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THE MISTOCLES, Making
Protection of ADMETUS,
Published Feb. 1. 1754, by J. P. Knapton.

THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

VOL. III.

THE FIFTH EDITION,

Illustrated with COPPER-PLATES, and a Set of MAPS of Ancient Geography coloured, drawn by the *Sieur D'Anville*, Geographer to the King of France.

L O N D O N:

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MDCCLXVIII.

* ADAMS 190.21

v. 3

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I M A.

VI.
I.
J. C.
I.



GRÆCIA MAGNA
including
SICILY;

*Shewing the Settlements of the Greeks
in Italy, with Pyrrhus's Expedition there,
and the Carthaginians in Sicily.*

Made by M^r D'ANVILLE
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 BOOK THE SEVENTH.

 THE ANCIENT
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 Persians *and* Grecians.

C H A P. I.

THIS chapter includes the history of the Persians ARTAX. LONGIMA. and Greeks, from the beginning of Artaxerxes's reign, to the Peloponnesian war, which began in the 42d year of that king's reign.

SECT. I. ARTAXERXES *ruins the faction of* ARTABANUS, *and that of* HYSTASPES *his elder brother.*

THE Greek historians give this prince the surname of Longimanus. Strabo (a) says, it was because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them; but according to (b) 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.

A. M.
3531.
Ant. J. C.
473.

(c) Although Artaxerxes, by the death of Artabanus, was delivered from a dangerous competitor, there still were two obstacles in his way, before he could establish himself in the quiet possession of his throne; one of which was, his brother Hystaspes, governor of

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B

Bactriana;

(a) Lib. xv. p. 735.

(b) In Artax. p. 1011.

(c) Ctes. c. xxx.

ARTAX. Bactriana; and the other, the faction of Artabanus.
LONGIMA. He began by the latter.

Artabanus had left seven sons, and a great number of partisans, who soon 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. (*d*) 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 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 it, 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 perpetually exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. The worms which bred in his excrements preyed upon his bowels. The criminal lived fifteen or twenty days in inexpressible torments.

(*e*) 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, Hytaspes 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. Artaxerxes having raised a greater army than his brother, (not to mention that the whole empire declared in his favour) defeated him in a second engagement,

(*d*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1019.

(*e*) Ctes. c. xxxi.

ment, and entirely ruined his party. By this victory he secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

(f) To maintain himself in the throne, he removed all such governors of cities and provinces from their employments, as he suspected to hold 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 publick good, he soon acquired great reputation and authority, with the love of his subjects, the strongest support of sovereign power.

SECT. II. THEMISTOCLES *fies 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 with him who 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.

A. M.
3531.

(g) 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

B 2

deliver

(f) Diod. l. xi. p. 54.
Themist. p. 125, 127.

(g) Thucyd. l. i. p. 90, 91. Plut. in
Diod. l. xi. p. 42, 44. Corn. Nep. in
Themist. c. viii. z.

ARTAX.
LONGINA.

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 intreaties and menaces, he forced them to sail towards Asia.

(g) Themistocles might on this occasion call to mind the advice which his father had given him when an infant, *viz.* 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 galleys that lay neglected on the strand, *Behold there,* says he, *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 was 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, use 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. Being come to 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

(g) Plut. in Themist. p. 112.

* Two hundred thousand crowns, or about 45,000 l. sterling.

him to audience, having matters of great 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, says 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 audience, he fell on his face before the king, after the Persian manner; and afterwards rising up, "Great king *," says he by an interpreter, "I am Themistocles the Athenian, who having been banished by the Greeks, am 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 exert your clemency, or display 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, he told his friends, that he considered Themistocles's arrival 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 this king was asleep, he started up three times in excess of joy, and cried thrice, *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 no-

B 3 thing

* *Thucydides makes him say very near the same words; but informs us, that Themistocles did not speak them to the king, but sent them by way of letter before he was introduced to him.*

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

thing 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 then should 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 spoke 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 every banquet and entertainment; and sometimes conversed privately with him, so that the lords of the court grew jealous and uneasy upon 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

* Two hundred thousand French crowns; or, about 45,000 l. sterling.

peculiar favour shewed 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.

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

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 Sardes, with the royal tiara on his head: A ridiculous vanity! equally unworthy of the Grecian grandeur, and the 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; but 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 mixed 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, was honoured and esteemed by all the world, who were emulous in making their 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, as 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 every year) had those of Myunte and Lampfacus assigned him. One of the cities was to furnish him with bread, another

B 4

with

* Fifty thousand crowns; or, about 11,250l. sterling.

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with wine, and a third with other provisions. Some authors add two more, *viz.* for his furniture and cloaths. 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 splendor, till he came to his end in the manner which will be related hereafter.

SECT. III. CIMON *begins to make a figure at Athens. His first atchievement and double victory over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon. Death of THEMISTOCLES.*

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3534.
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(b) **T**HE 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. (i) 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 an esteem for persons of merit. Such was the character of Cimon. The ill reputation 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 of concerning himself with the affairs

(b) Diod. l. xi. p. 45. Plut. in Cim. p. 482, 483. (i) Plut. in Cim. p. 480.

fairs of the publick. But Aristides perceiving that his dissolute turn of mind was united with many fine qualities, he 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?

(k) Plutarch observes, that after Cimon had laid aside his juvenile extravagances, his conduct was in 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 virtues, he surpassed them far in the practice of the moral ones.

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 pregnancy of their parts and goodness of disposition. They would thereby have an opportunity of serving their country even after their death, and of perpetuating in it, in the person of their pupils, a taste and inclination for true merit, and the practice of the wisest maxims.

The Athenians, a little 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.

(l) The fate of Eion is of too singular a kind to be omitted here. Boges * was governor of it under the

(k) Plut. in Cim. p. 481. (l) Herod. l. vii. c. 107. Plut. p. 482.

* Plutarch calls him Butis. Herodotus seems to place this history under Xerxes; but it is more probable, that it happened under Artaxerxes his successor.

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the king of Persia, and acted with such a zeal and fidelity for his sovereign, as have 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. However, being persuaded he could not 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; and causing fire to be set to a pile, and having killed his wife, his children, and his whole family, he threw them into the midst of the flames, and afterwards rushed into them himself. Xerxes could not but admire, and at the same time bewail, so surprizing 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 Scyros, 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, near 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 tragick writers, which became very famous, and contributed exceedingly to the improvement of the drama, by the wonderful emulation it excited among the tragick 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 dramattick poet, that Athens became insupportable to him, and he withdrew to Sicily, where he died.

(m) The confederates had taken a great number of Barbarian prisoners in Sestus and Byzantium; and, as a proof of the high regard they had for Cimon, intreated 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; whilst 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 monies 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 exceeding pleasure, in relating this adventure to his friends.

(n) He made the best use of his riches, as Gorgias the rhetor has happily expressed it in few, but strong and elegant words. * *Cimon, says he, amassed riches, only to use them; and he employed them to no other use, but 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

(m) Plut. in Cim. p. 484. (n) Plut. in Cim. p. 484. Cornel. Nep. in Cim. c. iv. Athen. l. xii. p. 533.

* Ομοί τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κτείνει μὲν ὡς χρῆτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο.

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justice Tertullian defined a pagan, how perfect soever he might appear, a vain-glorious animal, *animal glorie*. 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 in a frugal, but polite manner. 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. Now that of Cimon was plain, 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 expences of his house, but for the wants of his friends, his domesticks, 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 who were in want of them. He often buried such persons as had not left money enough behind them to defray the expences of their funeral; and what is admirable, and which Plutarch does not fail to observe, he did not act in this manner to gain credit among the people, nor to purchase their voices; since we find him, on all occasions, declaring for the contrary faction, that is, in favour of such citizens as were most considerable for their wealth or authority.

(o) Although he saw all the rest of the governors of his time enrich themselves by the plunder and oppression of the publick, 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 spontaneously, and without the least view of interest, whatever he thought might be of advantage to the commonwealth.

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Besides a great number of other excellent qualities, Cimon had the finest sense, extraordinary prudence, and a profound 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 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; whilst 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 expence; so that they who before had been companions and allies, became in some measure the subjects and tributaries of the Athenians.

