carcer videri, in quo Socrates erat.—Senec. de Consol. ad Helvet. c. xiii.

Socrates carcerem intrando purgavit, omnique honestionem curia reddidit.—Id de Vit. Beat. c. 17.

him during the thirty days which passed between his condemnation and death. That delay was occasioned by the following custom. The Athenians sent a ship every year to the isle of Delos, to offer certain sacrifices: and it was prohibited to put any person to death in the city, from the time the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of this vessel, as a signal for its departure, till the same vessel should return. So that sentence having been passed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was necessary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had sufficient opportunity to present itself before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his constancy to the proof, not only by the severe rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual prospect and cruel expectation of an event of which nature is always abhorrent. In this sad condition, he did not cease to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind which his friends had always admired in him. He entertained them with the same temper he had always expressed; and Crito observes, that the evening before his death, he slept as peaceably as at any other time. He also composed a hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of Æsop's fables into verse.*

The day before, or the same day that the ship was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning, to inform him of it, and at the same time that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; and the jailor was bribed; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, "if he knew any place out of Attica where people did not die?" Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take advantage of so precious an opportunity, adding argument upon argument to gain his consent, and to engage him to resolve upon his escape. "Without mentioning the inconsolable grief I should suffer for the death of such a friend, how should I support the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in my power to have saved you, but that I would not sacrifice a small part of my wealth for that purpose? Could the people ever be persuaded, that so wise a man as Socrates would not quit his prison, when he might do it with all possible security? Perhaps he might fear to expose his friends, or to occasion the loss of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty. Ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preservation of Socrates? Even strangers themselves dispute that honour with them; many of whom have come expressly with considerable sums of money to purchase his escape; and declare, that they should think themselves highly honoured to receive him among them and to supply him abundantly with all he could have occasion for. Ought he to abandon himself to enemies, who have occasioned his being condemned unjustly, and can he think it allowable to betray his own cause? Is it not essential to his goodness and justice, to spare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood? But if all these motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himself, can he be insensible to the interests of his children? In what condition does he leave them? And can he forget the father, to remember only the philosopher?"

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praised his zeal, and expressed his gratitude; but before he could yield to his opinion, was for examining whether it was just for him to depart out of prison without the consent of the Athenians. It was a matter of doubt with him, whether a man condemned to die, though unjustly, can without a crime escape from justice and the laws? I do not know, whether, even among us, there are not many persons to be found who believe that this may be made a question.

Socrates begins with removing every thing foreign to the subject, and comes immediately to the bottom of the affair. "I should certainly rejoice extremely, most dear Crito, that you could persuade me to quit this place; but cannot resolve to do so, without being first persuaded. We ought not to be in pain for what the people say, but for what the sole Judge of all that is just or unjust shall pronounce upon us and that alone is truth. All the considerations you have alleged, as to money, reputation, family, prove nothing, unless you show me, that what you propose is just and lawful. It is a received and constant principle with us, that all injustice is shameful and fatal to him who commits it, whatever men may say, or whatever good or evil may be the consequence of it. We have always reasoned from this principle even

* Plat. in Criton.

to our latest days, and have never departed in the least from it. Would it be possible, dear Crito, that at our age, our most serious discourses should resemble those of infants, who say yes, and no, almost in the same breath, and have nothing fixed and determinate?" At each proposition he waited Crito's answer and assent.

"Let us therefore resume our principles, and endeavour to make use of them at this time. It has always been a maxim with us, that it is never allowable, upon any pretence whatever, to commit injustice, not even in regard to those who injure us, nor to return evil for evil; and that when we have once engaged our word, we are bound to keep it. Now, if at the time I should be ready to make my escape, the laws and republic should present themselves in a body before me, what could I answer to the following questions, which they might put to me? 'What are you about to do, Socrates? To fly from justice in this manner, is it ought else but ruining entirely the laws and the republic? Do you believe that a state subsists, after justice not only ceases to be any longer in force in it, but is even corrupted, subverted, and trod under foot by individuals?' 'But,' says I, 'the republic has done me injustice, and has sentenced me wrongfully. Have you forgot, the laws would reply, that you are under an agreement with us to submit your private judgment to the republic? You were at liberty, if our government and constitutions did not suit you, to retire and settle yourself elsewhere. But a residence of seventy years in our city sufficiently denotes, that our plan has not displeased you, and that you have complied with it from an entire knowledge and experience of it, and out of choice. In fact you owe all you are, and all you possess, to it: birth, nurture, education, and establishment; for all these proceed from the tuition and protection of the republic. Do you believe yourself free to break through engagements, which you have confirmed by more than one oath? Though she should intend to destroy you, can you render her evil for evil, and injury for injury? Have you a right to act in that manner with your father and mother; and do you not know that your country is more considerable, and more worthy of respect before God and man, than either father or mother, or all the relations in the world together; that your country is to be honoured and revered, to be complied with in her excesses, and to be treated with tenderness and kindness, even in her most violent proceedings? In a word, that she is either to be reclaimed by wise counsels and respectful remonstrances, or to be obeyed in her commands, and suffer without murmuring in all she shall decree? As for your children, Socrates; your friends will render them all the services in their power; Divine Providence at least will not be wanting to them. Resign yourself therefore to our reasons, and take the counsel of those who have given you birth, nurture, and education. Set not so high a value upon your children, your life, or any thing in the world, as justice: and be assured, that when you appear before the tribunal of Pluto, you will not be at a loss to defend yourself in the presence of your judges. But if you demean yourself otherwise, we shall continue to be your enemies as long as you live, without ever affording you relaxation or repose; and when you are dead, our sisters, the laws in the regions below, will be as little favourable to you; knowing that you have been guilty of using your utmost endeavours to destroy us."

Socrates observed to Crito, that he seemed to have a perfect sense of all he had said, and that the force of his reasons had made so strong and irresistible an impression upon his mind, that they entirely engrossed him, and left him neither thoughts nor words to object. Crito, acknowledging that he had nothing to reply, kept silence, and withdrew from his friend.

At length the fatal ship returned to Athens, which was in some measure the signal for the death of Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was sick, repaired to the prison early in the morning. The jailor desired them to "wait a little, because the eleven magistrates, who had the direction of the prisons, were at that time notifying the prisoner, that he was to die the same day." Presently after, they entered, and found Socrates, whose chains had been taken off,* sitting by Xantippe his wife, who held one of his children in her arms. As soon as she perceived them, setting up great cries, sobbing and tearing her face and hair, she made the prison resound with her complaints: "O my dear Socrates, your friends are come to see you this day for the last time!" He desired that she might be taken away, and she was immediately carried home.

* At Athens, as soon as sentence was pronounced upon a criminal, he was unbound, and considered as the victim of death, whom it was no longer lawful to keep in chains.

Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and discoursed with them with his usual cheerfulness and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was the most important, and best adapted to the present conjuncture, that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave rise to this discourse, was a question in a manner by chance: Whether a true philosopher ought not to desire and take pains to die? This proposition taken too literally, implied an opinion, that a philosopher might kill himself. Socrates maintained that nothing was more erroneous than this notion, and that man, appertaining to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it without his permission, nor depart from life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philosopher to entertain this love for death. It can be only the hope of that happiness, which he expects in another life; and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject; from which conversation, Plato's admirable dialogue, entitled "the Phædon," is wholly taken. He explained to his friends all the arguments for believing the soul immortal, and refuted all the objections against it, which are very nearly the same as are made at this day. This treatise is too long for me to attempt an abstract of it*

Before he answered any of these objections, he deplored a misfortune very common among men, who, in consequence of hearing ignorant persons, who contradict and doubt every thing, dispute, and believe there is nothing certain. "Is it not," said he, "a great misfortune, dear Phædon, that, having reasons which are true, certain, and very easy to be understood, there should however be those in the world who are not at all affected with them, from their having heard those frivolous disputes, wherein all things appear sometimes true and sometimes false. These unjust and unreasonable men, instead of blaming themselves for these doubts, or charging them to their own limited capacities, from ascribing the defect to the reasons themselves, proceed at length to a detestation of them, and believe themselves more knowing and judicious than all others, because they imagine they are the only persons who comprehend that there is nothing true or certain in the nature of things."†

Socrates demonstrated the injustice of these pretensions. He observed, that of two things equally uncertain, it consisted with wisdom to choose that which is most advantageous with least hazard. "If what I advance," said he, "upon the immortality of the soul, proves true, it is good to believe it; and if after my death it prove false, I shall always have the advantage from it, to have been less sensible here of the evils which generally attend human life." This reasoning of Socrates, which, we are to suppose, can be only real and true in the mouth of a Christian, is very remarkable. If what I say is true, I gain all things, while I hazard very little; and if false, I lose nothing; on the contrary, I am still a great gainer.‡

Socrates does not confine himself to the mere speculation of this great truth, that the soul is immortal; he draws useful and necessary conclusions from it for the conduct of his life; in explaining what the hope of a happy eternity demands from man, that it be not frustrated: and that, instead of attaining the rewards prepared for the good, they do not experience the punishment allotted for the wicked. The philosopher here sets forth these great truths, which a constant tradition, though very much obscured by fiction and fable, had always preserved among the pagans; the last judgment of the righteous and wicked; the eternal punishments to which great criminals are condemned; a place of peace and joy without end for the souls that retain their purity and innocence, or which, during this life, have expiated their offences by repentance and satisfaction; and an intermediate state, in which they purify themselves, for a certain time, from less considerable crimes, that have not been atoned for during this life.

"My friends, there is still one thing, which it is very just to believe; if the soul be immortal, it requires to be cultivated with attention, not only for what we call the time of life, but for that which is to follow, I mean eternity; and the least neglect in this point may be attended with endless consequences. If death were the final dissolution of being, the wicked would be great gainers in it, by being delivered at once from their bodies, their souls, and their vices; but as the soul is immortal, it has no

* Plat. in Phæd. p. 59, &c.

† Plat. p. 90, 91.

‡ Monsieur Pascal has expatiated upon this reasoning in his seventh article, and deduced from it a demonstration of infinite force.

other means of being freed from its evils, nor any safety for it, but in becoming very good and very wise; for it carries nothing away with it, but its good or bad deeds, its virtues or vices, which are commonly the consequences of the education it has received, and the causes of eternal happiness or misery.*

“When the dead are arrived at the fatal rendezvous of departed souls, whither their *dæmon*† conducts them, they are all judged. Those who have passed their lives in a manner neither entirely criminal nor absolutely innocent, are sent into a place where they suffer pains proportioned to their faults, till being purged and cleansed of their guilt, and afterwards restored to liberty, they receive the reward of the good actions they have done in the body. Those who are judged to be incurable upon account of the greatness of their crimes, who have deliberately committed sacrileges and murders, and other such great offences, the fatal destiny that passes judgment upon them, hurls them into Tartarus, from whence they never depart. But those who are found guilty of crimes, great indeed, but worthy of pardon; who have committed violences in the transports of rage against their father or mother, or have killed some one in a like emotion, and afterwards repented, these suffer the same punishment, and in the same place with the last, but for a time only, till by their prayers and supplications they have obtained pardon from those they have injured.

But for those who have passed through life with peculiar sanctity of manners, delivered from their base earthly abode as from a prison, they are received on high in a pure region which they inhabit; and as philosophy has sufficiently purified them, they live without their bodies,‡ through all eternity, in a series of joys and delights which it is not easy to describe, and which the shortness of my time will not permit me to explain more at large.

“What I have said will suffice, I conceive, to prove, that we ought to endeavour strenuously, throughout our whole lives, to acquire virtue and wisdom: for you see how great a reward and how high a hope is promised to us. And though the immortality of the soul were dubious, instead of appearing a certainty, as it does every wise man ought to assure himself, that it is well worth his trouble to risk his belief of it in this manner. And indeed; can there be a more glorious hazard? We ought to delight ourselves with this blessed hope; for which reason I have lengthened this discourse so much.”§

Cicero expresses these noble sentiments of Socrates with his usual delicacy. Almost at the very moment when he held the deadly draught in his hand, he talked in such a manner, as showed that he looked upon death, not as a violence done to him, but as a means bestowed upon him of ascending to heaven. He declared, that upon departing out of this life, two ways are open to us; the one leads to the place of eternal misery, such souls as have sullied themselves here below in shameful pleasures and criminal actions; the other conducts those to the happy mansions of the gods, who have retained their purity upon earth, and have led in human bodies a life almost divine.¶

When Socrates had done speaking, Crito desired him to give him and the rest of his friends his last instructions in regard to his children, and other affairs, that by executing them, they might have the consolation of doing him some pleasure. “I shall recommend nothing to you this day,” replied Socrates, “more than I have always done, which is, to take care of yourselves. You cannot do yourselves a greater service; nor do me and my family a greater pleasure.” Crito having asked him afterwards; in what manner he thought fit to be buried; “As you please,” said Socrates, if you can lay hold of me, and I not escape out of your hand.” At the same time, looking upon his friends with a smile; “I can never persuade Crito, that Socrates is he who converses with you, and disposes the several parts of his discourse; for he always imagines, that I am what he is about to see dead in a little while. He confounds me with my carcase, and therefore asks me how I would be interred.” In finishing those words he rose up, and went to bathe himself in an adjoining chamber. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very

* Plat. p. 107.

† *Daemon* is a Greek word which signifies spirit, genius, and with us, an angel.

‡ The resurrection of the body was unknown to the pagans.

§ Plat. p. 113, 114.

¶ *Cum pene in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem trudi, verum in celum videretur ascendere. Ita enim censebat, itaque disseruit: duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animorum e corpore excedentium. Num, qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent et se totos libidinibus dedidissent, quibus concortati velut domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinassent, iis devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum a concilio deorum: qui autem se integros cascosque servavissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper sevoceassent, essentque in corporibus humanis, vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos, a quibus essent profecti, reddidum facilem patere.—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 71, 72.*

little, and the other grown up. He spoke to them for some time, gave his orders to the woman who took care of them, and then dismissed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid him down upon his bed.*

The servant of the eleven entered at the same instant, and having informed him that the time for drinking the hemlock was come, which was at sun-set, was so much affected with sorrow, that he turned his back, and began to weep: "See," said Socrates, "the good heart of this man! Since my imprisonment he has often come to see me, and to converse with me. He is more worthy than all his fellows. How heartily the poor man weeps for me!" This is a remarkable example, and might teach those in an office of this kind, how they ought to behave to all prisoners, but more especially to persons of merit, when they are so unhappy as to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates asked what was necessary for him to do. "Nothing more," replied the servant, "than, as soon as you have drunk it, to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down upon your bed." He took up the cup without any emotion or change in his colour or countenance, and regarding the man with a steady and assured look, "well," said he, "what say you of this drink: may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told that here was only enough for one dose; "we may at least," continued he, "say our prayers to the gods, as is our duty; and implore them to make our exit from this world, and our last stage happy; which is what I most ardently request of them." After having spoke these words, he kept silence for some time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity, and a serenity of aspect not to be expressed or conceived.

Till then his friends, with great violence to themselves, had refrained from tears; but after he had drunk the potion, they were no longer masters of themselves but wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almost the whole conversation, began then to cry aloud, and to lament with such excessive grief, as pierced the hearts of all who were present. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his usual mildness and good nature. "What are you doing?" said he to them; "I wonder at you! Ah! what is become of your virtue! Was it not for this I sent away the women, that they might not fall into these weaknesses? For I have always heard say, that we ought to die peaceably, and blessing the gods. Be at ease, I beg you, and show more constancy and resolution?" These words filled them with confusion, and obliged them to restrain their tears.

In the mean time he kept walking to and fro; and when he found his legs grow weary, he laid down upon his bed, as he had been directed.

The poison then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered, without doubt to prevent any thing from disturbing him in his last moments, "Crito," said he, which were his last words, "we owe a cock to Æsculapius; discharge that vow for me, and I pray do not forget it;" soon after which he breathed his last. Crito went to his body, and closed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates, in the first year of the 93th Olympiad, and the seventieth of his age. Cicero says, he could never read the description of his death in Plato without tears.†

Plato, and the rest of the disciples of Socrates, apprehending that the rage of his accusers was not satiated by that victim, retired to Megara, to the house of Euclid, where they staid till the storm blew over. Euripides, however, to reproach the Athenians with the horrible crime which they had committed, in condemning the best of men to die upon such slight grounds, composed his tragedy, called Palamedes, in which, under the names of that hero, who was also destroyed by a black calumination, he deplored the misfortune of his friends. When the actor came to repeat this verse,

"You doom the justice of the Greeks to perish;"

the whole theatre, remembering Socrates in so distinct an image of him, melted into tears; and a decree passed, to prohibit speaking any more of him in public. Some believe that Euripides died before Socrates; and reject this circumstance.

However that may be, the people of Athens did not open their eyes till some time after the death of Socrates. Their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices expired, and time having given them opportunity for reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but dis-

* Plat. p. 115—118.

† Quid dicam de Socrate, cujus morti illacrymans solet Platonem legens.—De Nat. Deor. lib. iii. n. 82.

courses in favour of Socrates. The academy, the Lycæum, private houses, public walks, and market places, seemed still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice.—Here, said they, he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place, he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services?—Athens was in universal mourning and consternation. The schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended. The accusers were called to account for the innocent blood they had caused to be shed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the rest banished. Plutarch observes, that all those who had any share in this black calumny, were in such abomination among the citizens, that no one would give them fire, answer them any question, nor go into the same bath with them; and had the place cleansed where they had bathed, lest they should be polluted by touching it; which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves,

The Athenians, not contented with having punished his accusers, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him, of the workmanship of the celebrated Lysippus, and placed it in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city. Their respect and gratitude rose even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demi-god, which they called Σωκράτειον, or, “The Chapel of Socrates.”*

SECTION VII.—REFLECTIONS ON SOCRATES, AND THE SENTENCE PASSED UPON HIM BY THE
ATHENIANS.

WE must be very much surprised, when on the one side we consider the extreme delicacy of the people of Athens, as to what regards the worship of the gods, which ran so high as to occasion their condemning the most eminent persons upon the simple suspicion of their failing in respect for them; and on the other, when we see the exceeding toleration, to call it no worse, with which the same people heard comedies every day, in which all the gods were turned into ridicule, in a manner capable of inspiring the highest contempt for them. All the pieces of Aristophanes abound with pleasantries, or rather buffooneries of the kind; and if it be true that this poet did not know what it was to spare the greatest men of the republic, it may be said also as justly, he was still less favourable to the gods.

Such were the daily entertainments in the theatre, which the people of Athens not only heard without pain, but with such joy, pleasure, and applause, that they rewarded the poet with public honours, who diverted them so agreeably. What was there in Socrates that came near this excessive license? Never did any person in the pagan world speak of the Divinity, or of the adoration due to him, in so pure, so noble and respectful a manner. He did not declare against the gods publicly received and honoured by a religion more ancient than the city; he only avoided imputing to them the crimes and infamous actions, which the popular credulity ascribed to them in the opinion of the people. He did not blame the sacrifices, festivals, nor the other ceremonies of religion; he only taught, that all that pomp and outward show could not be agreeable to the gods, without uprightness of intention and purity of heart.

This wise, this enlightened, this religious man, however, with all this veneration and noble sentiments in regard to the Divinity, was condemned as an impious person, by the suffrages of almost a whole people, without his accusers being able to instance one single avowed fact, or to produce any proof with the least appearance of probability.

From whence could so evident, so universal, and so determined a contradiction arise among the Athenians? A people abounding in other respects with wit, taste, and knowledge, must without doubt have had their reasons, at least in appearance, for a conduct so different, and sentiments so opposite to their general character. May we not say, that the Athenians considered their gods in a double light? They confined their real religion to the public, solemn, and hereditary worship, as they had received it from their ancestors, as it was established by the laws of the state, had been practised from time immemorial, and especially confirmed by the oracles, augurs, offerings, and sacrifices. It was by this standard that they regulated their piety, against which they could not suffer the least attempt whatever: it was of this worship alone they were jealous; it was for these ancient ceremonies they were such ardent zealots; and they believed, though without foundation, that Socrates was an enemy to them. But there was another kind of religion, founded upon fable, poetical fictions, popular

* Diog. p. 116.

opinions, and foreign customs; for this they were little concerned, and abandoned it entirely to the poets, to the representations of the theatre, and common conversation.

What grossness did they not attribute to Juno and Venus! No citizen would have been satisfied, that his wife or daughter should have resembled these goddesses. Timotheus, the famous musician, having represented Diana upon the stage of Athens, transported with folly, fury, and rage, one of the spectators conceived, that he could not make a greater imprecation against him, than to wish his daughter might become like to that divinity. "It is better," says Plutarch, "to believe there are no gods, than to imagine them of this kind; open and declared impiety being less profane, if we may be allowed to say so, than so gross and absurd a superstition."^{*}

However it be, the sentence, the circumstances of which we have related, will, through all ages, cover Athens with infamy and reproach, which all the splendour of its glorious actions, for which it is otherwise so justly renowned, can never obliterate; and shows at the same time, what is to be expected from a people, gentle, humane, and beneficent, (for such the Athenians really were,) but warm, proud, haughty, inconstant, and wavering with every wind and every impression. It is therefore with reason that their assemblies have been compared to a tempestuous sea; as that element, though calm and peaceable of itself, is subject to be frequently agitated by a violence not his own.

As to Socrates, it must be allowed that the pagan world never produced any thing so great and perfect. When we observe to what height he carries the sublimity of his sentiments, not only in respect to moral virtue, temperance, sobriety, patience in adversity, the love of poverty, and the forgiveness of wrongs; but, what is far more considerable, in regard to the Divinity, his unity, omnipotence, creation of the world, and providence in the government of it; the immortality of the soul, its ultimate and eternal destiny; the rewards of the good, and the punishment of the wicked; when we consider this train of sublime knowledge, we ask our reason whether it is a pagan who thinks and speaks in this manner, and can scarcely persuade ourselves, that from so dark and obscure a fund as paganism, such living and glorious rays of light should shine forth.

It is true, his reputation was not without alloy; and it has been affirmed, that the purity of his manners did not answer those of his sentiments. This question has been discussed among the learned; but my plan will not admit me to treat it in its extent. The reader may see Abbe Fraguier's dissertation in defence of Socrates, against the reproaches made him on account of his conduct. The negative argument which he makes use of in his justification, seems a very strong one. He observes, that neither Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Clouds, which is entirely against Socrates, nor his vile accusers in his trial, have advanced one word that tends to impeach the purity of his manners: and it is not probable, that such violent enemies as those would have neglected one of the most likely methods to discredit him in the opinion of his judges, if there had been any foundation or appearance for the use of it.†

I confess, however, that certain principles of Plato his disciple, held by him in common with his master, upon the nudity of the combatants in the public games, from which at the same time he did not exclude the fair sex, and the behaviour of Socrates himself, who wrestled naked with Alcibiades, gives us no great idea of that philosopher's delicacy in point of modesty and bashfulness. What shall we say of his visit to Theodota, a woman of Athens, of indifferent reputation, only to assure himself with his own eyes of her extraordinary beauty, which was much talked of, and of the precepts he gave her for the attraction of admirers, and the retaining them in her snares? Do such lessons consist much with a philosopher? I pass over many other things in silence.‡

I am the less surprised after this, that several of the fathers have censured him in regard to purity of manners, and that they have thought fit to apply to him, as well as to his disciple Plato, what St. Paul§ says of the philosophers; that God by a just judgment has abandoned them to a reprobate sense, and to the most shameful lusts, for their punishment; in that having clearly known there was but one true God, they had not honoured him as they ought, by publicly avowing their belief, and were not ashamed to associate with him an innumerable multitude of divinities, ridiculous and infamous even in their own opinions.

* Plut. de Superstit. p. 170.

† Xenoph. Memor. l. iii. p. 783 786.

‡ Memoires de l'Academie des Inscript. Vol. IV. p. 372.

§ Rom. ch. i. ver. 17 32.

And in this, properly speaking, consists the crime of Socrates, who was not guilty in the eyes of the Athenians, but gave occasion for his being justly condemned by the eternal truth. It had enlightened his soul with the most pure and sublime lights of which the pagan world was capable; for we are not ignorant, that all knowledge of God, even natural, cannot come from but himself alone. He held admirable principles with relation to the Divinity. He agreeably rallied the fables, upon which the ridiculous mysteries of his age were founded. He often spoke, and in the most exalted terms, of the existence of one only God, eternal, invisible, Creator of the universe, Supreme Director and Arbiter of all events, avenger of crimes, and rewarder of virtues; but he did not dare to give a public testimony of these great truths. He perfectly discerned the false and the ridiculous of the pagan system, and nevertheless, as Seneca says of the wise man, and acted himself, he observed exactly all the customs and ceremonies, not as agreeable to the gods, but as enjoined by the laws.

He acknowledged at bottom, one only Divinity, and worshipped with the people that multitude of infamous idols, which ancient superstition had heaped up during a long succession of ages. He held peculiar opinions in the schools, but followed the multitude in the temples. As a philosopher, he despised and detested the idols in secret; as a citizen of Athens and a senator, he paid them in public the same adoration with others: by so much the more to be condemned, says St. Augustin, as that worship, which was only external and dissembled, seemed to the people to be the effect of sincerity and conviction.*

It cannot be said, that Socrates altered his conduct at the end of his life, or that he then expressed a greater zeal for truth. In his defence before the people, he declared, that he had always received and honoured the same gods as the Athenians; and the last order he gave before he expired, was to sacrifice in his name a cock to Æsculapius. Behold, then, this prince of philosophers, declared by the Delphic oracle the wisest of mankind, who; notwithstanding his internal conviction of the one only Divinity, dies in the bosom of idolatry, and with the profession of adoring all the gods of the pagan theology. Socrates is the more inexcusable in this, that declaring himself a man expressly appointed by Heaven to bear witness to the truth; he fails in the most essential duty of the glorious commission he ascribes to himself. For if there be any truth in religion that we ought more particularly to avow, it is that which regards the unity of the Godhead, and the vanity of idol worship. In this his courage had been well placed; nor would it have been any great difficulty to Socrates, determined besides as he was to die. But, says St. Augustin, these philosophers were not designed by God to enlighten the world, nor to bring men over from the impious worship of false deities to the holy religion of the true God.†

We cannot deny Socrates to have been the hero of the pagan world in regard to moral virtues. But to judge rightly of him, let us draw a parallel between this supposed hero and the martyrs of Christianity, who often were young children and tender virgins, and yet were not afraid to shed the last drop of their blood, to defend and confirm the same truths which Socrates knew, without daring to assert in public; I mean, the unity of God and the vanity of idols.

* Quæ omnia (ait Seneca) sapiens servabit tanquam legibus jussa, non tanquam diis grata.—Omniem istam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longo ævo longa superstitio congressit, sic, inquit, adorabimus, ut memincrimus cultum ejus magis ad inorem, quam ad rem, pertinere.—Sed iste, quem philosophia quasi liberum fecerat, tamen, quia illustris senator erat, colebat quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat adorabat—eo damnabilis, quo illa, quæ mendaciter agebat, sic ageret, ut eum populus veraciter agere existimaret.—St. August. de Civit. Dei, l. vi. c. 10.

Eorum sapientes, quos philosophos vocant, scholas habebant dissentientes, templa communia.—Id. lib. de Ver. Rel. c. 1.

† Non sic isti nati erant, ut populorum suorum opinionem ad verum cultum veri Dei a simulacrorum superstitionis, atque ab hujus mundi vanitate, converterent.—S. August. lib. de Ver. Rel. c. 2.

BOOK TENTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CONTAINING THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE GREEKS.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE GREEKS.

THE most essential part of history, and which concerns the reader most to know, is that which explains the character and manners, as well of the people in general, as of the great persons in particular, of whom it treats; and this may be said to be in some sort the soul of history, of which the facts are only the body. I have endeavoured, as occasion offered, to paint in their true colours the most illustrious personages of Greece; it remains for me to show the genius and character of the people themselves. I shall confine myself to those of Lacedæmon and Athens, who always held the first rank among the Greeks, and shall reduce what I have to say upon this subject to three heads; their political government, war, and religion.

Sigonius, Meursius, Potter and several others, who have written upon the Grecian antiquities, supply me with great lights, and are of equal use to me in the matters which remain for me to treat.

CHAPTER I. OF POLITICAL GOVERNMENT.

THERE are three principal forms of government; Monarchy, in which a single person reigns; Aristocracy, in which the eldest and wisest govern; and Democracy, in which the supreme authority is lodged in the hands of the people. The most celebrated writers of antiquity, as Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Plutarch, give the preference to the first kind, as including the most advantages with the fewest inconveniences. But all agree, and it cannot be too often inculcated, that the end of all government, and the duty of every one in authority, in whatever manner it be, is to use his utmost endeavours, to render those under his command happy and just, by obtaining for them, on the one side, safety and tranquillity, with the advantages and conveniences of life; and on the other, all the means and helps that may contribute to make them virtuous. As the pilot's object, says Cicero, is to steer his vessel safely into port, the physician's to preserve or restore health, the general's to obtain victory; so a prince, and every one who governs others, ought to make the utility of the governed his view and motive, and to remember, that the supreme rule of all just government is the good of the public: "Salus populi suprema lex esto."* He adds, that the greatest and most noble function in the world, is to be the author of the happiness of mankind.†

Plato, in many places, lightly esteems the most shining qualities and actions of those who govern, if they do not tend to promote the two great ends which I have

* Cic. de Leg. l. iii. n. 8.

† Tenesne igitur, moderatorem illum reip. quo referre velimus omnia?—Ut gubernatori cursus secundus, medico salus, imperatori victoria, sic, huic moderatori reip. beata civium vita proposita est, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honesta sit. Hujus enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorem volo.—Ad Attic. l. viii. epist. 10.

mentioned, the virtue and happiness of the people; and he refutes at large, in the first book of his republic, or *Thrasymachus*, who advanced, that subjects were born for the prince, and not the prince for his subjects; and that whatever promoted the interests of the prince and commonwealth, ought to be deemed just and lawful.*

In the distinctions which have been made upon the several forms of government, it has been agreed, that the most perfect, would be that which would unite in itself, by a happy mixture of institutions, all the advantages, and excluded all the inconveniences of the rest; and almost all the ancients have believed, that the Lacedæmonian government came nearest to this idea of perfection.†

ARTICLE I.—OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA.

FROM the time that the Heraclides had re-entered Peloponnesus, Sparta was governed by two kings, who were always of the same two families, descended from Hercules by two different branches; as I have observed elsewhere. Whether from pride, or the abuse of despotic power, on the side of the kings, or the desire of independence and an immoderate love of liberty on that of the people, Sparta, in its early periods was always involved in commotions and revolts; which would infallibly have occasioned its ruin, as had happened at Argos and Messene, two neighbouring cities equally powerful with itself, if the wise foresight of Lycurgus had not prevented their fatal consequences by the reformation he had in the state. I have related it at large in the life of that legislator, and shall only touch here upon what regards the government.‡

SECTION I.—IDEA OF THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT.

LYCURGUS restored order and peace in Sparta by the establishment of the senate. It consisted of twenty-eight senators, over whom the two kings presided. This august council, formed out of the wisest and most experienced men in the nation, served as a counterpoise to the two other authorities, that of the kings and that of the people; and whenever the one was for overbearing the other, the senate interposed, by joining the weakest, and thereby held the balance between both. At length, to prevent this body itself from abusing its power which was very great, a check was established, by the nomination of five ephori, who were elected out of the people, whose office lasted only one year, and who had authority, not only over the senators, but over the kings themselves.

The power of the kings was extremely limited, especially in the city, and in time of peace. In war they had the command of the fleets and armies, and at that time greater authority. But they had even then, a kind of inspectors and commissioners assigned them, who served as a necessary council, and were generally chosen for that office, from those who were out of favour with them, in order that there should be no connivance on their side, and that the republic might be the better served.—There was almost continually some secret misunderstanding between the two kings; whether it proceeded from a natural jealousy between the two branches, or was the effect of the Spartan policy, to which their too great union might have given umbrage.§

The ephori had a greater authority at Sparta than the tribunes of the Roman people. They presided in the election of the magistrates, and could call them to an account for their administration. Their power extended even to the persons of their kings, and of the princes of the royal blood, whom they had a right to imprison, which they actually used in regard to Pausanias. When they were seated in the tribunal, they did not rise up when the kings entered, which was a mark of respect paid them by all the other magistrates, and seems to imply a kind of superiority in the ephori from their representing the people; and it is observed of Agesilaus, that when he was seated upon his throne to dispense justice, and the ephori came in, he never failed to rise up to do them honour.|| It is very probable, that before his time, it was not usual for the kings to act in that manner, Plutarch relating this behaviour of Agesilaus as peculiar to him.

All public business was proposed and examined in the senate, and resolutions passed accordingly in the same place. But the decrees of the senate were of no force, unless ratified by the people.

* Page 338—343.

† *Book. v. Art. vii.*

‡ *Arist. de Rep. l. ii. p. 331.*

† *Pol. b. l. vi. p. 458, 459.*

‡ *Plut. in Agesil. p. 597.*

There must have been great wisdom in the laws established by Lycurgus for the government of Sparta, because, as long as they were exactly observed, no commotions or seditions of the people were ever known in the city, no change in the form of government was ever proposed, no private person usurped authority by violence, or made himself tyrant; the people never thought of depriving the two families, in which it had always been, of the sovereignty, nor did any of the kings ever attempt to assume more power than the laws admitted. This reflection, which both Xenophon and Polybius make, shows the idea they had of the wisdom of Lycurgus, in point of his policy, and the opinion we ought to have of it. In fact, no other city of Greece had this advantage; and all of them experienced many changes and vicissitudes, from a want of similar laws to perpetuate their form of government.*

The reason of this constancy and stability of the Lacedæmonians in their government and conduct is, that in Sparta the laws governed absolutely and with sovereign authority; whereas the greater part of the other Grecian cities, abandoned to the caprice of individuals, to despotic power, to an arbitrary and irregular sway, experienced the truth of Plato's remark, "that the city is miserable, where the magistrates command the laws, and not the laws the magistrates."†

The example of Argos and Messene, which I have already related, would alone suffice to show the justice and truth of that reflection. After their return from the Trojan war, the Greeks, distinguished by the name of Dorians, established themselves in three cities of Peloponnesus, Lacedæmon, Argos, and Messene, and entered into an alliance for their mutual protection. These three cities, governed alike by monarchical power, had equal advantages; except in the fertility of the lands where they were situated, in which the two latter greatly excelled. Argos and Messene, however, did not long preserve their superiority. The haughtiness of the kings, and the disobedience of the people, occasioned their fall from the flourishing condition in which they had been at first; "and their example proved," says Plutarch after Plato, "that it was the peculiar favour of the gods, which gave the Spartans such a man as Lycurgus capable of prescribing so wise, and reasonable a plan of government."‡

To support it without change, particular care was taken to educate the youth according to the laws and manners of the country, in order that they might become a second nature in them, by being early ingrafted into them, and confirmed by long habit. The hard and sober manner in which they were brought up, inspired them during the rest of their lives with a natural taste for frugality and temperance, that distinguished them from all other people, and wonderfully adapted them to support the fatigues of war. Plato observes, that this salutary custom had been banished from Sparta, and all the territory dependent on her drunkenness, debauchery, and all their consequential disorders; insomuch that it was a crime punishable by law to drink wine to excess even in the Bacchanalia, which every where else were days of licentiousness, when entire cities gave themselves up to the greatest excesses.§

They also accustomed the children from their earliest infancy to an entire submission to the laws, magistrates, and all in authority; and their education, properly speaking, was no more than an apprenticeship of obedience.|| It was for this reason Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, as to an excellent school, where they might learn the greatest and most noble of all sciences, "to obey and to command," for the one naturally leads on to the other.¶ It was not only the means the poor, and the ordinary citizens, who were subjected in this manner to the laws; but the rich, the powerful, the magistrates, and even kings: and they did not distinguish themselves from the others in any thing but a more exact obedience; convinced that such behaviour was the surest means of their being obeyed and respected themselves by their inferiors.

Hence came the highly celebrated answers of Demaratus. Xerxes could not comprehend how the Lacedæmonians, who had no master to control them, should be capable of confronting dangers and death. "They are free and independent of all men," replied Demaratus; "but the law is above them, and commands them; and that law ordains, that they must conquer or die."*** Upon another occasion, when somebody expressed their surprise, that being king, he should suffer himself to be banished: "It is," said he, "because at Sparta the laws are more powerful than the kings."††

* Xenoph. in Agesil. p. 681. Polyb. l. vi. p. 456.

† Plat. l. iv. de Leg. p. 715.

‡ Plat. l. iii. de Leg. p. 683—685. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 43.

§ Plat. l. i. de Leg. p. 637.

|| ἡ δὲ πᾶσι παιδείαν εἶναι μάστιγι ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαν.—Plut. in Lycurg. p. 58.

¶ Μεγαρομένους τῶν Μεγαρέων το ἀνακτοῦν, ἀλλοστῶν καὶ ἀλλοστῶν.—Plut. in Ages. p. 606.

** Herod. l. vii. cap. 143, 146.

†† Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. 220.

This appears evidently in the ready obedience of Agesilaus to the ephori, when recalled by them to the support of his country; a delicate occasion for a king and a conqueror; but to him it seemed more glorious* to obey his country and the laws than to command numerous armies, or even to conquer Asia.†

SECTION II.—LOVE OF POVERTY INSTITUTED AT SPARTA.

To this entire submission to the laws of the state, Lycurgus added another principle of government no less admirable, which was to remove from Sparta all luxury, profusion, and magnificence; to decry riches absolutely, to make poverty honourable, and at the same time necessary, by substituting a species of iron money instead of gold and silver coin, which till then had been current. I have explained elsewhere the measures that were used to make so difficult an undertaking succeed, and shall confine myself here to examining what judgment should be passed on it, as it affects a government.

The poverty to which Lycurgus reduced Sparta, and which seemed to prohibit all conquest, and to deprive it of all means to augment its force and grandeur, was well adapted to rendering it powerful and flourishing. Such a constitution of government, which till then had no example, nor has since been imitated by any state, argues a great fund of prudence and policy in a legislator; and the medium conceived afterwards under Lysander, in continuing individuals in their poverty, and restoring to the public the use of gold and silver coin, was it not a wise amendment of what was too rigorous in that law of Lycurgus of which we are speaking?

It seems, if we consult only the common views of human prudence, that it is just to reason in this manner; but the event, which is an infallible evidence and arbiter in this place, obliges me to be of a quite different opinion. While Sparta remained poor, and persisted in the contempt of gold and silver, which continued for several ages, she was powerful and glorious; and the commencement of her decline may be dated from the time when she began to break through the severe prohibition of Lycurgus against the use of gold and silver money.

The education which he instituted for the young Lacedæmonians, the hard and sober life which he recommended with so much care, the painful and violent exercises of the body prescribed by him, the abstraction from all other applications and employment; in a word, all his laws and institutions show, and his view was to form a people of soldiers, solely devoted to arms and military operations. I do not pretend to justify absolutely this scheme, which had its great inconveniences; and I have expressed my thoughts of it elsewhere. But admitting it good, we must confess that that legislator showed great wisdom in the means he took for its execution.

The almost inevitable danger of a people trained up solely for war, who have always their arms in their hands, and what is most to be feared, is injustice, violence, ambition, the desire of increasing their power, of taking advantage of the weakness of their neighbours, of oppressing them by force, of invading their lands under false pretexts, which the lust of dominion never fails to suggest, and of extending their bounds as far as possible; all, vices and extremes which are culpable in private persons, and the ordinary intercourse of life, but which men have thought fit to applaud as grandeur and glory in the persons of princes and conquerors.

The great care of Lycurgus was to defend his people against this dangerous temptation. Without mentioning the other means he made use of, he employed two, which could not fail of producing their effect. The first was to prohibit all navigation and maritime warfare to his citizens.‡ The situation of his city and the fear that commerce, the usual source of luxury and depravity, should corrupt the purity of the Spartan manners, may have been among the causes of this decree. But his principal motive was to put it out of the power of his citizens to project conquests, which a people, shut up within the narrow bounds of a peninsula, could not carry very far without being masters at sea.

The second means, still more efficacious, was to forbid all use of gold or silver money, and to introduce a species of iron coin in its stead, which was of great weight and small value, and could only be current at home. How with such money could foreign troops be raised and paid, fleets fitted out, and numerous armies kept up either by land or sea?

* Multo gloriosius duxit, si institutis patræ parvisset, quam si bello superasset Asiam.—Cornel. Nep. in Agesil. c. iv.

† Ἄπειρος ἦτο δὲ κούρης νεοκταῖς εἰναι, καὶ νεομυχέειν.—Plut. in Instit. Lacon. p. 239.

‡ Idem. In Agesil. p. 603, 604.

The design of Lycurgus, in rendering his citizens warlike, and putting arms into their hands, was not, as Polybius observes, and Plutarch after him, to make them illustrious conquerors, who might carry war into remote regions, and subject great numbers of people.* His sole object was, that, shut up within the territories and dominion left them by their ancestors, they should have no thoughts, but of maintaining themselves in peace, and defending themselves successfully against such of their neighbours as should have the rashness to invade them; and for this they had occasion for neither gold nor silver, finding in their own country, and still more in their sober and temperate manner of life, all that was sufficient for the support of their armies, when they did not quit their own or the territories of their neighbours.

"Now," says Polybius, "this plan once admitted, it must be allowed, that there is nothing more wise nor more happily conceived than the institutions of Lycurgus, for the maintaining a people in the possession of their liberty, and to secure to them the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity. Let us imagine a little republic, like that of Sparta, all the citizens of which were inured to labour, accustomed to live frugally; warlike, courageous, intrepid; and that the fundamental principle of this small republic, is to do no wrong to any one, nor to disturb its neighbours, nor invade their lands or interests, but, on the contrary, to declare in favour of the oppressed against the injustice and violence of oppressors; is it not certain that a republic, surrounded by a great number of states of equal extent, would be generally respected by all the neighbouring people, would become the supreme arbiter of all their quarrels, and exercise an empire over them, by so much the more glorious and lasting, as it would be voluntary, and founded solely in the opinion those neighbours would have of its virtue, justice, and valour."

This was the end which Lycurgus proposed to himself. Convinced that the happiness of a city, like that of a private person, depends upon virtue, and upon being well within itself, he regulated Sparta so that it might always suffice to its own happiness, and act upon principles wisdom and equity. From thence arose that universal esteem of the neighbouring people, and even of strangers, for the Lacedæmonians, who asked of them neither money, ships, nor troops, but only that they would lend them a Spartan to command their armies; and when they had obtained their request, they paid him entire obedience, with every kind of honour and respect. In this manner the Sicilians obeyed Gylippus, the Chalcidians Brasidas, and all the Greeks, of Asia, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaus; regarding the city of Sparta as a model for all others, in the arts of living and governing.†

The epoch of the declension of Sparta begins with the open violation of the laws of Lycurgus. I do not pretend that they had always been exactly observed till that time, which was far from being the case; but the spirit and genius of those laws had almost always prevailed with the majority of the persons who governed. No sooner had the ambition of reigning over all Greece inspired them with the design of having naval armies, and foreign troops, and that money was necessary for the support of those forces, than Sparta, forgetting her ancient maxims, saw herself reduced to have recourse to the barbarians, whom, till then she had detested, and basely to make her court to the kings of Persia, whom she had formerly vanquished with so much glory; and that only to draw from them some aids of money and troops against their own brethren; against people born and settled in Greece like themselves. Thus had they the imprudence and misfortune to recall with gold and silver into Sparta, all the vices and crimes which the iron money had banished; and to prepare the way for the changes which ensued, and were the cause of their ruin. And this infinitely exalts the wisdom of Lycurgus, in having foreseen at such a distance what might strike at the happiness of his citizens, and provided salutary remedies against it in the form of government which he established at Sparta. Another legislator, who had preceded him several ages, has a right to share this glory with him.

SECTION III.—LAWS ESTABLISHED BY MINOS IN CRETE.

It is well known that Lycurgus formed the plan of most of his laws upon the model of those observed in the island of Crete, where he passed a considerable time for the better study of them. It is proper I should give some idea of them here, having forgot

* Polyb. l. vi. 491. Plut. de Lycurg. p. 59.

† Προς τὸ μᾶλλον τὴν τῶν Σπάρτιων πόλιν, ὡς περὶ παιδείαν ἢ διδασκαλῶν εὐχόμενος βίῃ καὶ τετραμηνῆ ἀποχλείουσι.—Plut. p. 58.

to do it in the place where it would have been more natural, that is, when I spoke for the first time of Lycurgus and his insitutions.

Minos, who is called in fable the son of Jupiter, was the author of these laws. He lived about one hundred years before the Trojan war.* He was a powerful, wise, and gentle prince, and still more estimable for his moral virtues than his military abilities. After having conquered the island of Crete, and several others in its neighbourhood, he applied himself to strengthen by wise laws the new state of which he had possessed himself by the force of arms. The end which he proposed in the establishment of these laws, was to render his subjects happy by making them virtuous. He banished idleness and voluptuousness from his states, and with them, luxury and vicious pleasures, the fruitful sources of all vice. Well knowing, that liberty was justly regarded as the most precious and greatest good, and that it cannot subsist without a perfect union of the people, he endeavoured to establish a kind of equality among them; which, is the tie and basis of it, and very proper to remove all envy, jealousy, hatred, and dissention. He did not undertake to make any new divisions of lands, nor to prohibit the use of gold and silver. He applied himself to the uniting of his subjects by other ties, which seemed to him neither less firm nor less reasonable.†

He decreed, that the children should be all brought up and educated together by troops and bands, in order that they might learn early the same principles and maxims. Their life was hard and sober. They were accustomed to be satisfied with little, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep and rugged places, to skirmish with each other in small parties, to suffer courageously the blows they received, and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance, in which they carried arms in their hands, and which was afterwards called the Pyrrhic; in order, says Strabo, that even in their diversions, every thing might create in them a military spirit, and form them for war. They were also made to learn certain airs of music, but of a manly, martial kind.

They were not taught either to ride, or to wear heavy armour; but they were made to excel in drawing the bow, which was their most usual exercise. Crete is not a flat, even country, nor fit for breeding of horses, like that of the Thessalians, who were esteemed the best cavalry in Greece; but a rough, broken country, full of shelves and highlands, where heavy-armed troops could not exercise themselves in the horse-race. But as to archery and light-armed soldiers, fit to execute the devices and stratagems of war, the Cretans pretended to hold the foremost rank.‡

Minos thought proper to establish in Crete a community of tables and meals. Besides several other great advantages which he found in this institution, such as introducing a kind of equality in his dominions, (the rich and poor having the same diet,) the accustoming his subjects to a frugal and sober life, the creating a friendship and unity between them, by the usual gayety and familiarity of the table, he had also in view the custom of war, in which the soldiers are obliged to eat together. The public supplied the expenses of these tables, the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the public meals; so that out of the revenues of the state, a part was applied to the uses of religion, and the women, children, and men of all ages, were fed at the cost, and in the name of the republic. In this Aristotle gives the preference to the meals of Crete before those of Sparta, wherein private persons were obliged to furnish their proportion, and without it were not admitted into the assemblies; which was to exclude the poor.§

After eating, the old men discoursed upon the affairs of the state. The conversation turned generally upon the history of the country, upon the actions and virtues of the great men of it, who had distinguished themselves either by their valour in war, or their wisdom in peace; and the youth, who were present at these entertainments, were exhorted to propose those great persons to themselves as their models, for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.||

Minos, as well as Lycurgus, is reproached with having no other view in his laws than war; which is a very great fault in a legislator. It is true, this appears to have been his principal object of attention, because he was convinced that the repose, liberty, and riches of his subjects, were under the protection, and in a manner under the guard of arms and military knowledge; the conquered being deprived of all those advantages by the victor. But he ordained, that war should be only made for the sake of peace; and his laws are far from being confined to that sole object.¶

† Strab. l. x p. 480.