(p) 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 point, he bravely attacked

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tacked 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 leapt 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. However Cimon, 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. Accordingly he* landed, and marched them directly against the Barbarians, who waited resolutely for their coming up, and sustained the first onset with prodigious 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 Plataea; 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 to strangers; whereas

* We don't find that the ancients made use of long-boats in making descents; the reason of which perhaps was, that as their gallees were flat-bottomed, they were brought to shore without any difficulty.

whereas works, built for publick use, are his property ARTAX.
LONGIMAS in some measure for ever, and transmit his name to the latest posterity. (q) 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 method of acquiring their friendship and esteem.

(r) The year following, this general sailed towards the Hellespont; and having drove 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 Thafus, who had revolted from the Athenians, and defeated their fleet. These maintained their revolt with an almost unparalleled obstinacy and fury. (s) 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 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. (t) The women were no less inflexible than the men; for the besieged wanting 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 the 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," says he, "do with me as you please, and don't spare me if you judge proper; but let my death save the rest of
" the

(q) Plut. de gerend. rep. p. 818. (r) Plut. in Cim. p. 487.
Thucyd. l. i. p. 66, 67. Diod. l. xi. p. 53. (s) Polyæn. Str. l. ii.
(t) Polyæn. l. viii.

ARTAX. " the people, and prevail with you to abolish the cruel
LONGIMA. " 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.

A. M. (u) The conquests of Cimon and the power of the
3538. Athenians, which increased every day, gave Artaxerxes
Ant. J. C. great uneasiness. To prevent the consequences of it,
466. 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 instances 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 seemed to be as successful as valiant; these different reflections would

would not suffer him to declare against his country, in an enterprize, which, whether successful or not, would reflect shame on himself. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

To rid 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 threescore and five years, the greatest part of which he had spent either in the government of the republick, or the command of the armies. (x) 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 domesticks. But the unexpected death of Themistocles proved an obstacle to the design he meditated of attacking the Greeks. The Magnesians erected a splendid monument to the memory of that general in the publick square, and granted peculiar privileges and honours to his descendants. They continued to enjoy them in Plutarch's time, that is, near six hundred years after, and his tomb was still standing.

(y) 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 uninteresting. He appeals for this to Thucydides, that judicious historian, who was an Athenian, and almost contemporary with Themistocles. This author indeed owns, that a report had prevailed, that this

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general

(x) Cic. de Senec. n. 72.

(y) Brut. n. 42, 43

* The wisest heathens did not think that a man was allowed violent hands on himself.

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general had poisoned himself; however, his opinion was, that he died a natural death, and that his friends conveyed his bones secretly to Athens, where, in (z) Pausanias's time, his mausolæum 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 even enflamed; was fired with an incredible thirst for glory, which sometimes his country's love would temper and allay, but which sometimes carried him too far; * his presence of mind was such, that it immediately suggested whatever it was most necessary to act: 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 inspired 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 publick affairs.

(a) 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 an indifferent 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.*

(z) Lib. i. p. 1.

* De instantibus, ut ait Thucydides, verissimè judicabat, & de futuris callidissimè conjiciebat. *Corn. Nep. in Themist. cap. i.*

† Themistocles, cùm consuleretur utrum bono viro pauperi, an minùs

(a) Plut. in Themist. p. 121.

probato diviti filiam collocaret: EGGERO, inquit, MALO VIRUM QUI PECUNIA EGREAT, QUAM PECUNIAM QUÆ VIRO. *Cic. de Offic. l. ii. c. 71.*

SECT. IV. *The Egyptians rise against Persia, supported by the Athenians.*

(b) 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 Lybians, 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.

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A. M.
3538.
Ant. J. C.
466.

Advice being brought 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 being arrived 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, they went again up that river, landed their forces under the command of Charitimi 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 an 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 *white wall*, which was the largest and strongest of the three, they were besieged in it near three years, during which they made a most vigorous defence, till they were at last delivered by the forces sent to their aid.

A. M.
3545.
Ant. J. C.
459.

Artaxerxes hearing of the defeat of his army, and how much the Athenians had contributed to it; to make a diversion of their forces, and oblige them to

A. M.
3546.
Ant. J. C.
458.

C 2 turn

(b) Thucy. l. i. p. 68. & 71, 72. Ctes. c. 33---35. Diod. l. xi. p. 54---59.

turn their arms another way, he sent ambassadors to the
 ARTAX. Lacedæmonians, with a large sum of money, to engage
 LONGIMA. them to proclaim war against the Athenians. But the
 Lacedæmonians having rejected the offer, their refusal
 did not abate his ardor, and accordingly he gave Mega-
 A. M. bysus and Artabazus the command of the forces de-
 3547. signed against Egypt. These generals immediately
 Ant. J. C. raised an army of three hundred thousand men in Cilicia
 557. and Phœnicia. They were obliged to wait till the
 fleet was equipped, which was not till the next year.
 A. M. Artabazus then took upon him the command of it, and
 3548. sailed towards the Nile, whilst Megabyfus, at the head
 Ant. J. C. of the land army, marched towards Memphis. He
 456. raised the siege of that city, and afterwards fought
 Inarus. All the forces on both sides engaged in this
 battle, in which Inarus was entirely defeated; but the
 Egyptians, who had rebelled, suffered most in this
 slaughter. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded
 by Megabyfus, 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 sur-
 rounded by two arms of the Nile, and 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 re-united to the empire of Ar-
 taxerxes, except Amyrteus, who had still a small party
 in the fens, where he long supported himself, through
 the difficulty the Persians found in penetrating far
 enough to reduce him.

A. M. The siege of Prosopitis was still carrying on. The
 3550. Persians finding that they made no advances in attack-
 Ant. J. C. ing it after the usual methods, because of the strata-
 454. gems and intrepidity of the besieged, they therefore
 had recourse to an extraordinary expedient; which soon
 produced what force had not been able to effect.
 They turned the course, by different canals, of the
 arm of the Nile in which the Athenians lay, and by
 that means opened themselves a passage for their whole
 army

army to enter the island. Inarus seeing that all was ^{ARTAX.} lost; compounded with Megabyfus for himself, for ^{LONGIMAS} all his Egyptians, and about fifty Athenians, and surrendered upon 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 they had taken so desperate a resolution, did not think it advisable 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.

But 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) to disengage them, not knowing what had happened. But the instant they entered, the Persian fleet, which kept out at sea, followed them and attacked their rear, whilst 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 united again to the Persian empire, and continued so during the rest of the reign of Artaxerxes, of which this is the twentieth year. But the prisoners who were taken in this war met with the most unhappy fate.

A. M.
3550.
Ant. J. C.
454.

SECT. V. INARUS is delivered up to the king's mother, contrary to the articles of the treaty. The affliction of MEGABYSUS, who revolts:

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

(c) **A**RTAXERXES, 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 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. (d) This inhuman prince, without regard to the faith of solemn treaties, caused Inarus to be crucified, and beheaded all the rest. Megabyfus 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.

A. M. The king sent Osiris, who was one of the greatest lords of the court, against him with an army of two hundred thousand men. Megabyfus engaged Osiris, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his army to flight. Artaxerxes sending to demand Osiris, Megabyfus generously dismissed him, as soon as his wounds were cured.

A. M. 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 Megabyfus 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 Megabyfus, with several other persons

(c) Ctes. c. xxxv.---xl.

(d) Thucyd. l. i. p. 72.

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 court. ARTAX.
LONGINA.

One day as they were hunting, a lion raising himself on his hinder feet, was going to rush upon the king, when Megabyfus 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 first, commanded Megabyfus's head to be struck off: Amytis the king's sister, and Amestris, with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon the king to change this sentence into perpetual banishment. Megabyfus was therefore sent to Cyra, 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. Megabyfus 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 Megabyfus.

It is surprizing 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? and was this placing the point of honour in a manner worthy a king? Nevertheless, history furnishes us with many instances of this kind. I am apt to believe, from some expressions of (e)

C 4

Plutarch,

(e) Plut. in Apothhegm. p. 173.