‡ Athen. l. iv. p. 543.

* A. M. 2720. Ant J. C. 1284.

† Plat. de Leg. l. i. p. 623.

§ Arist. de Rep. l. ii. c. 10.

¶ Plat. de Leg. l. i. p. 626.

Among the Cretans, the cultivation of the mind was not entirely neglected, and care was taken to give the youth some tincture of learning. The works of Homer, of much later date than the laws of Minos, were not unknown among them, though they but lightly esteemed, and made little use of foreign poets.* They were very curious in such knowledge as is proper to form the manners; and, what is no small praise, they prided themselves upon thinking much and speaking little.† The poet Epimenides, who made a voyage to Athens in the time of Solon, and was in great estimation there, was of Crete, and by some placed in the number of the seven sages.‡

One of the institutions of Minos, which Plato admires the most, was to inspire early into the youth a high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of the state, and not to suffer them to dispute or call in question the wisdom of their institutions, but to consider them not as prescribed and imposed by men, but as emanations of the Divinity himself. Accordingly, he had industriously apprised the people, that Jupiter himself had dictated them to him. He had the same attention in regard to the magistrates and aged persons, whom he recommended to honour in a peculiar manner; and in order that nothing might prevent the respect due to them, he ordained, that if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth: a wise precaution, and which would be very becoming in the ordinary practice of life!§

The government of Crete was at first monarchical, of which Minos has left a perfect model to all ages. According to him, as a great and most excellent man|| observes, the king can do every thing over the people, but the laws every thing over him. He has an absolute power to do good; and his hands are tied up from doing evil. The laws intrust the people in his hands as the most sacred of deposits, upon condition that he shall be their common father. The same laws require that a single man, by his wisdom and moderation, shall constitute the felicity of an infinite number of subjects; and not that the subjects, by their misery and abject slavery, shall be substituted to gratify the pride and low passions of a single man. According to him, the king ought to be when abroad, the defender of his country, at the head of her armies, and when at home, the judge of his people, to render them good, wise, and happy. It is not for himself that the gods have made him king, and he is only so for the service of his people. He owes them his whole time, care and affection; and is worthy of the throne, only as he gives and devotes himself to the public good. Such is the idea which Minos had of the sovereignty; of which he was a living image in his own person, and which Hesiod has perfectly expressed in two words, by calling him "the most royal of mortal kings," βασιλευτατον θνητου βασιληων; that is to say, that he possessed in a supreme degree all royal virtues, and was a king of all things.¶

It appears, that the authority of king was not of long duration; and that it gave place to a republican government, as Minos had intended. The senate, composed of thirty persons, formed the public council. In that assembly, the public affairs were examined, and resolutions taken; but they were of no force, till the people had given them their approbation, and confirmed them by their suffrages. The magistrates, to the number of ten, established for maintaining good order in the state, and therefore called *cosmi*, Κοσμοι; held the two other bodies of the state in check, and were the balance between them. In time of war, the same persons commanded the army. They were chosen by lot, but only out of certain families. Their office was for life; and they were not accountable to any for their administration. Out of this company the senators were elected.**

The Cretans made the slaves and mercenaries cultivate their lands, who were obliged to pay them a certain annual sum. They were called *Pericæci*, probably from their being people in the neighbourhood, whom Minos had subjected. As they inhabited an island, and consequently a country separated from all others, the Cretans had not so much to fear from these vassals as the Lacedæmonians from the Helots, who often joined the neighbouring people against them. A custom anciently established in Crete, from whence it was adopted by the Romans, gives us reason to believe, that the vassals who cultivated the lands were treated with great kindness and favour. In the feasts of Mercury, the masters waited on their slaves at table, and did them the same offices as they received from them the rest of the year; precious remains and traces of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, that seemed to inform the

* Plat. de Leg. l. ii. p. 680.

‡ Plat. de Leg. l. i. p. 634.

¶ Plat. in Min. p. 320.

† Idem. l. i. p. 641.

|| Monsieur de Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray.

‡ Plat. in Solon. p. 84.

** Arist. de Rep. l. ii. c. 10.

masters, that their servants were of the same condition with themselves, and that to treat them with cruelty or pride, was to renounce humanity.*

As a prince cannot do every thing alone, and is obliged to associate co-operators with himself, for whose conduct he is accountable. Minos charged his brother Rhadamanthus with a share in the administration of justice in the capital city, which is the most essential and indispensable function of sovereignty. He knew his probity, disinterestedness, ability and constancy, and had taken pains to form him for so important an office. Another minister had the care of the rest of the cities, who made a circuit three times in a year, to examine whether the laws established by the prince were duly observed, and the inferior magistrates and officers religiously acquitted themselves of their duty.†

Crete, under so wise a government, changed its aspect entirely, and seemed to have become the abode of virtue, probity, and justice; as we may judge, from what fable tells us of the honour Jupiter did these three brothers, in making them judges of the other world; for every body knows, that fable is founded upon real history, though disguised under pleasing emblems and allegories, adapted to recommend truth by the ornaments of fancy.

It was, according to fabulous tradition, a law established from the beginning of time, that men in departing out of this life should be judged, in order to their receiving the reward or punishment due to their good or evil actions. In the reign of Saturn, and in the first years of that of Jupiter, this judgment was pronounced at the instant preceding death, which left room for very flagrant injustice. Princes, who had been cruel and tyrannical, appearing before their judges in all the pomp and splendour of their power, and producing witnesses to depose in their favour, because, as they were still alive, they dreaded their anger; the judges, dazzled with this vain show, and deceived by such false evidence, declared these princes innocent, and dismissed them, with permission to enter into the happy abodes of the just. The same may be said in regard to the rich; but for the poor and helpless, calumny and malice pursued them even to this last tribunal, and found means to have them doomed forever as criminals.‡

Fable adds, that upon reiterated complaints and warm remonstrances made to Jupiter upon this account, he changed the form of these trials. The time for them was fixed to be the very moment after death. Rhadamanthus and Æacus, both sons of Jove, were appointed judges; the first for the Asiatics, the second for the Europeans; and Minos over them, to decide in cases of doubt and obscurity. Their tribunal was situated in a place called "The Field of Truth," because neither falsehood nor calumny can approach it. The greatest prince was obliged to appear there, as soon as he had resigned his last breath, deprived of all his grandeur, reduced to his naked self, without defence or protection, silent and trembling for his own doom, after having made the whole world tremble for theirs. If he were found guilty of crimes which were of a nature to be expiated, he was confined in Tartarus for a certain time only, and with an assurance of being released, as soon as he should be sufficiently purified. But if his crimes were unpardonable, such as injustice, perjury, and the oppression of his people, he was cast into the same Tartarus, there to suffer eternal miseries. The just, on the contrary, of whatever condition, were conducted into the blessed abodes of peace and joy, to partake of a felicity that should have no end.

Who does not see that the poets, under the cover of these fictions, ingenious indeed, but little to the honour of the gods, intended to give us the model of an accomplished prince, whose first care is to render justice to his people; and to represent the extraordinary happiness which Crete enjoyed under the wise government of Minos? This happiness did not expire with him. The laws which he established subsisted in all their vigour even in Plato's time; that is to say, more than nine hundred years after.§ And they were considered the effect of his long conversations for many years with Jupiter,|| who had condescended to become his teacher, to enter into a familiarity with him as with a friend,¶ and to form him in the great art of reigning, with a secret complacency, as a favourite disciple, and a tenderly beloved son.** It is in this manner Plato explains these words of Homer: Διὸς μετ' ἄλλοι ο ἀρισταί; the most ex-

* Athen. l. xiv. p. 639.

† Plat. in Min. p. 320.

‡ Plat. in Georg. p. 523—526. In Axioc. p. 371.

§ Plat. in Min. p. 321.

|| Et Jovis arcibus Minos admittitur.—Horat.

¶ This poetical fiction is perhaps taken from the holy Scriptures, which say of Moses, "and the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend." Exod. xxxiii. 11.

** Plat. in Min. p. 319.

alted praise, according to him, that can be given to a mortal, and which that poet ascribed only to Minos.*

Notwithstanding his exalted and real merit, the theatres of Athens resounded continually with imprecations against the memory of Minos; and Socrates, in the dialogue of Plato which I have already often cited, observes upon, and gives a reason for them: but first he makes a reflection well worthy of being considered. "When either the praise or dispraise of great men is in question, it is infinitely proper," says he, to treat them with circumspection and wisdom; because upon that depends the idea which men form to themselves of virtue and vice, and the distinction they ought to make between the good and the bad. "For," adds he, "God conceives a just indignation, when a person is blamed who resembles himself, as well as when another is praised who is the reverse of him. We must not believe that nothing is sacred but brass and marble; (he speaks of the statues that were worshipped): the just man is the most sacred, and the wicked the most detestable, of all beings in this world."

After this reflection, Socrates observes, that the source and cause of the hatred of the Athenians towards Minos, was the unjust and cruel tribute he imposed upon them, in obliging them to send him, every nine years, seven young men, and as many maids, to be devoured by the Minotaur; and he could not avoid reproaching that prince, with having drawn upon himself the abhorrence of a city like Athens, abounding with learned men, and of having sharpened the tongues of the poets against him; a dangerous and formidable race of men, from the poisoned shafts which they never fail to discharge against their enemies.

It appears from what I have repeated, that Plato imputes to Minos the imposition of that cruel tribute. Apollodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch, seem to be of the same opinion. Monsieur the Abbé Banier alledges and proves that they are mistaken, and confound the first Minos, of whom we speak, with a second, his grandson, who reigned after him in Crete, and, to avenge the death of his son Androgeus, killed in Attica, declared war against the Athenians, and imposed that tribute to which Theseus put an end by killing the Minotaur.† It would indeed be difficult to reconcile so inhuman and barbarous a conduct with what all antiquity relates of the goodness, lenity, and equity of Minos; and with the magnificent praises it bestows upon the polity and institutions of Crete.

It is true that the Cretans degenerated very much from their ancient reputation, which at length they absolutely lost by an entire change of their manners, becoming avaricious and self-interested, to such a degree as to think that no gain was base, enemies of labour and regularity of life, professed liars and knaves; so that to Cretise became a proverb among the Greeks, implying to lie and to deceive. Every body knows that St. Paul‡ cites against them as truth, the testimony of one of their ancient poets, supposed to be Epimenides, who paints them in colours much to their dishonour; but this change of manners, in whatever time it might happen, does not at all affect the probity of the ancient Cretans, nor the glory of Minos their king.

The most certain proof of that legislator's wisdom, as Plato observes, is the solid and lasting happiness, which was the effect of the sole imitation of his laws by Sparta. Lycurgus had regulated the government of that city upon the plan and idea of that of Crete, and it subsisted in an uniform manner for many ages, without experiencing the vicissitudes and revolutions so common in all other states of Greece.§

ARTICLE II.—OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS.

THE government of Athens was neither so permanent nor so uniform as that of Sparta; but suffered various alterations according to the diversity of times and circumstances. Athens, after having long been governed by kings, and afterwards by archons, assumed entire liberty, which gave place, however, for some years to the tyrannic power of the Pisistratides, but was soon after reestablished, and subsisted with splendour till the defeat in Sicily, and the taking of the city by the Lacedæmonians. These subjected them to the thirty tyrants, whose authority was not of long duration, and gave place again to liberty, which continued amid various events, during a long series of years, till the Roman power had subdued Greece, and reduced it into a province.

I shall consider in this place only the popular government, and shall examine in particular five or six heads: the foundation of government according to Solon's

* *Odyss.* ver. 179.

† *Κρηταις δ.ι. ψεβδαι, και κη θηλεια, γαρστιεσσ λεγυσι.* — *Tit.* i. 12.

‡ *Mem.* de l'Acad. des Inscript. Vol. III.

§ *Plat.* p. 320.

establishment; the different parts of which the republic consisted; the council or senate of the five hundred; the assemblies of the people; the different tribunals for the administration of justice, and the revenues or finances of the republic. I shall be obliged to be more extensive upon what regards the government of Athens than I have been upon that of Sparta, because the latter is almost sufficiently known from what has been said of it in the *Life of Lycurgus*.*

SECTION I.—FOUNDATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS.

SOLON was not the first who established the popular government at Athens. Theseus long before him had traced out the plan, and began the execution of it. After having united the twelve towns into one city, he divided the inhabitants into three bodies; that of the nobility, to whom the superintendence in religious affairs and all offices were confided; the labourers or husbandmen; and artisans. He had proposed the establishment of a kind of equality between the three orders; for if the nobles were considered by their honours and dignities, the husbandmen had the advantage of their utility to the public, and the necessity there was for their labours; and the artisans had the superiority to both the other bodies in their number. Athens, to speak properly, did not become a popular state till the establishment of the nine archons, whose authority continued only for one year, whereas before it was for ten; and it was not till many years after, that Solon, by the wisdom of his laws, instituted and confirmed this form of government.†

Solon's great principle was to establish as much as possible, a kind of equality among his citizens, which he regarded with reason as the foundation and essential point of liberty.‡ He resolved therefore to leave the public employments in the hands of the rich, as they had been till then, but to give the poor also some share in the government, from which they were excluded. For this reason he made an estimation of what each individual was worth. Those who were found to have an annual revenue of five hundred measures, as well in grain as liquid things, were placed in the first class, and called the pentacosimedimni, that is, those who had a revenue of five hundred measures. The second class was composed of such as had three hundred, and could maintain a horse for war; these were called horsemen, or knights. Those who had only two hundred, were in the third class, and were called zugitæ.§ Out of these three classes only, the magistrates and commanders were chosen. All the other citizens, who were below those three classes, and had less revenues, were comprised under the name of theti, hirelings, or workmen labouring with their hands. Solon did not permit them to hold any office, and granted them only the right of giving their suffrages in the assemblies and trials of the people, which at first seemed a very slight privilege, but at length was found to be a very great advantage, as will appear hereafter. I do not know whether Solon foresaw it; but he used to say that the people were never more obedient and submissive, than when they possessed neither too much nor too little liberty;|| which comes very near Galba's expression,¶ when, to incline Piso to treat the Roman people with goodness and lenity, he desires him to remember, "that he was going to command men who were incapable of bearing either entire liberty or absolute subjection."***

The people of Athens, becoming more haughty after their victories over the Persians, pretended to have a right to share in all the public offices and the magistracy; and Aristides, to prevent the disorders which a too tenacious opposition might have occasioned, thought proper to give way to them in this point:†† It appears however from a passage in Xenophon, that the people contented themselves with the offices from whence some profit arose, and left those which related more particularly to the government of the state in the hands of the rich.‡‡

The citizens of the three first classes paid every year a certain sum of money, to be laid up in the public treasury;§§ the first a talent,||| the knights half a talent, and the zugitæ ten minæ.¶¶

As the proportion of revenue determined the order of the classes, when their revenues augmented, the people were allowed to rise to a superior class.

* Book v. Art. 8.

† Plut. in Thes. p. 10, 11.

‡ Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

§ It is believed they were so called from their being ranked between the knights and the theti, as in the galleys those who rowed in the middle were termed zugitæ; their place was between the thalamitæ and thranitæ.

¶ Plut. in Solon. p. 110.

¶ Tacit. Hist. l. x. c. 16.

** Imperatorus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.

†† Plut. in Aristid. p. 332.

‡‡ Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 691.

§§ Pollux. l. viii. c. 10.

||| About one thousand dollars.

¶¶ Nearly one hundred dollars.

If Plutarch may be believed, Solon formed two councils, which were a kind of double limitation to check and regulate the assemblies of the people. The first was the Areopagus: but it was much more ancient than his institutions; and he only reformed it, and gave it a new lustre by augmenting its power. The second was the council of the four hundred, that is, a hundred of each tribe; for Cécrops, the first king of the Athenians, had divided the people into four tribes. Clisthenes long after him changed that order, and established ten. It was in this council of the four hundred that all affairs were considered before they were proposed to the assembly of the people, as we shall soon explain.*

I do not mention here another division of the people into three parties or factions, which till the time of Pisistratus were a continual source of troubles and seditions. One of these three parties was formed out of those who inhabited the high lands, and favoured popular government; the other out of those who lived in the plains, and they were for oligarchy; and the third out of the people upon the coast, and these held the mean between both.

It is necessary, for the better understanding what we have now said, to enter into a more particular account of the Athenian people.

SECTION II.—OF THE INHABITANTS OF ATHENS.

THERE were three sorts of inhabitants at Athens; citizens, strangers, and servants.† In the account taken by Demetrius Phalereus in the 116th Olympiad, their number amounted to twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers, and forty thousand servants.‡ The number of citizens was almost the same in the time of Cécrops, but less under Pericles.

I.—OF THE CITIZENS.

A CITIZEN could only be such by birth or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was necessary to be born of a father and mother both free, and Athenians. We have seen that Pericles restored this law to all its force, which had not been exactly observed, and which he himself some short time after infringed. The people could not confer the freedom of the city upon strangers; and those whom they had so adopted, enjoyed almost the same rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizen of Athens was sometimes granted in honour and gratitude to those who had rendered great services to the state, as to Hippocrates; and even kings have sometimes obtained that title for themselves and their children. Evagoras, King of Cyprus, thought it much to his honour.§

When the young men attained the age of twenty, they were enrolled upon the list of citizens, after having taken an oath; and it was only in virtue of that public and solemn act that they became members of the state. The form of this oath is exceedingly remarkable, which Stobæus and Pollux have preserved in the following words: "I will never dishonour the profession of arms, nor save my life by a shameful flight. I will fight to my last breath for the religion and civil interests of the state, in concert with the other citizens, and alone if occasion should require. I will not bring my country into a worse condition than I found it, but will use my utmost endeavours to make it most happy and flourishing. I will always submit myself to the laws and magistrates, and to all that shall be ordained by the common consent of the people. If any one shall violate or make void the laws, I will not disguise or conceal such an attempt, but will oppose it, either alone or in conjunction with my fellow-citizens; and I will constantly adhere to the religion of my forefathers. To all which I call to witness Agraulis, Enyalus, Mars, and Jupiter."|| I leave the reader to his own reflections upon this august ceremony, well adapted to inspire the love of country into the hearts of the young citizens.

The people had at first been divided into four tribes, and afterwards into ten. Each tribe was subdivided into several parts, which were called *Δήμοι*, *Pagi*. It was by these two titles the citizens were described in the public acts. "Melitus, e tribu Cécropide, e pago Pitthensi."

* Solon. p. 88.

† A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314. Athen. l. vi. p. 372.

‡ The text says, *αρχιάνδρα; τρισηξέλιοντα*, four hundred thousand, which is a manifest error.

§ Book v. Art. 3.

|| Pollux. l. viii. c. 9

II.—OF THE STRANGERS.

I DISTINGUISH by this name, those who being of a foreign country, came to settle at Athens, or in Attica, either on account of commerce, or exercising any trade. They were termed *μίστοικοι*, inquilini. They had no share in the government, nor vote in the assembly of the people, and could not be admitted into any office. They put themselves under the protection of some citizen, as we find from a passage of Terence,* and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and services, as the clients did at Rome to their patrons. They were bound to observe all the laws of the republic, and to conform entirely to all its customs. They paid a yearly tribute to the state of twelve drachmas, and in default of payment were made slaves, and exposed to sale. Xenocrates, the celebrated, but poor philosopher, was very near experiencing this misfortune, and was carried to prison; but Lycurgus the orator having paid the tax, released him from the farmers of the public revenues; a kind of men who in all times have paid very little respect to merit, with the exception of an exceeding few of their number. That philosopher meeting some time after the sons of his deliverer, told them, "I pay your father the favour he has done me with usury, for all the world praises him upon my account."†

III.—OF THE SERVANTS.

THERE were two kinds of them. The one, who were free, and not able to get their bread by their work, were obliged by the bad state of their affairs to go into service; and their condition was easy, and not laborious. The service of the other was forced and unavoidable; these were slaves, who had either been taken prisoners in war, or bought of such as trafficked publicly in them. They constituted a part of the estate of their master, who disposed of them at pleasure, but generally treated them with great humanity. Demosthenes observes, in one of his harangues, that the condition of servants was infinitely more gentle in Athens than any where else. There was in that city an asylum and place of refuge for slaves, where the bones of Theseus had been interred; and that asylum subsisted in Plutarch's time. How glorious was it for Theseus, that his tomb should do that twelve hundred years after his death, which he had done himself during his life, and continue the protector of the oppressed, as he had been ‡

When the slaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they had their action against their masters, who were obliged to sell them to others, if the fact were sufficiently proved.§ They could ransom themselves even against their masters' consent, when they had laid up money enough for that purpose. For out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their masters, they kept the remainder for themselves, and made a stock of it at their own disposal.—Private persons, when they were satisfied with their services, often gave these slaves their liberty, when the necessity of the times obliged the state to arm and enlist them for war among the citizens.||

The humane and equitable usage with which the Athenians treated their servants and slaves, was an effect of the good temper natural to that people, and very remote from the austere and cruel severity of the Lacedæmonians in regard to their Helots, which often brought their republic to the very brink of destruction. Plutarch, with great reason, condemns this rigour. He thinks it proper to habituate one's self always to mercy, even with regard to beasts, were it only, says he, to learn by that means to treat them well, and for the sake of becoming humane and benevolent. He relates upon this occasion a very singular fact, and very proper to explain the character of the Athenians. After having finished the temple called Hecatonpedon, they set all the beasts of burden at liberty that had been employed in the work, and assigned them fat pasturages as consecrated animals. And it was said, that one of these beasts having come to offer itself at the work, and put itself at the head of those that drew the carriages to the citadel, walking foremost as if to exhort and encourage them, the Athenians ordained by a decree, that the creature should be maintained at the public expense till its death.¶

* *Thais patri se commendavit in clientelam et fidem; nobis dedit sese.*—Eunuch, Act. 5. scen. ult.

† *Plut. in Flamin. p. 375.*

‡ *Philip. 3.*

§ *Plut. de Superstit. p. 166.*

|| *Plaut. in Casin.*

¶ *Plut. in Catone, p. 338, 339.*

SECTION III.—OF THE COUNCIL OR SENATE OF FIVE HUNDRED.

IN consequence of Solon's institutions, the people of Athens had a great share and authority in the government. Appeals might be brought to their tribunal in all causes; they had a right to cancel the old laws, and establish new ones; in a word, all important affairs, whether relating to war or peace, were decided in their assemblies. In order to their determinations being made with more wisdom and maturity, Solon had instituted a council, composed of four hundred senators, one hundred out of each tribe, which were then four in number; they prepared and digested the affairs which were to be laid before the people, as we shall soon explain more at large. Clisthenes, about one hundred years after Solon, having increased the number of tribes to ten, augmented also that of the senators to five hundred; each tribe supplying fifty. This was called the council or senate of the five hundred. They received their stipend out of the public treasury.

They were chosen by lot, in which they made use of black and white beans, which were mingled and shaken in an urn, and each tribe gave in the name of those who aspired to that trust, and had the revenue assigned by the laws to qualify them for it. None could be admitted under the age of thirty. After inquiry made into the manners and conduct of the candidate, he was made to take an oath, whereby he engaged to give at all times the best counsel he could to the people of Athens, and never to depart in the least from the tenor of the laws.

This senate assembled every day, except upon the days appointed for festivals. Each tribe in its turn furnished those who were to preside in it, called Prytanes, *Πρυτανεις*, and this rank was decided by lot. The presidency continued thirty-five days, which being reckoned ten times, amounts to the number of days, except four, of the lunar year followed at Athens. The time of the presidency, or prytanism, was divided into five weeks, with regard to the five tens of the Prytanes, who were to preside in them; and every week seven of these ten Prytanes drawn by lot presided, each their day, and were denominated *πρεσβηροι*, that is to say, Presidents. He who was so for the day, presided in the assembly of the senators, and in that of the people, and was called *Ἐπισητης*. He was charged with the public seal, and with the keys of the citadel and treasury.

The senators, before they assembled, offered a sacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva under the additional appellation of Goddess of Good Council, *βελτιος βελτις*, to demand the prudence and understanding necessary in wise deliberations. The president proposed the business which was to be considered in the assembly. Every one gave his opinion in his turn, and always standing. After a question had been settled, it was drawn up in writing, and read with a loud voice. Each senator then gave his vote by putting a bean into the urn. If the number of the white beans exceeded, the question passed; otherwise it was rejected. This sort of decree was called *πρεσβηρισμα*, or *προβηρισμα*, as much as to say, preparatory resolution. It was afterwards laid before the assembly of the people, where, if it was received and approved, it had the force of a law; if not, its authority subsisted only one year. This shows with what wisdom Solon established this council, to inform and direct the people, to fix their inconstancy to prevent their temerity, and to assist their deliberations with a prudence and maturity not to be expected in a confused and tumultuous assembly, composed of a great number of citizens, most of them without education, capacity, or much zeal for the public good. The reciprocal dependency and natural intercourse of the two bodies of the state, which were obliged to lend each other their authority, and remained equally without force when without union and a good understanding, were judiciously contrived for supporting a wise balance between the two bodies; the people not being able to institute any thing without its being first proposed and approved by the senate, nor the senate to pass any decree into a law till it had been ratified by the people.

We may judge of the importance of this council by the matters which were treated in it; the same, without any exception, as were laid before the people; war, taxes, maritime affairs, treaties of peace, alliances; in a word, whatever related to government; without mentioning the account which they obliged the magistrates to give on quitting their offices, and their frequent decisions and judgments upon the most serious and important affairs.

SECTION IV.—OF THE AREOPAGUS.

THIS council took its name from the place where it assembled, called Ἄρειος παγός. The Quarter, or Hill of Mars, because, according to some, Mars had been cited thither in judgment for a murder committed by him. It was believed to be as ancient as the nation. Cicero and Plutarch attributed the institution of it to Solon; but he only re-established it by giving it more lustre and authority than it had had till then, and for that reason was looked upon as its founder. The number of the senators of the Areopagus was not fixed; at certain times they amounted to two or three hundred. Solon thought proper, that only those who had borne the office of archon should be honoured with that dignity.

The senate had the care of seeing the laws duly observed, of inspecting the manners of the people, and especially of judging in criminal cases. They held their sittings in an open place, and during the night: very probably to avoid being under the same roof with the criminals, and not to defile themselves by such an intercourse with them; and likewise that they might not be softened by the sight of the guilty, but be enabled to judge according to justice and the laws. It was for the same reason that the orators were not permitted to use any exordium or peroration, nor allowed to excite the passions, and were obliged to confine themselves solely to the subject matter of their cause. The severity of their judgments was exceedingly dreaded, particularly in regard to murder; and they were highly attentive to inspire their citizens with horror for that crime. They condemned a child to be put to death, for making it his pastime to put out the eyes of quails; conceiving this sanguinary inclination as the mark of a very wicked disposition, which might one day prove fatal to many, if he was suffered to grow up with impunity.*

The affairs of religion, as blasphemies against the gods, contempt of sacred mysteries, different species of impiety, and the introduction of new ceremonies and new divinities, were also brought before this tribunal. We read in Justin Martyr, that Plato, who in his travels in Egypt had acquired great lights concerning the unity of God, when he returned to Athens, took great care to dissemble and conceal his sentiments, for fear of being obliged to appear and give an account of them before the Areopagitæ;† and we know that St. Paul was traduced before them, as teaching a new doctrine, and endeavouring to introduce new gods.‡

These judges were in great reputation for their probity, equity, and prudence, and generally respected. Cicero, in writing to his friend Atticus, upon the fortitude, constancy, and wise severity of the Roman senate, thinks he pays it a great encomium, in comparing it with the Areopagus. “Senatus Ἄρειος παγός nil constantius, nil severius, nil fortius.”§ Cicero must have conceived a very favourable idea of it, to speak of it as he does in the first book of his Offices. He compares the famous battle of Salamin, in which Themistocles has so great a part, with the establishment of the Areopagus, which he ascribes to Solon, and does not scruple to prefer, or at least to equal the legislator’s service to that for which Athens was obliged to the general of its army. “For in reality,” says he, “that victor was useful to the republic only for once, but the Areopagus will be so throughout all ages; as by the wisdom of that tribunal, the laws and ancient customs of the Athenian state are preserved. Themistocles did no service to the Areopagus; but the Areopagus abundantly contributed to the victory of Themistocles; because the republic was at that time directed by the wise counsels of that august senate.”||

It appears from this passage of Cicero, that the Areopagus had a great share in the government, and was, no doubt, consulted upon important affairs. Cicero may, in this instance, have confounded the council of the Areopagus with that of the Five Hundred. It is certain, however, that the Areopagitæ were extremely active in the public affairs.

Pericles, who could never enter the Areopagus, because, chance having always been against him, he had not passed through any of the employments necessary to

* Nec mihi videntur Areopagitæ, cum damnaverint puerum oculos coturnicum eruentum, aliud judicasse quam id signum esse perniciosissime mentis, multisque malo future si adolevisset.—Quintil. l. v. c. 9.

† Cohort. ad Græc.

‡ Acts xvii. 18—20.

§ Ad Attic. l. i. ep. 13.

|| Quamvis Themistocles jure laudetur, et sit ejus nomen, quam Solonis, illustrius, citeturque Salamis clarissimæ testis victoriæ, quæ antepouatur consilio Solonis ei, quo primum constituit Areopagitas: non minus præclarum hoc, quam illud judicandum est. Illud enim semel profuit, hoc semper proderit civitati. hoc consilio leges Atheniensium, hoc majorum instituta servantur. Et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum juverit: at ille adjuvit Themistoclem. Est enim bellum gestum consilio senatus ejus, qui a Solone erat constitutus.—Offic. l. i. n. 75.

his admission, attempted to weaken its authority, and attained his point, which is a great blot in his reputation.

SECTION V.—OF THE MAGISTRATES.

OF these a great number were established for different functions. I shall only speak of the archons, who are the best known. I have observed elsewhere that they succeeded the kings, and that their authority at first continued during life. It was at length limited to ten years, and reduced at last to one. When Solon was commissioned to reform the government, he found them thus established, to the number of nine. He did not abolish their office, but he very much diminished their power.

The first of these nine magistrates was called the archon by way of eminence, and the year was denominated from him: "Under such an archon such a battle was fought."* The second was called the king, and was a vestige of the authority to which they had succeeded. The third was the polemarch, who at first commanded the armies, and always retained that name, though he had not the same authority, some part of which he had so long preserved. For we have seen, in speaking of the battle of Marathon, that the polemarch had a right to vote in the council of war, as well as the ten generals then in command. The six other archons were called by the common name, thesmothetæ, which implies that they had a particular superintendance over the laws, in order to their being duly observed. These nine archons had each of them a peculiar province, and were judges in certain affairs allotted to their cognizance, I do not think it necessary to enter into the particulars of their duty, nor into those of many other employments and officers, established for the administration of justice, for the levying of taxes and tributes, for the preservation of good order in the city, for supplying it with provisions; in a word, for every thing relating to commerce and civil society.

SECTION VI.—OF THE ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE.

THESE were of two sorts, the one ordinary, and fixed to certain days; and for these there was no kind of summons: the other extraordinary, according to the different occasions that arose; and the people were informed of it by an express proclamation.

The place of the assembly was not fixed. Sometimes it was at the public market-place, sometimes a part of the city near the citadel, called Ἰππόζ, and sometimes the theatre of Bacchus.

The prytanes generally assembled the people. Some days before the assembly, papers were fixed up wherein the business to be considered was made known.

All the citizens, poor as well as rich, had a right to give their suffrages. Those who failed of being present at the assembly, or came too late, were liable to a penalty; and to secure a punctual attendance, a reward was annexed to it, at first of an obolus, the sixth part of a drachma, and afterwards of three oboli.

The assembly always began with sacrifices and prayers, in order to obtain from the gods the knowledge and understanding necessary to wise deliberations; and they never failed to add the most terrible imprecations against such as should wilfully advise any thing contrary to the public good.

The president proposed the affair upon which they were to deliberate. If it had been examined in the senate, and drawn up there as a question, it was read, after which those who would speak were invited to ascend the tribunal, that they might be the better heard by the people, and inform them in the matter proposed. The oldest general spoke first, and then the rest according to their seniority. When the orators had done speaking, and concluded that it was necessary to approve or reject the decree of the senate, the people proceeded to vote; and the most common method of doing it was by holding up their hands, to denote their approbation; which was called *χειροτονία*. The assembly was sometimes adjourned till another day, because it was too late for the number of those who lifted up their hands to be distinguished, and the plurality decided. After a resolution had been formed in this manner, it was reduced to writing, and read by an officer to the people with a loud voice, who confirmed it again by holding up their hands as before; after which the decree had the force of a law: and this was called *ψήφισμα* from the Greek word *ψήφος* which signifies "a pebble," or "a small stone," because they were sometimes used in giving suffrages by ballot.

* From thence he was called *Ἐπινομός*.

All the great affairs of the republic were discussed in these assemblies. It was in them new laws were proposed, and old ones amended; the religion and worship of the gods examined; magistrates, generals and officers created; their behaviour and conduct inquired into; peace or war concluded; deputies and ambassadors appointed; treaties and alliances ratified; freedom of the city granted; rewards and honours decreed for those who had distinguished themselves in war, or rendered great services to the republic; and punishments ordained for those who had behaved themselves ill, or had violated the laws of the state, and were banished by ostracism. In fine, justice was administered, and judgment passed there, upon the most important affairs. We see from this account, which is however very imperfect, how far the power of the people extended; and with what truth it may be said, that the government of Athens, though qualified with aristocracy, and the authority of the elders, was by its constitution democratical and popular.

I shall take occasion to observe in the sequel, of what weight the talent of eloquence is in such a republic, and in what manner orators ought to be considered in it. It is not easy to conceive how they could make themselves heard in so numerous an assembly, and where such a number of auditors were present. We may judge how great that was, from what has been said of it in two instances. The first relates to ostracism, and the other to the adoption of a stranger for a citizen. On each of these occasions, it was necessary that no less than six thousand citizens should be present in the assembly.

I reserve for another place the reflections which naturally arise from what I have already related, and what remains for me to say farther upon the government of Athens.

SECTION VII.—OF TRIALS.

THERE were different tribunals, according to the difference of the affairs to be adjudged; but appeals might be brought to the people from all decrees of other judges; and it was this that rendered their powers so great and considerable.* All the allies, when they had any cause to try, were obliged to repair to Athens, where they often remained a considerable time, without being able to obtain audience, from the multiplicity of affairs to be adjudged. This law had been imposed upon them, in order to render them more dependent upon the people, and more submissive to their authority; instead of which, had they sent commissioners to the places, they would have been the sole persons to whom the allies would have made their court, and paid their homage.

The parties pleaded their causes either in person, or employed advocates to do it for them. The time allowed for the hearing was generally fixed; and a water-clock, called in Greek *κλεψύδρα*, regulated its duration. The decree was passed by plurality of voices; and when the suffrages were equal, the judges inclined to the side of mercy, and acquitted the accused. It was remarkable, that a friend was not obliged to give evidence against a friend.

All the citizens, even the poorest, and such as had no estates, were admitted into the number of the judges, provided they had attained the age of thirty, and were known to be persons of good morals. While they sat in judgment, they held in their hands a kind of sceptre, which was the mark of their dignity, and laid it down when they withdrew.

The salary of the judges was different at different times. They had at first only an obolus a day, and afterwards three, where their fee remained fixed. It was but a small matter in itself, but became in time a very great charge to the public, and exhausted the treasury without greatly enriching individuals. We may judge of this from what is related by Aristophanes in the comedy of the Wasps, wherein that poet ridicules the passion of the Athenians for trying causes, and their eager desire for the gain arising from it, which protracted and multiplied suits to infinity.

In this comedy, a young Athenian, who was to act the part I have mentioned, of turning the judges and trials of Athens into ridicule, from a state of the revenues paid into the public treasury, finds their amount to be two thousand talents.† He then examines how much of that sum falls to the share of the judges, with whom Athens was over-run, at three oboli each per day. This appears to be annually, including all of them, only one hundred and fifty talents.‡ The calculation is easy. The

* Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 634.

† About 2,000,000 dollars.

‡ About 150,000 dollars.

judges were paid only ten months in the year, the other two being employed in festivals, when all proceedings at law were prohibited. Now, three oboli a-day paid to six thousand men, makes fifteen talents a month, and consequently one hundred and fifty in ten months. According to this calculation the most assiduous judge gained only about fourteen dollars a year. "What then becomes of the remainder of the two thousand talents?" cries the young Athenian. "What," replies his father, who was one of the judges, "it goes to those—but let us not expose the shame of Athens; let us always be for the people." The young Athenian goes on to explain, that the remainder went to such as robbed the public treasury; to the orators, who incessantly flattered the people; and to those who were employed in the government and the army. I have extracted this remark from the works of Father Brunoi the Jesuit, with which I will make very free, when I come to speak of public shows and dramatic representations.

SECTION VIII.—OF THE AMPHICTYONS.

THE famous council of the Amphictyons is introduced here, though not peculiar to the Athenians, but common to all Greece, because it is often mentioned in Grecian history; and I do not know that I shall have a more proper occasion to speak of it.

The assembly of the Amphictyons was in a manner the general assembly of the states of Greece. The establishment of it is attributed to Amphictyon king of Athens, and son of Deucalion, from whom it derived its name. His principal view in the institution of this council, was to unite in the sacred band of amity the several people of Greece admitted into it, and to oblige them by the happiness and tranquillity of their country. The Amphictyons were also created to be the protectors of the oracle of Delphos, and the guardians of the prodigious riches of that temple; and also to adjudge the differences which might arise between the Delphians and those who came to consult the oracle. This council was held at Thermopylæ, and sometimes at Delphos itself. It assembled regularly twice a year, in the spring and autumn, and more frequent when affairs required.

The number of people or cities which had a right to sit in this assembly is not precisely known, and varied, without doubt, at different times. When the Lacedæmonians, in order to pass in it what decrees they thought fit, were for excluding the Thessalians, Argives, and Thebans, Themistocles,* in the speech he made to the Amphictyons to prevent that design from taking effect, seems to insinuate, that there were only thirty-one cities at that time which had this right.

Each city sent two deputies, and consequently had two votes in the council, and that without distinction, or the more powerful having any prerogative of honour or pre-eminence over inferior states in regard to the suffrages; the liberty upon which these people valued themselves, requiring that every thing should be equal among them.

The Amphictyons had full power to discuss and determine finally in all differences which might arise between the Amphictyonic cities, and to fine the culpable in such manner as they thought fit. They could employ not only the rigour of the laws in the execution of their decrees, but even raise troops, if it were necessary, to compel such as rebelled to submit to them. The three sacred wars undertaken by their order, of which I have spoken elsewhere, are an evident proof of this power.

Before they were installed into this body, they took a very remarkable oath, the form of which has been preserved by Æschines, and is as follows: "I swear, that I will never destroy any of the cities honoured with the right of sitting in the Amphictyonic council, nor turn their running waters out of their course either in time of peace or war. If any people shall make such an attempt, I hereby engage to carry the war into their country, to demolish their cities, towns, and villages, and to treat them in all things as the most cruel enemies. Moreover, if at any time any person shall dare to be so impious as to steal and take away any of the rich offerings preserved in the temple of Apollo at Delphos, or abet any others in committing that crime, either by aiding or only counselling him therein, I will use my feet, hands, voice, in a word, all my powers and faculties, to avenge such sacrilege." That oath was attended with the most terrible imprecations and curses: "That if any one infringes any thing contained in the oath I have now taken, whether private person, city, or people, may that person, city, or people, be deemed

* Plut. in Themist. p. 122.

accursed; and in that acceptation, experience the whole vengeance of Apollo, Latona, Diana, and Minerva the foreknower. May their country produce none of the fruits of the earth, and their women, instead of generating children resembling their fathers bring forth nothing but monsters; may their animals share in the same curse. May those sacrilegious men lose all suits at law; may they be conquered in war, have their houses demolished, and, together with their children, be put to the sword.* I am not astonished, that after such terrible engagements, the holy war undertaken by the order of the Amphictyons, should be carried on with so much ardour and fury. The religion of an oath was of great force with the ancients; and how much more regard ought to be had to it in the Christian world, which professes to believe that the violation of it shall be punished with eternal torments; and yet how many are there among us who make a trifle of breaking through the most solemn oaths!

The authority of the Amphictyons had always been of great weight in Greece; but it began to decline exceedingly from the moment they condescended to admit Philip of Macedon into their body. For that prince, enjoying by this means all their rights and privileges, soon knew how to set himself above all law, and to abuse his power, so far as to preside by proxy both in this illustrious assembly, and in the Pythian games; of which games the Amphictyons were judges and agonothetæ by virtue of their office. Demosthenes reproaches him with this in his third Philippic; "When he does not deign," says he, "to honour us with his presence, he sends HIS SLAVES to preside over us." An odious but emphatical term, and in the spirit of Grecian liberty, by which the Athenian orator gives an idea of the base and abject subjection of the greatest lords in Philip's court.

If the reader desires a farther knowledge of what relates to the Amphictyons, he may consult the dissertation of Monsieur Valois, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*,† wherein this subject is treated with great extent and erudition.

SECTION IX.—OF THE REVENUES OF ATHENS.

THE revenues, *τελη*, according to the passage of Aristophanes which I have cited above, and as they were computed in the time of the Peloponnesian war, amounted to two thousand talents.‡ They were generally reduced to four classes.

1. The first comprised the revenues arising from agriculture, the sale of woods, the produce of mines, and other funds of a like nature, appertaining to the public. Among these may be included the duties upon the import and export of merchandise, and the taxes levied upon the inhabitants of the city, both natives and strangers.

The history of Athens often makes mention of the silver mines of Laurium, which was a mountain situated between the Piræus and cape Sunium; and those of Thrace, from whence many persons extracted immense riches. Xenophon, in a treatise wherein he states this matter at large, demonstrates how much the public might gain by industriously working these mines, from the example of the many persons they had enriched.§ Hipponicus|| let his mines and six hundred slaves to an undertaker, who paid him an obolus a-day for each slave, clear of all charges, which amounted in the whole to a minæ,¶ Nicias, who was killed in Sicily farmed out his mines and a thousand slaves in the same manner, and with the same profit in proportion to that number.

2. The second class of revenue were the contributions paid the Athenians by the allies for the common expenses of the war. Under Aristides, they amounted only to four hundred and sixty talents.** Pericles augmented them almost a third, and raised them to six hundred; and some time after they amounted to thirteen hundred. Taxes, which in the beginning were moderate and necessary, became thus in a little time excessive and exorbitant, notwithstanding all the protestations made to the allies, and the most solemn engagements to the contrary.

3. A third sort of revenue were the extraordinary capitation taxes, levied indiscriminately upon the inhabitants of the country, in pressing occasions and emergencies of the state.

4. The fines laid upon persons by the judges for different misdemeanors, constituted the fourth class, and were applied to the uses of the public, and laid up in the treasury; except the tenth part of them, which was consecrated to Minerva, and one fiftieth to the other divinities.

* Æschin, in Orat. *περὶ στρατηγικῆς*.

† About 2,000,000 dollars.

‡ Ten dollars.

§ De ration. *radituum*.

† Vol. III.

|| Page 925.

¶ Six oboli made a drachm, one hundred drachms a minæ, and sixty minæ a talent.

** A talent was worth about a thousand dollars.

The most natural and legal application of these different revenues of the republic, was to the payment of the sea and land forces, to the building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing the public buildings, temples, walls, ports and citadels. But the greatest part of them, especially after the time of Pericles, was misapplied to unnecessary uses, and often consumed in frivolous expenses; games, feasts, and shows, which cost immense sums, and were of no manner of utility to the state.

SECTION X.—OF THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH.

I PLACE this article under the head of government, because all celebrated legislators have with reason believed that the education of youth was an essential part of it.

The exercises that served for the forming of either the bodies or minds of the young Athenians, and the same may be said of almost all the people of Greece, were dancing, music, hunting, fencing, riding, polite learning, and philosophy. It may be observed that I speak generally, and treat these several articles very slightly.

I.—DANCING.—MUSIC.

DANCING was one of the exercises of the body, cultivated by the Greeks with great attention. It made a part of what the ancients called the gymnastic, divided according to Plato into two kinds, the orchestric, which derives its name from the dance, ορχηστῆσις; and the Palæstric, so called from a Greek word Πάλας, which signifies wrestling. The exercises of the latter kind principally conduced to form the body for the fatigues of war, navigation, agriculture, and the other employments of society.

Another end of dancing was to teach such rules of motion as were most proper to render the shape free and easy; to give the body a just proportion, and the whole person an unconstrained, noble, and graceful air; in a word, an external politeness, if we may be allowed to use that expression, which never fails to prejudice people in favour of those who have been formed to it early.

Music was cultivated with no less application and success. The ancients ascribed wonderful effects to it. They believed it very proper to calm the passions, soften the manners, and even humanize people naturally savage and barbarous. Polybius, a grave and serious historian, and who is certainly worthy of belief, attributes to the study of music, the extreme difference between two people of Arcadia, the one infinitely beloved and esteemed for the elegance of their manners, their benevolent inclinations, humanity to strangers, and piety to the gods; the other, on the contrary, generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality, and irreligion. "I mean," says he, "the true and noble music, industriously cultivated by the one, and absolutely neglected by the other."^{*}

After this, it is not surprising that the Greeks considered music as an essential part in the education of youth. Socrates himself, at a very advanced age, was not ashamed to learn to play upon musical instruments.† Themistocles, however otherwise esteemed, was thought to be wanting in point of merit, because at an entertainment he could not touch the lyre like the rest of the company.‡ Ignorance in this respect was deemed a defect of education; on the contrary, skill in it did honour to the greatest men.§ Epaminondas was praised for dancing, and playing well upon the flute.|| We may observe in this place the different tastes and genius of nations. The Romans were far from having the same opinion with the Greeks in regard to music and dancing, and set no value upon them. It is very likely that the wisest and most learned among the latter did not apply to them with any great industry; and Philip's expression to his son Alexander, who had shown too much skill in music at a feast, induces me to be of this opinion: "Are you not ashamed," said he, "to sing so well?"

There was a foundation however for this esteem for dancing and music. Both were employed in the most august feasts and the ceremonies of religion, to express their acknowledgment to their gods with the greater force and dignity, for the favours they had vouchsafed to confer upon them. They had generally the greatest share in their feasts and entertainments, which seldom or never began or ended, without some odes being sung in honour of the victors in the Olympic games, and on

* Polyb. p. 238—291.

† Socrates, jam senex, instituti lyra non erubescerebat.—Quintil. l. i. c. 10.

‡ Themistocles, cum in epulis recusasset lyram, habitus est inductor.—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 4.