* Beneficia eò usque læta sunt, odium redditur. *Tacit. Anal. l. i.*
dum videantur exolvi posse; ubi c. 13.
multum antevertere, pro gratia

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

Plutarch, that Artaxerxes was ashamed of the wild fury to which this false delicacy had raised him, and that he made some publick 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.

SECT. 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, the several things which happened to the people of God, during the first twenty years of Artaxerxes, which is an essential part of the history of that prince.

(f) 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, who was high-priest of Jerusalem, when destroyed by Nabuchodonosor, 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, (g) *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 in 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,

A. M.
3537.
Ant. J. C.
467.

(f) 1 Esdras vii. &c.

(g) 1 Esdras viii. 3.

worship, he adds, *(b)* *Let all things be performed after* ARTAX.
the law of God diligently, unto the most high God, that LONGIMA.
wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his son.

This commission, as I observed, impowered him to settle the religion and government of the Jews, pursuant to the law 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.

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3550.

Ant. J. C.

454.

(i) 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 privilege 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 Sion. Some Jews who were come from Jerusalem, having informed him of the sad state of that city, that its walls lay in ruin, 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.

(b) 1 Esdras viii. 21.

(i) Nehem. c. i. & ii.

ARTAX. qualities. Nehemiah took this opportunity to acquaint
LONGIMA. him with the calamitous state of his country; owned 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 honour, ordered a body of horse, commanded by a considerable officer, to escort him thither. He likewise writ to all 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.

(k) 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 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.

“ (l) 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 sins, 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 the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And
“ after

(k) Dan. ix. 23---27.

(l) Ibid.

“ after threescore 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 deter-
 “ mined. 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.”

(*m*) 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 two books of Chronicles, to which he added the history of his own times, which was finished by Nehemiah. It is their books that end the long history which Moses had begun, and which the writers who came after them continued in a direct series, till the repairing of Jerusalem. The rest of the sacred history is not written in that uninterrupted order. Whilst Esdras and Nehemiah were compiling the latter part of that great work, Herodotus, whom prophane 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 compute only from Abraham, included already fifteen centuries. Herodotus made 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.

(*m*) *Bishop of Meaux's universal history.*

SECT. VII. *Character of PERICLES. The methods employed by him to gain the affection of the people.*

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

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, divided all credit 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 scheme and method of government.

(n) Pericles was descended, by the mother's as well as father's side, 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 Clysthenes, who expelled the Pisistratides, descendants of Pisistratus the tyrant, and established a popular government in Athens. Pericles had long prepared himself for the design 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 *Intelligence*, 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, but to a superior intelligence, who disposed and governed all things with wisdom. This tenet or opinion subsisted long before his time, but he perhaps set it in a stronger light than all others had done, and taught it methodically and from principles. Anaxagoras instructed his pupil perfectly in the part of philosophy that relates to nature, and which is therefore called * physicks. 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

(n) Plut. in vit. Pericl. p. 153---156.

* The ancients, under this name, knowledge of spiritual things, as comprehended what we call physicks God and spirits; and that of and metaphysicks; that is, the bodies.

observed in his time; and which, in affairs of govern-^{ARTAX.}
 ment and military enterprizes, either disconcerted often ^{LONGIMA.}
 the wisest and most necessary measures, or defeated
 them by scrupulous delays, authorized and covered
 with the specious veil of religion. These were some-
 times dreams or auguries, at other times dreadful
 phænomena, as eclipses of the sun or moon, or else
 omens and presages; not to mention the wild chimeras
 of judiciary astrology. The knowledge of nature,
 free from the groveling 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 himself
 limits in the pursuit of knowledge.

But the talent he cultivated with the greatest care,
 because he looked upon it as the most necessary instru-
 ment to all who are desirous of conducting and govern-
 ing the people, was eloquence. And indeed, those
 who possessed this talent, in a free state like that of
 Athens, were sure of reigning in the assemblies, en-
 grossing 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 learnt from Anaxa-
 goras, * were directed; exalting, to borrow Plutarch's
 expression, the study of philosophy with the dye of
 rhetorick; 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 in this study, for his success far exceeded his

* Βαφή τῆ ῥητορικῆ τὴν φυσικολογίαν ἐποχεύμενον.

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his utmost hopes. * The poets, his contemporaries, used to say, that his eloquence was so powerful, that he lightned, thundred, and agitated all Greece. † 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, with the greatest tenaciousness, 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, or the sweetness of his words, whence it was said, that the goddess of persuasion, with all her graces, resided on his lips. And indeed, as Thucydides ‡, his rival and adversary, was one day asked, whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler: “When-
“ ever, says he, 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 publick, till after he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him, either incongruous to his subject, or offensive to the people. (o) Whenever he went into the assembly, before he came out of his 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

(o) Plut. in Symp. lib. i. p. 610.

* Ab Aristophane poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Græciam dictus est. Cic. in Orat. n. 29.

† Quid Pericles? De cujus 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 & jucundum videretur: cujus in labris veteres comici--leporem habitasse dixerunt: tantamque vim in eo fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audissent, quasi aculeos quosdam relinqueret. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 138.

‡ Not the historian.

The uncommon endeavours which Pericles, according to historians, used, in order to improve his mind in knowledge, and to attain to 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 and learning, bring into those employments, (upon which they enter without knowledge or experience,) nothing but a ridiculous self-sufficiency, and a rash boldness in deciding. (p) Plutarch, in a treatise where he shews, that it is to statesmen that a philosopher ought chiefly to attach himself, preferably to any other class of men; (because in instructing them he, at the same time, teaches whole cities and republicks) verifies his assertion from the example of the greatest men both of Greece and Italy, who derived this help from philosophy. Pericles, of whom we now write, 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 Panetius the philosopher near his person.

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LONGIMA.

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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 the manner it was proper to act for acquiring their confidence; † for it was principally in that the great men among the ancients used to make their skill and politicks consist. He found by the reflections he had made on several transactions of his time, that the predominant passions of this people were, a violent aversion to tyranny, and a strong love of liberty, which

(p) Plut. in Symp. lib. i. p. 777.

* Nunc contra plerique ad honores adipiscendos, & ad remp. gerendam, nudi veniunt & inermes, nulla cognitione rerum, nulla scientia ornati. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. 2. 126.

& quibus modis temperanter haberetur: Senatusque & optimatum ingenia qui maximè perdidicerant, callidi temporum & sapientes habebantur. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 33.

† Olim noscenda vulgi natura,

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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 credit and authority, or that of their friends. He not only was very like Pisistratus, with regard to the sweetness of his voice, and fluency of expression, but he also resembled him very much in the features of his face, and his whole air and manner; and he observed, that the most ancient 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 require 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 publick 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 credit 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 going either 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.

(q) He * knew that the people, who are naturally ARTAX.
LONGIMAI fickle and inconstant, 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 such an ascendant over their minds as might be always new, and not worn and in a manner withered by an over-great assiduity; wisely reserving himself for great and important occasions. (r) 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 subaltern deities. And indeed, Pericles used to transact all petty affairs by his friends, and by certain orators that were entirely devoted to him, among whom was Ephialtes.

(s) Pericles employed his whole industry and application to gain the favour and esteem of the people, in order to counter-balance the fame and credit of Cimon. However; he could not equal the magnificence and liberality of his rival, whose immense riches gave him an opportunity of bestowing such largesses as appear to us almost incredible, so much they differ from our behaviour 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 publick revenues for the expence of their games and shows, and annexed pensions to all publick employments; so that certain

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sums

(q) Plut. de sui laude, p. 441.

(r) Plut. de ger. rep. p. 81r.

(s) Plut. in Pericl. p. 156.

* *Illa nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis quantum interdum afferat hominibus fastidii, quantum satisfactis—Utrique nostrum desiderium nihil obsuisset. Cic. pro Mur. ii, 21.*

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fums were bestowed on them regularly, as well to gratify them at the games, as for their presence in the courts of justice, and the publick assemblies. It is impossible to say, how fatal these unhappy politicks were to the republick, and the many evils with which they were attended. For these new regulations, besides their draining the publick treasury, gave the people a luxurious and dissolute turn of mind; whereas they before were 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 monarchical power under a republican form of government; moulding the citizens into what shape he pleased, and presiding with unlimited authority in all their assemblies. And indeed, Valerius Maximus makes scarce 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 credit and authority, however enormous, could not yet restrain the comick 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 this 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.

(t) But Pericles did not stop here. He boldly resolved,

(t) Plut. in Pericl. p. 157. In Cim. p. 488.

* Pericles felicissimis naturæ incrementis, sub Anaxagora præceptore summo studio perpolitus & instructus, liberis Athenarum cervicibus jugum servitutis imposuit: egit enim ille urbem & ver-

savit arbitrio suo — Quid inter Pisistratum & Periclem interfuit, nisi quod ille armatus, hic sine armis, tyrannidem exercuit? Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

solved, 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 republick, 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 being returned 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 Lacedæmonia; and whenever he censured their conduct on any occasion, he used to cry, *The Spartans do not act in this manner.* Such expressions as these drew upon him the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens; but an event, in which he nevertheless

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had

* After some changes had been made in the form of the Athenian government, the supreme authority was at last invested 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.

ARTAX. had no share, made him the object of their utmost
LONGIMA. detestation.

SECT. VIII. *An earthquake in Sparta. Insurrection of the Helets. Seeds of division arise between the Athenians and Spartans. CIMON is sent into banishment.*

A. M. (u) **I**N the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus,
353+ there happened the most dreadful earthquake in
Ant. J. C. Sparta that had ever been known. In several places
470. 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, flew up and down 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 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 succours; but this was opposed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way advisable to assist them, nor to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which, he said, ought to be left in its ruins, and the pride of Sparta thereby humbled for ever. But Cimon being struck with horror at these politicks, did not hesitate a moment to prefer the welfare of the Lacedæmonians to the aggrandizing 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 came
into

(u) Plut. in Cim. p. 488, 489.

into his opinion, and accordingly a succour was voted. ARTAX. LONGIMA.
 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 elate with their grandeur, and were become so proud and enterprising, that they wanted a curb; for which none was so proper as Sparta, that state being the only one that was capable of being a counterpoise to the head-strong 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, prevails 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 ascendant and authority which his virtue gives him, he raises them above the groveling and unjust (though too common) political views, that 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 surprizing, how he could prevail so far as to make a whole people approve them, since this 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 these forces being arrived under the command of Cimon, the Spartans began to dread their intrepidity,

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their

(*) Plut. in Cim. Thucyd. l. i. p. 67, 68.

APTAX.
LONGIMA.

their power, and great fame; so that they affronted them so far, as to send them back, upon the suspicion of their harbouring ill designs, and of intending to turn their arms against them.

The Athenians being returned full of anger and resentment, they 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 nevertheless 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.

A. M.
3548.
Ant. J. C.
456.

Those who had shut themselves up in Ithoma, after making a ten years defence in it, 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 Naupaetus, of which they had just before possessed themselves. (y) 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 Platæa, and in which Myronides the Athenian general defeated the Spartans, who came to the aid of the Thebans.

(z) It was on this occasion that Cimon, thinking himself dispensed from his 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.

(y) Thucyd. l. i. p. 69, 71. Diod. l. xi. p. 59---65. (z) Plut. in Cim. p. 48c.

retire. However, before he went away he exhorted ARTAX. LONGIMAS 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, who were an hundred in number, fired by his words, demanded his whole armour of him, which they placed in the center of their little battalion, 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.

SECT. IX. CIMON is recalled. He establishes peace between the two cities. He gains several victories, which reduce ARTAXERXES to the necessity of concluding a treaty highly honourable to the Greeks. CIMON'S death.

(a) **T**HE 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 publick.

(b) The instant Cimon returned, he stifled the sparks of war which were going 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 in effect of the many victories they had gained, from having

A. M. 3554.
Ant. J. C. 450.

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(a) Plut. in Cim. p. 490.
l. xii. p. 73, 74.

(b) Plut. in Cim. p. 490. Dioid.

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an opportunity, or harbouring a design to attack 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 Megabyfus, 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 an 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 Megabyfus, 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 prospect 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.

(c) 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

they could. Megabyfus and Artabazus ſent ambaffadors 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 follow: 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 chuſe. 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 Pamphilia, 3. That no Perſian general ſhould march 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 compleat, and in which infinite numbers of Perſians as well as Greeks had periſhed.

(d) Whilſt this 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 the 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 above thirty days.

Cimon was univerſally regretted *, which is no wonder, ſince he was poſſeſſed of all thoſe qualities that dignify the ſoul; the moſt tender ſon, a faithful friend; zealous for the good of his country; a great politician, an accompliſhed general; modeſt 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

(d) Plut. in Cim. p. 491.

* Sic ſe gerendo, minimè eſt cura, & non acerba. *Corn. Nep. in Cim. cap. iv.*

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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, was the sighs and tears of the people; * these were permanent and lasting statues, which are not obnoxious 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 ascendant over the minds of the people, and sowed the seeds^m of division in their publick 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.

SECT. X. THUCYDIDES is opposed to PERICLES. *The envy raised against the latter. He clears himself, and prevails to have THUCYDIDES banished.*

(e) **T**HE 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

(e) Plut. in Peric p. 158—161.

* Hæ pulcherrimæ effigies & odium vertit, pro sepulchris spermanfuræ. Nam, quæ saxo struntur. Tacit. *Annal. lib. iv.* cap. 38.

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 the 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 threescore 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 measures contrary to the interest of that 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.

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But the circumstance which did Pericles the greatest honour in the sense 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 mighty idea of the power of the Athenians. It is surprizing that, in so short space, so many works of architecture, sculpture, engraving, and painting, should be performed, and at the same time be 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 the works of Pericles, which were finished with so much rapidity, and however 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 retain a freshness and youth as if just come out of the artist's hands; 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 mil-

lions. They did not amplify on these occasions; for only the temple of Minerva, called the Parthenone, had cost three millions of livres. * ARTAX.
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Pericles, on the contrary, remonstrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give the allies an account of the monies they had received from them; that it was enough they defended them from, and repulsed, the Barbarians, whilst 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 the 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 themselves had all kinds of materials, as timber, stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress 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 cartwrights, waggoners, carters, rope-makers, paviors, &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 domestick army, whose different functions and employments diffused gain and increase throughout all sexes and ages: Lastly, that whilst 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 publick monies; it was but just, that the rest of the people

who

* About 145,000 l. sterling.

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who lived in the city should also be maintained in their way; and that as all were members of the same republick, 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 expence of all these things, provided it should be declared in the publick inscriptions, 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 publick 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 ardor 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 musick-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 king Xerxes's tent, according to the direction of Pericles. It was at that time he proposed, with great warmth, a decree, by which it was ordained, that musical games should be celebrated on the festival called Panathenæa; and having been chosen the judge and distributor of the prizes, he regulated the manner in which musicians should play on the flute and the 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 splendor of these works were admired, the greater envy and clamour were raised against Pericles. The orators

* Non Minervæ Athenis factæ auro constat. *Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.*
amplitude utemur, cum ea sit *This statue was twenty-six cubits in*
cubitum xxvi. Ebre hac & *height.*

orators of the opposite faction were eternally exclaim-
 ing against him, and tearing his character to pieces; ARTAX.
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 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 other of them must necessa-
 rily be banished by the ostracism. He got the better
 of Thucydides; prevailed to have him banished;
 crushed by that means the faction which opposed him,
 and obtained a despotick authority over the city and
 government of Athens. He now disposed at pleasure
 of the publick monies, troops, and ships. The
 islands 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 friend-
 ship of kings, and treaties concluded with various
 princes.

Historians expatiate greatly on the magnificent edi-
 fices and other works with which Pericles adorned
 Athens, and I have related faithfully their testimony;
 but I cannot say whether the complaints and mur-
 murs 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 eased the allies of part of the con-
 tributions, which, in Pericles's administration, were
 raised to a third part more than before? According to
 Cicero, (f) such edifices and other works only are
 worthy of admiration, as are of use to the publick, as
 aquæducts, city-walls, citadels, arsenals, sea-ports;
 and to these we must add, the work 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 publick treasure, merely to
 embellish

(f) Lib. ii. Offic. n. 60.