§ Summam eruditionem Græci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus—discabantque id omnes, nec qui nesciebat, satis excultus doctrina putabatur.—Ibid.

|| In Epaminondæ virtutibus commemoratum est, saltasse eum commode, scienterque tibiis cantasse—scilicet non eadem omnibus honesta sunt atque turpia, sed omnia majorum instituti judicantur.—Corn. Nep. in præfat. Vit. Epam.

other similar occasions. They had a part also in war; and we know that the Lacedæmonians marched to battle dancing, and to the sound of flutes. Plato, the most grave philosopher of antiquity, valued both these arts, not as simple amusements, but as they had a great share in the ceremonies of religion and military exercises. Hence we see him very intent, in his books of laws, to prescribe rules upon dancing and music, and to keep them within the bounds of utility and decorum.*

They did not continue long within these restrictions. The licence of the Grecian stage, on which dancing was in the highest vogue, and in a manner prostituted to buffoons and the most contemptible people, who made no other use of it, than to suggest or excite the most vicious passions, soon corrupted an art, which might have been of some advantage, had it been regulated by Plato's opinion. Music underwent a like change; and perhaps the corruption of this did not a little contribute to the perversion of dancing. Voluptuousness and sensual pleasure were the sole arbiters consulted in the uses made of both; and the theatre became a school of every kind of vice.

Plutarch in lamenting that the art of dancing was so degenerate from the merit which rendered it estimable to the great men of antiquity, does not omit to observe, that it was corrupted by a vicious kind of poetry, and a soft effeminate music, with which it was ill united, and which had taken the place of the ancient poetry and music, that had something noble, majestic, and even religious and heavenly in them. He adds, that being made subservient to low taste and sensuality, by their aid, it exercised a kind of tyrannical power in the theatres, which were become the public schools of criminal passions and gross vices, wherein no regard was had to reason.†

The reader will, without doubt, readily apply this passage of Plutarch to the sort of music which engrosses our theatres at this day, and which, by its effeminate and wanton airs, has given the last wound to the little manly force and virtue that remained among us. Quintilian describes the music of the times in these terms: "Quæ nunc in scenis effeminata, et impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minima, si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit."‡

II.—OF THE OTHER EXERCISES OF THE BODY.

THE young Athenians, and in general all the Greeks, were very attentive to forming themselves to all the exercises of the body, and to go through their lessons regularly with the masters of the palæstræ. They called the places allotted for these exercises, palæstræ or gymnasia, which in a degree resembles our academies. Plato, in his book of laws, after having shown of what importance it was in war to cultivate the hands and feet, adds, that, far from banishing from a well regulated republic the profession of the athletæ, prizes should on the contrary, be proposed for all exercises that conduce to the improvement of military virtue, such as those which render the body more active, and fitter for the race, more hard, robust, and supple, more capable of supporting great fatigues, and effecting great enterprises.§ We must remember, that there was no Athenian who ought not to have been capable of handling the oar in the largest galleys. The citizens themselves performed this labour, which was not left to slaves and criminals, as in these days. They were all brought up to the art of war, and often obliged to wear arms of iron from head to foot, of a great weight. For this reason, Plato and all the ancients, looked upon the exercises of the body as highly useful, and even absolutely necessary to the good of the public; and therefore this philosopher excluded from them only those who were incapable of service in war.

There were also masters, who taught the youth to ride, and to handle their arms or fence; and others whose business it was to instruct them in all that was necessary to be known, in order to excel in the military art, and to become good commanders. The whole science of the latter consisted in what the ancients called the tactics, that is to say, the art of drawing up troops in battle, and of performing military evolutions.¶ That science was useful, but did not suffice. Xenophon shows its defect, in producing a young man lately come from such a school, in which he imagined he had learned every thing, though in reality he had only acquired a foolish esteem for himself, accompanied with profound ignorance. He gives him, by the mouth of Socrates, admirable precepts upon the business of a soldier, and very proper to form an excellent officer.¶

* De Leg. l. vii. † Sympos. l. ix. qu. 15. p. 746.

‡ Plut. in Lachete, p. 181.

§ Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

¶ Lib. viii. de Leg. p. 332, 333.

¶ Memorab. l. iii. p. 761, &c.

Hunting was almost considered by the ancients as a fit exercise for forming youth to the stratagems and fatigues of war. It was for this reason that Xenophon, who was a great general as well as a great philosopher, did not think it beneath him to write a treatise expressly upon hunting, in which he descends to the lowest particular; and animadvertes upon the considerable advantages derived from it, from being inured to suffer hunger, thirst, heat, and cold, without being discouraged either by the length of the chase, the difficulty of the clefts and thickets through which it is often necessary to press, or the small success of the long and painful fatigues which they often undergo to no purpose. He adds, that this innocent pleasure removes others equally shameful and criminal; but that a wise and moderate man would not, however, abandon himself so far to it as to neglect the care of his domestic affairs.* The same author, in the *Cyropædia*, frequently praises hunting, which he looks upon as a real exercise of war, and shows, in the example of his young hero, the good use that may be made of it.†

III.—OF THE EXERCISES OF THE MIND.

ATHENS, to speak properly, was the school and abode of polite learning, arts, and sciences. The study of poesy, eloquence, philosophy, and mathematics, were in great vogue there, and much cultivated by the youth.

The young people were sent first to learn grammar under masters, who taught them regularly, and upon proper principles, their own language; by which they attained a knowledge of all its beauty, energy, number, and cadence. Hence proceeded the universal fine taste of Athens, where, as history informs us, a simple herb-woman distinguished Theophrastus to be a stranger, from the affectation of a single word in expressing himself. And from the same cause, the orators were greatly apprehensive of letting fall the least injudicious expression, for fear of offending so refined and delicate an audience. It was very common for the young people to get the tragedies represented upon the stage by heart. We have seen, that after the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, many of them, who had been taken prisoners and made slaves, softened their slavery by reciting the works of Euripides to their masters, who, extremely delighted with hearing such sublime verses, treated them from thenceforth with kindness and humanity.‡ The compositions of the other poets had no doubt the same effect: and Plutarch tells us, that Alcibiades, when very young, having entered a school in which there was not a Homer, gave the master a box on the year as an ignorant fellow, and one who dishonoured his profession.§

As for eloquence, it is no wonder that it was particularly studied at Athens, as it opened the way to the highest offices, reigned absolute in the assemblies, decided the most important affairs of state, and gave an almost unlimited power to those who had the talent of speaking in an eminent degree.

This therefore was the great employment of the young citizens of Athens, especially of those who aspired to the highest employments. To the study of rhetoric they annexed that of philosophy: I comprise under the latter, all the sciences, which are either parts of, or relate to it. The persons known to antiquity under the name of sophists, had acquired a great reputation at Athens, especially in the time of Socrates. These teachers, who were as presumptuous as avaricious, set themselves up for universal scholars. Their whole art lay in philosophy and eloquence; both of which they corrupted by the false taste and wrong principles which they instilled into their disciples. I have observed in the life of Socrates, that philosopher's endeavours and success in discrediting them.

CHAPTER I.

OF WAR.

SECTION I.—PEOPLE OF GREECE IN ALL TIMES VERY WARLIKE.

No people of antiquity, except the Romans, could dispute the glory of arms and military virtue with the Greeks. During the Trojan war, Greece signalized her valour in battle, and acquired immortal fame by the bravery of her captains sent

* De Venat one.

† *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 5, 6. et. l. ii. p. 59, 60.

‡ *Cic.* in *Brut* ii. 172.—*Quintil.* l. viii. c. l.—*Plut.* in *Peric.* p. 136

§ In *Alcib.* p. 194

thither. This expedition was however, properly speaking, no more than the cradle of her infant glory; and the great exploits, by which she distinguished herself, there were only her first essays, and apprenticeship in the art of war.

There were in Greece at that time several small republics, neighbours to one another by their situation, but extremely remote in their customs, laws, characters, and particularly in their interests. This difference of manners and interests was a continual source and occasion of divisions among them. Every city dissatisfied with its own dominion, was studious to aggrandize itself at the expense of its next neighbours, according as they lay most commodious for it. Hence all these little states, either out of ambition, and to extend their conquests, or the necessity of a just defence, were always under arms, and by that continual exercise of war, formed in the people a martial spirit, and an intrepidity which made them invincible in the field, as appeared when the united forces of the East came to invade Greece, and made her sensible of what she was, and of what she was capable.

Two cities distinguished themselves above the rest, and held indisputably the first rank; these were Sparta and Athens: In consequence of which, these cities, either successively or together, had the empire of Greece, and maintained themselves through a long series of ages in a power, which their superiority of merit, universally acknowledged by all the other states, had acquired them. This merit consisted principally in their military knowledge and martial virtue; the most glorious proofs of which they had given in the war against the Persians. Thebes disputed this honour with them for some years, by surprising actions of valour, which had something of prodigy in them; this however, was but a momentary blaze, which having shone out with exceeding splendour, soon disappeared, and left that city in its original obscurity. Sparta and Athens will therefore be the only objects of our reflections as to what relates to war; and we shall join them together in order to be the better able to distinguish their characters, as well in what they resemble, as in what they differ from each other.

SECTION II.—ORIGIN AND CAUSE OF THE VALOUR AND MILITARY VIRTUE OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS.

ALL the laws of Sparta and institutions of Lycurgus seem to have had no other object than war, and tended solely to the making the subjects of that republic a body of soldiers. All other employments, all other exercises, were prohibited among them. Arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, even husbandry itself, had no share in their application, and seemed in their eyes unworthy of them. From their earliest infancy, no other taste was instilled into them but for arms; and indeed the Spartan education was wonderfully adapted to that end. To go barefoot, to lie hard, to be satisfied with little meat and drink, to suffer heat and cold, to exercise continually in hunting, wrestling, running on foot and horseback, to be inured to blows and wounds without venting either complaint or groan; these were the rudiments of the Spartan youth with regard to war, and enabled them to support all its fatigues, and to confront all its dangers.

The habit of obeying, contracted from their infancy, respect for the magistrates and elders, a perfect submission to the laws, from which no age nor condition was exempted, prepared them amazingly for military discipline, which is in a manner the soul of war, and the principle of success in all great enterprises.

One of these laws was, to conquer or die, and never to surrender to the enemy. Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans, was an illustrious example of this; and his intrepid valour, extolled in all ages with the highest applauses, and proposed as a model to all posterity, had given the same spirit to the nation, and traced out for them the plan they were to follow. The disgrace and infamy annexed to the violation of this law, and to such as quitted their arms in battle, confirmed the observance of it, and rendered it in a manner inviolable. The mothers recommended to their sons, when they set out for the field, to return either with or upon their bucklers. They did not weep for those who died with their arms in their hands, but for those who preserved themselves by flight. Can we be surprised after this, that a small body of such soldiers, with such principles, should put an innumerable army of barbarians to a stand?

The Athenians were not bred up so roughly as the people of Sparta, but possessed equal valour. The taste of the two people was quite different in regard to education and employment; but they attained the same end, though by different means. The

Spartans knew only how to use their arms, and were no more than soldiers: but among the Athenians, and we must say as much of the other people of Greece, arts, trades, husbandry, commerce, and navigation, were held in honour, and thought no disgrace to any one. These occupations were no obstacles to the valour and knowledge necessary in war; they disqualified none for rising to the greatest commands and first dignities of the republic. Plutarch observes, that Solon, seeing that the territory of Attica was barren, applied himself to turning the industry of his citizens upon arts, trades, and commerce, in order to supply his country thereby with what it wanted in fertility. This taste became one of the maxims of the government and fundamental laws of the state, and perpetuated itself among the people, but without diminishing in the least their ardour for war.

The ancient glory of the nation, which had always distinguished itself by military bravery, was a powerful motive for not degenerating from the reputation of their ancestors. The famous battle of Marathon, wherein they had sustained alone the shock of the barbarians, and gained a signal victory over them, infinitely heightened their courage; and the battle of Salamin, in the success of which they had the greatest share, raised them to the highest pitch of glory, and rendered them capable of the greatest enterprises.

A noble emulation not to give place in point of merit to Sparta, the rival of Athens, and a lively jealousy of their glory, which during the war with the Persians contained itself within due bounds, were another strong incentive to the Athenians, who every day made new efforts to surpass themselves, and sustain their reputation.

The rewards and honours granted to those who had distinguished themselves in battle; the monuments erected in memory of the citizens who had died in defence of their country; the funeral orations publicly pronounced in the midst of the most august religious ceremonies, to render their names immortal; all conspired infinitely to eternize the valour of both nations, and particularly of the Athenians, and to make fortitude a kind of law and indispensable necessity with them.

There was a law at Athens, by which it was ordained that those who had been maimed in war, should be maintained at the public expense. The same favour was granted to the fathers and mothers, as well as the children, of such as had fallen in battle, and left their families poor, and not in a condition to maintain themselves. The republic, like a good mother, generously took them into her care, and, with great regard to them, supplied all the duties, and procured all the relief, they could have expected from those whose loss they deplored.*

This exalted the courage of the Athenians, and rendered their troops invincible, though not very numerous. In the battle of Plataeæ, where the army of the barbarians, commanded by Mardonius, consisted of no less than three hundred thousand men, and the united forces of the Greeks, of only one hundred and eight thousand two hundred men; there were in the latter only ten thousand Lacedæmonians, one half of whom were Spartans, that is to say, inhabitants of Sparta, and eight thousand Athenians. It is true, each Spartan brought with him seven helots, amounting to thirty-five thousand men; but they were scarcely ever reckoned as soldiers.

This great merit in point of martial valour, generally acknowledged by the other states and people, did not suppress in their minds all sentiments of envy and jealousy, as appeared once in relation to the Lacedæmonians. The allies, who were very far superior to them in number, were mortified to see themselves subjected to their orders, and murmured against it in secret. Agesilaus, king of Sparta, without seeming to have any knowledge of their disgust, assembled the whole army, and after having made all the allies sit down on one side, and the Lacedæmonians by themselves on the other, he caused proclamation to be made by a herald, that all smiths, masons, carpenters, and so on, through the other trades, should rise up. Almost all the allies did so, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, to whom all trades were prohibited. Agesilaus then smiling, "You see," said he, "how many more soldiers Sparta furnishes, than all the rest of the allies together;" thereby intimating, that to be a good soldier, it was necessary to be only a soldier; that trades diverted the artisan from applying himself wholly to the profession of arms and the science of war, and prevented his succeeding so well in it as those who made it their sole business and exercise. But Agesilaus spoke and acted in that manner from the prejudice of his opinion in favour of Lacedæ-

* Plut in Solon. p. 96.—Idem, in Menex. p. 248, 249.—Diog. Laert, in Solon, p. 37.

dæmonian education; for indeed those whom he was for having considered only as simple artisans, had well demonstrated in the glorious victories they had gained over the Persians, and even Sparta itself, that they were by no means inferior to the Lacedæmonians, entirely soldiers as they were, either in valour or military knowledge.

SECTION III.—OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF TROOPS WHICH COMPOSED THE ARMIES OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS.

THE armies both of Sparta and Athens were composed of four sorts of troops; citizens, allies, mercenaries, and slaves. The soldiers were sometimes marked in the hand, to distinguish them from the slaves, who had that character impressed upon their forehead. Interpreters believe, that in allusion to this double manner of marking, it is said in the Revelation, that all were obliged "to receive the mark of the beast in their right hand, or in their foreheads;"* and that St. Paul says of himself, "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."†

The citizens of Lacedæmon were of two sorts, either those who inhabited Sparta itself, and who for that reason were called Spartans, or those who lived in the country. In the time of Lycurgus, the Spartans amounted to nine thousand, and the others to thirty thousand. This number seems to have been somewhat diminished in the time of Xerxes, as Demaratus, speaking to him of the Lacedæmonian troops, computes only eight thousand Spartans. The latter were the flower of the nation; and we may judge of the value they set upon them, by the anxiety the republic expressed for three or four hundred, besieged by the Athenians in the small island of Sphacteria, where they were taken prisoners. The Lacedæmonians generally spared the troops of their country very much, and sent only a few of them into the armies. When a Lacedæmonian general was asked, how many Spartans there were in the army? he answered, "As many as are necessary to repulse the enemy." They served the state at their own expense, and it was not till after a length of time that they received pay from the public.

The greatest number of the troops in the two republics were composed of the allies; who were paid by the cities which sent them.

The foreign troops in the pay of the republic, to the aid of which they were called in, were styled mercenaries.

The Spartans never marched without helots; and we have seen that in the battle of Plataeæ every citizen had seven. I do not believe this number was fixed; nor do I well comprehend for what service they were designed. It would have been very ill policy to have put arms into the hands of so great a number of slaves, generally much discontented with their master's harsh treatment of them, and who in consequence had every thing to fear from them in a battle. Herodotus, however, in the passage I have cited from him, represents them carrying arms in the field as light-armed soldiers.

The infantry consisted of two kinds of soldiers. The one were heavy-armed, and carried great bucklers, lances, half-pikes, and scimitars. The other were light-armed, that is to say, with bows and slings. They were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings as a first line to shoot their arrows, and throw javelins and stones at the enemy; and when they had discharged, they retired through the intervals behind the battalions as a second line, and continued their volleys.

Thucydides, in describing the battle of Mantinæa, divides the Lacedæmonian troops in this manner. There were seven regiments of four companies each, without including the Squirities, to the number of six hundred; these were horsemen, of whom I shall soon speak farther. The company consisted, according to the Greek interpreter, of one hundred and twenty-eight men, and was subdivided into four platoons, each of thirty-two men. So that a regiment amounted to five hundred and twelve men, and the seven made together three thousand five hundred and eighty-four. Each platoon had four men in front and eight in depth, for that was the usual depth of the files, which the officers might change as occasion required.‡

The Lacedæmonians did not actually begin to use cavalry, till after the war with Messene, where they perceived their want of it. They raised their horse principally in a small city not far from Lacedæmon, called Sciros, from whence these troops were denominated Scirites, or Squirites. They were always on the extremity of the left wing, which was their post by right.§

* Rev. xiii. 16.

‡ Thucyd. l. v. p. 390.

† Gal. vi. 17.

§ Thucyd. l. v. p. 390.

Cavalry was still more uncommon among the Athenians, on account of the situation of Attica, broken with numerous mountains. It did not amount, after the war with the Persians, which was the time when the prosperity of Greece was at the highest, to more than three hundred horse, but increased afterwards to twelve hundred; a small body for so powerful a republic.

I have already observed, that among the ancients, as well Greeks as Romans, no mention is made of the stirrup, which is very surprising. They threw themselves nimbly on horseback.

—————Corpora saltu
Subjiciunt in equos————— Æn. l. xi. ver. 237.
“And with a leap sit steady on the horse”

Sometimes the horse, broke early to that kind of manage, would stoop down before, to give his master the opportunity of mounting with more ease:

Inde inclinatus collum, submissus et armos
De more, inflexis præbebat scandere terga
Cruribus. Sil. Ital. de Equo Cælii Equ. Rem.

Those whom age or weakness rendered heavy, made use of a servant in mounting on horseback, in which they imitated the Persians, with whom it was the common custom. Gracchus caused fine stones to be placed on each side of the great roads of Italy, at certain distances from one another, to help travellers to get on horseback without the assistance of any body.*

I am surprised that the Athenians, expert as they were in the art of war, did not distinguish that the cavalry was the most essential part of an army, especially in battles; and that some of their generals did not turn their attention that way, as Themistocles did in regard to maritime affairs. Xenophon was well capable of rendering them a like service in respect to the cavalry, of the importance of which he was perfectly apprised. He wrote two treatises upon this subject; one of which regards the care it is necessary to take of horses, and how to understand and break them; to which he adds the exercise of the squadron, both well worthy of being read by all who profess arms. In the latter he states the means of placing the cavalry in honour, and lays down rules upon the military art in general, which might be of very great use to all those who are designed for the employment of war.

I have wondered, in running over this second treatise, to see with what care Xenophon, a soldier and a pagan, recommends the practice of religion, a veneration for the gods, and the necessity of imploring their aid upon all occasions. He repeats this maxim in thirteen different places of a tract in other respects brief enough; and rightly judging that these religious insinuations might give some people offence, he makes a kind of apology for them, and concludes the piece with a reflection, which I shall repeat entire in this place. “If any one,” says he, “wonders that I insist so much here upon the necessity of not forming any enterprises without first endeavouring to render the Divinity favourable and propitious, let him reflect, that there are in war a thousand unforeseen and obscure conjunctures, wherein the generals, vigilant to take advantages, and lay ambuscades for each other, from the uncertainty of an enemy’s motions, can take no other counsel than that of the gods. Nothing is doubtful or obscure with them. They unfold the future to whom they please, on the inspection of the entrails of beasts, by the singing of birds, by visions, or in dreams. Now, we may presume that the gods are more inclined to enlighten the minds of such as consult them, not only in urgent necessities, but who at all times, and when no dangers threaten them, render them all the homage and adoration of which they are capable.”

It became this great man to give the most important instructions to his son Gryllus, to whom he addressed the treatise we mention; and who, according to the common opinion, was appointed to discipline the Athenian cavalry.

SECTION IV.—OF MARITIME AFFAIRS, FLEETS, AND NAVAL FORCES.

If the Athenians were inferior to the Lacedæmonians in respect to cavalry, they surpassed them greatly in naval affairs, by which means they became masters at sea, and obtained a superiority over all the other states of Greece. As a knowledge of this subject is very necessary to rightly understand many passages in this history, I

* Ἀναβολεὺς μὴ διομεινός. This word ἀναβολεὺς, signifies a servant who has helped his master to mount on horseback.

shall treat it more extensively than other matters, and shall make great use of what the learned father Don Bernard de Montfaucon has said of it in his books upon antiquity.

The principal parts of a ship were the prow or head, the poop or stern, and the middle, called in Latin *carina*, the hulk or waist.

The **PROW** was the forward extremity of the ship; it was generally adorned with paintings, and different sculptures of gods, men, or animals. The beak called rostrum, lay lower, and level with the water; it was a piece of timber which projected from the prow, covered at the point with brass, and sometimes with iron. The Greeks termed it *ἰμῶλον*.

The other extremity of the ship, opposite to the prow, was called the **POOP**. There the pilot sat and held the helm, which was a longer and larger oar than the rest.

The **WAIST** was the hollow the vessel, or the hold.

The ships were of two kinds, vessels of war and vessels of burden, intended for commerce or as transports. The former were generally propelled by oars, the latter by sails. Both were sometimes, but rarely used together. The ships of war were also called Long Ships, and by that name distinguished from vessels of burden.

The long ships were further divided into two classes: those which were called *actuariæ naves*, and were very light vessels like our brigantines; and those called only long ships. The first were usually termed open ships, because they had no decks. Some of these light vessels were larger than ordinary, and had twenty, thirty, and forty oars, half on one side, and half on the other, all on the same line.

The long ships which were used in war, were of two sorts. Some had only one rank of oars on one side; others two, three, four, five, or a greater number, to forty; but these last were rather for show than use.

The long ships of one rank of oars were called *aphracti*; that is to say, uncovered, and had no decks: in which they differed from the *cataphracti*, which had decks. They had only small places at the head and stern, to stand on in the time of action.

The ships most commonly used in the battles of the ancients, were those which carried from three to five ranks or benches of oars, and were called *triremes* and *quinqueremes*.

It is a great question, and has given rise to many learned dissertations, how these benches of oars were disposed. Some will have it, that they were placed at length, like the ranks of oars in the modern galleys. Others maintain, that the ranges of the *biremes*, *triremes*, *quinqueremes*, and so on to the number of forty in some vessels, were one above another. To support this last opinion, innumerable passages are cited from ancient authors, which seem to leave no manner of doubt in it, and are strongly corroborated by the column of Trajan, which represents these ranks one above another. Father Montfaucon, however, avers, that all the persons of greatest skill in naval affairs, whom he had consulted, declared, that such an arrangement seemed to them utterly impossible. This manner of reasoning is a weak proof against the experience of so many ages, confirmed by so many authors. It is true, that in admitting these ranks of oars to be disposed perpendicularly one above another, it is not easy to comprehend how they could be worked; but in the *biremes* and *triremes* of the column of Trajan, the lower ranks were placed obliquely, and as it were rising by degrees.

In ancient times, the ships with several ranks of oars were unknown. They made use of long ships, in which the rowers, whatever might be their number, worked all upon the same line. Such was the fleet which the Greeks sent against Troy. It was composed of twelve hundred sail; of which the galleys of *Bœotia* contained each one hundred and twenty men, and those of *Philoctetes* fifty; which no doubt includes the largest and smallest vessels. Their galleys had no decks, but were built like common boats, "which is still practised," says Thucydides, "by the pirates, to prevent their being so soon discovered at a distance."*

The Corinthians are said to have been the first who changed the form of ships; and instead of simple galleys, made vessels with three ranks, in order to add by the multiplicity of oars to the swiftness and impetuosity of their motion. Their city, advantageously situated between two seas, lay commodiously for commerce, and served as an emporium for merchandise. From their example the inhabitants of *Coreyra*, and the tyrants of Sicily, also equipped many galleys of three benches, a short time before the war against the Persians. It was about the same time that the Athenians,

* Thucyd. l. i. p. 3.

at the warm instances of Themistocles, who foresaw the war which soon broke out, built ships of the same form, the whole deck not being yet in use; and from thenceforth they applied themselves to naval affairs with incredible ardour and success.*

The beak of the prow, (rostrum) was that part of the vessel which was mostly used in sea-fights. Ariston of Corinth persuaded the Syracusans, when their city was besieged by the Athenians, to make the prows lower and shorter, which advice gained them the victory, for the prows of the Athenian vessels being very high and weak, their beaks struck only the parts above water, and for that reason did little damage to the enemy's ships, whereas the Syracusans, whose prows were strong and low, and their beaks level with the water, often sunk the triremes of the Athenians with a single blow.†

Two classes of people served on board these galleys. The one was composed of the rowers, (remiges,) and the mariners, (noutæ,) employed in steering and working the ships. The other consisted of the soldiers intended for the fight, who were denominated επισταται. This distinction was not made in early times, when the same persons rowed, fought, and did all the necessary work of the ship, as was occasionally the case at a later period. For Thucydides, in describing the arrival of the Athenian fleet, at the small island of Sphacteria, observes, that only the rowers of the lowest bench remained in the ships, and that the rest went on shore with their arms.‡

The condition of the rowers, was very hard and laborious. I have already said, that the rowers, as well as mariners, were citizens and freemen, and not slaves or strangers. The rowers were distinguished by three several stages. The lower rank were called thalamitæ, the middle zugitæ, and the highest thranitæ. Thucydides remarks that the latter had greater pay than the rest, because they worked with longer and heavier oars than those of the lower benches. It seems that the crew, in order to act in concert, and with better effect, were sometimes guided by the singing of a man, and sometimes by the sound of an instrument; and this grateful harmony served not only to regulate the motion of their oars, but to mitigate and soothe the pains of their labour.§

It is a question among the learned, whether there was a single man to every oar in these great ships, or several, as in the galleys of the present day. What Thucydides observes on the pay of the thranitæ, seems to imply that they worked singly. For if others had shared the work with them, wherefore had they greater pay given them than those who managed an oar alone, as the latter had as much, and perhaps more labour than they? Father Montfaucon believes, that in the vessel of five ranks, there might have been several men to a single oar.

He who took care of the whole crew, and commanded the vessel, was called nauclerus, and was the principal officer. The second was the pilot, (gubernator) whose station was in the poop where he held the helm and steered the vessel. His skill consisted in knowing the coasts, ports, rocks, shoals, and especially the winds and stars; for before the invention of the compass, the pilot had nothing to direct him, during the night but the stars.

The soldiers who fought in the ships, were armed almost in the same manner as the land forces.

The Athenians, at the battle of Salamin, had one hundred and eighty vessels, and in each of them eighteen fighting men, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy-armed troops. The officer who commanded these soldiers was called τεταρχος, and the commander of the whole fleet, ναυαρχος or στρατηγος.¶

We cannot exactly tell the number of soldiers, mariners and rowers, that served on board each ship, but it generally amounted to about two hundred, as appears from the estimate of Herodotus of the Persian fleet in the time of Xerxes, and in other places where he mentions that of the Greeks. I mean here the great vessels, the triremes, which were the species most in use.

The pay of those who served in these ships varied greatly at different times. When the younger Cyrus arrived in Asia, it was only three oboli, or half a drachm; and the treaty between the Persians and Lacedæmonians was concluded on this condition, which gives reason to believe, that the usual pay was three oboli.¶¶ Cyrus, at Lysan

* Thucyd. l. i. p. 10.

† Diod. l. xiii. p. 141.

‡ Thucyd. l. i. v. p. 275.

§ Musicam naturam ipsam videtur ad tolerandos facilius labores veluti muneri nobis dedisse. Siquidem et remiges cantus horantur; nec solum in iis operibus in quibus plurimum conatus præeunte aliqua jucunda voce conspirat, sed etiam singulorum fatigatio quamlibet se rudi modulatione solatur—Quintil. l. i. c. 10.

¶ Plut. in Themist. p. 119.

¶¶ This treaty stipulated that the Persians should pay thirty minæ a month for each ship, which was half a talent; the whole amounted to three oboli a day for every man that served on board.

der's request, added a fourth.* It was frequently raised to a whole drachm.† In the fleet fitted out against Sicily, the Athenians gave a drachm a day to the troops. The sum of sixty talents, which the people of Egesta advanced the Athenians monthly for the maintaining of sixty ships, shows that the pay of each vessel for a month amounted to a talent, which supposes, that each ship's company consisted of three hundred men, each of whom received a drachm a day.‡ As the officers' pay was higher, the republic perhaps either furnished the overplus, or it was deducted out of the total of the sum advanced for a vessel, by abating something in the pay of the private men.

The same may be said of the land troops as has been said of the seamen, except that the horse had double pay. It appears that the ordinary pay of the foot was three oboli a day, and that it was augmented according to times and occasions. Thimbron the Lacedæmonian, when he marched against Tissaphernes, promised a daric a month to each soldier, two to a captain, and four to the colonels.§ Now, a daric a month is four oboli a day. Young Cyrus, to animate his troops, who were discouraged by the length of their march, instead of one daric, promised one and a half to each soldier, which amounted to a drachm a day.

It may be asked how the Lacedæmonians, whose iron coin, the only species current among them, was of no value elsewhere, could maintain armies by sea and land, and where they found money for their subsistence. They no doubt raised it, as the Athenians did, by contributions from their allies, and the cities to which they gave liberty and protection, or from those they had conquered from their enemies. Their second fund for paying their fleet and armies, was the aids they drew from the king of Persia, as we have seen on several occasions.

SECTION V.—PECULIAR CHARACTER OF THE ATHENIANS.

PLUTARCH furnishes us with almost all the matter upon this head. Every body knows how well he succeeded in copying nature in his portraits, and how well qualified he was to trace the character of a people, whose genius and manners he had studied with so profound an attention.

I. "The people of Athens," says Plutarch, "were easily provoked to anger, and as easily reduced to resume their sentiments of benevolence and compassion."|| History furnishes us with numerous examples of this kind. Witness the sentence of death passed against the inhabitants of Mitylene, which was revoked the next day: the condemnation of the ten generals, and of Socrates, both followed with an immediate repentance and most lively grief.

II. "They were better pleased with penetrating and almost guessing an affair themselves, than to give themselves leisure to be informed of it thoroughly, and in all its extent."¶

Nothing is more surprising than this circumstance in their character, which is very hard to conceive, and seems almost incredible. Artificers, husbandmen, soldiers, and mariners, are generally a stupid, heavy kind of people, and very dull in their conceptions; but the people of Athens were of a quite different turn. They had naturally an amazing penetration, vivacity, and even delicacy of wit. I have already mentioned what happened to Theophrastus. He was cheapening something of an old woman at Athens that sold herbs: "No, stranger," said she, "you shall have it for no less." He was strangely surprised to find himself treated as a stranger who had passed almost his whole life at Athens, and who prided himself upon excelling all others in the elegance of his language.** It was, however, from that she knew he was not of her country. We have said, that the Athenian soldiers knew the fine passages of Euripides by heart. These artificers and soldiers, from assisting at the public deliberations, were also versed in affairs of state, and understood every thing immediately. We may judge of this from the orations of Demosthenes, whose style, we know, is ardent, brief, and concise.

III. "As they naturally inclined to relieve persons of a low condition and mean circumstances, so were they fond of conversations seasoned with pleasantry, and calculated to make people laugh."††

* Xenoph. Hist. l. i. p. 441. † Thucyd. l. vi. p. 431. ‡ Ibid. l. v. p. 415. § Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. l. vii.

|| Ο δὴμος, Ἀθηναίων ευκίνητος ἐστὶ πρὸς ὀργήν. ἐμετάθετος πρὸς εἰλεός.—Plut. in Præcept. Reip. Ger. p. 793.

¶ Μᾶλλον ἐξέως ὑπνεοῖν, ἢ διδασκασθῆαι καὶ ἡσυχίαν βελλομένου.

** Cum Theophrastus percontaretur ex anicula quadam, quanti aliquid venderet, et respondisset illa atque addidisset: Hospes, non pote minoris; tulit moleste, se non eflugere hospitis speciem, cum ætatem agoret Atheniis, optimeque loqueietur.—Cic. de Clar. Orat. ii. 17.

†† Ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν καὶ ἐξέως καὶ ταπεινῶν ἐχέειν προθύμωτερος, ὡτὼ τῶν λόγων τῆς παιγνιῶδεις καὶ γελῶν ἀπὸ ζῆλι καὶ περιτιμῶ.

They assisted persons of a mean condition, because from such they had nothing to apprehend in regard to their liberty, and saw in them the characters of equality and resemblance with themselves. They loved pleasantry, and showed in that that they were men, but men abounding with humanity and indulgence, who understood raillery, who were not prone to take offence, nor over delicate in point of respect to be paid them.* One day when the assembly was fully formed, and the people had already taken their places and sat down, Cleon, after having made them wait his coming a great while, appeared at last with a wreath of flowers upon his head, and desired the people to adjourn their deliberations to the next day. "For to-day," said he, "I have business. I have been sacrificing to the gods; and I am to entertain some strangers, my friends, at supper." The Athenians, setting up a laugh, rose and broke up the assembly. At Carthage, such a pleasantry would have cost any man his life who had presumed to vent it, and to take such a liberty with a proud, haughty, jealous, morose people, of a genius averse to complacency, and less inclined to humour. Upon another occasion, the orator Stratocles, having informed the people of a victory, and caused sacrifices to be offered in consequence, three days after, news came of the defeat of the army. As the people expressed their discontent and resentment upon the false information, he asked them, "of what they had to complain, and what harm he had done them, in making them pass three days more agreeably than they would otherwise have done?"

IV. "They were pleased with hearing themselves praised, and could not bear to be railed at, or criticised." The least acquaintance with Aristophanes and Demosthenes will show, with what address and effect they employed praises and criticism with regard to the people of Athens.†

"When the republic enjoyed peace and tranquillity," says Plutarch in another place, "the Athenian people diverted themselves with the orators who flattered them; but in important affairs, and emergencies of the state, they became serious, and gave the preference to those whose custom it had been to oppose their unjust desires; such as Pericles, Phocion, and Demosthenes.‡

V. "They kept those who governed them, in awe, and showed their humanity even to their enemies."§

The people of Athens made good use of the talents of those who distinguished themselves by their eloquence and prudence; but they were full of suspicion, and kept themselves always on their guard against the superiority of genius and ability; they took pleasure in restraining their courage, and lessening their glory and reputation. This may be judged from the ostracism, which was instituted only as a curb on those whose merit and popularity ran too high, and which spared neither the greatest nor the most worthy persons. The hatred of tyranny and tyrants, which was in a manner innate with the Athenians, made them extremely jealous and apprehensive for their liberty with regard to those who governed.

In regard to their enemies, they did not treat them with rigour; they did not make an insolent use of victory, nor exercise any cruelty towards the vanquished. The amnesty decreed after the tyranny of the thirty, shows that they could forget the injuries which had been done them.

To these different characteristics, which Plutarch unites in the same passages of his works, some others may be added, extracted principally from the same author.

VI. It was from this fund of humanity and benevolence, of which I have now spoken, and which was natural to the Athenians, that they were so attentive to the rules of politeness, and so delicate in point of just behaviour; qualities which one would not expect to find among the common people.|| In the war against Philip of Macedon, having intercepted one of his couriers, they read all the letters he carried, except that of Olympias his wife, which they returned sealed up and unopened, out of regard to conjugal love and secrecy, the rites of which are sacred, and ought to be respected even among enemies. The same Athenians, having decreed that a strict search should be made after the presents distributed by Harpalus among the orators, would not suffer the house of Callicles, who was lately married, to be visited, out of respect for his bride, who had not long been home. Such behaviour is not very common; and upon like occasions people do not stand much upon forms and politeness.¶

* Xenoph. de Athen. Rep. p. 691.

† Τοις μὲν ἑπαινεῖσιν αὐτὸν μάλα καὶ χεῖρα, τοῖς δὲ σκολιῶσιν καὶ αὐτοχρηστικαῖς.

‡ Plut. in Phocion. p. 746.

§ Φοβερὸς ἐστὶν ἄξει τῶν ἀρχόντων, εἰτα φίλων ἕως ἀξεί τῶν πτωχῶν.

|| Πικτεῖον αὐτοῖς καὶ συμφότερον ἢ τὸ φίλων ἕρπαιον. In Pelop. p. 250.

¶ Plut. in Demetr. p. 898.

VII. The taste of the Athenians for all arts and sciences is too well known to require dwelling long upon it in this place. Besides which, I shall have occasion to speak of it with some extent elsewhere. But we cannot, without admiration, behold a people, composed for the most part, of artisans, husbandmen, soldiers, and mariners, carrying delicacy of taste in every thing to so high a degree of perfection, which seems the peculiar attribute of a more exalted condition and noble education.

VIII. It is no less wonderful, that this people should have such great views and should rise so high in their pretensions.* In the war which Alcibiades caused them to undertake, fired with vast projects and unbounded hopes, they did not confine themselves to the taking of Syracuse, or the conquest of Sicily, but had already in idea added Italy, Peloponnesus, Libya, the Carthaginian gates, and the empire of the sea to the pillars of Hercules. Their enterprise failed; but they had formed it, and the taking of Syracuse, which seemed no great difficulty, might have enabled them to put it in execution.

IX. The same people, so great, and we may say so haughty in their projects, had nothing of that character in other respects. In what regarded the expense of the table, dress, furniture, private buildings, and, in a word, private life, they were frugal, simple, modest, and poor; but sumptuous and magnificent in every thing public, and capable of doing honour to the state. Their victories, conquests, wealth, and continual intercourse with the people of Asia Minor, introduced neither luxury, gluttony, pomp, nor vain profusion among them. Xenophon observes, that a citizen could not be distinguished from a slave by his dress. The richest inhabitants, and the most famous generals, were not ashamed to go to market themselves.†

It was very glorious for Athens to have produced and formed so many persons illustrious in the arts of war and government; in philosophy, eloquence, poesy, painting, sculpture, and architecture; to have alone furnished more great men in every other department, than any other city in the world; except perhaps Rome, which had imbibed learning and arts from her, and knew how to improve her lessons to the best advantage;‡ to have been in a manner the school of almost all the world; to have served, and still continue to serve, as the model for nations which pride themselves most upon the excellency of taste; in a word, to have taught the language, and prescribed the laws of all that regards the talents and productions of the mind. The part of this history, wherein I shall treat of the sciences and learned men that rendered Greece illustrious, with the arts, and those who excelled in them, will set this in a clear light.

X. I shall conclude this description of the Athenians with one more attribute, which cannot be denied them, and appears evidently in all their actions and enterprises; and that is, their ardent love of liberty. This was their darling passion, and great principle of policy. We see them, from the commencement of the war with the Persians, sacrificing every thing to the liberty of Greece. They abandoned, without the least regret, their lands, estates, city, and houses, and removed to their ships in order to fight the common enemy, whose view was to enslave them. What could be more glorious for Athens, than, when all the allies were trembling at the vast offers made her by the king of Persia, to answer his ambassador by the mouth of Aristides, that all the gold and silver in the world was not capable of tempting them to sell their own, or the liberty of Greece?§

It was from such generous sentiments that the Athenians not only became the bulwark of Greece, but preserved the rest of Europe, and all the western world, from the invasion of the Persians.

These great qualities were mingled with great defects, often the very reverse of them, such as we may imagine in a fluctuating, light, inconstant, and capricious people, like the Athenians.

SECTION VI.—COMMON CHARACTER OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS.

I CANNOT refuse giving a place here to what Mr. Bossuet says upon the character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The passage is long, but will not appear so, as it includes all that is wanting to a perfect knowledge of the genius of both these people.

* Μεγα φερον, μεγαλων οργηταις

† Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes Intulit agresti Latio.

† De Rep. Athen. p. 693.
Horat. Epist. l. 1. 2.

‡ Greece taken, took her savage victors' hearts,
And polish'd rustic Latium with her arts."

§ Plut. in Aristid. p. 324.

Among all the republics of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the principal. No people could possess more wit than the Athenians, nor more solid sense than the Lacedæmonians. Athens affected pleasure; the Lacedæmonian manner of living was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty; but the liberty of Athens tended to licentiousness. The love of power among the Lacedæmonians, though restricted by severe laws at home, was the more ardent to extend itself abroad. Athens also was fond of power, but upon another principle, in which interest had a share with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art of navigation, and the sovereignty at sea had enriched her. To continue in the sole possession of all commerce, there was nothing she would not have subjected to her power; and her riches, which inspired this passion, supplied her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedæmon money was in contempt. As all the laws tended to make the latter a military republic, the glory of arms was the sole object that engrossed her citizens. From thence she naturally affected dominion; and the more she was above interest, the more she abandoned herself to ambition.

Lacedæmon, from her regular life, was steady and determinate in her maxims and measures. Athens was more lively and active, but the people had too much control. Their laws and philosophy had indeed the most happy effect upon excellent natural capacities like theirs; but reason alone was not capable of keeping them within due bounds. A wise Athenian, who perfectly knew the genius of his country, informs us, that fear was necessary to keep those too ardent and free spirits in order; and that it was impossible to govern them, after the victory at Salamin had removed their fears of the Persians.*

They were therefore ruined by the glory of their great actions, and the supposed security of their present condition. The magistrates were no longer heard; and as Persia was afflicted with excessive slavery, so Athens, says Plato, experienced all the evils of excessive liberty.

These two great republics, so opposite in their manners and conduct, interfered with each other in the design they had each formed of subjecting all Greece; so that they were always enemies, more from the contrariety of their interests, than the dissimilarity of their genius.

The Grecian cities were against submitting to the dominion of either the one or the other; for, besides the desire of preserving their liberty, they found the empire of those republics too grievous to bear. That of the Lacedæmonians, who were observed to have something almost brutal in their character, was severe. A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers too haughty, austere, and imperious in power: besides which, it could never be expected to live in peace under the authority of a city, which, formed for war, could not support itself but by continuing perpetually in arms.† So that the Lacedæmonians were capable of attaining to command, and all the world were afraid they should do so.‡

The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable. Nothing was more delightful to behold than their city, in which feasts and games were perpetual: their wit, liberty, and the various passions of men, daily exhibited new objects; but the inequality of their conduct disgusted their allies, and was still more insupportable to their own subjects. It was impossible for them not to experience the extravagance and caprice of a flattered people, which is, according to Plato, somewhat more dangerous than the same excesses in a prince vitiated by flattery.§

These two cities did not permit Greece to continue in repose. We have seen the Peloponnesian and other wars, which were always occasioned or fomented by the jealousy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But the same jealousies which involved Greece in troubles, supported it in some measure, and prevented its falling into the dependence of either the one or the other of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this condition of Greece; and accordingly the whole mystery of their politics consisted in keeping up those jealousies, and fomenting those divisions. Lacedæmon, which was the most ambitious, was the first that gave them occasion to enter into the quarrels of the Greeks. They engaged in them from the sole view of making themselves masters of the whole nation; and, industrious to weaken the Greeks by their own arms, they waited only the opportunity to crush them altogether. The states of Greece, in their wars, regarded only the king of Persia, whom they called the Great King, or "the King," by way of eminence, as if they had already

* Plat. l. iii. de Leg.

† Aristot. Polit. l. i. p. 4.

‡ Xenoph. de Rep. Lacon.

§ Plat. de Rep. l. viii.

been of the number of his subjects. But it was impossible that the ancient spirit of Greece should not revive, when they were upon the point of falling into slavery, and the hands of the barbarians.*

The petty kings of Greece undertook to oppose this great king, and to ruin his empire. But with a small army, disciplined as we have related, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and showed that it was not impossible to subvert their power.† The divisions of Greece alone put a stop to his conquests. The famous retreat of the ten thousand, who, after the death of the younger Cyrus, made their way in a hostile manner through the whole Persian empire, and returned into their own country, fully demonstrated to Greece that her soldiery was invincible, and that only their domestic divisions could subject them to an enemy too weak to resist their united force.

We shall see, in the sequel of this history, how Philip king of Macedon, taking advantage of these divisions, succeeded at length, between address and force, in making himself little less than the sovereign of Greece, and in obliging the whole nation to march under his colours against the common enemy. What he had only planned, his son Alexander brought to perfection, who showed the wondering world, how much ability and valour avail against the most numerous armies, and the most formidable preparations.

* Plat. l. iii. de Leg. Isocrat. Panegy.

† Polyb. l. iii.

BOOK ELEVENTH.

THE HISTORIES

OF

DIONYSIUS AND HIS SON,

TYRANTS OF SYRACUSE.

SYRACUSE had for about sixty years enjoyed the liberty gained by the expulsion of the family of Gelon. The events which passed in that interval, except the invasion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but those which follow are of a different nature, and make amends for the chasm; I mean the reigns of Dionysius and his son, tyrants of Syracuse; the first of whom governed thirty-eight, and the latter twelve years.* As this history is entirely foreign to what passed in Greece at the same time, I shall relate it in this place altogether and by itself; observing only, that the first twenty years of it, upon which I am now entering, agree almost in point of time with the last preceding twenty years.

This history will present to our view a series of the most odious and horrid crimes, though it abounds at the same time with instruction. When on the one side we behold a prince, the declared enemy of liberty, justice, and laws, trampling on the most sacred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the most cruel torments upon his subjects, beheading some, burning others for a slight word, delighting and feasting himself with human blood, and gratifying his savage inhumanity with the sufferings and miseries of every age and condition,† can we deny a truth, which the pagan world itself has confessed, and Plutarch has taken occasion to observe in speaking of the tyrants of Sicily, “that God in his anger gives such princes to a people, and makes use of the impious and the wicked to punish the guilty and the criminal?” On the other side, when the same prince, the dread and terror of Syracuse, is perpetually anxious, and trembling for his own life, and, abandoned to remorse and regret, can find no person in his whole state, not even his wives or children, in whom he can confide; who will not think with Tacitus, “that it is not without reason that the oracle of wisdom has declared, that if the hearts of tyrants could be seen, we should find them torn in pieces with a thousand evils; it being certain, that the body does not suffer more from inflictions, and torments, than the minds of such wretches from their crimes, cruelties, and the injustice and violence of their proceedings.‡

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them: he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himself, and lives with his subjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the sword of justice is in his hands, he apprehends the use of it. He loves to turn aside its edge, and can never resolve to display his power, but with great reluctance, in the last extremity, and with all the forms and sanction of the laws.§ “A tyrant punished only from caprice and passion; and believes,” says Plutarch upon Dionysius, “that he is not really master, and does not act with supreme authority, but as he sets himself above all laws, has no other but his will and pleasure, and sees himself obeyed implicitly:

* After having been expelled for more than ten years, he re-ascended the throne, and reigned two or three years.
† Erit. Dionysius illic tyrannus, libertatis, justitiæ, legum exitium—Alios uret, alios verberabit, alios ob levem offensam jubebit detruncari.—Senec. de Consul. ad Marc. c. xvii.