* They amounted to upwards of ten millions French money.

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embellish the city with superfluous ornaments. (g) Plato, who formed a judgment of things, not from their outward splendor, 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.

SECT. XI. PERICLES *changes his conduct with regard to the people. His prodigious authority. His disinterestedness.*

(b) **W**HEN Pericles saw himself invested with the whole authority, he began to change his behaviour. He now was not so mild and tractable as before, nor did he submit or abandon himself any longer to the whims and caprice of the people, as 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 however from the publick good. Choosing always what was most expedient, and becoming irreproachable in all things, he gained so mighty an ascendant 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 which 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 after to administer those of a strong and violent nature, which indeed put him to pain, but are alone capable of restoring his health.

And

(g) In Geogr. p. 515. In Alcib. c. i. p. 119. (b) Plat. in Pericl. p. 161.

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, as a double helm, either to check the wild transports and starts of the people, or to raise them when dejected and desponding. By this conduct he shewed that eloquence, as Plato observes, is only the art of directing the minds of people at will; and that the chief excellency of this 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 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.

(i) 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 publick, and which supposes a great superiority of mind; and that is, for a man to be fully persuaded that he wants the counsels 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 them 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 a 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

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execution

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execution of affairs, and makes their success more certain. Plutarch, the better to explain his thought, 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, the more active, and better adapted to motion on that very account. It is the same of 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 to no other purpose but 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 stand almost motionless himself, however 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.

(k) 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 the receiving of 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 drachma to the estate he inherited from his father. This was the source, the true cause of the supreme authority of Pericles in the republick; the just and deserved fruit of his integrity and perfect disinterestedness.

It

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 had all declared against him; and of these forty years he spent fifteen without a rival, from the time of Thucydides's banishment, 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 œconomy, or the expences 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 domesticks; and at last die in every one's debt, whence their name and memory are had in the utmost detestation by their unfortunate creditors. I shall not expatiate on another extreme, to which this negligence and want of œconomy generally lead, I mean rapine, a love of gifts and exactions; for here, as well as in the management of the publick monies, the maxim of Tacitus takes place, * 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 sorts of methods, not excepting the most criminal.

Pericles knew much better the use a statesman ought to make of riches. He was sensible that he ought to expend them in the service of the publick, such as the procuring of able men to assist him in the administration; the relieving good officers, who too often are in unhappy circumstances; the rewarding and encouraging merit of every kind, and a thousand

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such

* Si ambitione ærarium exhauserimus, per scelera supplendum erit.
Tacit. *Annal.* l. ii. c. 38.

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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 expences lavished away in entertainments, equipages, or gaming. In this view Pericles managed his estate with the utmost œconomy; having himself taught one of his old servants to take care of his domestick 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 banished severely all superfluities of a vain and ostentatious kind,) suitable to his estate and condition. This way of life, indeed, did no way please his children when they were come to years of maturity, and much less his wife. They thought Pericles did not live at a sufficient expence for persons of their rank; and murmured at that low sordid œconomy, as they called it, which carried no air of the plenty which generally reigns in houses where riches and authority are united. However, Pericles had little regard to these complaints, and directed his views 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 œconomy 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 œconomy, 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 the observing a just medium on these occasions, and to the banishing poverty and too great opulence from a country. It is this art, which avoiding industriously all trifling and needless expences,

prevents a magistrate from being forced to overburthen a people with taxes; and keeps always in reserve, in the publick coffers, monies sufficient for the supporting a war that may break out, or for providing against any unforeseen accident. Now what is said of a kingdom or 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 science which relates to the government of a family: But I do not know whether the same may be said of his administration of the publick revenues.

SECT. XII. *Jealousy and contests arise between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. A treaty of peace is concluded for thirty years.*

(1) **S**UCH was the conduct of Pericles with respect to his domestick concerns: And he was no less famous for his administration of publick 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 to 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 consider on the necessary expedients 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

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embassy,

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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 Peloponnesus; and from thence, by the country of the Locrians, to proceed to the several cities of the upper continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia. The last five were ordered to cross Eubœa, and to go to the people of mount Œta, and those of the gulph of Malea, and to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, of Achaia, and of Theffaly; to induce the several nations to come to the assembly convened in 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 shews how far the power of the Greeks extended, and the authority which the Athenians enjoyed among them.

But all these solicitations were in vain; the cities not sending 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 Pericles's design was, to have Athens acknowledged as mistress and sovereign of all the other Grecian cities; and Lacedæmon was far from allowing it that honour. A secret leaven of dissention had, for some years, began to disturb the tranquillity of Greece; and we shall find by the sequel, that dissidents augmented continually.

Pericles had acquired great fame for the wisdom with which he formed and conducted his enterprizes. 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 were 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 once men die, they

they are lost for ever. A victory that was only ARTAX. LONGINA. the effect of a happy temerity, appeared to him as little worthy of praise, though it often was 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 that peninsula, by the colonies of Athenians which he carried thither, but also shut up the isthmus with a strong wall, with forts at proper distances from sea to sea; securing by that means the whole country from the perpetual incursions of the Thracians, who were very near neighbours to it.

He also sailed with an 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-mann'd, 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, 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.

(*m*) But so constant and shining a fortune began to dazzle the eyes of the Athenians. Intoxicated with the idea of their power and grandeur, they now revolved nothing but the boldest and most lofty projects. They were for ever talking 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 Hetruria on one side, and Carthage on the other. Pericles was far from giving into such idle views, or supporting them with

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his credit and approbation. On the contrary, his whole study was to damp that restless ardor, 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.

(*n*) 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 superintendence of that temple, and bestowed it on the Delphians. As soon as they left it, Pericles went thither with an army, and restored the Phocenses.

The Eubœans having rebelled at the same time, Pericles was obliged to march thither with an army. He was no sooner arrived there, but 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 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.

A. M. 355^B.
Ant. J. C. 446.
(*e*) After this expedition, a truce for thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. This treaty restored things to a 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, this calm was not of long duration.

(*n*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 164. (*e*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 75. Diod. p. 27.

SECT. XIII. *New subjects of contention between the two nations, occasioned by the Athenians laying siege to Samos; by their succouring the people of Corcyra, and besieging Potidæa. An open rupture ensues.*

(p) **T**HE Athenians, six years after, took up arms ARTAX. LONGIMA. A. M. 3564. Ant. J. C. 440. 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 been long known in the east. The Samians, after sustaining a nine months siege, surrendered, Pericles rased their walls, dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expences 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.

(q) 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 A. M. 3572. Ant. J. C. 432. over

(p) Thucyd. l. i. p. 75, 76. Diod. l. xii. p. 88, 89. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165—167. (q) Thucyd. l. i. p. 17—37. Diod. l. xii. p. 90—93. Plut. in Pericl. p. 167.

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over to their interest that island, which was so very formidable at sea; foretelling them, that they would 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.

* Epidamnum, a maritime city of Macedonia among the Taulantii, 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 besieging 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 further 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 to make head alone against 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 neuter. 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 the Corinthians hearing, they
also

* This city was afterwards called Dyrrachium.

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, (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 those 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 gallies, 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 these orders. A battle was fought between the Corcyrans and the Corinthians, near the island of Sibotis, opposite to Corcyra: It was one of the most considerable, with regard to the number of ships, that was ever 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 gallies came up. The Corcyrans, with this reinforcement, sailed next day by day-break towards the point of Sibotis, whither the Corinthians had retired, to see if they would venture

ture a second engagement. However, the latter contented themselves with failing away in order of battle, without fighting. Both parties erected a trophy in the island of Sibotis, each ascribing the victory to himself.

(*r*) 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. (*s*) 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. Whilst the other soldiers, covered with thick clothes and warm furs, lay close in their tents, and scarce ever dared to stir out of them; Socrates used to come into the open air as thin clad as usual, and bare-footed. His gaiety and

(*r*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 37---42. Diod. l. xii. p. 93, 94. (*s*) Plut. in Conviv. p. 219, 220. Plut. in Alcib. p. 194.

and wit were the life of all tables; and induced others ARTAX.
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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. (t) 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 Lacedæmon, 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 publickly thither, for fear of giving umbrage to a republick to which they were subject, but they acted in secret as strenuously as the rest. The Magarians complained vehemently against the Athenians, that (contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice to the treaty concluded between the Greeks) they had prohibited them, by a publick decree, access to their fairs and markets, and excluded them from all the ports dependent on them. (u) By that

(t) Thucyd. l. i. p. 43---59.

(u) Plut. in Pericl. p. 168.

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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 the Megarenses.

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 publick 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, or would suffer any other nation to “ be so. Employed (says he) wholly in their pro- “ jects, they form only such as are of the greatest “ and most intrepid nature; their deliberations are “ speedy, and their executions the same. One en- “ terprize serves only as a step to a second. Whe- “ ther they are successful or unfortunate, they turn “ every thing to their advantage; and never stop in “ their

* 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 courtezans; and he cites some verses of Aristophanes, who, in a comedy entitled, The Acharnians, reproaches

Pericles with this action. But Thucydides, a contemporary 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 slanderer and satyrist.

“ 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 easy, must
 “ not only forbear injuring others, but also not let
 “ any ill be done to himself; and that justice con-
 “ sists, not only in forbearing to commit evil our-
 “ selves, 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 politicks 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 new expe-
 “ dients, and set every engine at work to extricate
 “ themselves. It was by these arts that the Athe-
 “ nians have increased their power so much. Had
 “ you imitated their activity, they would not have
 “ dispossessed us of Corcyra, and would not now
 “ be laying siege to Potidæa. Follow, at least, their
 “ example on this occasion, by succouring the Po-
 “ tidæans 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 was come to Sparta
 upon other affairs, and was in the assembly, did not
 think it adviseable to let this speech go unanswered:
 But put the Lacedæmonians in mind, of the still
 recent services that the republick, 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 could 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

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only from the aversion which mankind in general have to dependance 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, which would necessarily be attended with the most fatal consequences. That gentle methods may be found, for terminating the differences of the allies, without breaking at once into 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 that forswear themselves, and who violate the faith of treaties.

The ambassadors being withdrawn, and the affair 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 they were going to embark in; shewed 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 enterprize, 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. 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 who were in the alliance, in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously. This decree of the Lacedæmonians was made the fourteenth year of the truce; and was not owing so much to the complaints

plaints of the allies, as to the jealousy of the Athenian power, which had already subjected a considerable part of Greece.

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(x) 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 by a general consent. However, as they had not yet made any preparations, it was judged advisable 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 were sent thither, reviving an ancient complaint, required of the Athenians to expel out of their city the descendants of those who had prophaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of * Cylon. As Pericles was of that family by the mother's side, the view 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.

(x) Thucyd. 1. i. p. 77---84, and 93.

* This Cylon seized on the citadel of Athens above an 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. However, they were recalled some time after.

SECT. XIV. *Troubles excited against PERICLES. He determines the Athenians to engage in war against the Lacedæmonians.*

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(y) **P**ERICLES opposed all these demands with great vigour, and especially that relating to the Megarians. He had great credit in Athens, and at the same time had many enemies. Not daring to attack him at 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 find how the people stood affected towards Pericles himself.

Phidias was accused of having embezzled considerable sums in the 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, from beginning that statue, had, by Pericles's advice, 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 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 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 (z): 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

(y) Plut. in Pericl. p. 168, 169. (z) Aristot. in tractat. de mund. p. 613.

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. (a) Socrates himself used to visit her constantly; and was not ashamed to pass for her pupil, and to own that he had learnt 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 stronger 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 a dissolute conduct; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Pericles saved her, by his intreaties and by the compassion he had raised in the judges, by shedding abundance of tears whilst her cause was pleading, a behaviour little consistent with the dignity of his character, and the rank of 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

F 2

denied

(a) Plut. in Menex. p. 235.

* Τα θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας, ἢ λόγους ἀγορας διδασκόντας. *Agoras teaching, that the divine intelligence alone gave a regular motion*

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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 make Pericles suspected with regard to these matters, because Anaxagoras 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, they impeached that great man himself, and charged him with embezzling the publick monies during his administration. A decree was made, by which Pericles was obliged to give in immediately his accounts; was to be tried for oppression and rapine; and the cause to be adjudged by fifteen hundred judges. Pericles had no real cause of fear, because in the administration of the publick 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 spoke with, because of some affairs of great consequence in which he was then engaged. Alcibiades enquiring what these mighty affairs were, was answered, that Pericles was preparing to give in his accounts. *He ought rather,* says Alcibiades, *not give them in:* And indeed this was what Pericles at last resolved. To allay the storm, he made a resolution to oppose the inclination the people discovered for the Peloponnesian

war

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 jurisdictions which were ascribed to them.

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 yield to a more powerful motive; and that the citizens, when in such imminent danger, would not fail of throwing themselves into his arms, and submit implicitly to his conduct, from his great power, and exalted reputation.

(b) This is what some historians have related; and the comick poets, in the life-time, and under the eye as it were, of Pericles, spread such a report in publick, to fully, 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 publick affairs, but to all sorts of 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, purely 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 in the most favourable, 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 publick, that he at last acquiesced in an opinion, which he had hitherto thought it incumbent on him to oppose.

(c) Whilst this affair was carrying on at Athens, the Lacedæmonians sent several embassies thither, one

F 3

after

(b) Plut. de Herod. malign. p. 855, 856. (c) Thucyd. l. i. p. 93---99. Diod. l. xii. p. 95---97.

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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 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 publick welfare, and the honour of his country, rendered more vehement and triumphant than it had ever appeared before. He shewed, 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 found 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, on the foot of equals: That with regard to the present matters 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 a magisteral way, to quit Potidæa, to free Ægina, and 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 pacifick methods,* 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 being eternally contending about its possessions, is to take up arms, and dispute its rights sword in hand: 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. (d) 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 about twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling. The annual contributions of the allies amounted to four hundred and sixty talents, that is, to near fourteen hundred thousand French livres. In cases of necessity, the Athenians would find infinite resources from the ornaments of the temples, since those of the statue of Minerva only amounted to fifty talents of gold, that is, fifteen hundred thousand French livres, which might 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 gallies. 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 irretrievable; 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

F 4 plan

(d) Diod. l. xii. p. 96, 97.

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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. Pericles, after adding other considerations, taken from the genius or character, and the internal government of the two republicks; 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 enterprizes; Pericles, I say, 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 com-
 “ mit 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.

CHAP. II.

Transactions of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy.

AS the Peloponnesian war is a great event of considerable duration, before I enter upon the history of it, it may be proper to relate, in few words, the most considerable transactions which had happened in Græci. major, to the time we now speak of, whether in Sicily or Italy.

SECT. I. *The Carthaginians are defeated in Sicily.*
 THERON, tyrant of Agrigentum. Reign of GELON
 in Syracuse, and his two brothers. Liberty is restored.

I. GELON.

WE have seen that (e) Xerxes, whose project ARTAX.
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Ant. J. C. 484.

(f) This Gelon was born in a city of Sicily, situated on the southern coast between Agrigentum and Camarina, called Gelas, 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 master also 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

(e) Diod. l. xi. p. 1. & 16---22.

(f) Her. l. vii. c. 153---167.

(* He promised to furnish two hundred ships, and thirty thousand men.

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the Grecian ambassadors, who 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 political 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 were 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 Thrasylbulus. 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; when uniting, they defeated the Carthaginians. This was perhaps the most compleat victory ever gained.

The battle was fought the same day with that of * Thermopylæ, the circumstances of which I have related in the (g) history of the Carthaginians. One remarkable circumstance in the conditions of the peace, which Gelon prescribed the conquered, was, that they should cease to sacrifice their children to the god

(g) Vol. I. Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

* Herodotus says, that this battle was fought the same day with that of Salamin, which does not appear so probable. For the Greeks, informed of Gelon's successes, intreated him to succour them against Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamin, that 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.

god Saturn; which shews, at the same time, the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the piety of Gelon. ARTAX.
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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. Several 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. Being returned from the campaign, he convened the assembly of the Syracusans, who were ordered to come armed into it. However, he himself 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. (b) And to preserve to 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 met afterwards with a very singular fate, and worthy of the motives which had occasioned its setting up. Timoleon, above a hundred and thirty years after, having restored the Syracusans to their liberty, A. M.
3525.
Ant. J. C.
479.