‡ Sanguine humano non tantum gaudet, sed pascitur; sed ut suppliciiis omnium ætatum crudelitatem imatibilem explet.—Id de Benef. l. vii. c. 19.

§ Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici, laniatus et iectus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur.—Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 6.

¶ Hæc est in maxima potestate verissima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate incendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in cives suos liceat, experiendo tentare; sed hebetare aciem imperii sui—Quid interest inter tyrannum et regem, (species enim ipsa fortunæ ac licentia par est,) nisi quod tyranni in voluptate æviunt, reges non nisi ex causa et necessitate?—Senec. de Clem. lib. i. c. 11.

whereas," continues the same author, "he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of doing what he ought not."*

Besides these characteristics of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly distinguished the first Dionysius, we shall see in his history, all that unbounded ambition, sustained by great valour, extensive abilities, and the necessary talents for acquiring the confidence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of sovereignty; the various means which he had the address to employ for the maintaining himself in it against the opposition of his enemies, and the odium of the public; and lastly, the tyrant's success in escaping, during a reign of thirty-eight years, the many conspiracies formed against him, and in transmitting peaceably the tyranny to his son, as a legitimate possession and a right of inheritance.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter contains the history of Dionysius the Elder, who reigned thirty eight years.

SECTION I.—MEANS MADE USE OF BY DIONYSIUS THE ELDER TO POSSESS HIMSELF OF THE TYRANNY.

DIONYSIUS was a native of Syracuse, of noble and illustrious extraction according to some, but others say that his birth was base and obscure. However that may be, he distinguished himself by his valour, and acquired great reputation in a war with the Carthaginians. He was one of those who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re-enter Syracuse by force of arms, after having been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. The event of that enterprise was unsuccessful and Hermocrates was killed. The Syracusans did not spare his accomplices, several of whom were publicly executed. Dionysius was left among the wounded. The report of his death, designedly given out by his relations, saved his life. Providence would have spared Syracuse many misfortunes, had he expired either in the fight, or by the executioner.†

The Carthaginians had made several attempts to establish themselves in Sicily, and to possess themselves of the principal towns of that island, as we have observed elsewhere.‡ Its happy situation for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its soil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to such an enterprise. We may form an idea of the wealth of its cities from the account given of Agrigentum. The temples were of extraordinary magnificence, especially that of Jupiter Olympus, which was three hundred and forty feet in length, sixty in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. The piazzas, or galleries, in their extent and beauty, answered to the rest of the building. On one side was represented the battle of the giants, on the other, the taking of Troy, in figures as large as life. Without the city was an artificial lake, which was seven stadia, or more than a quarter of a league, in circumference. It was full of all kinds of fish, covered with swans and other water-fowls, and afforded the most agreeable prospect imaginable.§

It was at the time of which we are now speaking, that Exenetes, victor in the Olympic games, entered the city in triumph in a magnificent chariot, attended by three hundred more, all drawn by white horses. Their robes were adorned with gold and silver; and nothing was ever more splendid than their appearance. Gellias, the most wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, erected several large apartments in his house for the reception and entertainment of his guests. Servants waited by his order at the gates of the city, to invite all strangers to lodge at their master's house, and conduct them thither. Hospitality was much practised and esteemed by the generality of that city. A violent storm having obliged one hundred horsemen to take shelter there, Gellias entertained them all in his house, and supplied them immediately with dry clothes, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is understanding how to make a noble use of riches. His cellar is much talked of by

* Εσχ' απολαυσειν μαλιστα της αρχης οταν ταχης α βληται ποιη. Μελος εν ο κινδυνος βλεσθαι μν αη δει, τον α βλεται ποιειν δυναμενον.—Ad. Princ. Induct. p. 732.

† Diod. l. xiii. p. 197.

‡ In the history of the Carthaginians, Bock II. Part. I.

§ Diod. l. xiii. p. 203, 206.

historians, in which he had three hundred reservoirs hewn out of the rock, each of which contained one hundred amphoræ.*

This great and opulent city was besieged, and at length taken by the Carthaginians. Its fall shook all Sicily, and spread an universal terror. The cause of its being lost was imputed to the Syracusans, who had but weakly aided it. Dionysius, who from that time had no other thoughts but of his grand designs, and was secretly active in laying the foundations of his future power, took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general complaints of Sicily against the Syracusans, to render the magistrates odious, and to exclaim against their administration. In a public assembly, held to deliberate on the state of affairs, when nobody dared to speak for fear of the persons at the helm, Dionysius rose up, and boldly accused the magistrates of treason; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought to be deposed immediately, without waiting till the term of their administration should expire. They retorted this audacity with treating him as a seditious person, and a disturber of the public tranquillity, and as such laid a fine upon him according to the laws. This was to be paid before he could be admitted to speak again, and Dionysius was not in a condition to discharge it. Philistus, one of the richest citizens, who wrote a history of Sicily, which has not come down to us, deposited the money, and exhorted him at the same time to give his opinion upon the state of affairs, with all the liberty which became a citizen zealous for his country.

Dionysius accordingly resumed his discourse with more vigour than before. He had long cultivated the talent of eloquence, which he looked upon with reason as very necessary in a republican government; especially in his views of acquiring the people's favour, and of conciliating them to his measures. He began with describing in a lively and pathetic manner the ruin of Agrigentum, a neighbouring city, in their alliance; the deplorable extremity to which the inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting the place under the cover of the night; the cries and lamentations of infants, and of aged and sick persons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a cruel and merciless enemy; and the consequent murder of all who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous victor dragged from the temples and altars of the gods, feeble refugees against the Carthaginian fury and impiety. He imputed all these evils to the treachery of the commanders of the army, who, instead of marching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated with their troops; to the criminal protraction and delay of the magistrates, corrupted by Carthaginian bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who regarded nothing but establishing their own power upon the ruin of their country's liberty. He represented Syracuse as composed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, usurping all the dignities and wealth of the state; the other, obscure, despised, and trod under foot, bearing the yoke of a shameful servitude, and rather slaves than citizens. He concluded with saying, that the only remedy for so many evils was to elect persons from among the people, devoted to their interests, and who, not being capable of rendering themselves formidable by their riches and authority, would be solely employed for the public good, and apply themselves in earnest to the re-establishment of the liberty of Saracuse.

This discourse was listened to with infinite pleasure, as all speeches are which flatter the natural propensity of inferiors to complain of the government, and was followed with the universal applause of the people, who always give themselves up blindly to those who know how to deceive them under the specious pretext of serving their interest. All the magistrates were deposed upon the spot, and others, at the head of whom was Dionysius, were substituted in their stead.

This was only the first step to the tyranny, at which he did not stop. The success of his undertaking inspired him with new courage and confidence. He had also in view the displacing of the generals of the army, and to have their power transferred to himself. The design was bold and dangerous, and he applied himself to it with address. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries against them at a distance; calumniating them by his emissaries to the people, and sparing no pains to render them suspected. He caused it to be whispered among the populace, that those commanders held secret intelligence with the enemy; that disguised couriers were frequently seen passing and re-passing; and that it was not to be doubted but some conspiracy was on foot. He affected on his side not to see those leaders, nor

* An amphora contained about seven gallons; consequently, one hundred contained seven hundred gallons, or eleven hogsheads seven gallons.

to open himself to them at all upon the affairs of the public. He communicated none of his designs to them; as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having any intercourse or correspondence with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not at a loss to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they silent upon the occasion: but the common people, prejudiced in his favour, incessantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the sole protector and asserter of their rights and liberties.

Another scheme, which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and greatly promoted his designs. There was a great number of banished persons dispersed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuse had expelled from the city at different times, and upon different pretences. He knew what an addition of strength so numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to a benefactor, and resentment against those who had occasioned their banishment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of his enemies, rendered most proper for the execution of his designs, and attached firmly to his person and interest. He endeavored therefore to obtain their recall. It was given out, that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians; and the people were in great trouble on account of the expense to which the new levies would amount. Dionysius took advantage of this favourable conjuncture, and the disposition of the public. He represented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expense from Italy and Peloponnesus, while they might supply themselves with excellent soldiers, without being at any charge at all: that there were numbers of Syracusans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles; that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chose to wander about Sicily without support or settlement, rather than take part with the armies of the enemy, notwithstanding the advantageous offers to induce them to do so. This discourse of Dionysius had all the effect upon the people he could have wished. His colleagues, who had perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the people against them, and even augment the reputation of Dionysius, to whom it would leave the honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed and they accordingly all came to Syracuse without losing time.

A deputation from Gela, a city dependent on Syracuse, arrived about the same time, to demand that the garrison should be reinforced. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse. He found the city in great commotion, and divided into two factions; one composed of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the assembly to die, and to have their estates confiscated for the use of the public. This confiscation was applied to pay off the arrears, which had long been due to the former garrisons, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionysius promised the troops which he brought with him to Syracuse, to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching so many new creatures to himself. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the highest marks of honour, and sent deputies to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending Dionysius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his measures, he returned with his troops to Syracuse, after having promised the inhabitants of Gela, who used all means in their power to keep him among them, that he would soon return with more considerable aid.

He arrived at Syracuse just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him, inquiring with earnestness what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city nourished far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her bosom; that while Carthage was making extraordinary preparations for the invasion of Syracuse, those who were in command, instead of rousing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and setting every thing at work against the approach of so potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amusements and idle shows, and suffered the troops to want necessaries; converting their pay to their private uses in a fraudulent manner, destructive to the public affairs; that he had always sufficiently comprehended the cause of such conduct; that, however, it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, his complaints were founded, that Imilcar, the general of the Carthaginians, had sent an offi-

cer to him, under the pretext of treating about the ransom of prisoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too strict in examining into the conduct of his colleagues; and that if he would not enter into the measures of Carthage, he at least would not oppose them; that for his part, he came to resign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might leave no room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence with traitors who sold the commonwealth.

This discourse being rumoured among the troops, and about the city, occasioned great disquietude and alarm. The next day the assembly was summoned, and Dionysius renewed his complaints against the generals, which were received with universal applause. Some of the assembly cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him generalissimo, with unlimited power: and that it would be too late for so salutary a recourse, when the enemy was at the gates of Syracuse; that the importance of the war which threatened them, required such a leader; that it was in the same manner that Gelon was formerly elected generalissimo, and defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which consisted of three hundred thousand men; that as for the accusation alleged against the traitors, it might be deferred to another day; but that the present affair would admit no delay. Nor was it in fact deferred; for the people, who, when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion without examining any thing, immediately elected Dionysius generalissimo with unlimited power. In the same assembly he caused it to be decreed, that the soldiers' pay should be doubled; insinuating that the state would be amply reimbursed by the conquests consequent to that advance. This being done, and the assembly dismissed, the Syracusans, upon cool reflection on what had passed, began to be in some consternation, as if it had not been the effect of their own choice; and comprehended, though too late, that from the desire of preserving their liberty, they had given themselves up to a master.

Dionysius rightly judged the importance of taking his measures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one step more to the tyranny, which was, to have a body of guards assigned him; and that he accomplished in a most artful and politic manner. He proposed, that all the citizens under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, should march with provisions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. The Syracusans were at that time in possession of the place, and had a garrison in it. It was full of fugitives and foreign soldiers, who were very fit persons for the execution of his designs. He justly suspected, that the greatest part of the Syracusans would not follow him, He set out, however, and encamped in the night upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noise was heard throughout the camp. This tumult was raised by persons stationed for that purpose by Dionysius. He pretended that ambuscades had been laid with design to assassinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great number of fires to be lighted, and had drawn off such of the troops as he most confided in. At break of day the people assembled in a body, to whom, still expressing great apprehension, he explained the danger he had been in, and demanded permission to choose himself a guard of six hundred men for the security of his person. Pisistratus had set him the example long before, and had used the same stratagem when he made himself tyrant of Athens. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose a thousand men for his guard upon the spot, armed them completely, equipped them magnificently, and made them great promises for their encouragement. He also attached the foreign soldiers to his interest in a peculiar manner, by speaking to them with great freedom and affability. He made many removals and alterations in the troops, to secure the officers in his interest, and dismissed Dexippus to Sparta, in whom he could not confide. At the same time he ordered a great part of the garrison, which he had sent to Gela, to join him, and assembled from all parts, fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals; a train worthy of a tyrant.

With this escort he returned to Syracuse, which trembled at his approach. The people were no longer in a condition to oppose his undertakings, or to dispute his authority. The city was full of foreign soldiers, and saw itself upon the point of being attacked by the Carthaginians. To strengthen himself the more in tyranny, he espoused the daughter of Hermocrates, the most powerful citizen of Syracuse, and who contributed the most to the defeat of the Athenians. He also gave his sister in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Hermocrates. He afterwards summoned an assembly, in which he rid himself of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the

most active in opposing his usurpation. In this manner Dionysius, from a simple notary, and a citizen of the lowest class, made himself absolute lord and tyrant of the greatest and most opulent city of Sicily.

SECTION II.—COMMOTIONS IN SICILY AND AT SYRACUSE AGAINST DIONYSIUS—HE FINDS MEANS TO DISPEL THEM.

DIONYSIUS experienced a violent opposition in the beginning of his usurpation. The Carthaginians having besieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and after some unsuccessful endeavours against the enemy, threw himself into the place. He acted there with little vigour; and the only service he did the inhabitants was, to cover their flight in person, when they abandoned their city, in the night. He was suspected of acting in concert with the enemy, especially as they did not pursue him, and he lost very few of his foreign soldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela were butchered. Those of Camarina, to avoid the same fate, followed their example, and withdrew with all the effects they could carry away. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, excited compassion in the troops of Dionysius, and incensed them against the tyrant. Those he had raised in Italy withdrew to their own country; but the Syracusan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march, from his being surrounded with his foreigners, pushed forward, and having entered Syracuse, went directly to his palace, which they plundered, treating his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill usage, that she died of it soon after. Dionysius, who had foreseen their design, pursued them closely, with only one hundred horse and four hundred foot; and having marched almost twenty leagues with the utmost expedition, he arrived at midnight at one of the gates, which he found shut against him. He set fire to it, and opened himself a passage in that manner. The richest of the citizens ran thither to dispute his entrance, but were surrounded by the soldiers, and almost all of them killed. Dionysius having entered the city, put all to the sword that came in his way, plundered the houses of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced the rest to leave Syracuse. The next morning, the whole body of his troops arrived.* The unhappy fugitives of Gela and Camarina, terrified by the conduct of the tyrant, retired to the Leontines. Imilcar having sent a herald to Syracuse, a treaty was concluded, as mentioned in the history of the Carthaginians.† By one of the articles it was stipulated, that Syracuse should continue under the government of Dionysius; which confirmed all the suspicions which had been conceived of him. The death of Darius Nothus happened in the same year.‡

It was then he sacrificed every thing that gave umbrage to his repose and security. He knew, that after having deprived the Syracusans of all that was dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their extreme abhorrence; and the fear of the miseries he had to expect in consequence, increased in the usurper in proportion to their hatred of him. He looked upon all his new subjects as so many enemies, and believed that he could only avoid the dangers which surrounded him on all sides, and threatened him in all places, by cutting off one part of the people to intimidate the other. He did not consider, that in adding the cruelty of executions to the oppression of the public, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loss of their liberty, to preserve at least their lives by attempting to deprive him of his.

Dionysius, who foresaw that the Syracusans would not fail to take advantage of the repose in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them to attempt the re-establishment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortified the part of the city called the Isle, which was before very strong, from the nature of its situation, and might be defended by a moderate garrison. He surrounded it with good walls, flanked at due distances with high towers, and separated in that manner from the rest of the city. To these works he added a strong citadel, to serve him for a retreat and refuge in case of accident, and caused a great number of shops and piazzas to be erected, capable of containing a considerable multitude of inhabitants.§

He selected the best of the lands which he bestowed upon his creatures, and the officers appointed by him, and distributed the rest in equal proportion among the citi-

* Diad. l. xiii. p. 227, 231.

† A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

† Vol. I.

§ Diad. p. 238, 241.

zens and strangers, including the slaves, who had been made free among the first. He divided the houses in the same manner, reserving those in the Isle for such of the citizens as he could most confide in, and for his strangers.

After having taken these precautions for his security, he began to think of subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the siege of Herbesse. The Syracusans in his army, finding themselves with arms in their hands thought it their duty to use them for the re-establishment of their liberty. On one occasion when they had assembled to concert measures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them on that account, was killed upon the spot, and his death served as a signal for their revolt. They sent immediately to Ætna for the horse, who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Dionysius, alarmed at this motion, raised the siege, and marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience. The revolters pursued him closely, and having seized upon the suburb Epipolis, cut off all communication with the country. They received aid from their allies both by sea and land, and setting a price upon the tyrant's head, promised the freedom of their city to such of the strangers as should abandon him. A great number came over to them, whom they treated with the utmost favour and humanity. They advanced with their machines and battered the walls of the Isle vigorously, without giving Dionysius the least respite.

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut up on the side of the country, assembled his friends to consult with them, rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his career than upon the means of saving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revolters, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents, which was granted, together with five ships to transport his people and effects.

He had however, sent despatches secretly to the Campanians, who garrisoned the places in the possession of the Carthaginians, with offers of considerable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracusans, who after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had disarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians, to the number of twelve hundred horse, infinitely surprised and alarmed the city. After having beat such as disputed their passage, they opened themselves a way to Dionysius. At the same time, three hundred soldiers more arrived to his assistance: the face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection changed parties. Dionysius, in a sally, drove them vigorously as far as that part of the city Neapolis. The slaughter was not very considerable, because he had given orders to spare those who fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to Ætna to understand, that they might return with entire security. Many came to Syracuse; but others did not think it advisable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their satisfaction, and dismissed.

The Lacedæmonians at this time took such measures in regard to Syracuse, as were most unworthy of the Spartan name. They had lately subverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publicly against popular government, in all the cities dependent on them. They deputed one of their citizens to Syracuse, to express in appearance the part they took in the misfortunes of that city, and to offer their aid; but in reality he was sent to confirm Dionysius in supporting himself in the tyranny; expecting, that from the increase of his power he would prove of great advantage and support to their own.

Dionysius saw, from what had so lately happened at Syracuse, what he was to expect from the people for the future. While the inhabitants were employed abroad in the harvest, he entered their houses, and seized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards enclosed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out many ships, armed great numbers of strangers, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the disaffection of the Syracusans.

After having made this provision for his safety at home, he prepared to extend his conquests abroad; from whence he did not only propose the increase of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his subjects from the sense of their lost liberty, by turning their attention upon their ancient and always abhorred

enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions, and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He conceived this to be also the means of acquiring the affection of his troops: and that the esteem of the people would be a consequence of the grandeur and success of his enterprises.

Dionysius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by force or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, *Ætna*, and Enna, towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, which for that reason were very convenient to his purposes. Some of them he treated with favour and clemency, to engage the esteem and confidence of the people: others he plundered, to strike terror into the country. The inhabitants of Leontium were transplanted to Syracuse.

These conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, which saw themselves threatened with the same misfortune. Rhegium, situated upon the opposite coast of the strait which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it, and entered into an alliance with the Syracusan exiles, who were very numerous, and with the Messenians on the Sicilian side of the strait, who were to aid them with a powerful supply. They had levied a considerable army, and were on the point of marching against the tyrant, when discord arose among the troops, and rendered the enterprise abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionysius and the two cities.

He had long revolved in his mind a great design, which was to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily, a great obstacle to his own, as his discontented subjects never failed of refuge in the towns dependent upon that nation. The accident of the plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminished its strength, seemed to prevent a favourable opportunity for the execution of his design. But as a man of ability, he knew, that to ensure success, the greatness of the preparations should correspond with the magnitude of the enterprise, and he applied himself to them in a manner which shows the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore used uncommon pains and application for that purpose; conscious that the war, into which he was entering with one of the most powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and be attended with various success.

His first care was to bring to Syracuse, as well from the conquered cities in Sicily, as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artisans and workmen of all kinds, whom he induced to come thither by the offer of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging the most excellent persons in every profession. He caused an infinite number of every kind of arms to be made; swords, javelins, lances, partisans, helmets, cuirasses, and bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built also a great number of galleys, that had from three to five bunches of oars and were of an entirely new construction, with an adequate number of barks and other vessels for the transportation of troops and provisions.

The whole city seemed but one workshop, and continually resounded with the noise of the several artisans. Not only the porches, piazzas, porticoes, places of exercise, and public places, but private houses of any extent, were full of workmen. Dionysius had distributed them with admirable order. Each class of artists, separated by streets and districts, had its overseers and inspectors, who, by their presence and direction, promoted and completed the works. Dionysius himself was perpetually among the workmen, encouraging them with praise and rewarding their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according as they distinguished themselves by their ingenuity and application. He would even make some of them dine at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindness of a friend. It is justly said, that honour nourishes arts and sciences, and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory.* The prince who knows how to put in motion, under proper regulation, the two great springs and strongest incentives of the human soul, interest and glory, will soon make all arts and sciences flourish in his kingdom, and fill it at small expense with persons who excel in every profession. This was now the case at Syracuse; where a single person of great ability in the art of governing, excited such ardour and emulation among the artificers, as is not easy to imagine or describe.

Dionysius applied himself more particularly to the navy. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building galleys with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious of acquiring for Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that art to perfection, which he effected. The timber for building his galleys was brought,

* *Hi mos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriæ.*—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. i. n. 4.

part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and from thence shipped to Syracuse; and part from mount *Ætna*, which at that time produced abundance of pine and fir trees. In a short time a fleet of two hundred galleys was seen in a manner to rise out of the sea; and a hundred others formerly built were refitted by his order. He caused also one hundred and sixty sheds to be erected within the great port, each of them capable of containing two galleys, and one hundred and fifty more to be repaired.

The sight of such a fleet, built in so short a time, and fitted out with so much magnificence, would have given reason to believe that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accomplishing so great a work. On the other side, the view of such an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think, that *Dionysius* had solely employed himself in providing them, and had exhausted his treasures in the expense. They consisted of one hundred and forty thousand shields, and as many helmets and swords; and upwards of fourteen thousand cuirasses, finished with all the art and elegance imaginable. These were intended for the horse, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign troops, who had the guard of his person. Darts, arrows, and lances, were innumerable; and engines and machines of war, in proportion to the rest of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and strangers. *Dionysius* did not think of raising troops till all his preparations were complete. Syracuse and the cities dependent on it supplied him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, especially from Sparta. The considerable pay he offered, brought soldiers in crowds from all parts to enlist in his service.

He omitted none of the precautions necessary to the success of his enterprise, the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that every thing depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for their general, and applied himself particularly to the gaining of the hearts, not of his own subjects only, but of all the inhabitants of Sicily, and succeeded in it wonderfully. He had entirely changed his behaviour for some time. Kindness, courtesy, clemency, a disposition to do good, and an insinuating complacency towards all, had taken place of that haughty and imperious air, and cruel disposition, which had rendered him so odious. He was so entirely altered, that he did not seem to be the same man.

While he was hastening his preparations for the war, and striving to attain the affections of his subjects, he meditated an alliance with the two powerful cities, *Rhegium* and *Messina*, which were capable of disconcerting his great designs by a formidable diversion. The league formed by those cities some time before, though without any effect, gave him some uneasiness. He therefore thought it necessary to make sure of the amity of both. He presented the inhabitants of *Messina* with a considerable quantity of land, which was situated in their neighbourhood, and lay very commodiously for them. To give the people of *Rhegium* an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambassadors to desire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had lost his first wife in the popular commotion, as before related.

Dionysius, sensible that nothing establishes a throne more effectually than the prospect of a successor who may enter into the same designs, have the same interests, pursue the same plan, and observe the same maxims of government, took the opportunity of the present tranquillity of his affairs, to contract a double marriage, in order to have a successor, to whom he might transfer the sovereignty, which had cost him so much pains and dangers to acquire.

The people of *Rhegium*, to whom *Dionysius* had first applied, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, came to a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their final answer returned, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The raillery went home and cut deep. We shall see in the sequel how dear that city paid for their jest.

The *Locrians*, to whom *Dionysius* sent the same ambassadors, did not show themselves so difficult and delicate, but sent him *Doris* for a wife, who was the daughter of one of their most illustrious citizens. He caused her to be brought from *Locris* in a galley with five benches of oars, of extraordinary magnificence, and glittering on all sides with gold and silver. He married, at the same time, *Aristomache*, daughter of *Hinparinus*, the most considerable and powerful of the *Syracusan* citizens, and sister of *Dion*, of whom much will be said hereafter. She was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was then a singular mark of distinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the same day with universal rejoicings through-

out the whole city, and was attended with feasts and presents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and universal custom of the western nations, from all antiquity, that he espoused two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing else, the liberty assumed by tyrants of setting themselves above all laws,

Dionysius seemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preference to either, to remove all cause of jealousy and discord. The people of Syracuse reported, that he preferred his own country-woman to the stranger; but the latter had the good fortune to bring her husband the first son, which supported him not a little against the cabals and intrigues of the Syracusans. Aristomache was a long time without any symptoms of child-bearing; though Dionysius desired so earnestly to have issue by her, that he put the mother of his Locrian wife to death, accusing her of hindering Aristomache from conceiving by witchcraft.

Aristomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, in great estimation with Dionysius. He was at first obliged for his credit to his sister's favour; but after distinguishing his great capacity in many instances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Among other marks of confidence, which Dionysius bestowed on him, he ordered his treasurers to supply him, without further orders, with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him the same day they paid it.

Dion had naturally a great and most noble soul. A happy accident had conducted to inspire and confirm in him the most elevated sentiments. It was a kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch says, a peculiar providence, which at a distance laid the foundations of the Syracusan liberty, that brought Plato, the most celebrated of philosophers, to Syracuse. Dion became his friend and disciple, and made great improvements from his lessons: for though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the supreme good was made to consist in pleasure and magnificence, he had no sooner heard the precepts of his new master, and imbibed a taste of the philosophy that inculcates virtue, than his soul was inflamed with the love of it. Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him, that he had never met with a young man, upon whom his discourses made so great an impression, or who had conceived his principles with so much ardour and vivacity.

As Dion was young and unexperienced, observing the facility with which Plato had changed his taste and inclinations, he imagined, with great simplicity, that the same reasons would have the same effects upon the mind of Dionysius; and from that opinion could not rest till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear and converse with him. Dionysius consented: but the lust of tyrannic power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be eradicated from it. It was like an indelible dye, that had penetrated his inmost soul, from whence it was impossible ever to efface it.*

Though the stay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionysius, he persevered in giving Dion the same instances of his esteem and confidence, and even to support, without taking offence, the freedom with which he spoke to him. Dionysius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuse, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the "laughing stock"† of Sicily, the whole court expressed great admiration, and took great pains in praising the quaintness and delicacy of the conceit, insipid and flat as it was, as puns and quibbles generally are. Dion took it in a serious sense, and was so bold as to represent to him, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whose wise and equitable conduct had been an excellent model of government, and given the Syracusans a favourable opinion of monarchical power. "You reign," added he, "and have been trusted, for Gelon's sake; but for your sake no man will ever be trusted after you." It was very extraordinary for a tyrant to suffer himself to be talked to in such a manner with impunity.‡

SECTION III.—DIONYSIUS DECLARES WAR AGAINST THE CARTHAGINIANS. VARIOUS SUCCESS OF IT.

DIONYSIUS seeing that his great preparations were complete, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publicly opened his design to the Syracusans, in order to

* Την βραχυν εκ ανειντα της τυραννιδος, εν πολλοις χρονοις δειστοποιων ησαν και δυσεκπτωτον. Δραμοικιος δευτερος ατι δει των χρηστον αυτιλαμβανουσιν λογον.—Plut. in Moral. p. 719.

† Ψιλος, signifies a laughing stock.

‡ Plut. p. 960.

interest them the more in the success of the enterprise, and told them that it was against the Carthaginians. He represented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and especially of those who inhabited Sicily; that the plague, which lately wasted Carthage, had presented a favourable opportunity, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in subjection to so cruel a power, waited only the signal to declare against it; that it would be much for the glory of Syracuse to reinstate in their liberty the Grecian cities which had so long groaned under the yoke of the barbarians; that in declaring war at present against the Carthaginians, they only preceded them in doing so for some time; since, as soon as they had retrieved their losses, they would not fail to attack Syracuse with all their forces.

The assembly were unanimously of the same opinion. The ancient and natural hatred of the barbarians; their anger against them for having given Syracuse a master; and the hope that with arms in their hands they might find some occasion of recovering their liberty, united them in their suffrages. The war was resolved on without any opposition, and began that very instant. There were as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who upon the faith of treaties, and under the peace, exercised traffic, and thought themselves in security. The populace, by authority of Dionysius, upon the breaking up of the assembly, ran to their houses and ships, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the same treatment throughout Sicily; to which murders and massacres were added, by way of reprisal for the many murders committed by the barbarians on those they conquered, and to show them what they had to expect, if they continued to make war with the same inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionysius sent a letter by a herald to Carthage, in which he signified that the Syracusans declared war against the Carthaginians, if they did not withdraw their garrisons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this letter at first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned an uncommon alarm, as the pestilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However, they were not dismayed, but prepared for a vigorous defence. They raised troops with the utmost diligence; and Imilcar set out immediately to put himself at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionysius on his side lost no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increased by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It amounted to eighty thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred galleys, and five hundred barks laden with provisions, and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, a fortified town under the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little island something more than a quarter of a league from the continent, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the besieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side.

Dionysius, having left the care of the siege to Leptinus, who commanded the fleet, went with his land forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians.—Terrified by the approach of so numerous an army, they all surrendered except five, which were Ancyra, Solos or Panormus, Palermo, Segesta, and Entalla, the last two of which places he besieged.

Imilcar, however, to make a diversion, detached ten galleys of his fleet, with orders to attack and surprise in the night all the vessels which remained in the port of Syracuse. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders without resistance, and after having sunk a great part of the vessels which he found there, retired well satisfied with the success of his enterprise.

Dionysius, after having wasted the enemy's country, returned, and sat down with his whole army before Motya; and having employed a great number of hands in making dams and moles, he repaired the neck of land, and brought his engines to work on that side. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the besiegers had passed the breach, and entered the city, the besieged persisted a great while in defending themselves with incredible valour; so that it was necessary to pursue and drive them from house to house. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all before them to the sword; regarding neither age, sex, nor condition, and sparing none except those who had taken refuge in the temples. The town was abandoned to the discretion of the soldiers; Dionysius being pleased with an occasion of attaching the troops to his service by the allurements and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raised an army of three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The fleet under Mago's command consisted four hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred vessels laden with provision and engines of war. Imilcar had given the captains of the fleet his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at sea. He had taken this precaution, that his designs might be kept secret, and to prevent spies from sending advices of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loss in their passage. Imilcar took Eryx by treachery, and soon after reduced Motya to surrender. Messina seemed to him a place of importance; because it might favour the landing of troops from Italy and Sicily, and interrupt the passage of those who should come from Peloponnesus. After a long and vigorous defence, it fell into his hands; and some time after he entirely demolished it.

Dionysius seeing his forces extremely inferior to the enemy, retired to Syracuse. Almost all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance, and out of fear, took this occasion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and gave the slaves their liberty, that they might serve on board the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and his fleet to one hundred and eighty galleys. With these forces he took the field, and removed about eighteen leagues from Syracuse. Imilcar advanced continually with his land army, followed by his fleet, which kept near the coast. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march upon the sea side, and was obliged to make a long circuit round mount *Ætna*; which by a new eruption had set the country about it on fire, and covered it with ashes. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming up at Catana. Dionysius, apprised of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, while separate from the land forces, and while his own, drawn up in battle upon the shore, might be of service to animate and support his fleet. The scheme was wisely concerted, but the success not answerable to it. Leptinus, his admiral, having advanced inconsiderately with thirty galleys, contrary to the opinion of Dionysius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces, at first sunk several of the enemy's ships, but upon being surrounded by a greater number, was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was eagerly pursued by the Carthaginians. Mago detached boats full of soldiers, with orders to kill all who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to shore. The land army, drawn up there, saw them perish miserably, without being able to give them any assistance. The loss on the side of the Sicilians was very great; more than one hundred galleys being either taken or sunk, and twenty thousand men perishing either in the battle or the pursuit.

The Sicilians, who were afraid to shut themselves up in Syracuse, where they could not fail of being besieged very soon, solicited Dionysius to lead them against Imilcar, whom so bold an enterprise might disconcert; besides which, they should find his troops fatigued with their long and hasty march. The proposal pleased him at first; but upon reflecting, that Mago, with the victorious fleet, might, notwithstanding, advance and take Syracuse, he thought it more advisable to return thither which caused him the loss of many of his troops, who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilcar, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some days to refresh his army, and refit his fleet, which had suffered exceedingly in a violent storm.

He then marched to Syracuse, and made his fleet enter the port in triumph. More than two hundred galleys, adorned with the spoils of their victory, made a noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they observed in the motion of their oars. They were followed by a great number of smaller barks; so that the port, although very large, was scarcely capable of containing them; the whole sea being in a manner covered with sails. At the same time, on the other side appeared the land army, consisting of three hundred thousand foot; and four thousand horse. Imilcar pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and the army encamped around, at somewhat more than half a league's distance from the city. It is easy to judge the consternation and alarm which such a prospect must have given the Syracusans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls to offer the city battle, and at the same time seized upon the two remaining ports* by a detachment of one hundred galleys. As he saw no motion on the side of the Syracusans, he retired contented, for that time, with the enemy's

* The little port, and that of Trogilius.

confessing their inequality. For thirty days together he laid waste the country, cutting down all the trees, and destroying all before him. He then made himself master of the suburb called Achradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpina. Foreseeing that the siege would be of long duration, he entrenched his camp, and enclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all the tombs, and among others that of Gelon and his wife Demarate, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts at some distance from each other; the first at Pemmyra; the second towards the middle of the port; the third near the temple of Jupiter, for the security of his magazines of corn and wine. He sent also a great number of small vessels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch provisions.*

At the same time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionysius had despatched before into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and brought with him a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Pharacides the Lacedæmonian. This reinforcement came in very good time, and gave the Syracusans new spirit. Upon seeing a bark laden with provisions for the enemy, they detached five galleys and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail, to which they advanced with their whole fleet; and in the battle carried the admiral's galley, damaged many others, took twenty-four, pursued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a second time, which the Carthaginians, discouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracusans, emboldened by so unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the galleys they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this success, which could only be ascribed to their valour, (for Dionysius was then absent with a small detachment of the fleet to procure provisions, attended by Leptinus,) they encouraged each other; and seeing they did not want arms, they reproached themselves with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the shameful yoke of servitude, and resuming their ancient liberty.

While they were in the midst of these discourses, dispersed in small parties, the tyrant arrived, and having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans upon their late victory, and promised in a short time to put an end to the war, and to deliver them from the enemy. He was about to dismiss the assembly, when Theodorus, one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak, and to declare boldly for liberty. "We are told," said he, "of restoring peace, terminating the war, and of being delivered from the enemy. What signifies such language from Dionysius? Can we have peace in the wretched state of slavery imposed upon us? Have we any enemy more to be dreaded than the enemy who subverts our liberty, or a war more cruel than that which he has made upon us for so many years? Let Imilcar conquer, while he contents himself with laying a tribute upon us, and leaves us the exercise of our laws! The tyrant that enslaves us, knows no other but his avarice, his cruelty, his ambition! The temples of the gods, robbed by his sacrilegious hands, our goods made a prey, and our lands abandoned to his instruments, our persons daily exposed to the most shameful and cruel treatment, the blood of so many citizens shed in the midst of us, and before our eyes: these are the fruits of his reign, and the peace which he obtains for us! Was it for the support of our liberties he built yon citadel, that he has enclosed it with such strong walls and high towers, and has called in for his guard that tribe of strangers and barbarians who insult us with impunity? How long, Syracusans! shall we suffer such indignities, more insupportable to the brave and generous than death itself? Bold and intrepid abroad against the enemy, shall we always tremble like cowards in the presence of a tyrant? Providence, which has again put arms into our hands, directs us in the use of them! Sparta, and the other cities in our alliance, who hold it their glory to be free and independent, would deem us unworthy of the Grecian name if we had any other sentiments. Let us show that we do not degenerate from our ancestors. If Dionysius consents to retire from among us, let us open him our gates, and let him take along with him whatever he pleases: but if he persists in tyranny, let him experience what effects the love of liberty has upon the brave and resolute.

After this speech, all the Syracusans, in suspense between hope and fear, looked earnestly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, rose up to speak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta

* Diod. p. 265—296.

would declare in favour of liberty; but he did quite the reverse; and told them, that his republic had sent him to the aid of the Syracusans and Dionysius, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or to subvert his authority. This answer confounded the Syracusans; and the tyrant's guard arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. Dionysius perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, used all his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people, and to attach the citizens to his interests; making presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and effecting upon all occasions to treat them with kindness and familiarity.

It must have been about this time that Polyxenus, brother-in-law to Dionysius, who had married his sister Thesta, having without doubt declared against him in this conspiracy, fled from Sicily for the preservation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionysius sent for his sister, and reproached her very bitterly for not apprising him of her husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expressing the least surprise or fear, "have I then appeared so bad a wife to you, and of so mean a soul, as to have abandoned my husband in his flight, and not to have desire to share in his dangers and misfortunes? No! I knew nothing of it, or I should have been much happier in being called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, in all places, than to be called in Syracuse, the sister of the tyrant." Dionysius could not but admire an answer so full of spirit and generosity; and the Syracusans in general were so charmed with her virtue, that after the tyranny was suppressed, the same honours, equipage, and train of a queen, which she had before enjoyed, were continued to her during her life; and after her death the whole people attended her body to the tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary appearance.*

On the side of the Carthaginians, affairs began suddenly to take a new face. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in not taking advantage of the consternation which the sight of a fleet and army, equally formidable had occasioned. The plague, which was looked upon as a punishment sent from heaven for the plundering of temples and demolishing of tombs, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time. I have described the extraordinary symptoms of it in the history of the Carthaginians. To add to that misfortune, the Syracusans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by sea and land. The surprise, terror, and even haste they were in, to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which side to send relief, all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, women, and children, ran in crowds to the walls, to be witnesses of that scene of horror, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for so signal a protection of their city. The slaughter within and without the camp, and on board the vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilcar, reduced to despair, offered Dionysius secretly three hundred talents for permission to retire in the night with the remains of his army and fleet. The tyrant, who was not displeased with leaving the Carthaginians some resource, to keep his subjects in continual awe, gave his consent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilcar set out with the Carthaginians, and only forty ships, leaving the rest of his troops behind. The Corinthians, discovering from the noise and motion of the galleys, that Imilcar was making his escape, sent to inform Dionysius of his flight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to pursue him: but as these orders were slowly executed, they followed the enemy themselves, and sunk several vessels of their rear-guard.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops; but before their arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retired to their several countries. Having first posted his troops in the passes, he advanced directly to the enemy's camp, though it was not quite day. The barbarians, who saw themselves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilcar and the Sicilians, lost courage and fled. Some of them were taken by the troops in the passes; others laid down their arms, and asked for quarter. Only the Iberians drew up, and sent a herald to capitulate with Dionysius, who incorporated them into his guards. The rest were all made prisoners.

* Plut, in Dion. p 656

Such was the fate of the Carthaginians, which shows, says the historian, Diodorus Siculus, that humiliation succeeds pride, and that those who are too much puffed up with power and success, are soon obliged to confess their weakness and vanity. These haughty victors, masters of almost all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuse as already their own, and who entered at first triumphant into the great port, insulting the citizens, were now reduced to fly shamefully under the covert of the night, dragging away with them the sad ruins and miserable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilcar, who had neither regarded the sacred refuge of temples, nor the inviolable sanctity of tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty thousand men unburied in the enemy's country, returned to perish miserably at Carthage, avenging upon himself by his death, the contempt which he had expressed for gods and men.

Dionysius, who was suspicious of the strangers in his service, removed ten thousand of them, and, under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodiously situated, and an advantageous settlement. He confided the guard of his person to other foreigners, and the slaves whom he had made free. He made several attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, especially against Rhegium.* The people of Italy, seeing themselves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a stop to his conquests. The success was nearly equal on both sides.

About this time, the Gauls, who some months before had burned Rome, sent deputies to Dionysius, who was at that time in Italy, to make an alliance with him. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.†

The Carthaginians having set on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Mago, made new efforts against Syracuse, but with no better success than the former. They terminated in an accommodation with Dionysius.

He again attacked Rhegium, and at first received no inconsiderable check. But having gained a great victory over the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than ten thousand prisoners, he dismissed them all without ransom, contrary to their expectation; with a view of dividing the Italians from the interests of Rhegium, and of dissolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his designs. Having by this action of favour and generosity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned against Rhegium. He was extremely incensed against that city on account of their refusing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the insolent answer with which that refusal was attended. The besieged, finding themselves incapable of resisting so numerous an army as that of Dionysius, and expecting no quarter if the city should be taken by assault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred talents, deliver up all their vessels, to the number of seventy, and put one hundred hostages into his hands; after which he raised the siege. It was not out of favour and clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their destruction sure, after having first reduced their power.‡

Accordingly, the next year, under the false pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he besieged them again with all his forces, first sending back their hostages. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on one side, and the fear of the greatest cruelties on the other; animated the troops. Those of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and destructive sallies. In one of them, Dionysius received a wound from which he recovered with great difficulty. The siege went on slowly, and had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the last extremities. A measure of wheat, of about six bushels, was sold for five minæ. After having consumed all their horses and beasts of carriage, they were obliged to support themselves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at last to feed upon the grass of the fields like beasts; a resource of which Dionysius soon deprived them, by making his horse eat up all the herbage around the city. Necessity at length reduced them to surrender at discretion; and Dionysius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Those who survived were rather skeletons than men. He took about six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse. Such as could pay one minæ he dismissed, and sold the rest for slaves.

*Diod. l. xiv. p. 304—310.

† Justin. l. xx. c. 5.

‡ A. M. 3015. Ant. J. C. 339.

Dionysius let the whole weight of his resentment and revenge fall upon Phyto. he began with ordering his son to be thrown into the sea. The next day he ordered the father to be fastened to the extremity of the highest of his engines, for a spectacle to the whole army, and in that condition he sent to tell him that his son had been thrown into the sea. "Then he is happier than me by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards caused him to be led through the whole city, to be scourged with rods, and to suffer a thousand other indignities, while a herald proclaimed "that the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner, for having inspired the people of Rhegium with rebellion." "Say rather," answered that generous defender of his country's liberty, "that a faithful citizen is so used, for having refused to sacrifice his country to a tyrant." Such an object and such a discourse drew tears from all eyes, and even from the soldiers of Dionysius. He was afraid that his prisoner would be taken from him before he had satiated his revenge, and ordered him to be thrown into the sea directly.

SECTION IV.—VIOLENT PASSION OF DIONYSIUS FOR POETRY. HIS DEATH AND BAD QUALITIES.

At an interval which the success against Rhegium had left, Dionysius the tyrant, who was fond of all kinds of glory, and prided himself upon the excellence of his genius, sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry.*

The circumstance of which I am about to treat, and which regards the taste, or rather passion of Dionysius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteristics, and having besides a mixture of good and bad in itself, makes it requisite, for a right understanding of it, to distinguish wherein this taste of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I shall say much upon the tyrant's general character, with whose vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented; the veracity of history requiring, that justice should be done even to the most wicked, when they are not so in every respect. We have seen several things in his character that certainly deserve praise; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour; the mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young Dion; the admiration he expressed of the bold and generous answer of his sister Thesta upon account of her husband's flight; his gracious and insinuating deportment upon several other occasions to the Syracusans; the familiarity of his discourse with the meanest citizens, and even workmen; the equality he observed between his two wives, and his kindness and respect for them; all which imply that Dionysius had more equity, moderation, affability, and generosity, than is commonly ascribed to him. He is not such a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Phæræ, Caligula, Nero, or Caracalla.

But, to return to the taste of Dionysius for poetry. In his intervals of leisure, he indulged in the conversation of persons of wit, and in the study of arts and sciences. He was particularly fond of versifying, and employed himself in the composition of poems, especially of tragedies. Thus far this passion of his may be excused, having something undoubtedly laudable in it; I mean in the taste for polite learning, the esteem he expressed for learned men, his inclination to do them kindnesses, and the application of his leisure hours. Was it not better to employ them in the exercise of his wit, and the cultivation of science, than in feasting, dancing, theatrical amusements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleasures still more pernicious; as Dionysius the younger wisely remarked when at Corinth. Philip of Macedon being at table with him, spoke of the odes and tragedies which his father had left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and seemed to be under some difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leisure for such compositions; Dionysius smartly replied, "The difficulty is very great indeed! Why, he composed them at those hours which you and I, and many others, as we have reason to believe, pass in drinking and other diversions."†

Julius Cæsar, and the emperor Augustus, applied themselves to poetry, and composed tragedies. Lucullus intended to have written the memoirs of his military actions in verse. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lelius and Scipio, both great captains, especially the latter; and that report was so far from lessening their reputation at Rome, that it added to the general esteem for them.‡

* Dioid. l. xiv. p. 318.

† Plut. in Timol. p. 243. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

‡ Suet. in Cæs. c. lvi, in August. e. lxxxv.

These relaxations of mind therefore were not censurable in their own nature; this taste for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds; but Dionysius was ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a superior or competitor in any thing. From being in the sole possession of supreme authority, he had accustomed himself to imagine his wit of the same rank with his power; in a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate estimation of his own merit, flowed in some measure from the overbearing turn of mind which empire and command had given him. The continual applauses of a court, and the flatteries of those who knew how to recommend themselves by his darling foible, were another source of this vain conceit. What is there, indeed, that a great man, a minister, or a prince, who is continually receiving such incense, will not think himself capable of? It is well known that Cardinal Richelieu, in the midst of the greatest affairs, not only composed dramatic poems, but prided himself on his excellency that way, and what is more, his jealousy in that point rose so high as to use his authority by way of criticism upon the compositions of those, to whom the public, a just and incorruptible judge in the question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things, in which, though estimable in themselves, and honourable in private persons, it does not become a prince to desire to excel. I have mentioned elsewhere Philip of Macedon's expression to his son, upon his having shown too much skill in music at a public entertainment: "Are you not ashamed," said he, "to sing so well?" It was acting inconsistently with the dignity of his character. If Cæsar and Augustus, when they wrote tragedies, had desired to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been ridiculous, but a reproach to them. And the reason is, because a prince, being obliged by an essential and indispensable duty to apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government, and having a multiplicity of various business always recurring to him, can make no other use of the sciences than to divert him, at such short intervals as will not admit any great progress in them, nor a hope of excelling those who employ themselves in no other study. Hence, when the public sees a prince affect the first rank in this kind of merit, it may justly conclude, that he neglects his more important duties, and he owes to his people's happiness, to give himself up to an employment which wastes his time and application of mind ineffectually.

We must however do Dionysius the justice to own, that he never was reproachable for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him less active and diligent on any important occasion.

I have already said, that this prince in an interval of peace, had sent his brother Theorides to Olympia, to dispute the prize of poetry and the chariot race in his name. When he arrived in the assembly, the beauty as well as number of his chariots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and silver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. The ear was no less charmed when the poems of Dionysius were read. He had chosen expressly for the occasion, readers, called *εραψωδοι*, with sonorous, musical voices, who might be heard for and distinctly, and who knew how to give a just emphasis and measure to the verses which they repeated. At first this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience were deceived by the art and sweetness of the pronunciation. But that was soon at an end, and the mind not long amused by the ears. The verses then appeared in all their ridicule. The audience were ashamed of having applauded them; and their praise was turned into laughter, scorn, and insult. To express their contempt and indignation, they tore the rich pavilion of Dionysius in pieces. Lycias, the celebrated orator, who had come to the Olympic games to dispute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried several times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece, the friend and assertor of liberty, to admit to share in the celebration of the sacred games, an impious tyrant who had no other thoughts than of subjecting all Greece to his power. Dionysius was not then affronted in that manner, but the event proved almost equally disgraceful to him. His chariots having entered the lists, were all of them carried out of the course by a headlong impetuosity, or dashed in pieces against one another. And to complete the misfortune, the galley, which carried the persons whom Dionysius had sent to the games, met with a violent storm, and did not return to Syracuse without great difficulty. When the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported through-

out the city, that it was his vile poems, which had occasioned so many miscarriages to the readers, racers, and even the ship itself. This bad success did not at all discourage Dionysius, nor make him abate any thing in his high opinion of his poetic talent. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to insinuate, that such injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that sooner or later the invidious themselves would be constrained by demonstration to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.*

The extravagance of Dionysius in that respect was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warrior, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To attempt to undecieve him in an opinion so favourable to himself, had been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who eat at his table in great numbers, seemed to be in an ecstasy of admiration, whenever he read them his poems. Never, according to them, was there any thing to be compared with them; all was great, all noble in his poetry; all was majestic, or to speak more properly, all divine.†

Philoxenus was the only one among them, who did not run with the stream into excessive praise and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in dithyrambic poetry. There is a story told of him, which Fontaine has applied admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small fish set before him, and a large one before the king, he laid his ear close to the little fish. He was asked the meaning of that pleasantry: "I was inquiring," said he, "about some affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus; but this young native of the floods can give me no information; yours is elder, and without doubt knows something of the matter."

Dionysius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having pressed him to give his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real sentiments. Dionysius, who was not accustomed to such language, was extremely offended; and ascribing his boldness to envy, gave orders to carry him to the mines, the common jail being so called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account, and solicited for the generous prisoner, whose release they obtained. He was enlarged the next day, and restored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionysius for the same guests, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reason more than usually gay and cheerful; after they had plentifully regaled a great while,‡ the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into conversation, which were the most frequent subject of it. He chose some passages, which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and conceived to be masterpieces, as was very discernible from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed while they were read. But his delight could not be perfect without the approbation of Philoxenus, upon which he set the greater value, as it was not his custom to be so profuse of it as the rest. What had passed the evening before was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his thoughts of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer; but turning towards the guards, who always stood round the table, he said in a serious, though humorous tone, without any emotion, "Carry me back to the mines." The prince took all the force and spirit of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offended. The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him excessively angry. He only laughed at it, but did not make it a cause of quarrel with the poet.

He did not manifest the same temper upon a gross jest by Antiphon, which was indeed of a different kind, and seemed to argue a violent and bloody intention. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brass? After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon said, "that was the best of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were made.‡ This witty expression, if it may be called so, cost him his life.§

The friends of Philoxenus, apprehending that his too great liberty might be also attended with fatal consequences, represented to him in the most serious manner, that those who live with princes must speak their language; that they hate to hear any thing not agreeable to themselves; that whoever does not know how to dissemble, is

* Diod. l. xiv. p. 818.

† Diod. l. xv. p. 331.

‡ The deliverers of Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides

§ Plut. Meral. p. 78 et 883.

not qualified for a court; that the favours and liberalities which Dionysius continually bestowed upon them, well deserved the return of complaisance; that, in a word, with his blunt freedom, and plain truth, he was in danger of losing not onle his fortune, but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would take their good advice, and for the future give such a turn to his answers, as should satisfy Dionysius without injuring truth.

Accordingly, some time after, Dionysius having read a piece of his composing upon a very mournful subject, wherein he wished to move compassion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, addressed himself again to Philoxenus, and asked him his opinion of it. Philoxenus answered him by one word, οἰκτερον, which in the Greek language has two different significations. In one of them it implies mournful moving things, such as inspire sentiments of pity and compassion; in the other, it expresses something very mean, defective, pitiful, and miserable. Dionysius, who was fond of his verses, and believed that every body must have the same good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable construction, and was extremely satisfied with Philoxenus. The rest of the company were not mistaken, but understood it in the right sense though without explaining themselves.

Nothing could cure his folly for versification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus,* that having sent his poems a second time to Olympia, they were treated with the same ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an excess of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned soon after into a kind of madness and frenzy. He complained that envy and jealousy, the certain enemies of true merit, were always at war with him, and that all the world conspired to the ruin of his reputation. He accused his best friends with the same design; some of them he put to death, and others he banished; among whom were Leptinus his brother and Philistus, who had done him such great services, and to whom he was obliged for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled some time after, and reinstated in all their fortunes and his favour; particularly Leptinus, who married the daughter of Dionysius.

To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, it was necessary to find some employment, with which his wars and buildings supplied him. He had formed a design of establishing powerful colonies in the part of Italy situated upon the Adriatic sea, opposite to Epirus; in order that his fleet might not want a secure retreat, when he should employ his forces on that side; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and restored Alcetes king of the Molossians to his throne. His principal design was to attack Epirus; and to make himself master of the immense treasures which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphos. Before he could set this project on foot, which required great preparations, he seemed to make an essay of his genius for it, by another of the same kind, though of much more easy execution. Having made a sudden irruption into Tuscany, under the pretence of pursuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the suburbs of Agyllum, a city of that country, and carried away a sum exceeding one thousand five hundred talents. He had occasion for money to support his great expense at Syracuse, as well in fortifying the port, and to make it capable of receiving two hundred galleys, as to enclose the whole city with good walls, erect magnificent temples, and build a place of exercise upon the banks of the river Anapus.†

At the same time he formed the design of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily. A first victory which he gained put him almost in a condition to accomplish his project; but the loss of a second battle, in which his brother Leptinus was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up several towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great sums of money to reimburse their expenses in the war. An attempt which he made upon them some years after, in taking advantage of the desolation occasioned by the plague at Carthage, was equally unsuccessful.‡

Another victory of a very different kind, though not less desirable to him, made him amends, or at least comforted him for the ill-success of his arms. He had caused a tragedy of his to be represented at Athens for the prize in the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory with the Athenians, who were the best judges of this kind of literature, seems to argue that the poetry of Dionysius was not so mean and pitiful, and that it is very possible, the aversion of the Greeks

* Page 332.

† Diod. l. xv. p. 336, 337.

‡ See the history of the Carthaginians.

for every thing which came from a tyrant, had a great share in the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the Olympic games. However that may be, Dionysius received the news with inexpressible transports of joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, the temples being scarcely capable of containing the concourse of the people. Nothing was seen throughout the city, but feasting and rejoicing; and Dionysius regaled all his friends with the most extraordinary magnificence. Satisfied to a degree that cannot be described, he believed himself at the summit of glory, and did the honours of his table with a gayety and ease, and at the same time with a grace and dignity, that charmed all the world. He invited his guests to eat and drink more by his example than expressions, and carried the civilities of that kind to such an excess that at the close of the banquet he was seized with violent pains, occasioned by an indigestion, of which it was not difficult to foresee the consequences.*

Dionysius had three children by his wife Doris, and four by Aristomache two of which were daughters, the one named Sophrosyne, the other Arete Sophrosyne was married to his eldest son, Dionysius the younger, whom he had by his Locrian wife, and Arete espoused her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying soon, Dion married his widow Arete, who was his own niece.†

As the distemper of Dionysius left no hopes for his life, Dion took upon him to discourse to him upon his children by Aristomache, who were at the same time his brothers-in-law and nephews, and to insinuate to him, that it was just to prefer the issue of his Syracusan wife to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous of making their court to young Dionysius, the Locrian's son, for whom the throne was intended, did not give him time to alter his purpose: for Dionysius having demanded a medicine that would make him sleep, they gave him so strong a dose, as quite stupified his senses, and laid him in a sleep that continued for the rest of his life. He had reigned thirty-eight years.

He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occasion for them all in raising himself as he did from a mean condition to so high a rank. After having held the sovereignty thirty-eight years, he transmitted it peaceably to a successor of his own issue and election; and had established his power upon such solid foundations, that his son, notwithstanding the slenderness of his capacity for governing, retained it twelve years after his death. All which could not have been effected without a great fund of merit as to his capacity. But what qualities could cover the vices which rendered him the object of his subjects' abhorrence? His ambition knew neither law nor limitation; his avarice spared nothing, not even the most sacred places; his cruelty had often no regard to the affinity of blood; and his open and professed impiety only acknowledged the Divinity to insult him.

In his return to Syracuse with a very favourable wind, from plundering the temple of Proserpine at Locris, "See," said he to his friends with a smile of contempt, "how the immortal gods favour the navigation of the sacrilegious!"

Having occasion for money to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, he plundered the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of solid gold, which ornamented Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the spoils of the Carthaginians. He even jested upon that occasion, saying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter; and at the same time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders; adding, that such a habit would be commodious in all seasons.‡

At another time he ordered the golden beard of Æsculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; assigning as a reason, that it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard, when the father had none.§

He caused all the tables of silver to be taken out of the temples; and as there was generally inscribed upon them, according to the custom of the Greeks, "TO THE GOOD GODS;" he would, he said, take the benefit of their GOODNESS.

As for less prizes, such as cups, and crowns of gold, which the statues held in their hands, he carried them off without any ceremony; saying, it was not taking, but receiving them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuse them, when they held out their hands themselves to present them to you. These spoils were carried by his order to the market, and sold at public sale; and when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be

*Diod. l. xv. p. 384, 385.

†Plut. in Dion. p. 960.

‡Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. xv. n. 83, 84.

§Æsculapius was the son of Apollo, who was represented without a beard.

made, that whoever had in their custody any thing taken out of sacred places, should restore them entire within a limited time to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the gods, injustice to man.

The amazing precautions which Dionysius thought necessary to the security of his life, show to what anxiety and apprehension he was abandoned. He wore under his robe a cuirass of brass. He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower; and thought proper to make himself invulnerable by being inaccessible. Not daring to confide in any of his friends or relations, his guard was composed of slaves and strangers. He went abroad as little as possible; fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of imprisonment.* These extraordinary precautions were used without doubt only at certain intervals of his reign, when frequent conspiracies against him had rendered him more timid and suspicious than usual; for at other times we have seen that he conversed freely enough with the people, and was accessible even to familiarity. In those dark days of distrust and fear, he fancied that he saw all mankind in arms against him. A word which escaped his barber, who boasted, by way of jest, "that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week," cost him his life.† From thenceforth, in order not to abandon his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, perform that despicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the scissors and razors from them, and taught them to singe off his beard with nut-shells. He was at last reduced to do himself that office, not daring, it seems, to trust even his own daughters any longer.‡ He never went into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was surrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a small draw-bridge over it for the entrance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might sleep in security. Neither his brother, nor even his sons, could be admitted into his chamber without first changing their clothes, and being visited by the guards.§ Is passing one's days in such a continual circle of distrust and terror, to live, to reign?

In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and surrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of nearly forty years, notwithstanding all his presents and profusion, he never was capable of making a single friend. He passed his life with none but trembling slaves and sordid flatterers, and never tasted the joy of loving, or of being beloved, nor the charms of social truth and reciprocal confidence. This he owned himself upon an occasion not unworthy of repetition.

Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually sworn to observe with inviolable fidelity, which was put to a severe trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned for permission to make a journey into his own country, to settle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time, the other generously offering to be his security. The courtiers, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of so delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend, who had bound himself in such a manner. But he, far from expressing any fear or concern, replied with tranquillity in his looks, and confidence in his expressions, that he was assured his friend would return, as he accordingly did upon the day and hour agreed. The tyrant, struck with admiration at so uncommon an instance of fidelity, and softened with the view of so amiable a union, granted him his life, and desired to be admitted as a third person into their friendship.||

He expressed with equal ingenuity, on another occasion, what he thought of his condition. One of his courtiers, named Damocles, was perpetually extolling with rapture his treasures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the universal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his possession; always repeating that never man was happier than Dionysius. "Because you are of that opinion," said the tyrant to him one day, "will you taste, and make proof of my felicity in person?" The offer was accepted with joy. Damocles was placed upon a golden bed, covered with carpets of inestimable value. The side-boards were loaded with vessels of gold and silver. The most

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 57, 63.
 † Plut. in Dion. p. 961.

‡ Plut. de Garrul. p. 508.

§ Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 55.

|| Cic. de Offic. l. iii. n. 43. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.

beautiful slaves in the most splendid habits stood around, watching the least signal to serve him. The most exquisite essences and perfumes had not been spared. The table was spread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himself as the happiest man in the world; when unfortunately, casting up his eyes, he beheld over his head the point of a sword, which hung from the roof by a single horse-hair. He was immediately seized with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an instant; he could see nothing but the sword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear he desired permission to retire, and declared that he would be happy no longer: a very natural image of the life of a tyrant. And yet Dionysius reigned, as I have observed before, thirty-eight years.*

CHAPTER II.

THIS chapter includes the history of Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Syracuse, son of the former; and that of Dion his near relation.

SECTION I.—DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER SUCCEEDS HIS FATHER. HE INVITES PLATO TO HIS COURT.

DIONYSIUS the elder was succeeded by one of his sons of his own name, commonly called Dionysius the younger.† After his father's funeral had been solemnized with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and desired that they would have the same good inclinations for him as they had manifested towards his father. They were very different from each other in their character: for the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition, as the former was active and enterprising; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of natural sloth and indolence of temper.‡

It was surprising to see Dionysius the younger take quiet possession of the tyranny after the death of his father, as of a right of inheritance, notwithstanding the passion of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince undistinguished by his merit, and void of experience. It seemed as if the last years, of the elder Dionysius, who had applied himself towards the close of his life in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had in some measure reconciled them to the tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage itself, as well as to the most powerful states of Greece and Italy. Besides which, it was to be feared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the sad consequences of a civil war might deprive them of all those advantages; and at the same time the gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius gave them reason to entertain the most favourable hopes for the future. He therefore peaceably ascended his father's throne.§

Dion, the bravest, and at the same time the wisest of the Syracusans, brother-in-law of Dionysius, might have been of great support to him, had he known how to make use of his counsels. In the first assembly held by Dionysius and all his friends, Dion spoke in so wise a manner upon what was necessary and expedient in the present conjuncture, as showed that the rest were like infants in comparison with him, and, in regard to a just boldness and freedom of speech, were no more than despicable slaves of the tyranny, solely employed in the abject endeavour of pleasing the prince. But what surprised and amazed them most was, that Dion, at a time when the whole court were struck with terror at the prospect of the storm forming on the side of Carthage, and just ready to break upon Sicily, should insist, that if Dionysius desired peace, he would embark immediately for Africa, and dispel this tempest to his satisfaction; or if he preferred the war, that he would himself furnish and maintain fifty galleys of three benches, completely equipped for service.||

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 61, 62.

† A. M. 3632. Ant. J. C. 372. Diod. l. xv. p. 385.

‡ Idem. l. xvi. p. 410.

§ The history of England presents something similar to this in the famous Cromwell, who died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the best of princes, and was interred with the same honours and pomp as the most lawful sovereign. Richard his son succeeded him, and was for some time in equal authority with his father though, he had not any of his great qualities.

|| Plut. in Dion. p. 960, 961.

Dionysius greatly admiring and extolling his generous magnanimity, professed the highest gratitude to him for his zeal and affection; but the courtiers who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themselves, and his great power as a diminution of their own, took immediate occasion from thence to calumniate him, and spared no discourse that might influence the young prince against him. They insinuated, that in making himself strong at sea, he would open his way to the tyranny; and that he designed to transport the sovereignty on board his vessels to his nephews, the sons of Aristomache.

But what displeased them most with Dion, was his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to theirs. For these courtiers having presently insinuated themselves, and got the ascendancy of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of supplying him perpetually with new amusements, keeping him always employed in feasting, abandoned to women and all manner of shameful pleasures. In the beginning of his reign he made a debauch which continued for three months; during which time, his palace, shut against all persons of sense and reason, was crowded with drunkards, and resounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, and every kind of gross and dissolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offensive and disgusting to them than the presence of Dion, who indulged in none of these pleasures. For which reason, painting his virtues in such of the colours of vice as were most likely to disguise them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity pass for arrogance, and his freedom of speech for insolence and sedition. If he advanced any wise counsel, they treated him as a sour pedagogue, who took upon him to obtrude his lectures, and to school his prince without being asked; and if he refused to share in the debauch with the rest, they called him a misanthrope, a splenetic, melancholy wretch, who from the fantastic height of virtue looked down with contempt on the rest of the world, of whom he set himself up for the censor.*

And indeed it must be confessed, that he had naturally something austere and rigid in his manners and behaviour, which seemed to argue a haughtiness of nature, very likely to disgust a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amid flatteries and submissions. But his best friends and those who were most nearly attached to him, full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude, and nobleness of sentiments, represented to him, that for a statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himself to the different dispositions of men, and to apply them to his purposes, his temper was too harsh and forbidding. Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philosopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whose conversation was very proper to inspire him with more easy and insinuating manners. He observes also upon that failing, in a letter to him, wherein he speaks in this manner: "consider, I beseech you, that you are censured with being deficient in point of good nature and affability; and be fully assured, that the most certain means to the success of affairs, is to be agreeable to the persons with whom we have to act. A haughty deportment keeps people at a distance, and obliges a man to pass his life in solitude."† Notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly considered at court; where his superior abilities and transcendent merit made him absolutely necessary, especially at a time when the state was threatened with great danger and emergency.

As he believed that all the vices of young Dionysius were the effect of his bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, he conceived justly, that the best remedy would be, to associate him, if possible, with persons of wit and sense, whose solid, but agreeable conversation, might at once instruct and divert him, for the prince did not naturally want capability and genius.‡

The sequel will show that Dionysius the younger had a natural propensity to what was good and virtuous, and a taste and capacity for arts and sciences. He knew how to set a value upon the merits and talents by which men are distinguished. He delighted in conversing with persons of ability, and from his correspondence with them, made himself capable of the highest improvements. He went so far as to familiarize the throne with the sciences, which of themselves have little or no access to it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make

* Athen. l. x. p. 435.

† 'H? αυθαδεια δεηαια εβουλιος. Plat. Epist. iv.—M. Dacier translates these words, "pride is always the companion of solitude." I have shown wherein this version is faulty.—Art of teaching the Belles Letters, Vol. III. p. 505.

‡ Plut. in Dion. p. 962. Plat. Epist. vii. 327, 328.

their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility, by which he raised them to honour and distinction. Nor was he insensible to the joys of friendship. In private, he was a good parent, relation, and master, and acquired the affection of all who approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty, and it might be said of him, that he was rather a tyrant by succession and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

We may hence conclude that he might have made a very tolerable prince, (not to say a good one,) had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought with him into the world. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, industriously suppressed in him all tendency to goodness, and every noble and elevated sentiment, by a base and obscure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing against himself. It was therefore desirable that a person of Dion's character should be thrown in the way of Dionysius, or rather, that the prince should be impressed with a desire to find such a friend.

This was what Dion laboured at with wonderful address. He often talked to him of Plato, as the most profound and illustrious of philosophers, whose merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him particularly as the man of the world most capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the people's happiness depended. He told him, that his subjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and justice, which force and violence extorted from them against their will; and by such a conduct he would, from a tyrant, become a just king, to whom all submission would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much these discourses, introduced in conversation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated design, inflamed the young prince with the desire of knowing and conversing with Plato. He wrote to him in the most importunate and obliging manner to that purpose; he despatched couriers after couriers to hasten his voyage; while Plato, who apprehended the consequences, and had little hopes of any good effect from it, protracted the affair, and without absolutely refusing, sufficiently intimated, that he could not resolve upon it without doing violence to himself. The obstacles and difficulties made to the young prince's request, were so far from disgusting him, that they only served, as it commonly happens, to inflame his desire. The Pythagorean philosophers of Grecia Major in Italy joined their entreaties with his and Dion's, who, on his part, redoubled his instances, and used the strongest arguments to conquer Plato's repugnance. "This is not," said he, "the concern of a private person, but of a powerful prince, whose change of manners will have the same effect throughout his whole dominion, with the extent of which you are not unacquainted. It is himself who makes all these advances; who importunes and solicits you to come to his assistance, and employs the interest of all your friends to that purpose. What more favourable conjuncture could we expect from the divine providence, than that which offers itself? Are you not afraid that your delays will give the flatterers who surround the young prince, the opportunity of drawing him over to themselves, and of seducing him to change his resolution? What reproaches would you not make yourself, and what dishonour would it not be to philosophy, should it ever be said, that Plato, whose counsels to Dionysius might have established a wise and equitable government in Sicily, abandoned it to all the evils of tyranny, rather than undergo the fatigues of a voyage, or from I know not what other imaginary difficulties?"

Plato could not resist solicitations of so much force. Vanquished by the consideration of his own character, and to obviate the reproach of his being a philosopher in words only, without having ever shown himself such in his actions, and conscious besides of the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from his voyage, he suffered himself to be persuaded.*

The flatterers of the court of Dionysius, terrified with the resolution he had taken, contrary to their remonstrances, and fearing the presence of Plato, the consequences of which they foresaw, united against him as their common enemy. They rightly

judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be measured by the standard of true merit, and no favour to be expected from the prince but for the services done to the state, they had nothing farther to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner of purpose. They therefore spared no pains to render Plato's voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent it. They prevailed upon Dionysius to recall Philistus from banishment, who was not only an able soldier, but a great historian, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous advocate for the tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him against Plato and his philosophy. Upon his being banished by Dionysius the elder, on some personal discontent, he retired into the city of Adria, where it was believed he composed the greatest part of his writings. He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionysius the tyrant in six; all which works are entirely lost.* Cicero praises him much, and calls him Thucydides the Less, "pene pusillus Thucydides,"† to signify that he copied after that author not unhappily. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dion to Dionysius, accusing him of having held conferences with Herodotus and Heraclides, the secret enemies of that prince, upon measures for subverting the tyranny.

This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily. He was received with infinite caresses, and with the highest marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's chariots, equally magnificent in its horses and ornaments, waiting for him. The tyrant offered a sacrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had befallen him; nor was he mistaken, for a wise man, who is capable of giving a prince good counsels, is a treasure of inestimable value to a whole nation. But the worth of such a person is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uses which might be made of it.‡

Plato found the most happy dispositions imaginable in young Dionysius, who applied himself entirely to his lessons and counsels. But as he had improved infinitely from the precepts and example of Socrates his master, the most capable of all the pagan world in forming the mind for a right taste of truth, he took care to adapt himself with wonderful address to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his passions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and insinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, and at the same time triumphant over vice, which keeps mankind in its chains by the sole force of allurements, pleasures, and voluptuousness.

The change was sudden and surprising. The young prince, who had abandoned himself till then, to idleness, pleasure, and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life, awaking as from a lethargic sleep, began to open his eyes, to have some idea of the beauty of virtue, and to relish the refined pleasure of conversation, equally solid and agreeable. He was now passionately found of learning and instruction, as he had once been averse and repugnant to them. The court, which always imitates the prince, and follows his inclinations in every thing, entered into the same way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like so many schools of geometry, were full of the dust made use of by the professors of that science in tracing their figures; and in a very short time the study of philosophy, and of every kind of literature, became the reigning and universal taste.

The great benefit of these studies in regard to a prince, does not consist alone in storing his mind with an infinity of the most curious, useful, and often necessary notions of things, but has the farther advantage of abstracting himself from idleness, indolence, and the frivolous amusements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inspiring him with a passion to inform himself in the duties of the sovereignty, and to know the characters of such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himself capable of governing the state in his own person, and of seeing every thing with his own eyes; that is to say, to be indeed a king; but what the courtiers and flatters are almost always unanimous in opposing.

* Diod. l. xiii. p. 222.

† Hunc (Thucydidem) consecutus est Syracusius Philistus, qui cum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda, maximeque Thucydidem est, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus, Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 57.

‡ Sæulius ille ereber, acutus, brevis, pene pusillus Thucydides.—Id. Epist. xiii. ad Q. Frat. l. ii.

‡ Plut. in Diod. p. 963.

They are considerably alarmed by a word that escaped Dionysius, and showed how much he was affected with the discourses he had heard upon the happiness of a king, regarded with tender affection by his people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and detest. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the anniversary, on which a solemn sacrifice was offered in the palace for this prince's prosperity. The herald having prayed to this effect according to custom, "that it would please the gods to support the tyranny, and preserve the tyrant;" Dionysius, who was not far from him, and to whom these terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, "will you not give over cursing me?" Philistus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expression, and judged from it, that time and habit must give Plato an irresistible influence over Dionysius, if the correspondence of a few days could so entirely alter his disposition. They therefore set themselves to work upon new and more effectual stratagems against him.

They began by turning the retired life which Dionysius led with Plato, and the studies in which he employed himself, into ridicule, as if intended to make a philosopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected, and even odious to him. They represented them as impertinent censors and imperious pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which neither consisted with his age nor rank.* It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionysius, who with the most excellent natural parts, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to such artful insinuations in a court that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually besieged by a crowd of flatterers incessantly praising and admiring him in every thing.†

But the principal application of the courtiers was to decry the character and conduct of Dion himself; not separately, nor by whispers, but altogether, and in public. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing, that it was visible, Dion made use of Plato's eloquence to insinuate and enchant Dionysius, with a design to draw him into a voluntary resignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children of Aristomache, and establish them in the sovereignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary and afflicting, that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great forces both by sea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss the ten thousand strangers of his guards; to lay aside his fleet of four hundred galleys, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the sake of going to find in the academy, the place where Plato taught, a pretended supreme good, not explicable, and to make himself happy in imagination by the study of geometry, while he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, luxury and pleasure.

SECTION II.—BANISHMENT OF DION.

THE courtiers, intent upon making the best use of every favourable moment, continually besieged the young prince, and, concealing their secret motives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, incessantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourses soon raised in the mind of Dionysius the most violent suspicions of Dion, which presently increased into fierce resentment, and broke out in an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionysius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, wherein he tells them, "that when they should treat of peace with Dionysius, he would advise them not to open the conferences but in his presence; because he would assist them in making their treaty more firm and lasting." Dionysius read these letters to Philistus; and having concerted with him what measures to take, he amused Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and led him alone to the sea-side below the citadel, where he showed him his letters, and accused him of having entered into a league against him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have justified himself, but he refused to hear him, and made him immediately go on

* *Tristes et superciliosos alienæ vitæ censores, publicos pedagogos.*—Senec. *Epist.* cxxiii.

† *Vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris servaretur.*—Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 15.

board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after set sail for Peloponnesus.*

So hard and unjust a treatment could not fail of making a great noise, and the whole city declared against it; especially as it was reported, though without foundation, that Plato had been put to death.† Dionysius, who apprehended the consequences, took pains to appease the public discontent, and to obviate complaints.—He gave Dion's relations two vessels to transport to him, in Peloponnesus, his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.‡

As soon as Dion was gone, Dionysius made Plato change his lodging, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato near to him, he might also have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodiously. For, charmed with the delights of his conversation, and studiously of pleasing him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an esteem, or rather passion for him, which rose even to jealousy, but a jealousy of that violence that could suffer neither companion nor rival. He was for engrossing him entirely to himself, for reigning solely in his thoughts and affections, and for being the only object of his love and esteem: he seemed content to give him all his treasures and authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendship to his. Plutarch has reason to call this passion a tyrannic affection.§ Plato had much to suffer from it; for it had all the symptoms of the most ardent jealousy. Sometimes it was all friendship, caresses, and found respect, with an unbounded effusion of heart, and an endless swell of tender sentiments; sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce passion, and wild emotion; and soon after it sunk into repentance, excuses, tears, and humble entreaties of pardon and forgiveness.||

About this time a war broke out, very advantageously for Plato, which obliged Dionysius to restore him his liberty, and send him home. At his departure, he would have laden him with presents, but Plato refused them, contenting himself with his promise to recall Dion the following spring. He did not keep his word, and only sent him his revenues, desiring Plato in his letters to excuse his breach of promise at the time specified, and to impute it only to the war. He assured him, that as soon as peace should be concluded, Dion should return; upon condition, however, that he should continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato, in his return to Greece, went to see the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge among strangers of distinction. He ate and passed whole days with them, behaving himself in a plain and simple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the academy, or making himself known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The strangers were overjoyed with having met with so kind and amiable a companion; but as he never talked of any thing out of common conversation, they had not the most remote idea that he was the philosopher whose reputation was so universal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They had scarcely arrived there, when they desired him to carry them to see the famous philosopher of his name, who had been the disciple of Socrates. Plato told them, smiling, that he was the man; upon which the strangers, surprised at their having possessed so inestimable a treasure without knowing it, were much displeas'd with, and secretly reproach'd themselves for not having discerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of simplicity and modesty which he had thrown over it, while they admir'd him the more upon that account.

The time Dion passed at Athens was not lost. He employ'd it chiefly in the study of philosophy, for which he had a great taste, and which was become his passion.¶ He knew, however, which is not very easy, how to confine it within just bounds, and never gave himself up to it at the expense of any duty.** It was at the same time Plato made him contract a particular friendship with his nephew Speusippus, who, uniting the easy and insinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of

* Diod. l. xvi. p. 416, 411.

† Plut. p. 964.

‡ Plat. Epist. vii.

§ Ηεζοση του ανικου ερωτη.

¶ In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; suspiciones, inimicitie, injuriæ, induciæ, bellum, pax rursus.—Terent. in Eunuch.

¶ In amore hæc sunt mala, bellum, pax rursus.—Horat.

¶ Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

** Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.—Tacit. in Vit. Agric. n. 4:

a philosopher, knew how to associate mirth and innocent pleasure with the most serious affairs, and by that character, very rarely found among men of learning, was the most proper of all men to soften what was too rough and austere in the temper of Dion.

While Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the public games, and to have tragedies performed at the feast of Bacchus, which was usually attended with great magnificence and expense, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into fashion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who was studious of all occasions of producing him to the public, was well pleased to resign that honour to him, as his magnificence might make him still better beloved and esteemed by the Athenians.

Dion visited all the other cities of Greece, where he was present at all their feasts and assemblies, and conversed with the most excellent wits, and the most profound statesmen. He was not distinguished in company by the loftiness and pride too common in persons of his rank, but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, simple and modest air; and especially by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reflections. All cities paid him the highest honours, and the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, thought he actually assisted them at that time with a powerful supply in their war against the Thebans. So many marks of esteem and distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy. He put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be received by his own officers.

After Dionysius had put an end to the war in which he was engaged in Sicily, but of which history relates no circumstance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philosophers against him, and make him pass for their enemy. For this reason; he invited the most learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent assemblies, in which, out of a foolish ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and profound knowledge; repeating, without application, such of Plato's discourses as he retained. But as he had those discourses only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the source of his eloquence was soon exhausted. He then perceived what he had lost, by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom once in his possession, and under his own roof, and by not having heard to their full extent, the admirable lectures of the greatest philosopher in the world.*

As in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular, Dionysius was suddenly seized with an excessive desire of seeing Plato again, and used all means for that purpose. He prevailed upon Arcitas, and the other Pythagorean philosophers, to write to him that he might return with all manner of security; and to be bound for the performance of all the promises which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemus to Plato; and Dionysius sent at the same time two galleys of three benches of oars, with several of his friends on board, to entreat his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be persuaded to come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him; but if he came, that he might entirely dispose of every thing in his power.

Dion received several letters at the same time from his wife and sister, who pressed him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and satisfy the impatience of Dionysius, that he might have no new pretexts against him upon that account.—Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not resist the warm solicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the third time, at seventy years of age.

His arrival gave the people new hopes, who flattered themselves that his wisdom would at length overthrow the tyranny, and the joy of Dionysius was inexpressible. He appointed the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the most honourable in the palace, and had so much confidence in him, that he suffered his access to him at all hours, without being searched, a favour which was not granted to any of his best friends.

After the first salutations were over, Plato was for entering into Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionysius put it off at first; to which ensued complaints and murmurings, though not outwardly expressed for some time. The tyrant took great care to conceal his sen-

* Plat. Epist. vii. p. 338, 340. Plut. in Dion. p. 964, 966.

timents upon that head, endeavouring by all manner of honours and by all possible regard and complacency, to abate his friendship for Dion. Plato dissembled on his side; and though extremely shocked at so notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himself.

While they were upon these terms, and believed that nobody penetrated their secret, Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there would be an eclipse of the sun; which, happening exactly at the hour he predicted, so much surprised and astonished Dionysius, a proof that he was no great philosopher, that he made him a present of a talent. Aristippus, jesting upon that occasion, said, that he had also something very incredible and extraordinary to foretell. Upon being pressed to explain himself, "I prophesy," said he, "that it will not be long before Dionysius and Plato, who seem to agree so well with each other, will be enemies."

Dionysius verified this prediction; for, being weary of the constraint he laid upon himself, he ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use. At the same time he made Plato quit the apartments in the garden, and gave him another lodging without the castle in the midst of his guards, who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity to kill him, because he had advised Dionysius to renounce the tyranny, to disband them, and to live without any other guard than the love of his people. Plato was sensible that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who restrained the fury of his guard.

Architas, the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, who was the principal person and supreme magistrate of Tarentum, had no sooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he sent ambassadors with a galley of thirty oars to demand him from Dionysius, and to remind him, that he came to Syracuse only upon his promise, and that of all the Pythagorean philosophers, who had engaged for his safety; that therefore he could not retain him against his will, nor suffer any insult to be offered to his person, without a manifest breach of faith, and absolutely forfeiting the opinion of all honest men. These just remonstrances awakened a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at last permitted Plato to return to Greece.

Philosophy and wisdom abandoned the palace with him. To the conversations, as agreeable as useful, to that taste and passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wise politician, idle conversation, frivolous amusements, and a stupid indolence, entirely averse from every thing serious or reasonable, were seen to succeed. Gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery, resumed their empire at the court, and transformed it from the school of virtue, which it had been under Plato, into the real stable of Circe.*

SECTION III.—DION SETS OUT TO DELIVER SYRACUSE. HIS DEATH.

WHEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionysius threw off all reserve, and married his sister Areta, Dion's wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends. So unworthy a treatment, was, in a manner, the signal of the war. From that moment Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himself of all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his resolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the misfortunes he was about to occasion, and declared, that he must expect neither assistance nor relief from him; that as he had been the guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his palace, and joined in the same sacrifices with him, he should never forget the duties of hospitality; and at the same time, not to be wanting in his friendship for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to discharge the offices of a mediator between them, though he should oppose their designs, when they tended to the destruction of each other.†

Whatever motives might have actuated Plato, this was the opinion which he openly expressed. On the other hand, Speusippus, and all the rest of Dion's friends, continually exhorted him to go and restore the liberty of Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was indeed the disposition of Syracuse, which Speusippus, during his residence there with Plato, had sufficiently experienced. This was the universal cry; while they importuned and adjured Dion to come thither, desiring him not to be in any anxiety for the want of ships or troops, but only to embark in the first merchant-vessel he met with, and lend his person and name to the Syracusans against Dionysius.

* Plut. in Moral. p. 52.

† A. M. 3645. Ant. J. C. 361. Plut. in Dion. p. 966, 968.

Dion did not hesitate any longer upon taking that resolution, which in one respect cost him not a little. From the time that Dionysius had obliged him to quit Syracuse and Sicily, he had led in his banishment the most agreeable life it was possible to imagine, for a person who like him had contracted a taste for the delights of study. He enjoyed in peace the conversation of the philosophers, and was present at their disputations; shining in a manner entirely peculiar to himself, by the greatness of his genius, and the solidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of Greece, to see and converse with the most eminent for knowledge and capacity, and to correspond with the ablest politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence; equally beloved and respected by all that knew him; and receiving wherever he came, the highest honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from so happy a life that he withdrew himself to go to the relief of his country, which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.

No enterprise perhaps was ever formed with so much boldness, or conducted with so much prudence. Dion began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. A great number of considerable persons, who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But what is very surprising, of all those whom the tyrant had banished, and who were not less than a thousand, only twenty-five accompanied him in this expedition; so much had fear got possession of them. The isle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where his troops assembled, to the number of nearly eight hundred; but all of them of tried courage, excellently disciplined and robust, of a daring and experience rarely to be found amongst the most brave and warlike; and in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of setting them the example of fighting with all the valour so noble an enterprise required.

But when they were to set forward, and it was known that this armament was intended against Sicily and Dionysius, for till then it had not been declared, they were all in consternation, and repented their having engaged in the enterprise, which they could not but conceive as the effect of extreme rashness and folly, that in the last despair was for putting every thing at the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for all his resolution and eloquence, to re-animate the troops, and remove their fears. But after he had spoken to them, and with an assured though modest tone, had made them understand, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who had been long prepared for a revolt, their dread and sadness were changed into shouts of joy, and they desired nothing so much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion having prepared a magnificent sacrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops completely armed, and in that equipage marched in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a great feast to the whole company, at the end of which, after the libation and solemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, re-assured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon that account. The next day they embarked on board two trading vessels, which were followed by a third not so large, and by two barks of thirty oars.

Who could have imagined, says a historian, that a man with two merchant vessels should ever dare to attack a prince, which had four hundred ships of war, a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of arms, and corn in proportion, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them; who, besides all this, was in possession of one of the greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with ports, arsenals, and impregnable citadels, with the additional strength and support of a great number of potent allies.* The event will show, whether force or power are sufficient chains for retaining a state in subjection, as the elder Dionysius flattered himself; or if the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, and the love of subjects, are not infinitely stronger and more indissoluble ties.†

* It is not easy to comprehend; how the two Dionysii were capable of maintaining so great a force by sea and land, their dominions being only a part of Sicily, and consequently of no great extent. It is true, that the city of Syracuse had been very much enriched by commerce; and that those two princes received great contributions both from the places of Sicily and Italy in their dependence. But it is still no easy matter to conceive how all this should suffice to the enormous expenses of Dionysius the elder, in fitting out great fleets, raising and maintaining numerous armies, and erecting magnificent buildings. It is to be wished, that historians had given us some clearer information on this head.

† Dioid. l. xvi. 413.

Dion having put to sea with his small body of troops, was twelve days under sail with little wind, and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus, a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuse. When they reached that place, the pilot gave notice, that they must land directly, as there was reason to fear a hurricane, and therefore not proper to put to sea. But Dion, who was unwilling to make his descent so near the enemy, and chose to land farther off, doubled the cape of Pachynus, which he had no sooner passed, than a furious storm arose, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, which drove his ships to the eastern coast of Africa, where they were in great danger of dashing to pieces against the rocks. Happily for them, a south wind rising suddenly, contrary to expectation, they unfurled all their sails, and after having made vows to the gods, they stood out to sea for Sicily. They ran in this manner four days; and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa, a small town of Sicily, under the Carthaginians, whose commander, Synalus, was Dion's particular friend and guest. They were perfectly well received, and would have staid there some time to refresh themselves after the rude fatigues they had suffered during the storm, if they had not been informed that Dionysius was absent, having embarked some days before for the coast of Italy, attended by eighty vessels. The soldiers demanded earnestly to be led on against the enemy; and Dion having desired Synalus to send his baggage after him when proper, marched directly to Syracuse.*

His troops increased considerably upon his route, by the great number of those who came to join him from all parts. The news of his arrival being soon known at Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, to whom he had left the command of the city in his absence, despatched a courier to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progress. But that courier being almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued with having run the greater part of the night, that he found himself under the necessity of stopping to take a little sleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the smell of a piece of meat which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the flesh and the bag, in which he had also put his despatches. Dionysius was by this means prevented for some time from knowing that Dion had arrived, and then received the news from other hands.

When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs about half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a sacrifice upon the river-side, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. All who were present, seeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the sacrifice, crowned themselves also in the same manner, as animated with one and the same spirit. He had been joined on his march by at least five thousand men, and advanced with them toward the city. The most considerable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the same time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the spies and informers; an accursed race of wretches, THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN,† says Plutarch, who made it the business of their lives to disperse themselves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they said or thought, and often what they neither said nor thought. These were the first victims to the fury of the people, and were put to death immediately. Timocrates, not being able to throw himself into the citadel, rode off on horseback.

At that instant Dion appeared within sight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one side, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. After him came a hundred of the foreign soldiers, fine troops, whom he had chosen for his guard. The rest followed in order of battle, with the officers at the head of them. The Syracusans beheld him with inexpressible satisfaction, and received them as a sacred procession, whom the gods themselves regarded with pleasure, and who restored them their liberty with the democracy, forty-eight years after they had been banished from their city.

After Dion had made his entry; he ordered the trumpets to sound, to appease the noise and tumult; and silence being made, a herald proclaimed that "Dion and Megacles were come to abolish the tyranny, and to free the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant." And being desirous to harangue the people in person, he went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called Achradina. Wherever he passed, the Syracusans had set out, on both sides of the streets, tables

* Plut. in Dion. p. 968—972. Diod. l. xvi. p. 414—417.

† Ἀνὲρ ἐμπεδῶν ἐν καὶ θεοῖς ἰχθῆρες

and bowls, and had prepared victims; and as he came before their houses, they threw all sorts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to those who had done the people any great and signal services. And can there be any service, any gift, so valuable as that of liberty; not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapylæ, stood a sun-dial upon a high pedestal, erected by Dionysius. Dion placed himself upon it; and in a speech to the people, exhorted them to employ their utmost efforts for the recovery and preservation of their liberty. The Syracusans, transported with what he said, and to express their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother generals with supreme authority; and by their consent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the most considerable citizens, half of whom were of the number of those who had been banished by Dionysius, and returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the castle of Épipolis, he set the citizens who were prisoners in it at liberty, and fortified it with strong works. Dionysius arrived from Italy seven days after, and entered the citadel by sea. The same day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had left with Synalus. These he distributed among the citizens who were unprovided. All the rest armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest ardour and satisfaction.

Dionysius began by sending ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusans, with proposals, which seemed very advantageous. The answer was, that by way of preliminary, he must abdicate the tyranny, to which Dionysius did not seem averse. From thence he came to interviews and conferences, which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardour of the Syracusans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly, having made the deputies, who were sent to treat with him, prisoners, he suddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall with which the Syracusans had surrounded the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an assault threw Dion's soldiers into great confusion, who immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to stop them; and believing example more powerful than words, he threw himself fiercely into the midst of the enemy, where he stood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a spear; his arms were scarcely proof against the great number of darts thrown at him, and his shield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length beat down. His soldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them; and getting on horseback, rode through the whole city, stopped the flight of the Syracusans, and taking the foreign soldiers whom he had left to guard the quarter called Achradina, he led them on fresh against the troops of Dionysius, who were already fatigued, and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a resistance. It was now no longer a battle but a pursuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed on the spot, and the rest escaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was signal and glorious. The Syracusans, to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a considerable sum of money; and these soldiers, to honour Dion, presented him with a crown of gold.

Soon after heralds came from Dionysius, with several letters for Dion from the women of his family, and with one from Dionysius himself. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full assembly. That of Dionysius was couched in the form of a request and justification, intermixed however with the most terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to Dion, his sister, wife, and son. It was written with an art and address exceedingly proper to render Dion suspected. Dionysius put him in mind of the ardour and zeal he had formerly expressed for the support of the tyranny. He exhorted him at a distance, and with some obscurity, though easy enough to be understood, not to abolish it entirely, but to preserve it for himself.—He advised him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from being attached to him; not to abandon his own safety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconstant multitude.

The reading of this letter had the effect Dionysius proposed. The Syracusans, without regard to Dion's goodness to them, and the greatness of his soul in forgetting his dearest interests, and the ties of nature, to restore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious suspicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their sentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the banished persons, a good soldier, and well known among the troops for having been in considerable commands under the tyrant, very

bold and ambitious, and a secret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himself there had been some difference in Peloponnesus. He came to Syracuse with seven galleys of three benches of oars, and three other vessels, not to join Dion, but in the resolution to march with his own forces against the tyrant, whom he found reduced to shut himself up in the citadel. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people; for which an open and insinuating behaviour made him very fit, while Dion's austere gravity was offensive to the multitude, especially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the last victory, and expected to be treated like a popular state, even before they could call themselves a free people;* that is to say, in the full sense of the Greek terms, they were for being used with complaisance, flattery, regard, and a deference to all their capricious humours.†

What gratitude could be expected from a people that consulted only their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracusans formed an assembly immediately of their own accord, and chose Heraclides admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of such a proceeding; as the charge conferred upon Heraclides, was an abridgment of his office; that he was no longer generalissimo, if another commanded at sea. These remonstrances obliged the Syracusans, against their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had so lately conferred upon him. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for him, and after some gentle reprimands for his strange conduct with regard to him in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the least division among them might ruin every thing, he summoned a new assembly himself, and, in the presence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himself.

He thought that by the force of kind offices he would get the better of his rival's ill-will, who, in his expressions and outward behaviour, made his court to Dion, confessed his obligations to him, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality, which expressed an entire devotion to his service, and a desire of occasions to do him pleasure, but who secretly, by his intrigues and cabals, influenced the people against him, and opposed his designs in every thing. If Dion gave his consent that Dionysius should quit the citadel by treaty, he was accused of favouring, and intending to save him: if, to satisfy them, he continued the siege without hearkening to any proposals of accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the desire of protracting the war, for the sake of continuing in command, and to keep the citizens in awe and respect.

Philistus, who came to the tyrant's relief with several galleys, having been defeated and put to death, Dionysius sent to offer Dion the citadel, with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted by a treaty to retire into Italy for the rest of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. The Syracusans, who were in hopes of taking Dionysius alive, rejected these proposals; and Dionysius, despairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates, and taking the advantage of a favourable wind, embarked for Italy with his treasures and effects of the greatest value, and such of his friends as were dearest to him.‡

Heraclides, who commanded the galleys, was very much blamed for having suffered him to escape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he proposed a new distribution of lands, insinuating, that as liberty was founded in equality, so poverty was the principle of servitude. Upon Dion's opposing this motion, Heraclides persuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thousand men, to declare a new division of land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themselves in good time from Dion's insupportable severity. The Syracusans agreed, and nominated twenty-five new officers, Heraclides being one of the number.