(b) Plut. in Timol. p. 247. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 37.

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liberty, thought it advisable, 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 publickly 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 only enabled him to do them more important services. (i) For, by a change till then unheard of, and of which * Tacitus found no example except in Vespasian, he was the first man whom the sovereignty made the 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.

(k) 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, (this, 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

(i) Diod. l. xi. p. 55.

(k) Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

* Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est. *Hist.*
l. i. c. 50.

unwilling to be at that expence, 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 least!

(l) One of the chief objects 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 husbandman 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 that 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. (m) Xenophon, in a dialogue, the subject of which is government, entitled Hiero, shews the great advantage it would be to a state, were the king studious to reward those who should excel in husbandry, and whatever 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

(l) Plut. in Apoththegm. p. 175.

(m) Ibid. p. 916, 917.

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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 Greeks, who were taught musick and the art of playing on instruments very carefully. Possibly this was because of his mean birth, or rather was owing to the little value he set on those kind of exercises.

(n) One day at an entertainment, when, 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 shewed that he had learnt a nobler exercise than playing on the lyre.

(o) 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 went in search of him, not courted with any art or inducement but those 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 but 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 was the toils and cares of it, a zeal for the publick welfare, and the sweet 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

(n) Plut. in Apophth. p. 175;

(o) Diod. l. xi. p. 29, 30.

for crimes. He did not affect the appearance of ARTAX. LONGIMA. reigning, but contented himself with making the laws reign. He never made his inferiors feel that he was their master, but only inculcated to them that both himself and they ought to submit to reason and justice. To induce their obedience, he employed no other methods but 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 equally diffused within and without his kingdoms; these were the fruits of that wisdom which he retained on the throne to the last gasp. His reign was short, and only just shewed him in a manner to Sicily, to exhibit in his person an example of a great, good, and true king. He left the world, after having reigned only seven years, to the infinite regret of all his subjects. 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 mausolæum, surrounded with nine towers of a surprizing height and magnificence; and decreed those honours to him, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demolished the mausolæum, and Agathocles the towers: But, says the historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all grosser 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 in the hearts of the Sicilians.

II. HIERO.

After Gelon's death, the scepter continued near A. M. twelve years in his family. He was succeeded by 3532. Hiero, his eldest brother. Ant. J. C.

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It will be necessary for us, in order to reconcile the authors who have writ on this prince, some of whom declare him to have been a good king, and others a detestable tyrant; it will be necessary, I say, to distinguish

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guish 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 he had found himself so happy. (p) 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 the other 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 from breaking out.

(q) 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 had a design to depose him. However, in order 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 going to send to the succour of the Sibaritæ against the Crotoniensis, 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 Polyzelus's daughter, joined with his father-in-law. This gave rise to great differences of long duration between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum; however, they at last were reconciled by the wise mediation of (r) 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 in good intelligence with each other.

(s) At first, an infirm state of health, which was increased by repeated illnesses, gave Hiero an opportunity of thinking seriously; after which he resolved

to

(p) Diod. l. xxi. p. 51. (q) Ibid. l. xi. p. 36. (r) Schol. in Pind. (s) Ælian. l. iv. c. 15.

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.

(*t*) Plutarch relates a noble saying of his, which shews 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 considered and consulted as the sages of their times. This is what * Cicero says particularly of Simonides. He had a great ascendant over the king; and the only use he made of it was, to incline him to virtue.

(*u*) They often used to converse on philosophical subjects. I observed on another occasion, that Hiero, in one of these 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 writ by way of 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 alledged by him, he insists chiefly on their vast unhappiness in being deprived

(*t*) In Apophth. p. 175. (*u*) Cic. l. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

* Simonides, non poeta solum doctus sapiensque traditur. Lib. suavis, verum etiam ceteroqui i. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

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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 Olympick 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 flower in the garden of virtue. He takes a noble delight in the most exquisite performances of poetry and musick. He loves melodious airs, such as it is customary for us to play, at the banquets given us by our dearest friends. Rouze then thyself, take thy lyre, and raise it to the Dorick pitch. If thou feelest thyself animated by a glorious fire in favour of † Pisa and Phœrenice; if they have waked the sweetest transports in thy breast, when that generous courser (without being quickned by the spur) flew along the banks
“ of

* It is said that Themistocles, seeing him arrive at the Olympick games with a splendid equipage, would have had him forbid 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. *Allian. l. ix. c. 5.*

† Pisa was the city, near to which the Olympick games were solemnized: And Phœrenice, the name of Hiero's courser, fighting the victor.

“ of the Alpheus, and carried his royal rider to glorious victory: O sing the king of Syracuse, the ornament of the Olympick course!”

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The whole ode, translated by the late Mr. Maffieu, is in the sixth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of inscriptions of Belles-Lettres, from which I have made the small extract above. I was very glad to give the reader 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 eulogiums they bestow on princes: However, it is certain that Hiero had made his court the resort of all persons of wit and sense; 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 eulogium which * Horace gives the house of Mecænas, in which a character prevailed rarely found among scholars, and nevertheless worth all their erudition. This amiable house, says Horace, was an utter stranger to the mean and groveling sentiments of envy and jealousy; and men saw, in those who shared in the master’s favour, a superior merit or credit, without

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taking

* ——— Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hac nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mi officit unquam,
Ditior hic aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni-
Cuique suus.

HOR. lib. i. Sat. 9.

That is,

*Sir, you mistake, that’s not our course of life,
We know no jealousies, no bravels, no strife;
From all those ills our patron’s house is free,
None, ’cause more learn’d or wealthy, troubles me;
We leave our stations, all their own pursue, &c.*

ARTAX. taking the least umbrage at it. (w) But it was far
LONGIMA. otherwise in the court of Hiero or of Theron. 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.

(x) Hiero, having drove the ancient inhabitants of
Catana and Naxos from their country, settled a co-
lony of ten thousand men there, half of whom were
Syracusans, and the rest Peloponnesians. This
prompted the inhabitants of those two cities to ap-
point, after his death, the same solemnities in his ho-
nour, as were bestowed on heroes or demi-gods, be-
cause they considered him as their founder.

(y) He shewed 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 per-
fect 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 enco-
miums on his prudence, integrity, and justice. Mat-
ters were carried so far, that the young princes were
extremely urgent with him to preside in the admi-
nistration, as he had hitherto done. However, the
wise tutor preferring the sweets of ease to the splen-
dor 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, he resolved to retire from business. Hiero died,
after having reigned eleven years.

III. THRA-

(w) Scholiast. Pind.

(x) Diod. l. xi. p. 37.

(y) Ibid. p. 50.

III. THRASYBULUS.

(z) He was succeeded by Thrasybulus his brother, ARTAX. LONGIMA. who, by his evil conduct, contributed very much to the making him 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 grew soon 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. Acradina, 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 themselves during threescore years, till the reign of Dionysius the tyrant, who again enslaved them.

(a) 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

A. M.
3544.
Ant. J. C.
460.

G 3 thrown

(z) Diad. l. xi. p. 51, 52. (a) Ibid. p. 55, &c.

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thrown off the yoke of slavery, by the banishment of Thrasylbulus, 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 as a common feast.

There nevertheless lay concealed in the minds of many, I know not what secret leaven of tyranny, which frequently disturbed the harmony of this peace, and occasioned several tumults and commotions in Sicily, the particulars of which I shall omit. (b) 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 such citizens whose great power made the people apprehensive that they aspired at the tyranny, and it banished them for ten years; however, it did not long continue in force, and 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.

(c) 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 enterprizes. It was he who built the city Palica, near the temple of the gods called Palici. This city 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 whereof was said to be always followed by a sudden and exemplary punishment.

(b) Diod. l. xi. p. 65.