At the same time they sent privately to solicit the foreign soldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with them, promising to give them a share in the government as natives and citizens. These generous troops received the offer with disdain; and then placing Dion in the centre of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are few examples, they made their bodies and then arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city without doing the least violence to any body; but warmly re-

* Περὶ τῆ δῆμος εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μακροχρόνισθαι βίλουτες.
 † Plut. in Dion. p. 972, 975. Dion. l. xvi. p. 419, 422.
 ‡ A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

proaching all they met with ingratitude and perfidy. The Syracusans, who condemned their small number, and attributed their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should defeat and put them all to the sword, before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the necessity of either fighting the citizens, or perishing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracusans, imploring them in the most tender and affectionate manner to desist, and pointing to the citadel full of enemies, who saw all that passed with the utmost joy. But finding them deaf and insensible to all his remonstrances, he commanded his soldiers to march in close order without attacking, which they obeyed, contenting themselves with making a great noise with their arms, and raising great cries, as if they were going to fall upon the Syracusans. The latter was dismayed with those appearances, and ran away in every street without being pursued. Dion hastened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracusans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were desirous to retrieve their honour, and made their troops take arms, and return to the pursuit of Dion. They came up with him at the pass of a river, and made their horse advance to skirmish. But when they saw that Dion was resolved in earnest to repel their insults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again seized with terror; and flying in a more shameful manner than before, made all the haste they could to regain the city.

The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and esteem. They also made presents to his soldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which, they sent ambassadors to demand justice for the ill treatment of those troops to the Syracusans, who on their side sent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracuse was intoxicated with inconsiderate joy and insolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection and judgment.*

Every thing conspired to swell and inflame their pride. The citadel was so much reduced by famine, that the soldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much, resolved at last to surrender. They sent in the night to make that proposal, and were to fulfil the conditions the next morning. But at day-break, while they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypsius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy with corn and money to the besieged, appeared with his galleys, and anchored near Arethusa. Plenty succeeding on a sudden to famine, Nypsius landed his troops, and summoned an assembly, wherein he made a speech to the soldiers suitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of surrendering, was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracusans at the same time hastened on board their galleys, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the cause of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader or authority to command them, or counsel, the officers as well as soldiers gave themselves up to rejoicing, feasting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loose excess. Nypsius knew well how to take advantage of this general infatuation. He attacked the wall that enclosed the citadel; and having made himself master of it, he demolished it in several places, and permitted his soldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmost confusion. Here the citizens, half asleep, had their throats cut; their houses were plundered, while the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations.

There was but one man who could remedy this misfortune, and preserve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propose it; so much ashamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increased every moment, and already approached the quarter Achradina, in the height of their extremity and despair, a voice was heard from the horse and allies, which said, "that it was absolutely necessary to recall Dion and the Peloponnesian troops from the country of the Leontines." As soon as any body had courage enough to utter these words, they were the general cry of the Syracusans, who, with tears of joy and grief, made prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of seeing him again, gave them new courage,

* Plut. p. 975, 981. Diod. l. xvi. p. 422, 423.

and enabled them to make head against the enemy. The deputies set out immediately with full speed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening.

As soon as they alighted, they threw themselves at Dion's feet, bathed in tears, and related the deplorable extremity to which the Syracusans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and several of the Peloponnesian soldiers, who had seen them arrive, were already assembled round Dion, and conceived rightly from their emotion and prostrate behaviour, that something very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no sooner heard what they had to say, than he conducted them to the assembly, which formed itself immediately; for the people ran thither with great eagerness. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatness of their distress, and "implored the foreign troops to hasten to the relief of the Syracusans, and to forget the ill-treatment they had received: especially as that unfortunate people had already paid a severer penalty for it, than the most injured among them would desire to impose."

The deputies having finished their discourse, the whole theatre, where the assembly was held, continued sad and silent. Dion rose; but as soon as he began to speak, a torrent of tears suppressed his utterance. The foreign soldiers called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion for his grief. At length, having recovered himself a little, he spoke to them in these terms: "men of Peloponnesus, and you our allies, I have assembled you here, that you might deliberate upon what regards yourselves; as for my part, I must not deliberate upon any thing when Syracuse is in danger. If I cannot preserve it, I go to perish with it, and to bury myself in its ruins. But for you, if you are resolved to assist us once more; us, who are the most imprudent and most unfortunate of mankind, come and relieve the city of Syracuse, from henceforth the work of your hands. If not, and the just subjects of complaint which you have against the Syracusans, determine you to abandon them in their present condition, and to suffer them to perish: may you receive from the immortal gods the reward you merit for the affection and fidelity which you have hitherto expressed for me. For the rest, I have only to desire, that you will keep Dion in your remembrance, who did not abandon you when unworthily treated by his country, nor his country when fallen into misfortunes.

As soon as he had ceased speaking, the foreign soldiers rose up with loud cries and entreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuse. The deputies, transported with joy, saluted and embraced them, praying the gods to bestow upon Dion and them all happiness and prosperity. When the tumult was appeased, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and as soon as they had supped, to return with their arms to the same place, being determined to set out that night, and fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time, at Syracuse, the officers of Dionysius, after having done all the mischief they could do to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loss of some of their soldiers.

This short respite gave the seditious orators new courage, who, flattering themselves that the enemy would lie still after what they had done, exhorting the Syracusans to think no farther of Dion, not to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty, with their own arms and valour. New deputies were instantly despatched from the general officer to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends, to desire him to hasten his march; which difference of sentiments, and contrariety of advices, occasioned his marching slowly, and by small journeys.

When the night was far spent, Dion's enemies seized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the same instant Nypsius, well apprized of all that passed in Syracuse, made a sally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They demolished the wall that enclosed them, entirely, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but slaughter and blood was seen every where. Nor did they stop for the pillage; but seemed to have no other view than to ruin and destroy all before them. One would have thought, that the son of Dionysius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to despair, and prompted by an excess of hatred for the Syracusans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it, they had recourse to fire, the swiftest of destructions; burning with torches and lighted straw all places within their power, and throwing combustibles against the rest. The Syracusans who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the streets; and those who, to avoid the all-murdering sword, retired into the houses, were driven out of them

again by the encroaching fire; for there were many houses burning, and many that fell upon the people in the streets.

These very flames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not-keeping the gates shut against him. Couriers after couriers were despatched to hasten his march. Heraclides himself, his most declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmost speed, there being nobody besides himself to make head against the enemy, he being wounded, and the city almost entirely ruined, and reduced to ashes.

Dion received the news when he was about sixty stadia from the gates. His soldiers upon that occasion marched with the utmost diligence, and with so good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He there detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, to re-animate the Syracusans by the sight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens who came running on all sides to join him. He divided them into small parties of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy.

After having made these dispositions, and prayed to the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy. In every street as he passed, he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and songs of victory, mingled with the prayers and blessings of all the Syracusans, who called Dion their preserver and their god, and his soldiers their brothers and fellow-citizens. At that instant, there was not a single man in the city so fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's safety than his own, and not to fear much more for him than for all the rest together, seeing him march foremost to so great a danger, over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the streets and public places were universally covered.

On the other hand, a view of the enemy was no less terrible; for they were animated by rage and despair, and were posted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under the necessity of defending the citadel, which was their safety and retreat, and durst not remove from it, lest their communication should be cut off. But what was most capable of disordering and discouraging Dion's soldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For wherever they turned themselves, they marched by the light of the houses on fire, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midst of flames; exposing themselves to being crushed by the fall of walls, beams, and roofs of houses, which tottered half consumed by the flames, and under the necessity of keeping their ranks, while they opened their way through frightful clouds of smoke mingled with dust.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very small number on each side were capable of engaging, from the want of room, and the unevenness of the ground. But at length, Dion's soldiers, encouraged and supported by the cries and ardour of the Syracusans, charged the enemy with such redoubled vigour, that the troops of Nysius gave way. The greatest part of them escaped into the citadel, which was very near; and those who remained without, being broken, were cut to pieces in the pursuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner so great an exploit deserved; the Syracusans being obliged to apply to the preservation of their houses, and to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire; which however they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the seditious orators durst stay in the city; but all fled, self-condemned, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill-conduct: that it became Dion, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to show himself as much so in that greatness of soul, which could conquer resentment and revenge, and forgive the ungrateful, who owned themselves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made these supplications, Dion's friends advised him not to spare men of their vile and malignant disposition; but to abandon Heraclides to the soldiers, and in so doing, exterminate from the state that spirit of sedition and intrigue; a distemper that has really something of madness in it, and is no less to be feared, from its pernicious consequences, than tyranny itself. But Dion, to appease them, said, "that other captains generally made the means of conquering

their enemies their sole application; that for his part, he had passed much time in the academy in learning to subdue anger, envy, and all the jarring passions of the mind; that the sign of having conquered them, is not kindness and affability to friends and persons of merit, but treating those with humanity who have injured us, and in being always ready to forgive them; that he did not desire so much to appear superior to Heraclides in power and ability, as in wisdom and justice, for in that, true and essential superiority consists; that if Heraclides be wicked, invidious, and perfidious, must Dion contaminate and dishonour himself with low resentment? It is true, according to human laws, there seems to be less injustice in revenging an injury than committing it; but if we consult nature, we shall find both the one and the other to have their rise in the same weakness of mind. Besides, there is no disposition so obdurate and savage, as not to be vanquished by the force of kind usage and obligations." Dion upon these maxims pardoned Heraclides.

He next applied himself to enclosing the citadel with a new work; and he ordered each of the Syracusans to go and cut a large stake. In the night, he set his soldiers to work, while the Syracusans took their rest. He surrounded the citadel in this manner with a strong palisade, before it was perceived; so that in the morning, the greatness of the work, and the suddenness of the execution, were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the enemy as the citizens.

Having finished this palisade, he buried the dead; and dismissing the prisoners taken from the enemy, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides proposed in it, that Dion should be elected generalissimo, with supreme authority by sea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable of the citizens, were pleased with the proposal, and desired that it might have the authority of the assembly. But the mariners and artisans were sorry that Heraclides should lose the office of admiral; and convinced, that although he were little estimable in all other respects, he would at least be more for the people than Dion, they opposed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid disturbance and confusion, did not insist upon that point, and acquiesced, that Heraclides should continue to command in chief at sea. But his opposing the distribution of lands and houses, which they were very desirous should take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, embroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues, as appeared openly by his attempt to make himself master of Syracuse, and to shut the gates upon his rival; but it proved unsuccessful. A Spartan who had been sent to the aid of Syracuse, negotiated a new accommodation between Heraclides and Dion, under the strictest oaths, and the strongest assurances of obedience on the side of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and probity.

The Syracusans, having dismissed their sea-forces, who were become unnecessary, applied solely to the siege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the besieged, and bread began to fall short with them, the soldiers grew mutinous, and would observe no discipline. The son of Dionysius, finding himself without hope or resource, capitulated with Dion, to surrender the citadel, with all the arms and munitions of war. He carried his mother and sisters away with him, filled five galleys with his people and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to retire unmolested. It is easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all were passionately fond of gratifying their eyes from the port with so agreeable a spectacle, and to solemnize the joyful day, on which, after so many years of servitude, the sun arose for the first time upon the Syracusan liberty.

Appollocrates having set sail, and Dion begun his march to enter the citadel, the princesses, who were there, did not stay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Aristomache led the son of Dion; after whom came Arete, his wife, with her eyes fixed upon the ground, and full of tears. Dion embraced his sister first, and afterwards his son. Aristomache then presenting Arete to him, spoke thus: "the tears you see her shed, the shame expressed in her looks, at the time when your presence restores us life and joy, her silence itself, and her confusion, sufficiently denote the grief she suffers at the sight of a husband, to whom another has been substituted contrary to her will, but who alone has always possessed her heart. Shall she salute you as her uncle, or shall she embrace you as her husband?" Aristomache having spoken in this manner, Dion, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced his

wife; to whom he gave his son, and sent them home to his house; because he thought proper to leave the citadel to the discretion of the Syracusans, as an evidence of their liberty.

For himself, after having rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all those who had contributed to his success, according to their rank and merit, as the height of glory and happiness, and the object not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece, who esteemed him the wisest and most fortunate captain that ever lived, he constantly retained his original simplicity; as modest and plain in his dress, equipage, and table, as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with people bred in armies, with officers and soldiers, who often breathe nothing but pleasures and magnificence. Accordingly, at the time Plato wrote to him, "that the eyes of all mankind were upon him alone," little affected with that general admiration, his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that school of wisdom and virtue, where exploits and successes were not judged of by the external splendour and noise with which they were attended, but from the wise and moderate use of them.

Dion designed to establish a form of government in Syracuse, composed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the aristocratical was always to prevail, and to decide important affairs by the authority which, according to his plan, was to be vested in the council of elders. Heraclides, still turbulent and seditious according to custom, and solely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, caresses, and other popular arts, again opposed him in his scheme. One day when Dion sent for him to the council, he answered that he would not come; and that, being only a private person, he should be in the assembly with the rest of the citizens, whenever it was summoned. His view, in such behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated insults, permitted those whom he had formerly prevented, to kill him. They accordingly went to his house, and despatched him. We shall see presently Dion's own sense of this action.

The Syracusans were highly affected at his death; but as Dion solemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in person at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occasion, they were appeased, and forgave him the murder; convinced, that it was impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition while Heraclides and Dion governed together.

After that murder, Dion never new joy or peace of mind. A hideous spectre which he saw in the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The phantom seemed to be a woman of enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a fury sweeping his house with violence.* His son's death, who for some unknown grief had thrown himself from the roof of a house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Callippus gave the last hand to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship, while he lodged at his house at Athens, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom and unbounded confidence. Callippus having given himself up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse, threw off all regard for the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, and contrived to get rid of Dion, who was the sole obstacle to his designs. Notwithstanding his care to conceal them, they were discovered, and came to the ears of Dion's sister and wife, who lost no time, and spared no pains, to learn the truth by a very strict inquiry. To prevent its effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconsolable that any person should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the great oath, as it was called. The person who swore it, was wrapped in the purple mantle of the goddess Proserpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the most dreadful execrations against himself which it is possible to imagine.

The oath cost him nothing; but did not convince the princesses. They daily received new intimation of his guilt from several hands, as did Dion himself, whose friends in general persuaded him to prevent the crime of Callippus by a just and sudden punishment. But he never resolved upon it. The death of Heraclides, which he looked upon as a horrible blot on his reputation and virtue, was perpetually present to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrors his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he professed, that

* Plut. p. 981-983. Diod. p. 432.

he had rather die a thousand deaths, and present^d his throat himself to any one that would kill him, than to live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends.

Callippus ill deserved that name. He hastened the execution of his crime, and caused Dion to be assassinated in his own house by the Zacynthian soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest. The sister and wife of that prince, were put into prison, where the latter was delivered of a son, which she resolved to nurse there herself.

After this murder, Callippus was sometime in a splendid condition, having made himself master of Syracuse by means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his service, on account of the gifts which he bestowed upon them. The pagans believed, that the divinity ought to punish great crimes in a sudden and extraordinary manner in this life; and Plutarch observes, that the success of Callippus occasioned very great complaints against the gods, for suffering, calmly and without indignation, the vilest of men to raise himself to so exalted a fortune by so detestable and impious a means. But Providence was not long without justifying itself; for Callippus soon suffered the punishment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catana, Syracuse revolted against him, and threw off so shameful a subjection. He afterwards attacked Messina, where he lost a great many men, and particularly the Zacynthian soldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him; but all detesting him as the most execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was killed by Leptinus and Polyperchon, and, it was said, with the same dagger with which Dion had been assassinated.*

History has few examples of so distinct an attention of Providence to punish great crimes, such as murder, perfidy, treason, either in the authors of those crimes themselves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices any way concerned in them. Divine justice manifests itself from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occasion; but it does not always distinguish itself by remarkable chastisements in this world, to intimate to mankind, that greater punishments are reserved for guilt in the next.

As for Aristomache, and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Icetas of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, received them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most exemplary kind; but, complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and having put them on board, under the pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were to carry them, to kill them on the passage and throw them into the sea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery; for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two sons of that traitor.

The relations and friends of Dion, soon after his death, had written to Plato, to consult him upon the manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what sort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew that the Syracusans were equally incapable of entire liberty or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as soon as possible, and for that purpose to change the tyranny, the very name of which was odious, into a lawful sovereignty, which would make subjection easy and agreeable. He advised them, and according to him it had been Dion's opinion, to create three kings; one to be Hipparinus, Dion's son; another Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, who seemed to be well inclined towards the people; and Dionysius himself, if he would comply with such conditions as should be prescribed him; their authority to be not unlike that of the kings of Sparta. At the same time thirty-five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duly observed, to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to serve as a balance between the power of the kings, the senate, and the people.†

It does not appear that this advice was ever followed, which indeed had its great inconveniences. It is only known, that Hipparinus the brother of Dionysius, having landed at Syracuse with a fleet, and considerable forces, expelled Callippus, and exercised the sovereign power two years.‡

* A. M. 3546. Ant. J. C. 352.

† Plat. Epist. viii.

‡ Diad. I. xvi p. 436.

The history of Sicily, as related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionysius the elder, who reigned thirty-eight, and continuing to the death of Dion. I shall return in the sequel to the affairs of Sicily, and shall relate the end of Dionysius the younger, and the re-establishment of the Syracusan liberty by Timoleon.

SECTION IV.—CHARACTER OF DION.

It is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one person as were united in Dion. I do not consider in this place, his wonderful taste for the sciences, his art of associating them with the greatest employments of war and peace, of extracting from them rules of conduct, and maxims of government, and of making them an equally useful and honourable entertainment of his leisure. I confine myself to the statesman and patriot; and in this view, how admirable does he appear! greatness of soul, elevation of sentiments, generosity in bestowing his wealth, heroic valour in battle, attended with a coolness of temper, and a prudence scarcely to be paralleled; a mind vast, and capable of the highest views, a constancy not to be shaken by the greatest dangers, or the most unexpected revolution of fortune, the love of country and of the public good carried almost to excess; these are part of Dion's virtues. The design he formed of delivering his country from the yoke of the tyranny, and his boldness and wisdom in the execution of it, show what he was capable of.

But what I conceive the greatest beauty in Dion's character, the most worthy of admiration, and if I may say so, the most above human nature, is the greatness of soul, and unexampled patience, with which he suffered the ingratitude of his country. He had abandoned and sacrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-establishing them in the full possession of their liberty: in return for such great services, they shamefully expelled him from the city, accompanied with a handful of foreign soldiers, whose fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they loaded him with injuries, and added to their base perfidy the most cruel outrages and indignity. To punish those ungrateful traitors, he had only a signal to give, and to leave the rest to the indignation of his soldiers: master of theirs, as well as of his own temper, he checked their impetuosity, and without disarming their hands, restrained their just rage, suffering them, in the very height and ardour of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill, his enemies, because he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There seems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having something rigid and austere in his humour, that made him less accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept even persons of worth and his best friends at a kind of distance. Plato, and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, had often animadverted upon this turn of mind in him: but notwithstanding the reproaches which were made upon his too austere gravity, and the inflexible severity with which he treated the people, he still prided himself upon abating nothing of them: whether his genius was entirely averse to the arts of insinuation and persuasion, or that, from the view of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaisant discourses of their orators, he chose that rough and manly manner of behaviour to them.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential points of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the art* of managing men's tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best suit his measures; which cannot be done by assuming the severe master, by commanding haughtily, and contenting one's self with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible rigour. There is in the right itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice when carried to extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules; but it is always laudable, and often necessary, to soften, and make them more convertible, which is best effected by a kindness of manners, and an insinuating behaviour; not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its utmost rigour; overlooking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice, and observing upon those which are more considerable, with favour and goodness; in a word, in endeavouring by all possible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him, contrary to his natural disposition, as well as principles, cost him

* Which art an ancient poet called "*flexanima, atque omnium regin arerum oratio.*"—Cic. l. i. de. Divin. n. 80.

dear, and brought the trouble and anguish upon him, that lasted till the day of his death, and of which they were the principal cause.

SECTION V—DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER REASCENDS THE THRONE.

CALLIPPUS, who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, did not possess his power long. Thirteen months after, Hipparnius, brother of Dionysius, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal sovereignty, which he held during two years.*

Syracuse and all Sicily, being harassed by different factions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition. Dionysius, taking the advantage of these troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nypsius, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions.†

It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-establishment, and to express his gratitude to them, that he sent statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphos, of very great value. The galleys which carried them were taken by Iphicrates, who was at that time near Corcyra, (now Corfu,) with a fleet. He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he should dispose of his sacred booty, and was answered, not to examine too scrupulously for what it was designed, but to make use of it for the subsistence of his troops. Dionysius complained excessively of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote them, wherein he reproached with great warmth and justice their avarice and sacrilegious impiety.‡

A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly, and more religiously in regard to the Romans about fifty years before. After the taking of Veii, which had been ten years besieged, they sent a golden cup to Delphos. The deputies who carried that present were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the custom to divide all prizes they took as a common stock. The island at that time was under the government of a magistrate, more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called Timasitheus;§ and his behaviour agreed well with the signification of his name. Full of regard for the envoys, the sacred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and more for the majesty of the god for whom it was designed, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received, therefore, with all the marks of distinction, and their expenses borne by the public. Timasitheus convoyed them with a good squadron to Delphos, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly the Romans were affected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the senate, they rewarded Timasitheus with great presents, and granted him the right of hospitality.|| And fifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians, with the same gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themselves obliged to do farther honour to the family of their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendants should be forever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the inhabitants of that island.¶

This was certainly great and noble on both sides; but the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

To return to Dionysius. Though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions argued no humanity for his subjects. His past misfortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to inflame it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

The most worthy and considerable of the citizens, not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Ictas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, elected him their general; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the most declared tyrants, but because they had no other resource.**

* A. M. 3647. Ant. J. C. 357. Diod. l. xvi. p. 432, 436.

† A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350.

‡ Diod. l. xvi. p. 453.

§ Timasitheus signifies one who honours the gods.

|| Mors erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio, partam prædam dividere. Forte eo anno in summo magistratu-
era: Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir simillior quam suis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, et deum cui miteretur, et doni causam veritus ipse, multitudinem quoque, quæ semper ferme regenti est similis, religionis justæ implevit; adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos, cum præsidio etiam navium Delphos prosectos, Roman inde sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatus consulto est factum, donaque publice data.—Tit. Liv.

¶ Tit. Liv. Decad. i. l. v. c. 23. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307.

** Diou. l. xvi. p. 459, et 464. Plut. in Timol. p. 236, et 243.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who were almost always at war with the Syracusans, arrived in Sicily with a large fleet; and having made great progress there, the Sicilians and the people of Syracuse resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracusans were descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants and in favour of liberty. Icetas, who proposed no other end from his command than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had no thoughts of setting it free, treated secretly with the Carthaginians, though in public he affected to praise the wise measures of the Syracusans, and even sent his deputies along with theirs.

Corinth received the ambassadors kindly, and immediately appointed Timoleon their general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in public affairs, and was far from believing, that, at his age, and in the circumstances he then was, he should be thought of upon such an occasion.*

He was descended from one of the noblest families in Corinth, loved his country passionately, and discovered upon all occasions a singular humanity of temper, except against tyrants and bad men. He was an excellent captain; and as in his youth he had all the maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and courage of the most ardent youth.

He had an elder brother, called Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonstrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and saved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was still dearer to him. That brother having made himself tyrant of it, so black a crime gave him the deepest affliction. He made use of all possible means to bring him back to his duty; kindness, friendship, affection, remonstrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon a heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be assassinated in his presence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought, that upon such an occasion, the laws of nature ought to give place to those of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by most of the philosophers, who looked upon it as the most noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch seems to pass the same judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion; and some people reproached him as an abominable fratricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon him. His mother, especially in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to console her, not being able to bear the sight of her son's murderer, she thrust him away with indignation, and shut her doors against him.

He was then struck with all the horror of the most guilty; and giving himself up to the most bitter remorse, considered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and resolved to put an end to his life, by abstaining from all nourishment. It was with great difficulty his friends dissuaded him from that fatal resolution. Overcome by their prayers and entreaties, he was at length prevailed upon to live, but he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs, and for several years, never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desert places, abandoned to excess of grief and melancholy: so true it is, that neither the praise of flatterers, nor the false reasonings of politicians, can suppress the cries of conscience, which is at once the witness, judge, and executioner of those who presume to violate the most sacred rights and ties of nature.

He passed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth at the latter part of that time; but lived there always private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration of the government. It was not without great reluctance that he accepted the employment of general: but he did not think it allowable to refuse the service of his country; and his duty prevailed against his inclination.

While Timoleon assembled his troops, and was preparing to sail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetas, in which he told them, "that it was not necessary for them to make any farther levies, or exhaust themselves in great exigencies to come to Sicily, and to expose themselves to evident danger; the Carthaginians, apprised of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron in its passage with a great fleet; and that their slowness in sending their troops, had obliged them to call in the

Carthaginians themselves to his aid, and to make use of them against the tyrant." He had made a secret treaty with them, by which it was stipulated, that after the expulsion of Dionysius from Syracuse, he should take possession of it in his place.

The reading of these letters, far from cooling the zeal of the Corinthians, only incensed them more than at first, and hastened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked on board ten galleys, and arrived safe upon the coast of Italy, where the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and discouraged his troops. An account was brought that Ictas had defeated Dionysius, and having made himself master of the greatest part of Syracuse, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel, and in that quarter called the Isle, where he besieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach, and to come on shore, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they should have compelled that general to retire.

The Carthaginians, in consequence, had sent twenty galleys to Rhegium. The Corinthians, upon their arrival at that port, found ambassadors from Ictas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuse, and would be well received there, provided he dismissed his troops. The proposal was entirely injurious, and at the same time more perplexing. It seemed impossible to beat the vessels which the barbarians had caused to advance to intercept them in their passage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon all Sicily to extreme distress, which could not avoid being the reward of the treachery of Ictas, and of the support which the Carthaginians should give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he said, to discharge himself and for his own security, that his country might not accuse him of having disobeyed its orders, and betrayed its interests. The governor and magistrates of Rhegium understood his designs. They desired nothing more than to see the Corinthians in possession of Sicily, and apprehended nothing so much as the neighbourhood of the barbarians. They summoned, therefore, an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order to their applying themselves solely to the present affair.

The people being assembled, long speeches were made of little or no tendency; every body treating the same subject, and repeating the same reasons or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to gain time. While this was doing, nine of the Corinthian galleys went off, and were suffered to pass by the Carthaginian vessels, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers, who were in the city, and that those nine galleys were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Ictas at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whisper, that his galleys were at sea, he slipped gently through the crowd, which to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly round the tribunal. He got to the seaside, embarked directly, and having rejoined his galleys, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a city of Sicily, where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to reinstate the Sicilian liberties.

It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprised and ashamed of being so deceived: but they were told, that being Phœnicians who passed for the greatest cheats in the world, fraud and artifice ought not to give them so much astonishment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Ictas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian galleys advance. They had a hundred and fifty long ships, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred armed chariots. The Syracusans lost all hope when they saw the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Ictas master of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than the small city of Tauromenium, on the coast, with little hope and less force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thousand soldiers, and he had scarcely provisions for their subsistence. Besides which, the cities placed no confidence in him. The ills they had suffered from the extortion and cruelty that had been practiced among them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Callippus and Pharax; who being both sent, the one from Athens, and the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and desirable, so severe were the vexations

with which they had oppressed them. They were afraid of experiencing the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a small city below Mount *Ætna*, being divided among themselves, one party had called on *Icetas* and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to *Timoleon*. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with five thousand men, and the latter with only twelve hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, *Timoleon*, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in disorder, and employed in taking up their quarters and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without losing time, to rest them, as the officers advised him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no sooner saw him than they fled. This occasioned their only killing three hundred, and taking twice as many prisoners; but the Carthaginians lost their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the same time, and received *Timoleon*. Other cities sent their deputies to him soon after, and made their submission.

Dionysius himself, who renounced his vain hopes, and saw himself at the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for *Icetas*, who had suffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for *Timoleon*, sent ambassadors to the latter, to treat of surrendering himself and the citadel to the Corinthians. *Timoleon*, taking the advantage of so unexpected a good fortune, made *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, with four hundred soldiers, file off into the castle; not all at once, nor in the day-time, that being impossible, the Carthaginians being masters of the gate, but in platoons, and by stealth. Those troops having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it, with all the tyrant's moveables, and provisions of war. For he had a considerable number of horse, all sorts of engines and darts, besides seventy thousand suits of armour, which had been laid up there long before, *Dionysius* had also two thousand regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to *Timoleon*. And for himself, taking with him his money, and some few of his friends, he embarked, unperceived by the troops of *Icetas*, and repaired to the camp of *Timoleon*.

It was the first time in his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private person, and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of tyranny, and had seen himself master of the most powerful kingdom that had ever been usurped by tyrants. He had possessed it ten years entire, before *Dion* took arms against him, and some years after, though always in the midst of wars and battles. He was sent to Corinth with only one galley, without convoy, and with very little money. He served there for a sight, every body running to gaze at him; some with a secret joy of heart, to gratify their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others, with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition from which he had fallen, with the immeasurable depth of distress into which they beheld him plunged.*

His manner of life at Corinth did not long excite any sentiments in regard to him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in perfumers' shops, in taverns, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them upon the rules of music, and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought that he behaved in such a manner out of policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, nor to discover any thought or desire of recovering his dominions. But such an opinion does him too much honour, and it seems more probable, that, nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauchery, he only followed his inclination; and that he passed his life in the kind of slavery into which he was fallen, as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

Some writers say, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth, obliged him to open a school there, and to teach children to read; perhaps, says *Cicero*,† without doubt jestingly, to retain a species of empire, and not absolutely to renounce the habit and pleasure of commanding.‡ Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain that *Dionysius*, who had seen himself master of Syracuse, of almost all Sicily, who had possessed immense riches, and had numerous fleets and great armies of horse and foot under his command; that the same *Dionysius*, reduced now almost to beggary, and from a king become a schoolmaster, was a good lesson for persons of exalted stations not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much

* A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

† *Dionysius Corinthi pueros, docebat. usque adeo imperio carere non poterat.*

‡ *Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 27.*

upon their fortune.* The Lacedæmonians some time after gave Philip this admonition. That prince having written to them in very haughty and menacing terms, they made him no other answer but "Dionysius at Corinth."†

An expression of Dionysius, which has been preserved, seems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good use of his adversity, and to turn his misfortunes to advantage; which would be very much to his praise, but contrary to what has been related of him before. While he lived at Corinth, a stranger rallied him unseasonably, and with an indecent grossness, upon his commerce with philosophers during his most splendid fortune, and asked him, by way of insult, "of what consequence all the wisdom of Plato had been to him?" "Can you believe then," replied he, "that I have received no benefit from Plato, and see me bear ill fortune as I do?"‡

SECTION VI.—TIMOLEON RESTORES LIBERTY TO SYRACUSE, AND INSTITUTES WISE LAWS. HIS DEATH.

AFTER the treaty of Dionysius, Ictas pressed the siege of the citadel of Syracuse with the utmost vigour, and kept it so closely blocked up, that the convoys sent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catania, sent them frequently thither. To deprive them of this relief, Ictas and Mago set out together with design to besiege that place. During their absence, Leon the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the ramparts, that those who had been left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, he made a sudden furious sally upon them while they were dispersed, killed part of them, put the rest to flight, and seized the quarter of the city called Achradina, which was the strongest part of it, and had been least injured by the enemy. Leon fortified it in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication.§

This bad news caused Mago and Ictas to return immediately. At the same time a body of troops from Corinth landed safely in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them. When they were landed, Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken possession of Messina, marched in order of battle against Syracuse. His army consisted only of four thousand men. When he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries among the soldiers that bore arms for Ictas. They represented to them, that it was highly shameful for Greeks, as they were, to labour that Syracuse and all Sicily should be given up to the Carthaginians, the most faithless and cruel of all barbarians: that Ictas had only to join Timoleon, and to act in concert with him against the common enemy. These soldiers, having spread those insinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent suspicions of his being betrayed; besides which, he had already for some time sought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the entreaties and warm remonstrances of Ictas, he weighed anchor and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with so much vigour and success, that the troops of Ictas were totally overthrown and put to flight. Thus, by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was at that time one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not act like Dion, in sparing the forts, and public edifices for their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of suspicion, which at first decried though without foundation, and at length ruined that great man, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all Syracusans, who would come with their tools, might employ themselves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In consequence of which, the Syracusans, considering that proclamation and day as the commencement of their liberty, and ran in multitudes to the citadel, and not only demolished that, but also the palaces of the tyrants, at the same time breaking open and destroying their tombs.

The citadel being razed, and the ground made level, Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation of justice, in the name of the people; that the

* Tanta mutatione majores natu, nequis nimis fortunæ crederet, magister ludi factus ex tyranno docuit.—Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9.

† Demet. Phaler. de Eloq. l. viii.

‡ Plut in Timol. p. 243.

§ A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Plut. in Timol. p. 243—246. Dioid. l. xvi. p. 465, et 474.

same place, from whence, under the tyrants, every day some bloody edict had issued, might become the asylum and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was master of the city, but it wanted people to inhabit it; for some having perished in the wars and seditions, and others having fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuse was become a desert, and the grass was grown so high in the streets, that horses grazed in them. All the cities in Sicily were almost in the same condition. Timoleon and the Syracusans therefore found it necessary to write to Corinth, to desire that people might be sent from Greece to inhabit Syracuse; that otherwise, the country could never recover itself, and was beside threatened with a new war. For they had received advice, that Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himself so ill of his charge, had hung up his body upon a cross, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army than at the beginning of the year.

Those letters being arrived with ambassadors from Syracuse, who conjured the Corinthians to take compassion on their city, and to be a second time the founders of it; the Corinthians did not consider the calamity of that people as an occasion of aggrandizing themselves, and of making themselves masters of the city, according to the maxims of a base and infamous policy; but sending to all the sacred games of Greece, and to all public assemblies, they caused proclamation to be made in them by heralds, that the Corinthians having abolished the tyranny, and expelled the tyrants, they declared free and independent the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who should return into their own country; and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and just distribution of the lands among them. At the same time they despatched couriers into Asia, and into all the isles, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as soon as possible to Corinth, which would provide them vessels, commanders, and a safe convoy to transport them into their own country, at its own expense.

Upon this publication, Corinth received universal praises and blessings, as she justly deserved. It was every where proclaimed, that Corinth had delivered Syracuse from the tyrants, had preserved it from falling into the hands of the barbarians, and restored it to its citizens. It is not necessary to insist here upon the grandeur of so noble and generous an action; the mere relation of it must make the impression that always results from great and noble deeds; and every body owned, that no conquest or triumph ever equalled the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by so perfect and magnanimous a disinterestedness.

Those who came to Corinth, not being sufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece, to augment this kind of colony. Having obtained their request, and finding themselves increased to ten thousand, they embarked for Syracuse, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had joined Timoleon. It was said their number amounted to more than sixty thousand. Timoleon distributed the lands among them gratis; but sold them the houses, with which he raised a very great sum; leaving it to the discretion of the old inhabitants to redeem their own: and by this means he collected a considerable fund for such of the people as were poor, and unable to support either their own necessities or the charges of the war.

The statues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily, were put up to sale; but first they were cited and sentenced in the forms of law. One only escaped the rigour of this enquiry, and was preserved; which was that of Gelon, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and governed the people with lenity and justice; for which his memory was still cherished and honoured. If the same scrutiny were made into all statues, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

History has preserved another sentence passed also in regard to a statue, but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excuse a digression. Nicon, a champion of Thasos,* had been crowned fourteen hundred times victor in the solemn games of Greece. A man of that merit could not fail of being envied. After his death, one of his competitors insulted his statue, and gave it several blows; to revenge perhaps those he had formerly received from him whom it represented. But the statue, as if sensible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the person that insulted it and killed him. The son of him who had been crushed to death, proceeded juridi-

* An island in the *Ægean* sea.

cally against the statue, as guilty of homicide, and punishable by the law of Draco. The famous legislator of Athens, to inspire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained that even inanimate things which should occasion the death of a man by their fall, should be destroyed. The Thasians, conformable to this law, decreed that the statue should be thrown into the sea. But some years after, being afflicted with a great famine, and having consulted the oracle of Delphos, they caused it to be taken out of the sea, and rendered new honours to it.*

Syracuse being raised in a manner from the grave, and people flocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, desirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and finally to extirpate tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Ictas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolish his forts and to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines. Leptinus, tyrant of Apollonia, and of several other cities and fortresses, seeing himself in danger of being taken by force, surrendered. Timoleon spared his life, and sent him to Corinth: for he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let Greece see the tyrants of Sicily in a state of humiliation, and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuse, to regulate the government, and to institute such laws as should be most important and necessary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent to him by the Corinthians: for he had not the weakness to desire unlimited power, and sole administration. But on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get something for themselves, and to keep them in exercise at the same time, he sent them under the command of Dinarchus and Damaratus, into all the places subject to the Carthaginians. These troops brought over several cities from the barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with considerable sums of money, which were of great service in the support of the war.

About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, under Asdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, a thousand transports laden with machines, armed chariots, horses, ammunition, and provisions. They proposed no less than the entire expulsion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing; and though he could raise only six or seven thousand men, so great was the people's terror, he marched with that small body of troops against the formidable army of the enemy, and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimesus; an account of which may be found in the history of the Carthaginians.† Timoleon returned to Syracuse amid shouts of joy and universal applauses.‡

He had before effected the conquest and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical disposition. They united together, and formed a powerful league against him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and soon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all suffer the just punishment which revolt deserved. Ictas, and his son, among others, were put to death as tyrants and traitors. His wife and daughters having been sent to Syracuse, and presented to the people, were also sentenced to die, and were executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, designed to avenge Dion their first deliverer by that decree. For it was the same Ictas who caused Arete, Dion's wife, his sister Aristomache, and his son, an infant, to be thrown into the sea.

Virtue is seldom or never without envy. Two accusers summoned Timoleon to answer for his conduct before the judges: and having assigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded sureties of him. The people expressed great indignation against such a proceeding, and would have dispensed with so great a man's observing the usual formalities, which he strongly opposed, giving for his reason, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due course. He was accused of malversation during his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himself the trouble to refute these calumnies, only replied, "that he thanked the gods, who had heard his prayers, and that he at length saw the Syracusans enjoy an entire liberty of saying every thing; a liberty absolutely unknown to them under the tyrants, but which it was just to confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wise laws, had liberated all Sicily from the tyrants who had so long infested it, had re-established peace and security universally,

* Suidas in Νίξων. Pansan. l. vi. p. 364.

† Volume I.

‡ Plut. in Timol. p. 248^e et 255.

and supplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of reinstating themselves. After such glorious actions, which had acquired him an unbounded reputation, he quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracusans had given him the best house in the city in gratitude for his great services, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally resided with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become his country. He had the wisdom, in resigning every thing, to abstract himself entirely also from envy, which never fails to attend exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however great and substantial. He shunned the rock on which the greatest men, through an insatiate desire of honours and power, are often shipwrecked; that is, by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by choosing rather to sink under, than to lay down the weight of them.*

Timoleon, who knew the full value of a noble and glorious leisure,† acted in a different manner. He passed the rest of his life as a private person, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such a numerous people indebted to him for their happiness and tranquillity. But he was always respected and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of land, nor regulation of government, seemed well done, if Timoleon had not been consulted, and put the last hand to it.

His age was tried with a very severe affliction, which he bore with astonishing patience; it was the loss of sight. That misfortune, far from lessening him in the consideration and regard of the people, served only to increase their respect for him. The Syracusans did not content themselves with paying him frequent visits; they conducted all strangers, both in town and country, to see their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the assembly of the people, they called him to their assistance. He was conducted thither in a chariot drawn by two horses, which crossed the public place to the theatre, and in that manner he was introduced into the assembly, amid the shouts and acclamations of joy of the whole people. After he had given his opinion, which was always religiously observed, his domestics re-conducted him across the theatre, followed by all the citizens, beyond the gates, with continual shouts of joy and clapping of hands.

He had still great honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting that could add to the magnificence of the procession which followed his bier, in which, the tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered by every body in honour of his memory, were the noblest ornaments. These tears were neither the effect of custom and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by a public decree; but flowed from a genuine source, sincere affection, lively gratitude, and inconsolable sorrow. A law was also made, that annually, for the future, upon the day of his death, the music and gymnastic games should be celebrated with horse races in honour of him. But what was still more honourable to the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracusan people, that whenever Sicily should be engaged in a war with foreigners, they should send to Corinth for a general.

History does not perhaps contain any thing greater or more worthy of admiration than the acts of Timoleon. I speak not only of his military exploits, but the happy success of all his undertakings. Plutarch observes a characteristic in them, which distinguishes Timoleon from all the great men of his times, and makes use upon that occasion of a very remarkable comparison. "There is," says he, "in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themselves, and which at the first view may be known to be the works of a master, but some of them denote their having cost great pains and application; whereas in others an easy and native grace is seen, which adds exceedingly to their value;" and among the latter he places the poems of Homer. "Something of this sort occurs," says he, "when we compare the great actions of Epaminondas and Agesilaus with those of Timoleon. In the former, we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter, there is an easiness and facility, which distinguish them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune seems to have taken pleasure in seconding."

"But not to mention his military actions," continues Plutarch, "what I admire most in Timoleon, is his warm and disinterested passion for the public good, and his reserving for himself only the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services; his ex-

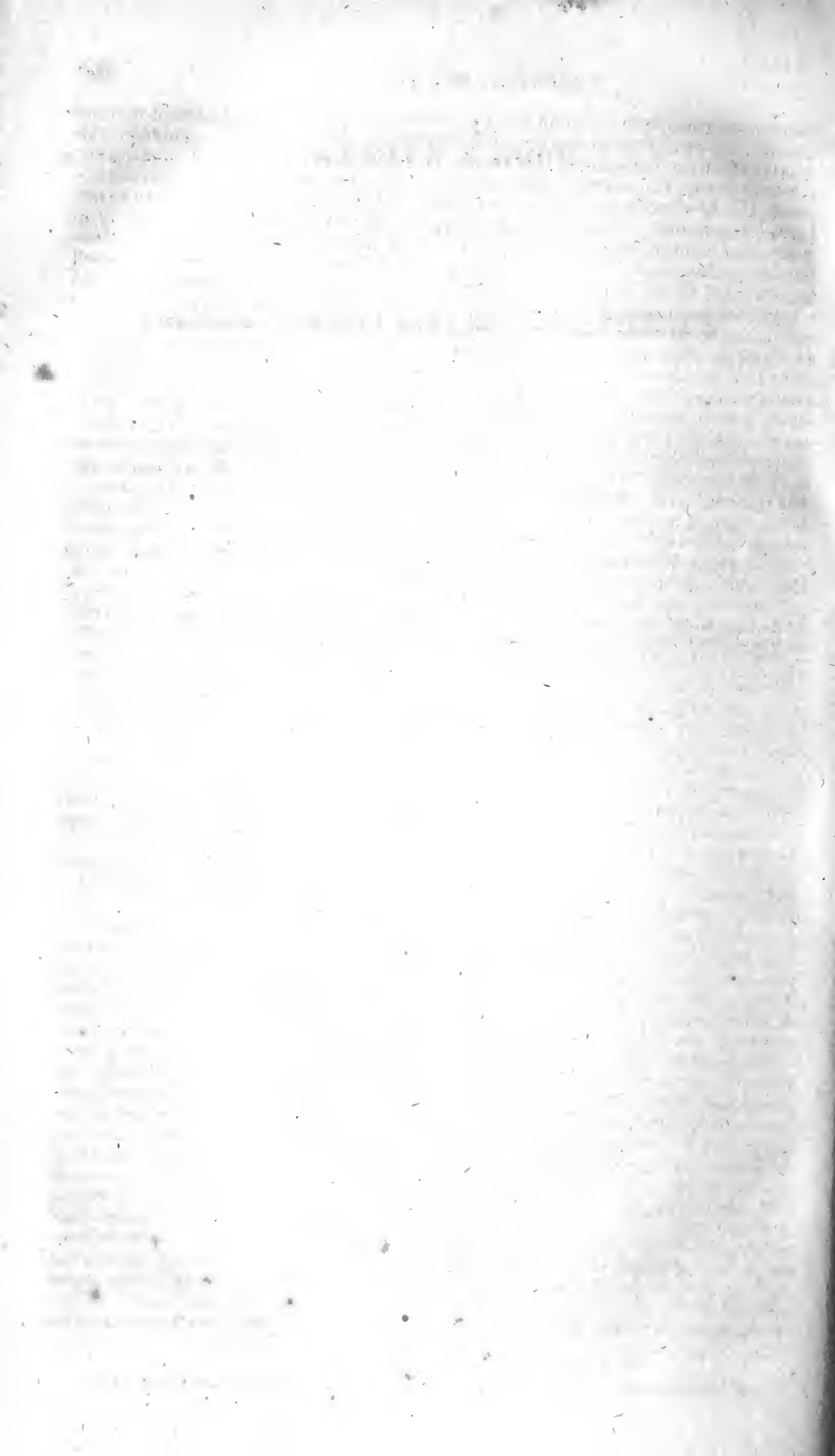
* *Maluit deficere quam desinere.*—Quintil

† *Otium cum dignitate.*—Cic.

treme remoteness from ambition and haughtiness, his honourable retirement into the country; his modesty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and what is still more uncommon, his aversion for all flattery, and even just praises; for, when a person extolled in his presence his wisdom, valour, and glory, in having expelled the tyrants, he made no answer, but "that he thought himself obliged to express his gratitude to the gods, who having decreed to restore peace and liberty to Sicily, had vouchsafed to make choice of him in preference to all others for so honourable a ministration: for he was fully persuaded, that all human events are guided and disposed by the secret decrees of Divine Providence."* What a treasure, what a happiness for a state, is such a minister!

For the better understanding of his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracuse under Timoleon, with its state under the two Dionysiuses. It is the same city, inhabitants, and people; but how different is it under the different governments we speak of? The two governments had no thoughts but of making themselves feared, and of depressing their subjects to render them more passive. They were terrible in effect, as they desired to be, but at the same time detested and abhorred, and had more to fear from their subjects, than their subjects from them. Timoleon, on the contrary, who looked upon himself as the father of the Syracusan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleasure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children; and he was remembered among them with blessings, because they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind at the same time the wise legislator, to whom they were indebted for those inestimable blessings.

* Cum suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quam se in eare maximas diis gratias agere et habere, quod, cum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat.—Cor. Nep. in Timol. c. 4.



BOOK TWELFTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THIS book contains principally the history of two very illustrious generals of the Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas; the death of Agesilaus king of Sparta, and of Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Persia.

SECTION I.—STATE OF GREECE FROM THE TREATY OF ANTALCIDES.

THE peace of Antalcides, which has been mentioned in the third chapter of the ninth book, had given the Grecian states great cause of discontent and division. In consequence of that treaty, the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Bœotia, and suffer them to enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians, to withdraw their garrison from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, saw their power extremely augmented by it, and were industrious to make farther additions to it.—They compelled the Mantinæans, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.*

The two kings of Sparta, Agesipolis and Agesilaus, were of quite different characters, and as opposite in their opinions upon the present state of affairs. The first, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a strict observer of justice, desired that Sparta, already much exclaiming against for the treaty of Antalcides, would suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity, through an unjust desire of extending their dominions. The other, on the contrary, restless, active, and full of great views of ambition and conquest, breathed nothing but war.†

At the same time deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very considerable cities of Macedonia, in respect to Olynthus, a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally of Chalcis and Eubœa.‡ Athens, after the victories of Salamin and Marathon, had conquered many places on the side of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke, as soon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented, in the general assembly of the allies, that Olynthus, situated in the neighbourhood, daily improved in strength in an extraordinary manner: that she continually extended her dominions by new conquests; that she obliged all the cities round about to submit to her, and to enter into her measures, and was on the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and to the Thebans. The affair being taken into consideration, it was unanimously resolved, that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynthians. It was agreed, that the allied cities should furnish ten thousand troops, with liberty, to such as desired it, to substitute money, at the rate of three oboli a-day for each foot-soldier, and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedæmonians, to lose no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Eudamidas, who prevailed with the ephori, that Phœbidas, his brother, might have the command of those which were to follow, and to join him soon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia, which is also called Thrace, he garrisoned such places as applied to him for

* A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 387. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. v. p. 550, 553.

† Diod. l. xv. p. 341.

‡ A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. Diod. l. xv. pp. 554, 556

that purpose, seized upon *Potidæa*, a city in alliance with the *Olynthians*, which surrendered without making any defence, and began the war against *Olynthus*, though slowly, as it was necessary for a general to act before his troops were all assembled.

Phæbidas began his march soon after, and having arrived near *Thebes*, encamped without the walls, near the *Gymnasium* or public place of exercise. *Ismenius* and *Leontides*, both polemarchs, that is, generals of the army, and supreme magistrates of *Thebes*, were at the head of two different factions. The first, who had engaged *Pelopidas* in his party, was no friend to the *Lacedæmonians*, nor they to him; because he publicly declared for popular government and liberty. The other, on the contrary, favoured an oligarchy, and was supported by the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole interest. I am obliged to enter into this detail, because the event I am about to relate, and which was a consequence of it, occasioned the important war against the *Thebans* and *Spartans*.*

This being the state of affairs at *Thebes*, *Leontides* applied to *Phæbidas*, and proposed to him to seize the citadel, called *Cadmæa*, to expel the adherents of *Ismenius*, and to give the *Lacedæmonians* possession of it. He represented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him than to make himself master of *Thebes*, while his brother was endeavouring to reduce *Olynthus*; that he would thereby facilitate the success of his brother's enterprise; and that the *Thebans*, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms against the *Olynthians*, would not fail, upon his making himself master of the citadel to supply him with whatever number of horse and foot he should think proper, for the reinforcement of *Eudamidas*.

Phæbidas, who had much ambition and little conduct, and who had no other view than to signalize himself by some extraordinary action, without examining the consequences, suffered himself to be easily persuaded; while the *Thebans*, perfectly secure under the treaty of peace lately concluded by the *Grecian* states, celebrated the feasts of *Ceres*, and by no means expected such an act of hostility. *Phæbidas*, conducted by *Leontides*, took possession of the citadel. The senate was then sitting. *Leontides* went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the *Lacedæmonians*, who had entered the citadel; that they were only the enemies of those who were for disturbing the public tranquillity, that as for himself, by the power which his office of polemarch gave him of confining whoever caballed against the state, he should put *Ismenius* into a place of security, who factiously endeavoured to break the peace. He was seized accordingly, and carried to the citadel. The party of *Ismenius*, seeing their chief a prisoner, and apprehending the utmost violence for themselves, quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to *Athens*, to the number of four hundred and upwards. They were soon after banished by a public decree. *Pelopidas* was of the number; but *Epaminondas* remained at *Thebes* unmolested, being disregarded, as a man entirely devoted to the study of philosophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of state; and also from his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new polemarch was nominated in the room of *Ismenius*, and *Leontides* went to *Lacedæmon*.

The news of the enterprise of *Phæbidas*, who at a time of a general peace had taken possession of a citadel by force, upon which he had no claim or right, had occasioned great murmurings and complaints. Such especially as opposed *Agesilaus*, who was suspected of having shared in the scheme, demanded by whose orders *Phæbidas* had committed so strange a breach of public faith. *Agesilaus*, who well knew that those warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying *Phæbidas*, and declared openly and before all the world, "that the action ought to be considered in itself, in order to understand whether it was useful or not; that whatever was expedient for *Sparta*, he was not only permitted, but commanded to do upon his own authority, and without waiting the orders of any body:"—Strange principles to be advanced by a person, who upon other occasions had maintained, "that justice was the supreme virtue, and that without it, valour itself, and every other great quality, were useless and unavailing." It is the same man that made answer, when somebody in his presence magnified the king of *Persia's* grandeur: "He whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than me, unless he be more just?" A truly noble and admirable maxim, THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER EXCELS AND IS GREAT! but a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions

* A. M. 3622. Ant. J. C. 382. Xenoph. p. 556—558. Plut. in *Agesil.* p. 608, 609. Id. in *Pelop.* p. 280. Diod. l. xv. p. 341, 342.

contradicted, conformable to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine, that a statesman ought always to have justice in his mouth, but never lose an occasion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the sentence which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wisdom of its councils and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the whole discussed at large, and the manner of it set in its full light, the assembly resolved, that Phæbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined one hundred thousand drachmas; but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a good garrison in it. What a strange contradiction was this! says Polybius;* what a disregard of all justice and reason, to punish the criminal, and approve the crime! and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by the public authority, and continue it in the name of the state for the advantages arising from it! But this was not all: commissioners, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were despatched to the citadel of Thebes to try Ismenius, upon whom they passed sentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such flagrant injustice seldom remains unpunished. To act in such a manner, says Polybius again, is neither for one's country's nor one's own interest.

Teletias, brother of Agesilaus, had been substituted in the place of Phæbidas, to command the rest of the troops of the allies designed against Olynthus, whither he marched with all expedition. The city was strong, and furnished with every thing necessary to a good defence. Several sallies were made with great success; in one of which Teletias was killed.† The next year, king Agesipolis had the command of the army. The campaign passed in skirmishing, without any thing decisive.—Agesipolis died soon after, and was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who reigned nine years. About that time began the hundredth Olympiad. Sparta had made fresh efforts to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polybidas, their general, pressed the siege with vigour. The place being in want of provisions, was at last obliged to surrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.‡

SECTION II.—SPARTA'S PROSPERITY. CHARACTER OF TWO ILLUSTRIOUS THEBANS, EPAMINONDAS AND PELOPIDAS.

THE fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with greater splendour, nor their power more strongly established. All Greece was subjected to them either by force or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city, and with that, of all Bœotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependence. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in every thing. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and reduced almost to their own strength, were in no condition to resist them. If any city or people, in their alliance, attempted to withdraw themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, masters by sea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the king of Persia and the tyrant of Sicily, seemed to emulate each other in courting their friendship and alliance.§

A prosperity founded in injustice, cannot be of long duration. The greatest blows that were given the Spartan power, came from the quarter where they had done the greatest injuries, and from whence they did not seem to have any thing to fear; that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason deserve our notice in this place.

These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas, both descended from the noblest families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greatest affluence, and while young, sole heir of a very rich and flourishing family, employed his wealth from the first possession of it, in the relief of such as had occasion for it, and merited his favour; showing in that wise use of his riches, that he was really their master, and not their slave.|| For, according to Aristotle's remarks, repeated by Plutarch, most men either make no use at all of their fortunes, out of avarice or abuse them in bad and trifling expenses. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almost say his joy and delight, consisted. He was born of poor parents, and consequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and

* Lib. iv. p. 196.

‡ A. M. 8624. Ant. J. C. 380.

† Xenoph. l. v. p. 559—565. Diod. l. xv. p. 342, 343

§ Xenoph. l. v. p. 565. Diod. l. xv. p. 354.

|| Plut. in. Pelop. p. 279.

easy to him by his taste for philosophy. Pelopidas, who supported a great number of citizens, never being able to prevail on him to accept his offers, and to make use of his fortune, resolved to share in the poverty of his friend, by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modesty of his dress, and the frugality of his table.

If Epaminondas was poor as to the goods of fortune, those of the head and heart made him most ample amends. Modest, prudent, grave; happy in improving occasions; possessing in a supreme degree the science of war; equally valiant and wise; easy and complaisant in the commerce of the world; suffering with incredible patience the people's, and even his friends' ill-treatment, uniting with the ardour for military exercises, a wonderful taste for study and the sciences, priding himself especially so much upon truth and sincerity, that he made a scruple of telling a lie even in jest, or for diversion. "Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur."*

They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was best pleased with the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reason, they employed their leisure, the one in the palaestra and the chase, and the other in conversation and the study of philosophy.†

But what persons of sense and judgment must principally admire in them, and which is rarely found in their high rank, is the perfect union and friendship that always subsisted between them during the whole time they were employed together in the administration of the public affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Aristides and Themistocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we shall find them full of trouble, dissention, and debate. The two friends we speak of, held the first offices in the state: all great affairs passed through their hands, and every thing was confided to their care and authority. In such delicate conjunctures, what occasions of envy and jealousy generally arise! But neither difference of sentiment, diversity of interest, nor the least emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good understanding. The reason of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon virtue, which in all their actions, says Plutarch, occasioned their having neither glory nor riches, fatal sources of strife and division, in view, but solely the public good, and made them desire, not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flourishing. Such are the two illustrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events in which they have a principal share.

Leontides, being apprised that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they had been well received by the people, and were in great esteem with all people of worth and honour, sent thither certain unknown persons to assassinate the most considerable of them. Only Androclides was killed; all the rest escaping the contrivances of Leontides.‡

At the same time the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or assisting the exiles, and with orders to expel them their city, as they were declared common enemies by all the allies. The humanity and virtue peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject so infamous a proposal with horror. They were transported with the occasion of expressing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the same nature: for the Thebans had contributed most to the re-establishment of the popular government of Athens, having declared in their favour by a public decree, contrary to the prohibition of Sparta: and it was from Thebes that Thrasylbulus set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the most considerable. He represented to them, "that it was unworthy of honest men, to content themselves with having saved their own lives, and to look with indifference upon their country, enslaved and miserable; that whatever good-will the people of Athens might express for them, it was not fit that they should suffer their fate to depend upon the decrees of a people, which their natural inconstancy, and the malignity of orators that turned them any way at will, might soon alter: that it was necessary to hazard every thing, after the example of Thrasylbulus, and to set before them his intrepid valour and generous fortitude as a model: that as he set out from Thebes to suppress and destroy the tyrants of Athens, so they might go from Athens to restore Thebes its ancient liberty."

* Corn. Nep. in Epam. c. iii.

† Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

‡ A. M. 3626. Ant. J. C. 378. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. v. p. 566—568. Plut. in Pelop. p. 280—284, Id de Socrat. Gen. p. 586—588, et 595—598. Diod. l. xv. p. 444—446. Corn. Nep. in Pelop. c. iv.

This discourse made all the impression upon the exiles that could be expected.— They sent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution, who extremely approved their design. Charon, one of the principal persons of the city, offered to receive the conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to get himself made secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then polemarchs, or supreme magistrates of the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for some time diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans by his discourse, with a passionate desire to throw off the Spartan yoke. He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected; but he believed, that he ought not to have any share in it, because, as he said, he could not resolve to imbrue his hands in the blood of his country; foreseeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprise, however lawful in itself, and that the tyrants would not perish alone; and convinced besides, that a citizen, who should not appear to have taken either party, would have it in his power to influence the people with better effect.*

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper, that Pherenicus, with all the conspirators, should stop at Thriasium, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a small number of the youngest of them should venture into the city. Twelve persons of the best families of Thebes, all united by a strict and faithful friendship with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themselves for this bold enterprise. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and despatched a messenger to Charon, to give him notice of their coming, they set out, dressed in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands for pitching nets; that such as they met on the way might have no suspicion of them, and take them only for hunters that had wandered after their game.

Their messenger having arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon that they were set out, the approach of danger did not alter his sentiments: and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared his house for their reception.

One of the conspirators, who was not a bad man, but loved his country, and would have served the exiles with all his power, but had neither the resolution nor constancy necessary for such an enterprise, and could think of nothing but difficulties and obstacles, that presented themselves in crowds to his imagination, much disordered with the prospect of danger, retired into his house without saying any thing, and despatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprise, and return to Athens till a more favourable opportunity. Happily that friend, not finding his horse's bridle and losing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, disguised like peasants, and having separated from each other, entered the city at different gates towards the close of the day. It was then early in the winter, the north wind blew, and the snow fell, which contributed to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; besides which, it gave them an opportunity of covering their faces. Some, who were in the secret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where, of exiles and others, their whole number amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, secretary to the *bœotarchs*,† who was in the plot, had some time before invited Archias and his companions to supper, promising them an exquisite repast, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they sat down to table. They had made free with the glass, and were almost drunk, when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without showing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias, however, sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to set out, and had put on their armour and swords, when, on a sudden, they heard a knocking at the door. Some person went to it; and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately, he ran to him half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded that the conspiracy was discovered, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy of their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon

*Plut. de Gen. Socrat. p. 594.

†The magistrates and generals who were charged with the government of Thebes, were called *bœotarchs*, that is to say, commanders or governors of *Bœotia*.

should obey the order, and present himself with an air of assurance to the magistrates, as void of fear and unconscious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in danger which threatened only himself, but that time, terrified for his friends, and apprehending also, that he should be suspected of some treachery, if so many brave citizens, whom he had received into his house, should be destroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and brought his only son, of fifteen years old at most, who in beauty and strength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, saying at the same time, "If you discover that I have betrayed you, and have been guilty of treachery upon this occasion, revenge yourselves on me in this my only son, whom, dear as he is to me, I abandon to you, and let him fall a victim without mercy to his father's perfidy."

These expressions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the most sensible pain, was his imagining there was any one among them so mean and ungrateful, as to form to himself the least suspicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimously, not to leave his son with them, but to put him into some place of safety; that his friends and country might not want an avenger, if he should be so fortunate as to escape the tyrants. "No," replied the father, "he shall stay with you, and share your fate. If he must perish, what nobler end can he make, than with his father and best friends? For you, my son, exert yourself beyond your years, and show a courage worthy of you and me. You see here the most excellent of the Thebans. Make under such masters a noble essay of glory, and learn to fight; or, if it must be so, to die, like them, for liberty. For the rest, I am not without hopes, for I believe that the justice of our cause will draw down the favour and protection of the gods upon us." He concluded with a prayer for them; and after embracing, the conspirators, went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himself, and to compose his looks and voice, that he might not appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the house where the feast was kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and asked the meaning of a report, that disaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in some house. He seemed astonished; and finding by their answers to his questions, that they had no precise information of any thing, he assumed a bolder tone, and said, "it is very likely that the report you speak of is only a false alarm, intended to interrupt your mirth: however, as it ought not to be neglected, I will go immediately and make the strictest inquiry possible into it." Philidas praised his prudence and zeal, and carrying Archias back into the company, he plunged him again in the debauch, and continued the entertainment by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promised them.

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all prepared, not to conquer or to save their lives, but to die gloriously, and to sell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and joy of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which, they had no thoughts but of the instant execution of a design, to which the delay might occasion a thousand obstacles.

At that very moment a second storm arose, far more violent than the first, and which seemed as if it could not possibly fail of making the enterprise miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haste with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as was afterwards discovered. The courier was brought first to Archias, who was far gone in wine, and breathed nothing but pleasure and the bottle. In giving him his despatches, he said, "my lord, the person who writes you these letters, conjures you to read them immediately, being serious affairs." Archias replied, laughing, "serious affairs to-morrow,"* which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under his pillow,† and continued the conversation and debauch.

The conspirators were at that time in the streets, divided into two parties; the one, with Pelopidas at their head, marched against Leontides, who was not at the feast; the other against Archias, under the command of Charon. These had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themselves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment where the feast was kept, the guests made a great noise, and set up loud shouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in till the ser-

* Οὐκ ἔτι εἰς αὐτοῦ, ἔτι, τὴν σπυρτὴν αἰ.

† The Greeks eat lying on beds.

vants were all dismissed, which was done immediately. They were sent to neighbouring houses, where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conspirators, by this stratagem, having made themselves masters of the field of battle, entered sword in hand, and showing themselves in their true colours, put all the guests to the sword, and with them the magistrates who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themselves. Pelopidas met with more resistance. Leontides, who was asleep in bed, awaked with the noise that was made, and rising immediately, armed himself with his sword, and laid some of the conspirators at his feet; but was at last killed himself.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with so much despatch and success, couriers were immediately despatched to Thriasium. The doors of the prisons were broken open, and five hundred prisoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to resume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met. The spoils affixed to the porticoes were taken down, and the armourers and cutlers shops' broken open for that purpose. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, with some old persons of great estimation, whom they had got together.

The whole city was in great terror and confusion; the houses all illuminated with torches, and the streets thronged with the multitude passing to and fro. The people, in consternation at what had happened, and for want of sufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their destiny. The Lacedæmonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error in not falling upon them during their disorder; for the garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, besides three thousand who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they saw in the houses, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay still, and contented themselves with guarding the citadel, after having sent couriers to Sparta with the news of what had happened, and to demand an immediate reinforcement.

The next day at sun-rise the exiles arrived with their arms, and the people were summoned to assemble. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas thither, surrounded with all the sacrificers, carrying in their hands the sacred bandages and fillets, and exhorting the citizens to assist their country, and to join with the gods. At this sight, the whole assembly rose up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conspirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The same day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were elected *bœotarchs*.

Soon after the exiles, arrived five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, sent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. Those troops, with others which joined them from all the cities of Bœotia, composed an army of twelve thousand foot, and as many horse; and without loss of time besieged the citadel, that it might be taken before relief could come from Sparta.

The besieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a speedy succour, and seemed resolved rather to die than surrender the place; at least, the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion, but they were not the greatest number of the garrison. When provisions began to fall short, and famine to press them, the rest of the troops obliged the Spartans to surrender. The garrison had their lives granted them, and were permitted to retire whither they thought fit. They were scarcely marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus, at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition, might have saved the citadel. But this was not the first time the natural slowness of the Lacedæmonians had occasioned the miscarriage of their enterprises. The three commanders who had capitulated were tried. Two of them were punished with death, and the third had so great a fine laid upon him, that not being able to pay it, he banished himself from Peloponnesus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the most memorable that ever was executed by surprise and stratagem. Plutarch, with reason, compares it to that of Thrasybulus. Both exiles, destitute in themselves of all resource, and reduced to implore a foreign support, formed the bold design of attacking a formidable power with a handful of men, and overcoming all obstacles to their enterprise solely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of its affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thrasybulus for that sudden and happy change, which, freeing them from the oppression they groaned under, not only restored their liberty, but with it their ancient splendour, and put them into a condition to humble and make Sparta tremble in her turn. We shall see

in like manner, that the war which reduced the pride of Sparta, and deprived it of the empire both by sea and land, was the work of this single night; in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortress, and entering only one of twelve into a private house, threw off and broke the chains imposed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other states of Greece, though it appeared impracticable ever to produce such an effect.

SECTION III.—SPHODRIAS FORMS A DESIGN AGAINST THE PIRÆUS.

THE Lacedæmonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprise of Pelopidas, did not remain quiet, but applied themselves in earnest to their revenge. Agesilaus, rightly judging that an expedition of that kind, the end of which was to support tyrants, would not reflect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately succeeded king Agesipolis, under pretence that his great age dispensed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Bœotia with his army. The first campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing some ravages in the country; after which the king retired, and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Thespiæ, returned to Sparta.*

The Athenians, who did not think themselves in a condition to make head against the Lacedæmonians, and were afraid of the consequences in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Those who persisted to adhere to the Theban party, were some imprisoned, some put to death, others banished, and the rich heavily fined. The Theban affairs seemed almost desperate, not having any alliance to support them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then at the head of them, and were studious of finding means to embroil the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians, which they effected by the following stratagem.

Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Thespiæ with a body of troops, to receive and protect such of the Bœotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired some reputation among the soldiery, and wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was rash, superficial, full of himself, and consequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas sent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him with the offer, as from himself, of a considerable sum of money, and with insinuations more agreeable to him than money, as they flattered his vanity. "After having represented to him, that one of his merit and reputation ought to form some great enterprise to immortalize his name, he proposed to him the seizing of the Piræus by surprise, when the Athenians had no expectation of such an attempt; he added, that nothing could be more grateful to the Lacedæmonians, than to see themselves masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, enraged at the Athenians, whom they considered as traitors and deserters, would lend them no assistance."

Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great name, and envying the glory of Phæbidas, who, in this sense, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more brilliant and glorious exploit to seize the Piræus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at sea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook the enterprise therefore with great joy; which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than that of the Cadmæa, but not executed with the same boldness and success. For having set out in the night from Thespiæ with the view of surprising the Piræus before light, the day-break overtook him in the plain of Thriasium, near Eleusis; and finding himself discovered, he returned shamefully to Thespiæ with some booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately sent ambassadors with their complaints to Sparta. Those ambassadors found, that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that summons, having just reason to apprehend the issue of a trial, and the resentment of his country. He had a son, who had contracted a strict and tender friendship with the son of Agesilaus. The latter solicited his father so earnestly, or rather tormented him with such extreme importunity and perseverance, that he could not refuse Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully absolved. Agesilaus was not scrupulous, as we have seen already, in point of justice, when the service of his friends was in question. He was besides, of all mankind, the most tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when

*A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Xenoph. l. v. p. 563—572. Plut. in Ages, p. 609, 610. Id in Pelop p, 284, 285,

they were infants, he would play with them, and divert himself with riding upon a stick among them; and that having been surprised by a friend in that action, he desired him not to tell any body of it till himself was a father.

The unjust sentence passed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans, exceedingly incensed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to assist them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, son of the illustrious Conon, whose reputation he well sustained by his own valour and exploits.* It was he whom his enemies, in envy of the glory he had acquired by his great actions, painted sleeping, with the goddess Fortune at his feet, taking towns in nets for him;† but upon this occasion he proved that he was not asleep. After having ravaged the coast of Laconia, he attacked the isle of Corcyra, (Corfu,) which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their side made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy situation between Sicily and Greece, rendered that island very important. They therefore engaged Dionysius the tyrant in the expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they despatched their fleet under Mnasippus. The Athenians sent sixty sail against them to the relief of Corcyra, under Timotheus at first; but soon after, upon his seeming to act too slowly, Iphicrates was substituted in his place. Mnasippus having made himself odious to his troops by his haughtiness, rigour, and avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and lost his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice that the Syracusan squadron of ten galleys approached, which he attacked so successfully, that not one of them escaped. He demanded, that the orator Callistratus, and Chabrias, one of the most renowned captains of his time, should be joined in commission with him. Xenophon admires his wisdom and greatness of soul upon that account, in being satisfied with appearing to have occasion for council, and not apprehending to share the glory of his victories with others.

Agesilaus had been prevailed upon to take upon him the command of the troops against Thebes. He entered Bœotia, where he did great damage to the Thebans, not without considerable loss on his own side. The two armies came every day to blows, and were continually engaged, though not in formal battle, yet in skirmishes, which served to instruct the Thebans in the art of war, and to inspire them with valour, boldness, and experience. It is reported that the Spartan Antalcides told Agesilaus very justly upon this head, when he was brought back from Bœotia much wounded; "my lord Agesilaus, you have a fine reward for the lessons you have given the Thebans in the art of war, which, before you taught it them, they neither would nor could learn." It was to prevent this inconvenience, that Lycurgus, in one of the three laws which he calls Rhretræ, forbade the Lacedæmonians to make war often upon the same enemy, lest they should make them too good soldiers, by obliging them to the frequent defence of themselves.

Several campaigns passed in this manner, without any thing decisive on either side. It was prudent in the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto, and to give their soldiers time to inure and embolden themselves. When the occasion was favourable, they let themselves loose like generous hounds; and after having given them a taste of victory by way of reward, they called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their success and this wise conduct was due to Pelopidas.

The engagements at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprise against Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedæmonians, at his return he found the enemy posted to intercept him near Tegyra. As soon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, some person ran in all haste to Pelopidas, and told him, "we have fallen into the enemy's hands." "Ah!" replied he, "why should we not rather say that they are fallen into ours?" At the same time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was assured that his foot, which were only three hundred, and were called the Sacred Battalion, would break through the enemy, wherever they charged, though superior in number, as they were by at least two-thirds. The assault began where the generals of each

* Xenoph. l. v. p. 384—569. Plut. in Agesil. p. 610, 611. Id. in Pelop. p. 235, 238.

† Plut. in Syl. p. 454.

party was posted, and was very violent. The two generals of the Lacedæmonians, who had charged Pelopides, were immediately killed; all that were with them being either slain or dispersed. The rest of the Lacedæmonian troops were so daunted, that they opened a passage for the Thebans, who might have marched on to save themselves if they had thought fit: but Pelopidas, disdainingly to make use of that opening for his retreat, advanced against those who were still drawn up in battle, and made so great a slaughter of them, that they were all dismayed, and fled in disorder. The Thebans did not pursue them far, lest they should be surprised. They contented themselves with having broken them, and with making a glorious retreat, not inferior to a victory, because through the enemy, dispersed and defeated.

This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the source of the great actions and events we are about to treat of. It had never happened till then in any war, either against the barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been defeated with the superiority of numbers on their side, nor even equal forces in regular battle: for which reason they were insupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durst show themselves in the field before them, unless superior in number. They now lost that glory, and the Thebans in their turn became the terror and dread even of those who had rendered themselves so universally formidable.

The enterprise of Artaxerxes Mnemon against Egypt, and the death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus, should naturally come in here.* But I shall defer these articles, to avoid breaking in upon the Theban affairs.

SECTION IV.—NEW TROUBLES IN GREECE. THE LACEDÆMONIANS DECLARE WAR AGAINST THEBES.

WHILE the Persians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles arose in Greece.† In that interval the Thebans, having taken Plataeæ, a city of Bœotia, and afterwards Thespiæ, a city of Achaia, entirely demolished those cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Plataeans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmost favour, and adopted into the number of the citizens.

Artaxerxes, being informed of the state of the Grecian affairs, sent a new embassy thither to persuade the several cities and republics at war to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcides. By that peace, as had been observed in its place, it was concluded, that all the cities of Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedæmonians pressed the Thebans to restore their liberty to all the cities of Bœotia, to rebuild Plataeæ and Thespiæ, which they demolished, and to restore them with their dependencies to their ancient inhabitants. The Thebans on their side insisted also, that the Lacedæmonians should give liberty to all those of Laconia, and that the city of Messene should be restored to its ancient possessors. This was what equity required; but the Lacedæmonians, believing themselves much superior to the Thebans, were for imposing a law upon them, which they would not submit to themselves.‡

All Greece, being weary of a war which had already lasted several campaigns, and had no other end than the aggrandizing of that state, was seriously intent upon a general peace, and with that view had sent deputies to Lacedæmon, to concert together the means of attaining so desirable an object. Among these deputies, Epaminondas was of the first rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philosophy, but he had not given any very distinguished proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies, and the administration of public affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of respect for Agesilaus, who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to differ from his opinion in any thing; a very common effect of too imperious a power on one side, and too servile a submission on the other; he was the only one that spoke with a wise and noble boldness, as became a statesman who had no other view than the public good. He made a speech, not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general, in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power of Sparta, while the rest of Greece was reduced and ruined by it. He insisted principally upon the necessity

* A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377.

† A. M. 3633. Ant. J. C. 371. Diod. l. xv. p. 361, 362.

‡ Xenoph, Hist. Græc. l. vi. p. 590—593. Dion. p. 365, 366.

of establishing the peace in equality and justice, because no peace could be solid and of long duration, but that wherein all parties find an equal advantage.*

A discourse like this, founded evidently upon reason and justice, and pronounced with a grave and serious tone, never fails of making an impression. Agesilaus plainly distinguished, from the attention and silence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Bœotia should be free and independent? that is to say, whether he agreed that the cities of Bœotia should depend no longer upon Thebes. Epaminondas immediately asked in his turn, with great vivacity, whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Laconia should enjoy the same independence and liberty? Upon which Agesilaus, rising from his seat in great rage, insisted upon his declaring plainly, whether he would consent that Bœotia should be free? Epaminondas retorted his question again, and asked, whether, on his side, he would consent that Laconia should be free? Agesilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, struck them directly out of the treaty of alliance which they were about to conclude. The rest of the allies signed it, not out of inclination, but from a fear of offending the Lacedæmonians whose power they dreaded.

In consequence of this treaty, all the troops in the field were to be disbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then at Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the ephori to know the republic's resolutions. Prothous, one of the principal senators, represented, that there was no room for deliberations; for that Sparta, by the late agreement, had made the recall of the troops indispensable.—Agesilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was absolutely bent on the war for an opportunity of revenge; and the present seemed most favourable, when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded from the treaty of peace. The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, who treated him as an honest, well meaning dotard, who knew nothing of the matter; the divinity from thenceforth, as Xenophon observes, promoting their downfall.† The ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march against the Thebans with his troops; and, at the same time, sent orders for assembling the forces of their allies who were averse to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contradicting the Lacedæmonians, whom they did not yet dare to disobey. Though no happy consequences could be expected from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice, and from the sole motive of resentment and revenge, the Lacedæmonians, however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.‡

The Thebans were much alarmed at first. They saw themselves alone, without allies or support, while all Greece looked upon them as utterly lost; not knowing that in a single man they had more than armies. This was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had several colleagues joined in commission with him. He immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As several bad omens were told him to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, the sense of which is, "there is but one good omen, to fight for one's country."§ However, to re-assure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.||

Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded the Sacred Battalion. When he left his house to go to the army, his wife, in taking her last adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears to take care of himself. "That," said he, "should be recommended to young people; but for generals, they have no occasion for such advice; the care of others should be recommended to them."

Epaminondas had wisely taken care to secure a pass, by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march considerably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Bœotia, between Platææ and Thespiæ.—

*Plut. in Agesil. p. 611.

†Ἐκεῖνον μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἰχθύσατο, κἄη γὰρ ὡσεὶ εἶπε τὸ δαίμονιον κρῖν.

‡Xenoph. vi. p. 593—597. Dioid. l. xv. p. 365—371. Plut. in Agesil. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 288, 289.

§Εἰς εἶνος ἀριστος, ἀμυνισθαὶ περὶ πάσης. Iliad, xi. v. 428.

||A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

Both parties consulted whether they should give battle, which Cleombrotus resolved to do by the advice of all his officers, who represented to him, that if he declined fighting with such a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he secretly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an essential reason for hastening a battle before the arrival of his troops, which the enemy daily expected. However, the six generals who formed the council of war differed in their sentiments. The seventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time to join the three that were for fighting; and his opinion carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon. This was the second year of the 102d Olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been said, consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. The Thebans had only six thousand foot and four hundred horse; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience in war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without valour and ill disciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve the motive of it, and were besides dissatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals on either side supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his time. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of the Sacred Battalion, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, consisting of Lacedæmonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take the advantage which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in the front of the Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it, with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. The Sacred Battalion was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, the more distant it was from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right, to keep off his right wing as a kind of reserve, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them, after the enemy's example, in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broken and driven upon the infantry, which they threw into some confusion. Epaminondas, following the horse closely, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon the phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to surround him. Pelopidas, upon the sight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness at the head of the Sacred Battalion, to prevent the enemy's design, and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was thrown into disorder. The battle was very obstinate, and while Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardour. But the left wing, seeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx broken, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received such a blow. The most bloody defeats till then had scarcely ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. They had been seen, however, animated, or rather violently incensed against Athens, to ransom, by a truce of fifty years, about three hundred of their citizens, who had suffered themselves to be shut up in the little island of Sphacteria. Here they lost four thousand men, one thousand of whom were Lacedæmonians, and four hundred Spartans,* out of seven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were few of their citizens.

The city of Sparta at that time celebrated the gymnastic games, and was full of strangers, whom curiosity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any changes in the celebration of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations who were killed, and remained in the theatre, to see that the dances and games were continued without interruption to the end.

The next day, the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relatives of those who had died in the battle, met in the public place, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks; while the others kept themselves close in their houses; or if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect, which sensibly expressed their profound anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women. Grief, silence, and tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons, were seen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied, that such sentiments argue great courage and resolution: but I would not have them entirely extinguish natural tenderness, and should have been better pleased had there been less of ferocity in them.†

Sparta was under no small difficulty to know how to act in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the most powerful families in the city, it was not safe to inflict upon them the punishments assigned by the laws, lest their despair should induce them to take some violent resolution fatal to the state, For such as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a disgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any person who met them in the streets might buffet them, which they were obliged to suffer. They were besides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours. And lastly, they were to shave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It was a great loss to the Spartans to be deprived of so many of their soldiery, at the time they had such pressing occasion for them. To remove this difficulty, they chose Agesilaus legislator, with absolute power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. Agesilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to save the fugitives without prejudice to the state. In a full assembly of the Lacedæmonians, he decreed, "that for the present day, the laws should be suspended, and of no effect; but ever after to remain in full force and authority." By these few words he preserved the Spartan laws entire, and at the same time restored to the state a great number of its members, in preventing their being for ever degraded, and consequently useless to the republic.

After the battle of Leuctra, the two parties were industriously employed, the one in retrieving, and the other in improving their victory.‡

Agesilaus, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia; but with a full resolution carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himself to attacking some small towns of the Mantinæans, which he took, and laid the country waste. This gave the Spartans some joy; and they began to take courage, from believing their condition not entirely desperate.§

The Thebans, soon after their victory, sent an account of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the same time against the common enemy. The senate was then sitting, which received the courier with great coldness, did not make him the usual presents,

* Those were properly called Spartans who inhabited Sparta, the Lacedæmonians were settled in the country.
 † Mr. Rollin seems to speak here *en François*. The sentiments of the Spartans have no exception, and are strictly consistent with true greatness of soul. None but slaves will deny, that the next glory and good fortune to defending their country against its enemies, when its ruin is at stake, is to die in its defence. Slaves have no country. Both belong to the tyrant.

‡ Xenoph. l. vi. p. 598. Dion. l. xv. p. 375—378.

§ Plut. in Agesil. p. 613—615. Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

and dismissed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the considerable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmonians, could not dissemble the umbrage and dissatisfaction which so sudden and unexpected an increase of a neighbouring power gave them, which might soon render itself formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elected joint governors of Bœotia. Having assembled all the troops of the Bœotians and their allies, whose number daily increased, they entered Peloponnesus, and caused many places and people to revolt from the Lacedæmonians, Elis, Argos, Arcadia, and the greatest part of Laconia itself. It was then about the winter-solstice, and towards the end of the last month of the year; so that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the first day of the next month being assigned by law for their resigning them to the persons appointed to succeed them, upon pain of death, if they held them beyond that term. Their colleagues, apprehending the badness of the season, and more the dreadful consequences of infringing that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes. Pelopidas was the first who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take the advantage of the enemy's alarm, and to pursue their enterprise in neglect of a formality, from the observance of which they might justly believe themselves dispensed by the state itself, as the service of the state, when founded in justice, is the sovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia, therefore, at the head of an army of seventy thousand good soldiers, the twelfth part of whom were not Thebans. The great reputation of the two generals was the cause that all the allies, even without order or public decree, obeyed them with respectful silence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was six hundred years since the Dorians had established themselves at Lacedæmon; and in all that time they had never seen an enemy upon their lands; not daring till then to set foot in them, and much less to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any opposition whatever.

Parties had been posted to defend some important passes. Icholas the Spartan, who commanded one of these detachments, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner. Finding it impossible with his small body of troops to support the enemy's attack, and thinking it below a Spartan to abandon his post, he sent back the young men, who were of age and condition to serve their country effectually, and kept none with him but such as were advanced in years. Devoting himself with these, after the example of Leonidas, to the public good, they sold their lives dear; and after having defended themselves a long time, and made great slaughter of their enemies, they all perished to a man.

Agesilaus acted upon this occasion with great address and wisdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only vain, but dangerous to oppose; whose rapid course would be but of short duration, and after some ravages, subside of itself. He contented himself with distributing his best troops into the middle, and all the most important parts of the city, strongly securing all the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle, and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, and called upon him to come out and defend his country, who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, in kindling the war.

But far greater afflictions to Agesilaus, were the commotions and disorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men in the highest affliction and despair, from being witnesses of what they saw, as well as of the women, who seemed quite distracted with hearing the threatening cries of the enemy, and seeing the neighbouring country all on fire; while the flames and smoke, which drove almost upon them, seemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. Whatever courage Agesilaus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being sensibly afflicted with so mournful an object; to which was added, the grief of losing his reputation; who, having found the city in a most flourishing and potent condition when he came to the government, now saw it fallen to such a degree, and all its ancient glory lost under him! He was besides, secretly mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made, "that no woman of Sparta had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's camp."

While he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither; and as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad design, he said to them, "comrades, it is not there I sent you." At the same time he pointed to different posts to divide them; to which they went, believing their enterprise had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, argues a great presence of mind in Agesilaus, and shows that in times of trouble it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought it more advisable to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous inquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swollen by the melting of the snows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they had expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans showed him to Agesilaus; who, after having attentively considered and followed him with his eyes a long time, said only, "wonderful man!"* in admiration of the valour that could undertake such great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of it. He did not however think proper to attempt the forcing of the city; and not being able to induce Agesilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have defended itself long against a victorious army. But the wise captain who commanded it, apprehended that he should draw upon himself the whole force of Peloponnesus, and still more, that he should excite the jealousy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his destroying so potent a republic, and "pulling out," as Leptinus says, "one of the eyes of Greece," as a proof of his skill.† He confined himself, therefore, to the glory of having humbled the proud, whose laconic language added new haughtiness to their commands, and of having reduced them to the necessity, as he boasted himself, of enlarging their style, and lengthening their monosyllables.‡ At his return he again wasted the country.

In this expedition the Thebans reinstated Arcadia into one body, and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had long been in possession of it,§ after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best of Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country, natural to all men, and almost as much by their hatred to the Spartans, which the length of time had only increased. They built themselves a city, which, from the ancient name was called Messene. Among the bad events of this war, none gave the Lacedæmonians more sensible displeasure, or rather more lively grief; because from time immemorial and irreconcilable enmity had subsisted between Sparta and Messene, which seemed incapable of being extinguished but by the final ruin of the one or the other.||

Polybius reflects upon an ancient error in the conduct of the Messenians with regard to Sparta, which was the cause of all their misfortunes. This was their too great solicitude for the present tranquillity, and through an excessive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it sure and lasting. Two of the most powerful states of Greece were their neighbours, the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. The latter, from their first settlement in the country, had declared open war against them: the others, on the contrary, always joined with them, and entered into all their interests. But the Messenians had neither the courage to oppose their violent and irreconcilable enemies with valour and constancy, nor the prudence to treat with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. When the two states were either at war with each other, or carried their arms elsewhere, the Messenians, little provident for the future, and regarding only their present repose made it a rule never to engage in the quarrel on either side, and to observe an exact neutrality. In such conjunctures they congratulated themselves upon their wisdom and success in preserving their

* Ω τῷ μεγάλῳ πράγματι ἀνδρῶσι. The Greek expression is not easily to be translated; it signifies, "Oh the actor of great deeds!"

† Arist. Rhet. l. iii. c. 10.

‡ The Lacedæmonians sometimes answered the most important despatches by a single monosyllable. Philip having written to them, "if I enter your country, I shall put all to fire and sword," they replied, "If," to signify they should take all possible care to put it out of his power.

§ The Messenians had been driven out of their country two hundred and eighty-seven years.

|| Paus. l. iv. p. 267, 268.

tranquillity, while their neighbours around them were involved in trouble and confusion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedæmonians, having subdued their enemies, fell upon them with all their forces; and finding them unsupported by allies, and incapable of defending themselves, they reduced them to submit, either to the yoke of a rigid slavery, or to banish themselves from their country. And this was several times their case. They ought to have reflected, says Polybius,* that as there is nothing more desirable or advantageous than peace, when founded in justice and honour, so there is nothing more shameful, and at the same time more pernicious, when attained by bad measures, and purchased at the price of liberty.†

SECTION V.—THE TWO THEBAN GENERALS, AT THEIR RETURN, ARE ACCUSED AND ABSOLVED. SPARTA IMploRES AID OF ATHENS.

It might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on their return to their country after such memorable actions, should have been received with general applause, and all the honours that could be conferred upon them. Instead of which they were both summoned to answer as criminals against the state, for having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to resign their command to new officers, retained it four months beyond the appointed term; during which they had performed in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all those great things we have related.

A behaviour of this kind is surprising; and the relation of it cannot be read without a secret indignation: but such a conduct had a very plausible foundation. The zealous asserters of a liberty lately regained, were apprehensive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorising some future magistrate to maintain himself in command beyond the established term, and in consequence to turn his arms against his country. It is not to be doubted but the Romans would have acted in the same manner; and if they were so severe as to put an officer to death, though victorious, for giving battle without his general's orders, how would they have behaved to a general, who should have continued four months in the supreme command, contrary to the laws, and upon his own authority?

Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal. He defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, haughty and intrepid in fight, forsook him before the judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and cringing in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him, not without difficulty. Epaminondas appeared, and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He seemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifying himself, he made a panegyric on his actions, and repeated, in a lofty style, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declared that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour, and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force.‡

He was by nature designed for great actions; and every thing he did, had an air of grandeur in it. His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected *telearch*; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He, however, thought it no dishonour to him, and said that he would demonstrate, that "the office did not only show the man, but the man the office."§ He accordingly raised that employment to very great dignity, which before consisted in only taking care that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common sewers in good order.||

The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy, whom the late successes had rendered still more haughty and enterprising than ever, and seeing themselves exposed every moment to a new irruption, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spoke began with

* Εἰρήνη γὰρ, μετὰ μὲν τῆς δικαιοῦς καὶ πρεπούσης, καλλίστην ἐστὶ κτήμα καὶ λυσιτελεστάτην· μετὰ δὲ κακίας καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπονεῖσθαι, πάντων αἰσχρότατον καὶ ἐλαττωτάτην.

†Polyb. l. iv. p. 299, 300.

‡Plut. de sui laude, p. 540.

§Οὐ μόνον ἀρχὴ ἀνδρῶν δεῖκνυσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀνερ.

||Plut. de Præcept. Reip. Gr. p. 811.

describing, in the most pathetic terms, the deplorable condition and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the insolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the empire of all Greece. He insinuated what Athens in particular had to fear, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times, in which the strict union between Athens and Sparta had preserved Greece, to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with saying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its ancient friend and ally, which more than once had generously sacrificed itself for the common interest and safety.*

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his discourse; but at the same time they had not forgot the bad treatment which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the defeat of Sicily. However, their compassion for the present misfortunes of Sparta prevailed over the sense of former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedæmonians with all their forces. Some time after, the deputies of several states being assembled at Athens, a league of confederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcides, and the intention of the king of Persia, who continually urged its execution.†

A slight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies raised them from the dejection of spirits in which they had hitherto remained, as it generally happens, when in a mortal distemper the least glimpse of a recovery enlivens hope and recalls joy. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, having received aid from Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians, in a battle, called by Diodorus Siculus, "The Battle without Tears," because he did not lose a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been so much accustomed to conquer, that they became insensible to the pleasure of victory: but when the news of this battle arrived, and they saw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first who went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderness. He was followed by the great officers and magistrates. The crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to see those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had risen so high.‡

Philiscus, who had been sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived at Delphos, to which place he summoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all consulted in the affair discussed in that assembly. The Spartans demanded, that Messene and its inhabitants should return to their obedience to them. Upon the refusal of the Thebans to comply with that demand, the assembly broke up, and Philiscus retired, after having left considerable sums of money with the Lacedæmonians, for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its losses, was no longer the object of the fear or jealousy of the Persians but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them just cause of inquietude.§

To form a league against Thebes with greater certainty, the allies had sent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their side deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wise choice, from the great reputation of the ambassador, which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the success of a negotiation. The battle of Leuctra had spread his fame into the remotest provinces of Asia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared among the princes and nobility, they cried out, in admiration of him, "this is he who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire by sea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itself between the Eurotas and Taygetus, that not long since, under its king Agesilaus, threatened no less than to invade us in Susa and Ecbatana."||

Artaxerxes, extremely pleased with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and took pleasure in extolling him highly before the lords of his court; partly out of esteem for great merit, but much more out of vanity and self-love, and to insinuate to his subjects, that the greatest and most illustrious persons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his discourse, in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian ambassadors, and more simple than that of the Lacedæmonians, which was

* Xenoph. l. vi. p. 609—613.

† Xenoph. l. vii. p. 615—616.

‡ Plut. in Agesil. p. 614, 615. Xenoph. l. xii. p. 619, 620.

§ Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619. Diod. l. xv. p. 381.

|| Xenoph. l. vii. p. 620—622. Plut. in Pelop. p. 294.

saying a great deal, he esteemed him more than ever; and as it is common with kings,* who are but little accustomed to constraint, he did not dissemble his extreme regard for him, and his preference of him to all the rest of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprized the king, how important it was to the interest of his crown, to protect an infant power which had never borne arms against the Persians, and which, in forming a kind of balance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make a useful diversion against those republics, the perpetual and irreconcilable enemies of Persia, that had lately cost it so many losses and inquietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the best received after him; because, being passionately desirous of humbling Sparta, and at the same time of pleasing the king, he did not appear averse to the views of Pelopidas.

The king having pressed Pelopidas to explain what favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, that Messene should continue free and exempt from the yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian galleys, which had sailed to harass the coast of Bœotia, should be recalled, or that war should be declared against Athens; and that those who would not come into the league, or march against such as should oppose it, should be attacked first. All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the king. Leon, the colleague of Timagoras, said loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, "Athens has nothing now to do but to find some other ally."

Pelopidas, having obtained all he desired, left the court, without accepting any more of the king's many presents, than what was necessary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made against the other Grecian ambassadors, who were not so reserved and delicate in point of interest. One of those from the Arcadians said on his return home, that he had seen many slaves at the king's court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain ostentation; and that the so much boasted plantain of gold,† which was valued at so high a price, had not shade enough under it for a grasshopper.

Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the most presents. He did not only accept of gold and silver, but of a magnificent bed, and slaves to make it, the Greeks not seeming to him expert enough in that office; which shows that sloth and luxury were little in fashion at Athens. He received also twenty-four cows, with slaves to take care of them; as having occasion to drink milk for some indisposition. Lastly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the sea-side at the king's expense, who gave four talents for that service. His colleague Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accused him of not having communicated any thing to him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a trial in consequence, and condemned to suffer death.

It does not appear that the acceptance of presents incensed the Athenians most against Timagoras. For Iphicrates, a simple porter, who had been at the Persian court, and had also received presents, having said in a full assembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to pass, by which, instead of the nine archons annually elected, nine ambassadors should be chosen out of the poorest of the people to be sent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage, the assembly only laughed, and made a jest of it. But what offended them more was, the Thebans obtained all they demanded. In which, says Plutarch, they did not duly consider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend how much stronger and more efficacious that was in persuading, than all the harangues and rhetorical flourishes of the other ambassadors; especially with a prince, accustomed to caress and comply with the strongest as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who besides was not sorry to humble Sparta and Athens, the ancient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The esteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas were not a little augmented by the good success of this embassy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-establishment of Messene: and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Thessalia was the theatre, where the valour of Pelopidas made the greatest figure, in the expedition of the Thebans against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. I shall relate it entire, and unite in one point of view all which relates to that great event,

*Παύρος βασιλείων πρῶτον.

† It was a tree of gold, of exquisite workmanship and great value, which people went to see out of curiosity.

without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court.

SECTION VI.—PELOPIDAS MARCHES AGAINST ALEXANDER, TYRANT OF PHERÆ; IS KILLED IN A BATTLE. TRAGICAL END OF ALEXANDER.

THE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens, which for many years had lorded it over all Greece, either in conjunction or separately, had inspired some of their neighbours with the desire of supplanting those cities, and giving birth to the hope of succeeding them in the pre-eminence. A power had risen up in Thessaly, which began to grow formidable. Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, had been declared generalissimo of the Thessalians by the consent of the people of that province; and it was to his merit, universally known, he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of about eight thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light-armed soldiers, and might have undertaken any thing with such a body of disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their general. But death prevented his designs. He was assassinated by persons who had conspired his destruction.*

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were substituted in his place; the latter of whom killed the other for the sake of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ, who seized the tyranny, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father, against whom Pelopidas was sent.†

As the tyrant made open war against several people of Thessaly, and was secretly intriguing to subject them all, the citizens sent ambassadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himself the charge of this expedition. He set out for Thessaly with an army, made himself master of Larissa, and obliged Alexander to make his submission to him. He there endeavoured by mild usage and friendship to change his disposition, and from a tyrant to make him become a just and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing every day, new complaints of his cruelty, debauched life, and insatiable avarice, he began to treat him with warm reproofs and menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at such usage, withdrew secretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in security from any attempts of his, and in good understanding with each other, set out for Macedonia, where his presence had been desired.

Amyntas II. had lately died, and left issue three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdicas, and Philip, and one natural son, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was succeeded by Perdicas, with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown.‡ The two brothers invited Pelopidas, either to be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should see the most right.

Pelopidas had no sooner arrived, than he put an end to all disputes, and recalled those who had been banished by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdicas, and thirty other children of the noblest families of Macedonia for hostages, he carried them to Thebes, to show the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms, and an entire confidence in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war against the Greeks, to subject them to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia some years after, occasioned by the death of Perdicas, who was killed in battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being desirous to arrive before Ptolemy had time to execute his projects, who made new efforts to establish himself upon the throne, and not having an army, he raised some mercenary troops in haste, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt those mercenary soldiers by presents of money, and to bring them over to his side. At the same time, awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his superior and master, had recourse to caresses and entreaties, and promised in the most solemn manner to hold the crown only as guardian to the son of the deceased, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were so to the Thebans, and

* A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370. Xenoph. l. vi. p. 579—583, et 598—601. Diod. l. xv. p. 371—373.

† A. M. 3635. Ant. J. C. 369.

‡ Plutarch makes this quarrel between Alexander and Ptolemy, which cannot agree with the account by Æschines (de Fals. Legat. p. 400.) of the affairs of Perdicas after Alexander's death, which I shall relate in the history of Philip. As Æschines was their cotemporary, I thought it proper to substitute Perdicas for Alexander.

in security of his engagements, he gave his son Philoxenus, and fifty other children who were educated with him, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary soldiers greatly occupied his thoughts. He was informed, that they had sent the greatest part of their effects, with their wives and children, into Pharsalus, a city of Thessaly, and conceived that a fair opportunity for being revenged on them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together some Thessalian troops, and marched into Pharsalus, where he was scarcely arrived before Alexander the tyrant came against him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambassador to him, believing that he came to justify himself, and to answer to the complaints of the Thebans, went to him with only Ismenias in his company, without any precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious wretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that respect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing against his person. He was mistaken; for the tyrant, seeing them alone and unarmed, made them both prisoners, and seized Pharsalus.

Polybius highly censures the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occasion. "There is in the commerce of society," says he, "certain assurances, and as it were ties of mutual faith, upon which one may reasonably rely: such are the sanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hostages, and above all, the consistency of the past conduct of those with whom one treats; when, notwithstanding those motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a misfortune, but not a fault; but to trust one's self to a known traitor, a reputed villain, is certainly an unpardonable instance of error and temerity."*

So black a perfidy filled Alexander's subjects with terror and distrust, who very much suspected, that after so flagrant an injustice, and so daring a crime, the tyrant would spare no one, and would look upon himself upon all occasions, and with all sorts of people, as a man in despair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans, incensed at so vile an insult, immediately sent an army into Thessaly; and as they were displeased with Epaminondas, upon the groundless suspicion of his having been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain occasion, they nominated other generals; so that he served in this expedition only as a private man. The love of his country and of the public good, extinguished all resentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its service through any pique of honour, or personal discontent.†

The tyrant however carried Pelopidas to Pheræ, and made a show of him to all the world at first, imagining that such a treatment would humble his pride, and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, seeing the inhabitants of Pheræ in great consternation, perpetually consoled them, advising them not to despair, and assuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be punished. He caused him to be told, that it was as imprudent as unjust to torture and put to death every day so many innocent citizens, who had never done him any wrong, and to spare his life, who, he knew, would no sooner be out of his hands, than he would punish him as his crimes deserved. The tyrant, astonished at his greatness of soul, sent to ask him why he took so much pains for death? "It is," returned the illustrious prisoner, "that thou mayest perish the sooner, by being still more detestable to the gods and men."

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody should see or speak to him. But Thebe his wife, the daughter of Jason, who had also been tyrant of Pheræ, having heard of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas from those who guarded him, had a curiosity to see and converse with him; and Alexander could not refuse her his permission.‡ He loved her tenderly, if a tyrant may be said to love any body: but notwithstanding that tenderness, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual distrust even of her. He never went to her apartment without a slave before him with a naked sword in his hand, and sending some of his guard to search every coffer for concealed poignards. "Wretched prince," cries Cicero, "who could confide more in a slave and a barbarian, than in his own wife!"

Thebe, therefore, desiring to see Pelopidas, found him in a melancholy condition, dressed in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might console him in his distress. Not being able to refrain from tears at such a sight, "ah! unfortunate Pelopidas," said she, "how I lament your poor wife!" "No,

* Lib. viii. p. 512.

† Flut. in. Pelop. p. 292, 293. Diod. l. xv. p. 382, 383.

‡ Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 25.

Thebe," replied he, "it is yourself you should lament, who can suffer such a monster as Alexander, without being his prisoner." Those words made a deep impression on Thebe; for it was with extreme reluctance she bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous way of living. Hence, going often to see Pelopidas, and frequently bewailing before him the injuries she suffered, she daily conceived new abhorrence for her husband, while hatred and the desire of revenge grew stronger in her heart.

The Theban generals who had entered Thessaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by their incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant pursued them in their retreat, harassed them shamefully, and killed great numbers of their troops. The whole army would have been defeated, if the soldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who served as a private man among them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry, and light-armed foot, posted himself in the rear; where, sometimes sustaining the enemy's attacks, and sometimes charging them in his turn, he conducted the retreat with success, and preserved the Bœotians. The generals, upon their return, were each of them fined ten thousand drachmas, and Epaminondas substituted in their place. As the public good was his sole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment and kind of affront which he had received, and had full amends in the glory that attended such generous and disinterested conduct.

Some days after, he marched at the head of the army into Thessaly, whither his reputation had preceded him. It had spread already both terror and joy through the whole country; terror among the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas dismayed, and joy among the people, from the assurance of being speedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant punished for all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the safety of Pelopidas to his own glory, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might have done, chose rather to protract it; from the apprehension that the tyrant, if reduced to despair, would, like a wild beast, turn his whole rage upon his prisoner: for he knew the violence and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reason nor justice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that some he covered with the skins of bears and wild boars, that his dogs might tear them to pieces, or he shot them to death with arrows. These were his frequent sports and diversions. In the cities of Melibœa and Scotusa, cities of Magnesia, which were in alliance with him, he called an assembly of the citizens, and causing them to be surrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their youth to be cut in his presence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the Troades of Euripides, he suddenly went out of the theatre, and sent to the actor to tell him, not to be under any apprehension upon that account; for that his leaving the place was not from any discontent in regard to him, but because he was ashamed to let the citizens see him, who had cut so many of their throats without any compassion, weep over the misfortunes of Hercules and Andromache.

Though he was little susceptible of pity, he was much so of fear at this time. Amazed at the sudden arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that surrounded him, he made haste to despatch persons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas could not suffer that the Thebans should either make peace or alliance with so wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days; and after having got Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind of man. The tyrant of Phœre soon returned to his natural disposition. He ruined several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into those of Phthia, Achæa, and Magnesia. Those cities sent deputies to Thebes to demand a succour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas, which was granted. He was upon the point of setting out, when there happened a sudden eclipse of the sun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at noon-day. The dread and consternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well that this accident had nothing unnatural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expose seven thousand Thebans against their will, nor to compel them to march in the terror and apprehension with which he perceived they were seized. He therefore gave himself to the Thessalians alone, and, taking with him three hundred horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed, contrary to the prohibition of the soothsayers, and the opinion of the most wise and judicious.*

* Plut. in Pelop. p. 295—293. Xenoph. l. vi. p. 601.

He was personally incensed against Alexander, in resentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebe his wife had said, and he himself knew, of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great divisions in his court, and a universal disposition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in itself: for his sole desire and ambition was, to show all Greece, that at the same time the Lacedæmonians sent generals and officers to Dionysius the tyrant, and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a statue of brass, as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people who declared war against tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from among the Greeks all unjust and violent government.

After having assembled his army at Pharsalus, he marched against the tyrant; who, being apprised that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own infantry was twice as strong as that of the Thessalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by some one, that Alexander approached with a great army, "So much the better," replied he, "we shall beat the greater number."

Near a place called Cyncephalus, there were very high and steep hills, which lay in the middle of the plain. Both armies were in motion to seize that post with their infantry, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's; and while they pursued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the top of the hills, having outstripped the Thessalians, and charging violently such as endeavoured to force those heights and entrenchments, he killed the foremost, and repulsed the others, whom their wounds obliged to give way. Pelopidas seeing this, recalled his horse, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his buckler, and ran to those who fought upon the hills.

He presently made way through his infantry, and passed in a moment from the rear to the front, revived the vigour and courage of his soldiers in such a manner, as made the enemies believe themselves attacked by fresh troops. They supported two or three charges with great resolution; but finding the infantry of Pelopidas continually gaining ground, and that his cavalry were returned from the pursuit to support them, they began to give way, and retired slowly, still making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, seeing the whole army of the enemy from the top of the hills, which, though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in great disorder, he stopped for some time, looking about every where for Alexander.

As soon as he perceived him upon his right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenary soldiers, he could contain himself no longer: but fired with that view, and abandoning to his sole resentment the care of his life, and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and ran forward with all his force, calling upon and defying Alexander. The tyrant made no answer to his defiance, and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himself among his guards. The battalion standing firm for some time, Pelopidas broke the first ranks, and killed the greatest part of the guards upon the spot. The rest continuing the fight at a distance, pierced his arms and breast at length with their javelins. The Thessalians, alarmed at the danger in which they saw him, made all the haste they could from the tops of the hills to his assistance: but he was fallen dead when they arrived. The infantry and the Theban horse, returning to the fight against the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and pursued them a great way. The plain was covered with dead; for more than three thousand of the tyrant's troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effect of a consummate valour, is inexcusable, and has been generally condemned, because there is no true valour without wisdom and prudence. The greatest courage is cool and sedate. It spares itself where it ought, and exposes itself when occasion makes it necessary. A general ought to see every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a condition to apply the proper remedy on all occasions, he must not precipitate himself, to the danger of being cut off, and of causing the loss of his army by his death.

Euripides, after having said in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the victory by taking care of his own life, adds, "that if it be necessary for him to die, it must be when he resigns his life into the hands of virtue;" to signify, that only virtue, not passion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first duty of valour is to preserve him who preserves others.*

* Plut. in Pelop. p. 317.

It is in this sense the saying of Timotheus is so just and amiable. When Chares showed the Athenians the wounds he had received while he was their general, and his shield pierced through with a pike, "and for me," said Timotheus, "when I besieged Samos, I was much ashamed to see a dart fall very near me, as having exposed myself like a young man, without necessity, and more than was consistent for the general of so great an army." Hannibal certainly cannot be suspected of fear; and yet it has been observed, that in the great number of battles which he fought, he never received any wound, except only at the siege of Saguntum.*

It is therefore not without reason, that Pelopidas is reproached with having sacrificed all his other virtues to his valour, by such a prodigality of his life, and with having died rather for himself than his country.

Never was a captain more lamented than him. His death changed the victory, so lately gained, into mourning. A profound silence and universal affliction reigned throughout the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated. When his body was carried to Thebes, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests, from every city by which it passed, came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it, carrying crowns, trophies, and armour of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the same time highly afflicted for his death, and equally sensible of their obligation to him, made it their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate, at their sole expense, the obsequies of a general who had devoted himself for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be refused to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, especially in the sincere affliction of the Thebans and Thessalians: for, says Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of sorrow which may be imposed by the public authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real sentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as public, the regret expressed equally by great and small, the praises given by the general and unanimous voice to a person who is no more, and from whom nothing farther is expected, are an evidence not to be questioned, and a homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obsequies of Pelopidas, and, in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but resolved to avenge him. A small army of seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse were immediately sent against Alexander. The tyrant who had not yet recovered the terror of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself. He was obliged to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, and to give the Magnesians, Pthians, and Achæans, their liberty, to withdraw his garrisons from their country, and to swear that he would always obey the Thebans, and march at their orders against all their enemies.

Such a punishment was very gentle. Nor, says Plutarch, did it appear sufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes: they had reserved one for him worthy of a tyrant. Thebe his wife, who saw with horror and detestation the cruelty and perfidy of her husband, and had not forgotten the lessons and advice which Pelopidas had given her, while in prison, entered into a conspiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's palace was full of guards, who kept watch in the night; but he placed little confidence in them: as his life was in some sort in their hands, he feared them the most of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he ascended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this chamber, a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding fierce, and knew nobody but his master, Thebe, and the slave who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebe shut up her brothers during the day time, in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered it at night, as he was full of meat and wine, he fell into a deep sleep immediately. Thebe went out presently after, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, that he might not disturb her husband's repose; and lest the ladder should make a noise when her brothers came up by it, she covered the steps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, she made her brothers ascend, armed with daggers; who when they came to the door, were seized with terror, and would go no farther. Thebe, in the greatest consternation threatened to awake the tyrant and discover the plot to him, if they did not proceed immediately. Their shame and fear re-activated them; she made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herself, while they killed

*Plut. in Pelop. 273.

him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately spread through the city. His dead body was exposed to all sorts of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given for a prey to the dogs and vultures: a just reward for his violent oppressions and detestable cruelties.

SECTION VII.—EPAMINONDAS CHOSEN GENERAL OF THE THEBANS.—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

THE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm to the neighbouring states. Every thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had broken out between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The people of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid; and those of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were besides several other allies on each side. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops, who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with design to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes to attach themselves to Sparta.*

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and advanced towards Mantinea, he formed the enterprise, which he believed would immortalize his name, and entirely reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different route from that of Agesilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprise, as it had neither walls, defence, nor troops: but happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all possible haste to apprise Agesilaus of his design, he immediately despatched one of his horse to advise the city of the danger threatened it, and arrived there soon after in person.

He had scarcely entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without some attempt.† He therefore made his troops advance, and making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city at several quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and seized that part of Sparta which lay upon the side of the river. Agesilaus made head every where, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He saw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive; but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of despair; means which he had never used, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great success in the present dangerous emergency. For by this happy despair and prudent audacity, he in a manner snatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His son Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greatest, and with his small body of troops stopped the enemy, and made head against them on all sides.

A young Spartan, named Isadas, distinguished himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome in the face, perfectly well shaped, of an advantageous stature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor clothes upon his body, which shone with oil, and held a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. In this condition he quitted his house with the utmost eagerness, and breaking through the press of the Spartans that fought, he threw himself upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself; the enemy being dismayed at so astonishing a sight, "or," says Plutarch, "the gods taking pleasure in preserving him upon account of his extraordinary valour." It is said the ephori decreed him a crown, after the battle, in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him a thousand drachmas for having exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas having failed of his aim, foreseeing that the Arcadians would certainly hasten to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them, with all the Lacedæmonian forces, upon his hands at the same time, he returned with expedition to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him close in the rear

The general considering that his command was upon the point of expiring, that if he did not fight, his reputation might suffer extremely, and that immediately after

* A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 642—644. Plut. in Agesil. p. 615. Diod. l. xv. p. 391. 392.

† Polyb. l. ix. p. 547.

his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness for battle.

The Greeks had never fought among themselves with more numerous armies. The Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the Thebans of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians, were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the centre, and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre. The cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.*

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in the disposition of his army, a time which cannot be too much saved in great enterprises.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills, with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was directly opposite to them, at a quarter of a league's distance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy were in fact deceived by that stand, and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to be extinguished, which the nearapproach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of soldiers.

Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choicest troops, whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point, the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slowly, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops which he commanded in person, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy, in a point, like a galley. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to put the rest to flight by charging the right and left with his victorious army.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon the rising ground, in readiness to flank the Athenians; as well to cover his right as to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprised when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

While Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thes-salians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bowmen, slingers and dartmen, in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge upon them, of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins. The other army had neglected to take the same precaution, and had made another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons, as if they had been a phalanx. By this means, their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made several ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time, Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both sides with incredible ardour; both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began by fighting with the spear; and these first arms

* Xenoph. l. vii. p. 645—647.

being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other with the sword. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides. The troops, despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks, than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious slaughter on both sides having continued a great while without the victory inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed, therefore, a troop of the bravest and most determined about him, and putting himself at the head of them, he made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. His troops, by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were forced to give ground. The Theban troops, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great slaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied, and returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. While he kept off part of these darts, shunned some of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the most heroic valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin, in the breast, through the cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broken off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury; the one side using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to save him. The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not pursue them far, but returning immediately, contented themselves with remaining masters of the field and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing farther, as if they waited for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, dismayed by the accident of Epaminondas, whom they believed to be dead, and seeming rather vanquished than victorious, neglected to pursue their success in the same manner, and returned to their former post.

While this passed on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horse attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, besides the superiority of number, had the advantage of being seconded by the light infantry posted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their darts, they were broken and obliged to fly. After having dispersed and repulsed them in this manner, instead of pursuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms against the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, threw into disorder, and pushed with great vigour. Just as they were ready to retreat, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of reserve, seeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the spur to its relief, charged the Theban horse, who little expected it, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the same time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at first, finding they were not pursued, rallied, and instead of going to the assistance of their foot, which was severely handled, attacked the detachment posted by the Thebans upon the heights within the line, and put it to the sword.

After these different movements, and this alternation of losses and advantages, the troops on both sides stood still, and rested upon their arms, and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle, the Athenians, because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both sides refused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians, however, sent first to demand that permission; after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, recommends the disposition of the Theban troops and the order of battle to the reader's attention, which he describes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And Monsieur Follard, who justly looks upon Epaminondas as one of

the greatest generals Greece ever produced, in his description of the same battle, ventures to call it the masterpiece of that great captain.

Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. These words gave all that were present the utmost sorrow and affliction, who were inconsolable on seeing so great a man about to die, and to die without issue. For him, the only concern he expressed, was about his arms, and the success of the battle. When they showed him his shield, and assured him that the Thebans had gained the victory, turning towards his friends with a calm and serene air, "Do not regard," said he, "this day as the end of my life, but as the beginning of my happiness, and the completion of my glory. I leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, and Greece delivered from the yoke of servitude. For the rest, I do not reckon that I die without issue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illustrious daughters, that will not fail to keep my name alive, and transmit it to posterity." Having spoken to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound and expired.

It may truly be said, that the Theban power expired with this great man, whom Cicero seems to rank above all the illustrious men Greece ever produced.* Justin is of the same opinion, when he says, "that as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted, so Thebes, after having lost its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies; and its power seemed to have lost its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that city was not distinguished by any memorable action, and afterwards it was not famous for its virtues, but misfortunes, till it sunk into its original obscurity; so that it saw its glory take birth and expire with this great man."†

It has been doubted whether he was a more excellent captain or good man. He sought not power for himself, but for his country; and was so perfectly void of self-interest, that at his death he did not possess what would pay the expenses of his funeral. Truly a philosopher, and poor out of taste, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation for that contempt; and if Justin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him; and he behaved himself in them in such a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than he derived from them.‡

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a talent in his name. That rich man coming to his house, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon such an errand; "why," replied Epaminondas, "it is because this honest man is in want, and you are rich.§"

He had cultivated those generous and noble sentiments in himself by the study of polite learning and philosophy, which he had made his usual employment and sole delight from his earliest infancy; so that it was surprising, and a question frequently asked, how, and at what time it was possible for a man always busy among books, to attain, or rather seize, the knowledge of the military art in so great a degree of perfection.¶ Fond of leisure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, his darling passion, he shunned public employments, and made no interest but to exclude himself from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure and almost unknown. His merit however discovered him. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated, that philosophy, though generally in contempt with those who aspire to the glory of arms, is wonderfully useful in forming heroes. For, besides the knowledge of conquering

* Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ.—Acad. Quæst. l. i. n. 4.

† Nam sicuti telo, si primam aciem præfreris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi sustuleris; sic illo velut mucrone teli ablato duce Thebanorum, rei quoque publicæ vires hebetatæ sunt: ut non tam illum amisisse, quam cum illo omnes interire viderentur. Nam neque hunc ante duces illum memorabile bellum gessere, nec postea virtutibus, sed cladibus, insignes fuera, ut manifestum sit, patriæ gloriam et natam et extinctam cum eo fuisse.—Justin. l. vi. c. 8.

‡ Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux esset. Nam imperium non sibi semper, sed patriæ quæsivit; et pecuniæ adeo pareus fuit, ut sumptus funeri defuerit. Gloriæ quoque non cupidior, quam pecuniæ: quippe recusanti omnia imperia ingesta sunt, honoresque ita gessit, ut ornamentum non acciperet, sed dæi ipsi dignitati videretur.—Justin.

§ Ότι, Ζηνόςδε, έπεν, άτος άν πνεύς έστ' ου δέ πλάτεις. Plut. de Præcept. Reipub. Ger. p. 802.

¶ Jam literarum studium, jam philosophiæ doctrina tanta, ut mirabile videretur, unde tam insignis militiæ scientiæ homini inter literas nato.—Justin.

one's self, which is a great advance towards conquering the enemy, in this school were anciently taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a true discharge of them: what we owe our country, the right use of authority, wherein true courage consists, in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain.*

He possessed all the ornaments of the mind; he had the talent of speaking in perfection, and was well versed in the most sublime sciences. But a modest reserve threw a veil over all those excellent qualities, which still augmented their value, and of which he knew not what it was to be ostentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, said, "that he never had met with a man who knew more and spoke less."†

It may be said therefore of Epaminondas, that he falsified the proverb, which treated the Bœotians as gross and stupid. This was their common characteristic, and was imputed to the gross air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taste was attributed to the subtlety of the air they breathed.‡ Horace says, "that to judge of Alexander from his bad taste of poetry, one would swear him a true Bœotian."

—œ "Bœotum in crasso jurares ære natum." Epist. i. l. 2. œy—z
In thick Bœotian air you'd swear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little inclination to music, he thought fit to make this excuse; "it is for the Thebans§ to sing as they do, who know not how to speak." Pindar and Plutarch, who had very little of the soil in them, and who are proofs that genius is of all nations, do themselves condemn the stupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatness of his military exploits, but by that sort of merit which results from elevation of genius, and the study of science.

I shall conclude his portrait and character with a circumstance, that gives place in nothing to all his other excellencies, and which may in some sense be preferred to them, as it expresses a good heart, and a tender and sensible spirit, qualities very rare among the great, but infinitely more estimable than all those splendid attributes, which the vulgar of mankind commonly gaze at with admiration, and seem almost the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring people upon Epaminondas, who looked upon him as the support and restorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece; in a word, as the greatest man, and the most excellent captain, that ever was in the world. In the midst of this universal applause, so capable of making the general of an army forget the man for the victor, Epaminondas, little sensible to so affecting and so deserved a glory, modestly said, "my joy arises from my sense of *that*, which the news of my victory will give to my father and mother."¶

Nothing in history seems so valuable to me as such sentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart, which neither false glory nor false greatness have corrupted. I confess it is with grief I see those noble sentiments daily expire among us, especially in persons whose birth and rank raise them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good sons, good husbands, nor good friends; and who would think it a disgrace to them to express for a father and mother the tender regard, of which we have here so fine an example from a pagan.

Until the time of Epaminondas, two cities had exercised alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The justice and moderation of Sparta had at first acquired it a distinguished pre-eminence, which the pride and haughtiness of its generals, and especially of Pausanias, soon lost to it. The Athenians, until, the Peloponnesian war, held the first rank, but in a manner scarcely discernible in any other respect, than their care in acquitting themselves worthily, and in giving their inferiors just reason to believe themselves their equals. They judged at that time, and very justly, that the true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evidence their superiority only by services and benefactions. Those times, so glorious for Athens, were of about forty-five years continuance, and they retained a part of that pre-eminence during the twenty-seven years of the Peloponnesian war, which make in all, the seventy-two or seventy-three years which Demosthenes gives to the duration of their empire: but for this latter space of time, the Greeks, disgusted by the haughti-

* The works of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle, are proofs of this.

† Plut. de Audit. p. 38.

‡ Inter locorum naturas quantum intersit, videmus—Athenis tenne cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani.—Cic. de Fato, n. 7.

§ They were great musicians.

¶ Plut. in Coriol. p. 215.

ness of Athens, received no laws from that city but with reluctance.* Hence the Lacedæmonians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued so from the time Lysander made himself master of Athens, until the first war undertaken by the Athenians, after their re-establishment by Conon, to withdraw themselves and the rest of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more insolent than ever. At length, Thebes disputed the supremacy, and, by the exalted merit of a single man, saw itself at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance, and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already observed, plunged it again into the obscurity in which he found it.

Demosthenes remarks, in the passage above cited, that the pre-eminence granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a pre-eminence of honour, not of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preserve a kind of equality and independence in the other cities. Hence, says he, when the governing city attempted to ascribe to itself what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of justice and established customs, all the Greeks thought themselves obliged to have recourse to arms, and without any motive of private discontent, to espouse with ardour the cause of the injured.

I shall add here another very judicious reflection from Polybius. He attributes the wise conduct of the Athenians, in the time I speak of, to the ability of the generals who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes use of a comparison, which explains, not unhappily, the character of that people. "A vessel without a master," says he "is exposed to great dangers, when every one insists upon its being steered according to his opinion, and will comply with no other measures. If then a rude storm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them; they submit themselves to the pilot's skill; and all their rowers doing their duty, the ship is saved, and in a state of security. But when the tempest ceases, and the weather grows calm, again, if the discord of the mariners revive; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and some are for continuing the voyage, while others resolve to stop in the midst of the course; if on one side they loose their sails, and furl them on the other; it often happens that, after having escaped the most violent storms, they are shipwrecked even in the port. This is a natural image of the Athenian republic. As long as it suffered itself to be guided by the wise counsels of an Aristides, a Themistocles, and a Pericles, it came off victorious from the greatest dangers. But prosperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but caprice, and having become too insolent to be advised or governed, it plunged itself into the greatest misfortunes."†

SECTION VIII.—DEATH OF EVAGORAS, KING OF SALAMIN. ADMIRABLE CHARACTER OF THAT PRINCE.

THE third year of the 101st Olympiad, soon after the Thebans had destroyed Plataeæ and Thespiæ, as has been observed before, Evagoras king of Salamin, in the isle of Cyprus, of whom much has been already said, was assassinated by one of the eunuchs.‡ His son, Nicocles, succeeded him. He had a fine model before him in the person of his father; and he seemed to make it his duty to be entirely intent upon treading in his steps.§ When he took possession of the throne, he found the public treasures entirely exhausted, by the great expenses his father had been obliged to be at in the long war between him and the king of Persia. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occasions, thought every means just for the re-establishment of their affairs; but for him, he acted upon different principles. In his reign, there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscation of estates. The public felicity was his sole object, and justice his favourite virtue. He discharged the debts of the state gradually, not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expenses, and by using a wise economy in the administration of his revenue. "I am assured," said he, "that no citizen can complain that I have done him the least wrong; and I have the satisfaction to know, that I have enriched many with an unsparing hand.|| He believed this kind of vanity, if it be vanity, might be permitted in a prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to make his subjects such a defiance.

He gloried also in particular upon another virtue, which is the more admirable in princes, as very uncommon in their fortunes; I mean temperance.¶ It is most amia-

* Demost. Philip. iii. p. 89.
 † Isocrat. in Nicoc. p. 64.

† Polyb. l. vii. p. 488.
 ‡ Ibid. p. 65—66.

‡ A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. l. xv. p. 363.
 ¶ Isocrat. in Nicoc. p. 64.

ble, but very difficult, in an age and fortune to which every thing is lawful, and wherein pleasure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambush for a young prince, and preventing his desires, to make a long resistance against the violence and insinuation of her soft assaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman besides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts of civil society should be treated with due regard, while that of marriage, the most sacred and inviolable of obligations, was broken through with impunity; and that men should not blush to commit an infidelity in respect to their wives, of which should their wives be guilty, it would throw them into the utmost anguish and despair.

What I have said of the justice and temperance of Nicocles, Isocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he should make him speak in such a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with such sentiments. It is in a discourse, supposed to be addressed by that king to his people, wherein he describes to them the duties of subjects to their princes; love, respect, obedience, fidelity, and devotion to their service, and to engage them more effectually to the discharge of those duties, that he does not disdain to give them an account of his own conduct and sentiments.

In another discourse, which precedes this, Isocrates explains to Nicocles all the duties of the sovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that subject, of which I can repeat here only a very small part. He begins by telling him that the private virtue of persons is much better supported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition; by the employment and cares inseparable from it; by the misfortunes to which they are frequently exposed; by their distance from pleasures and luxury; and particularly, by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas the generality of princes have none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and inactive life, should set apart a proper time for business and public affairs, should form his council of the most able and experienced persons in his kingdom, should endeavour to make himself as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom, as he is by his dignity, and especially to acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. "Persist," said he, "in the religion you have received from your forefathers; but be assured, that the most grateful adoration and sacrifice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that of the heart, in rendering yourself good and just. Show upon all occasions so high a regard for truth, that a single word from you may be more confided in than the oath of others. Be a warrior, by your ability in military affairs, and by such a warlike provision as may intimidate your enemies; but let your inclinations be pacific, and be rigidly exact in never pretending to, or undertaking any thing unjustly. The only certain proof that you have reigned well, will be the power of bearing this testimony to yourself, that your people are become both more happy, and more wise, under your government."*

What seems to me the most remarkable in this discourse is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and more for the prince's than the writer's praise. Nicocles, far from being offended at these counsels, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents.†

SECTION IX.—ARTAXERXES MNEMON UNDERTAKES THE REDUCTION OF EGYPT.

ARTAXERXES, after having given his people a relaxation of several years, had formed the design of reducing Egypt which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose.‡ Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised a great number of troops from among his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks, and other auxiliary soldiers, who were under the command of Ghabrias.§ He had accepted that office without the authority of the republic.

Pharnabasis, having been charged with this war, sent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republic

* Ibid. ad Nicoc.

† A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Diod. l. xv. p. 323, et 347.

‡ Plut. in Vit. Isoc. p. 838.

§ Corn. Nep. in Chab. et in Iphis.

with the king's resentment if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the king's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. Achoris king of Egypt died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but one year. Nephretritus ascended the throne next, and four months after him, Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.*

Artaxerxes, to draw more troops out of Greece, sent ambassadors thither to declare to the several states, that the king's intention was, that they should all live in peace with each other, conformably to the treaty of Antalcides; that all garrisons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleasure, except the Thebans, who refused to conform to it.†

At length every thing being in readiness for the invasion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Acæ, since called Ptolemais, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabasis, and twenty thousand Greeks, under Iphicrates. The forces at sea were in proportion to those on land; their fleet consisting of three hundred galleys, besides two hundred vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the fleet and army.‡

The army and fleet began to move at the same time; and that they might act in concert, they separated from each other as little as possible. The war was to open with the siege of Pelusium; but so much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet, therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, sailed forward, and entered the mouth of the Nile called Mendesium. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, only two of which remain at this day; and at each of those mouths there was a fort with a good garrison to defend the entrance. The Mendesium not being so well fortified as that of Pelusium, where the enemy was expected to land, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried sword in hand, and no quarter given to those who were found in it.

After this signal action, Iphicrates thought it advisable to reembark upon the Nile without loss of time, and to attack Memphis, the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had recovered from the panic into which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them, they would have found the capital undefended, and it would have inevitably fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been re-conquered. But the main body of the army not being arrived, Pharnabasis believed it necessary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-assembled all his troops; under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obstacle capable of withstanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew, that, in affairs of war especially, there are certain favourable and decisive moments, which it is absolutely proper to seize, judged quite differently, and in despair to see an opportunity suffered to escape, that might never be retrieved, made pressing instances for permission to go at least with the twenty thousand men under his command. Pharnabasis refused to comply with that command, out of abject jealousy; apprehending, that if the enterprise succeeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look around them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garrison into Memphis, and with the rest of their army kept the field, and harassed the Persians in such a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Persians were obliged to return into Phœnicia, after having first lost the best part of their troops.

Thus this expedition, which had cost immense sums, and for which the preparations alone had given so much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miscar-

* Euseb. in Chron.
‡ Diod. l. xv. p. 359.

† A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. l. xv. p. 355.
§ Damietta and Rosetta.

ried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals who had the command of it. Pharnabasis, to excuse himself, accused Iphicrates of having prevented its success; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, laid all the fault upon Pharnabasis. But well assured that the Persian lord would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, to avoid the fate of that illustrious Athenian, he chose to retire secretly to Athens in a small vessel which he hired. Pharnabasis caused him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition against Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made answer, that if he could be convicted of that crime, he should be punished as he deserved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any disquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in question about it; and some time after, the Athenians declared him sole admiral of their fleet.

Most of the projects of the Persian court miscarried by their slowness in putting them in execution.* Their general's hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their discretion. They had a plan of conduct in their instructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreseen and provided for, they must wait for new orders from court; and before they arrived, the opportunity was entirely lost. Iphicrates, having observed that Pharnabasis took his resolutions with all the presence of mind and penetration that could be desired in an accomplished general, asked him one day, how it happened that he was so quick in his views, and so slow in his actions? "It is," replied Pharnabasis, "because my views depend only upon me, but their execution upon my master."†

SECTION X.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS SEND AGESILAUS TO THE AID OF TACHOS.
HIS DEATH.

AFTER the battle of Mantinea, both parties, equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the king of Persia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was secured to each city, and the Messenians included in it, notwithstanding all the oppositions and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion, separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who resolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time.—That resolution, of which Agesilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, insatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republic again in inevitable misfortunes, from the necessity, to which the want of money exposed them, of borrowing great sums, and of levying great imposts, instead of taking the favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and of putting an end to all their evils.‡

While this passed in Greece, Tachos, who had ascended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himself against the king of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his past endeavours to reduce that kingdom.§

For this purpose, Tochos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians, with Agesilaus to command them, whom he promised to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacedæmonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, for his having forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, and were fond of taking this occasion to express their resentment. Chabrias went also into the service of Tachos, but of his own accord, and without the republic's approbation. This commission did Agesilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was then more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to reserve a barbarian, who had revolted against his master.

When he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals, and the great officers of his house, came to his ship to receive and make their court to him. The rest of the Egyptians were solicitous to see him, from the great expectation which the name and renown of Agesilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the shore for that purpose. But when, instead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea his exploits had given them of him, they saw nothing splendid or majestic either in his person or equipage, and saw only an old man of a mean aspect and

* Dioid. l. xv. p. 358.

† Ibid. p. 375.

‡ Plut. in Agesil. p. 616—618. Dioid. l. xv. p. 397—401.

§ A. M. 364. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. de Reg. Agesil. p. 663. Corn. Nep. in Agesil. c. viii.

small body, and dressed in a bad robe of a very coarse stuff, they were seized with an immoderate disposition to laugh, and applied to him the fable of the mountain in labour.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was very much surprised at not being appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops, that Chabrias was made general of the sea forces, and that Tachos retained the command in chief to himself, which was not the only mortification he had experienced.

Tachos came to a resolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more advisable to make that country the seat of war, than to expect the enemy in Egypt. Agesilaus, who knew better, represented to him in vain, that his affairs was not sufficiently established to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would do much better to remain in them, and content himself with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. Agesilaus was so much incensed at such conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms against him during his absence, and had placed Nectanebis his cousin* upon the throne. Agesilaus, abandoning the king, to whose aid he had been sent, and joining the rebel who had dethroned him, alledged in justification of himself, that he was sent to the assistance of the Egyptians; and that they, having taken up arms against Tachos, he was not at liberty to serve against them without new orders from Sparta. He dispatched expresses thither; and the instructions he received, were to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country. He immediately declared for Nactanebis. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but added to his clemency the command of his troops against the rebels.

Agesilaus covered so criminal a conduct with the veil of public utility. But says Plutarch, remove that delusive blind, the most just and only true name which can be given to the action, is that of perfidy and treason. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, making the *glorious* and the *good* consist principally in the service of that country which they idolized, knew no other justice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am surprised that so judicious an author as Xenophon should endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by saying only, that Agesilaus attached himself to that of the two kings, who seemed the best affected to Greece.

At the same time, a third prince of the city of Mendes set himself up, to dispute the crown with Nectanebis. This new competitor had an army of one hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave his advice to attack them, before they were exercised and disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it had been easy to have defeated a body of people, raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebis imagined, that Agesilaus only gave him this advice to betray him afterwards, as he had done Tachos. He therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops, who soon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agesilaus was obliged to follow him thither, where the Mendesian prince besieged them. Nectanebis would then have attacked the enemy before the works which he had begun were far advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refused his compliance at first, which extremely augmented the suspicious conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line, as the troops within the city might occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebis that it was time to attack the enemy; that their own lines would prevent their surrounding him; and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in such a manner that they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to the expectation of Agesilaus; the besiegers were beaten; and from thenceforth Agesilaus conducted all the operations of the war with so much success, that the enemy was always overcome, and the prince at last taken prisoner.

The following winter, after having well established Nectanebis, he embarked to return to Lacedæmon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place called the port of Menclaus, where he fell sick and died, at the age of

* Diodorus calls him his son, Plutarch his cousin.

eighty-four years. He had reigned forty-one of them at Sparta; and of those forty-one, he had passed thirty with the reputation of the greatest and most powerful of all the Greeks, and had been looked upon as the leader and king of almost all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely support the reputation he had acquired; and Xenophon, in his eulogy of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, had been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults, too much.*

The body of Agesilaus was carried to Sparta. Those who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan custom to cover the bodies they would embalm, made use of wax in its stead. His son Archidamus succeeded to the throne, which continued in his house down to Agis, who was the fifth king of the line of Agesilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greatest part of the provinces in subjection to Persia revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occasion of this defection. That prince, of himself, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people, and was beloved by them. He had much mildness and sweetness of temper in his character; but that easiness degenerated into sloth and luxury, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he discovered a dislike for all business and application; from whence the good qualities, which he otherwise possessed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became useless and without effect. The nobility and governors of provinces, abusing his favour and the infirmities of his great age, oppressed the people, treated them with insolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes, and did every thing in their power to render the Persian yoke insupportable.

The discontent became general, and broke out, after long suffering, almost at the same time on all sides. Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces, declared themselves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conspiracy were Ariobarzanes prince of Phrygia, Mausolus king of Caria, Orontes governor of Mysia, and Autophradates governor of Lydia. Datames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was also engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder did not suffice for the expenses of a war against the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance; and those who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, were also the foremost in resuming it, and in betraying the interests of the others, to make their peace with the king.

The provinces of Asia Minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had chosen Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand foreign troops to those of the country, and had charged the same Orontes with the care of raising them. But when he had got the money for that service into his hands, with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himself, and delivered to the king the persons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Reomithras, another of the chiefs of Asia Minor; having been sent into Egypt to negotiate succours, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country five hundred talents and fifty ships of war, he assembled the principal revolters at Leucas, a city of Asia Minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiation, seized them all, delivered them to the king to make his peace, and kept the money he had received in Egypt for the confederacy. Thus this formidable revolt, which would have brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, dissolved of itself, or, to speak more properly, was suspended for some time.

SECTION XI.—TROUBLE OF THE COURT OF ARTAXERXES CONCERNING HIS SUCCESSOR.
DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.

The end of the reign of Artaxerxes abounded with cabals.† The whole court were divided into factions in favour of one or other of his sons, who pretended to the succession. He had one hundred and fifty by his concubines, who were in number three hundred and sixty, and three by his lawful wife Atossa; Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practices, he declared Darius, the eldest, his succes-

* A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

† Diodorus says he was sent to Tachos, but it is more likely that it was to Nectanebis.

‡ Plut. in Artax. p. 1024--1027. Diod. l. xv. p. 460. Justin. l. x. c. 1, 2.

nor. And to remove all cause of disputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to assume from thenceforth the title of king, and to wear the royal tiara.* But the young prince was for having something more real. Besides which, the refusal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incensed him, and he formed a conspiracy against his father's life, wherein he engaged fifty of his brothers.

It was Tirabasus, of whom mention has been made already, who contributed the most to his taking so unnatural a resolution from a like subject of discontent against the king; who, having promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke his word both times, and married them himself; such abominable incests being permitted at that time in Persia, the religion of the nation not prohibiting them.

The number of the conspirators was already very great, and the day fixed for the execution, when an eunuch, well informed of the whole plot, discovered it to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise so great a danger by neglecting a strict inquiry into it, but that it would be much more so, to give credit to it without certain and unquestionable proof. He assured himself of it with his own eyes. The conspirators were suffered to enter the king's apartment, and then seized. Darius and all his accomplices were punished as they deserved.

After the death of Darius, the cabals began again. Three of his brothers were competitors, Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames. The two first pretended to the throne in right of birth, being the sons of the queen. The third had the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, studied perpetually the means to rid himself of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his cunning and artifice against Ariaspes, and his cruelty against Arsames. Knowing the former to be extremely simple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he had found means to corrupt, threaten him so terribly in the name of the king his father, that expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. After this there remained only Arsames to give him umbrage; because his father, and all the world, considered that prince as most worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. He caused him to be assassinated by Harpates, son of Tirabasus.

This loss, which followed close upon the other, and the exceeding wickedness with which both were attended, gave the old king a grief that proved mortal: nor is it surprising, that at his age he should not have strength enough to support so great an affliction. He sunk under it into his tomb, after a reign of forty-three years, which might have been called happy, if not interrupted by many revolts. That of his successor will be no less disturbed with them.†

SECTION XII.—CAUSES OF THE FREQUENT INSURRECTIONS AND REVOLTS IN THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

I HAVE taken care, in relating the seditions that happened in the Persian empire, to observe from time to time the abuses which occasioned them. But as these revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more so, especially in the succeeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here, under the same point of view, the different causes of such insurrections, which foretell the approaching decline of the Persian empire.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Persia abandoned themselves more and more to the charms of voluptuousness and luxury, and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces among women, and a crowd of flatterers, they contented themselves with enjoying, in soft effeminate ease and idleness, the pleasure of universal command, and made their grandeur consist in the splendid glare of riches, and an expensive magnificence.

II. They were besides princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of little capacity to govern, and void of taste for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor ability to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the care of public business, the fatigues of com-

*This tiara was a turban, or kind of head-dress, with the plume of feathers standing upright upon it. The seven counsellors had also plumes of feathers, which they wore aslant, and before. All others wore them aslant, and behind.

†A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

manding armies, and the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprises; confining their ambition to bearing alone the lofty title of the great king, and the king of kings.

III. The great offices of the crown, the government of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either service or merit. It was the influence of the favourites, the secret intrigues of the court, the solicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons who were to fill the most important posts of the empire, and appropriated the rewards due to the officers who had done the state real service to their own creatures.

IV. These courtiers, often out of a base, mean jealousy of the merit that gave them umbrage, and reproach their mean abilities, removed their rivals from public employments, and rendered their talents useless to the state, sometimes they would even cause their fidelity to be suspected by false informations, bring them to trial as criminals against the state, and force the king's most faithful servants, for their defence against their calumniators, to seek their safety in revolting, and in turning those arms against their prince, which they had so often made to triumph for his glory, and the service of the empire.*

V. The ministers, to hold the generals in dependence, restrained them under such limited orders, as obliged them to let slip the occasions of conquering, and prevented them, by waiting for new orders, from pushing their advantages. They also often made them responsible for their bad success, after having let them want every thing necessary to the service.

VI. The king of Persia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus, and the ancient Persians, who contented themselves with cresses and sallads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been infected with the contagion of this example. In retaining the single meal of their ancestors, they made it last during the greatest part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night by drinking to excess; and far from being ashamed of drunkenness, they made it their glory, as we have seen in the example of young Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Caspian and Euxine to the Red Sea and Ethiopia, from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Egean sea, was a great obstacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the satisfaction to enjoy the presence of their masters; who knew them only by the weight of their taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their satraps or governors: and who, in transporting themselves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find access to princes, who believed it contributed to the majesty of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia, did not compose a uniform empire, nor the regular body of a state, whose members were united by the common ties of interests, manners, language, and religion, and animated with the same spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. It was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultuous, and even forced assemblage of different nations, formerly free and independent, some of whom, who were torn from their native countries and the sepulchres of their forefathers, saw themselves with pain transported into unknown regions, or among enemies, where they persevered to retain their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. These different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation among them, but with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, desired nothing so ardently as their liberty, and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people, therefore, were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire, which was the sole obstacle to their so ardent and just desires, and could not affect a government that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the viceroys of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raise and pay armies; to impose tribute; to adjudge the differences of cities, provinces, and vassal kings, and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive, and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without colleagues or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accustomed them to the pleasure of commanding

* Pharnabazus, Tiribazus, Datames, &c.

absolutely, and of reigning. In consequence of which, it was with great reluctance they submitted to be removed from their governments, and they often endeavoured to support themselves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and ministers, thought it for their honour to imitate, in their equipages, tables, moveables, and habits, the pomp and splendour of the court in which they had been educated. To support so destructive a pride, and to furnish expenses so much above the fortunes of private persons, they were reduced to oppress the subjects under their jurisdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions, and the shameful traffic of a public venality, that set those offices to sale for money, which ought to have been granted only to merit. All that vanity lavished, or luxury exhausted, was made good by mean arts, and the violent rapaciousness of an insatiable avarice.

These gross irregularities, and many others, which remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented by impunity, tired the people's patience, and occasioned a general discontent among them, the usual forerunner of the ruin of states. Their just complaints, long despised, were followed by the open rebellion of several nations, who endeavoured to do themselves that justice by force, which was refused to their remonstrances. In such a conduct, they failed in the submission and fidelity which subjects owe to their sovereigns; but paganism did not carry its lights so far, and was not capable of so sublime a perfection, which was reserved for a religion that teaches, that no pretext, no injustice, nor vexation, can ever authorize the rebellion of a people against their prince.

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