(c) Ibid. p. 67---70.

ment. 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 slaves; 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; saw 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 their speeches; and these animated them prodigiously against Deucetius, as a publick enemy, whom providence seemed to throw into their way, to revenge and punish, by his death, all the injuries he had done the republick. A speech in this cast, 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
 " that 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,

ARTAX. “ inviolable. That there was a goddess (Nemesis) who
 LONOIMA. “ 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 peo-
 ple came into this opinion, and, with one consent,
 spared Deucetius’s life. He was ordered to reside in
 Corinth, the metropolis and foundress of Syracuse; and
 the Syracusans engaged to furnish Deucetius with all
 things necessary for his subsisting honourably there.
 What reader, who compares these two different opi-
 nions, does not perceive which of them was the noblest
 and most generous?

SECT. II. *Of some famous persons and cities in Græcia major.* PYTHAGORAS, CHARONDAS, ZALEUCUS, MILO *the Athleta*: CROTON, SYEARIS, and THURIUM.

I. PYTHAGORAS.

A. M. 3480.
 Ant. J. C. 524.
IN treating of what relates to Græcia major in Italy, I must not omit Pythagoras, who was the glory of it. (a) 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 make a long stay in it, because of the tyrannical government Polycrates had established in it, who however had the highest regard for him, and shewed him all the esteem due to his rare merit. But the study of the sciences, and particularly of philosophy, is scarce compatible with slavery, though of the mildest and most honourable kind. He therefore went into Italy, and resided usually either at Croton, Metapontum, Heraclea, or Tarentum. (e) Servius Tullius, or Tarquinius Superbus, reigned in Rome at that time; which absolutely refutes the opinion of those who imagined that Numa Pompilius,

(a) Diog. Laert. in vit. Pythag. (e) Liv. l. i. n. 18.

Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, who lived upwards of an hundred years before, had been Pythagoras's disciple; an opinion that very probably was grounded on the resemblance of their manners, disposition, 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 was 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 barely 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, (*f*) *The master said it*. However, the disciples carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all enquiry, 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

(*f*) *Αὐτὸς ἔφα.*

* Pythagoras, cùm in Italiam & publicè, præstantissimis & institutis, & artibus. *Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. l. v. n. 10.*

ARTAX. and which, consequently, is authorized to prescribe
LONGIMA. laws to us, and dictate absolute obedience.

The school of Pythagoras bred 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 maintained that glorious character for several ages. (g) The Romans certainly entertained a high opinion of Pythagoras's virtue and merit, 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 exact with respect to the time and place of Pythagoras's death.

II. CRŌTON. SYBARIS. THURIUM.

A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709. (b) Croton was founded by Myscellus, chief of the Achaians, the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad. This Myscellus being come to Delphos to consult the oracle of Apollo, about the spot on which he should build his city, met Archias the Corinthian there, who was arived upon the same account. The god gave him 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

(g) Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6. (b) Strab. l. vi. p. 262, & 269. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. ii. p. 127.

* Pythagoras tenuit magnam Pythagoreorum nomen, ut nulli illam Græciam cum honore, & alii docti viderentur. *Tusc. Quest.* disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate, l. i. n. 38. multaque secula postea sic viguit

history is to be credited, Apollo performed his promise ARTAX. LONGINA. faithfully to both. Archias founded Syracuse, which soon became the most opulent city of Greece. (i) Mycellus laid the foundations of Croton, 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 same Olympiad, seven Crotonians were crowned in the Olympick games, and carried off all the prizes of the stadium.

(k) Sybaris was ten leagues (two hundred stadia) from Croton, 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. Publick 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 in the dressing dishes, and invented new refinements to tickle the palate. The Sybarites carried their delicacy and effeminacy to such a height, that they carefully removed from their city all such artificers whose work was noisy; and would not suffer any cocks in it, lest their shrill piercing crow should disturb their balmy slumbers.

(l) 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 A. M. 3474. Ant. J. C. 530. by the faction of one Telys, fled to Croton. Telys demanded to have them surrendered to him; and, on the

(i) Κρότωνος ὑγιέστερον. (k) Strab. l. vi. p. 263. Athen. l. xii. p. 518
 ---520. (l) Diod. l. xxii. p. 76---85.

ARTAX. the refusal of the Crotonians to deliver them up,
LONGIMA. (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 an hundred thou-
sand; but then they were headed by Milo, the fa-
mous champion, (of whom we shall soon have occa-
sion to speak) over whose shoulders a lion's skin was
thrown, and himself armed with a club, like another
Hercules. The latter gained a compleat victory, and
made a dreadful havock of those who fled, so that
very few escaped, and their city was depopulated.
About threescore years after, some Thessalians came
and settled in it; however, they did not 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.

A. M. (m) They built a city near the ancient Sybaris, and
3560. called it Thurium. Two men, greatly renowned for
Ant. J. C. their learning, the one an orator, and the other an
444. historian, settled in this colony. The first was Lysias,
at that time but fifteen years of age. He lived in
Thurium, till the ill fate which befel the Athenians
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 shall speak more largely of him
hereafter.

Divisions soon broke out in the city, on occasion
of the new inhabitants, whom the rest would exclude
from all publick employments and privileges. But as
these were much more numerous, they repulsed all
the

(u) Dionys. Halicarn. in vit. Lys. p. 82. Strab. l. xiv. p. 656.

the ancient Sybarites, and got the sole possession of the city. Being supported by the alliance they made with the people of Croton, they soon grew vastly powerful; and having settled 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 sprung.

III. CHARONDAS, *the legislator.*

They now bent their whole thoughts to the strengthening of their government by wholesome laws, for which purpose they made choice of Charondas, who had been educated in Pythagoras's school, to digest and draw them up. I shall quote some of them in this place.

1. He excluded from the senate, and all publick 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 feuds and contests, whether of a publick or private nature; and yet, according to Tacitus's observation, 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; by suffering 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

* Delatores, genus hominum nis quidem nunquam fatis coet-publico exitio reperiuntur, & pœ-citum. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 30.

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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 deserters to death, 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 publick assembly with a halter about their necks; 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,

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, says he, but thus seal them with my blood;* saying which, he plunged his sword into his bosom, and expired.

IV. ZALEUCUS, another lawgiver.

(n) At the same time, there arose among the Locrians another famous legislator, Zaleucus by name, who, as well as Charondas, had been Pythagoras's disciple. There is now scarce 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, are sufficient to convince us, that it is impossible so wonderful a fabrick 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 infinitely more grateful to the immortals, than all the sacrifices 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.

(n) Diod. l. xii. p. 79---85.

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argue an unfociable and savage difpofition; but to treat their enemies as men who would foon 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 magiftrates, after representing to them, that, in pronouncing fentence, they ought never to fuffer themfelves to be bi-afled by friendship, hatred, or any other paffion; he only exhorts them not to behave with the leaft haughtinefs or feverity towards the parties engaged in law, fince fuch are but too unhappy, in being obliged to undergo all the toils and fatigues infeparable from law-fuits. The office indeed of judges, how laborious foever it may be, is far from giving them a right to ufe the contending parties with ill-nature; the very form and effence of their employment requiring them to behave with impartiality, and to do juftice on all occafions; and when they diftribute this even with mildnefs and humanity, it is only a debt they pay, and not a favour they grant.

To banifh luxury from his republick, which he looked upon as the certain deftruction of a government, he did not follow the practice eftablifhed in fome nations, where it is thought fufficient, for the reftaining it, to punifh, by pecuniary mulcts, fuch as infringe the laws made on that occafion, but he acted, fays the hiftorian, in a more artful and ingenious, and at the fame time more effectual manner. He prohibited women from wearing rich and costly ftuffs, embroidered robes, precious ftones, ear-rings, neck-laces, bracelets, gold rings, and fuch like ornaments; excepting none from this law but common prostitutes. He enacted a like law with regard to the men; excepting, in the fame manner, from the obfervance of it, fuch only as were willing to pafs for debauchees and infamous wretches. By thefe regulations he eafily, and without violence, preferved the citizens from the leaft approaches to luxury and effeminacy*. For no perfon

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was

* More inter veteres recepto, dicas in ipfa professione flagitii cre-
qui fatis poenarum adveniens impu- debant. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 85.

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 publick 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. However, he was still more renowned for his athletick strength, than for his military bravery. He was surnamed *Crotoniensis*, from Croton 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 Darius's court to Greece, his native country.

(o) Pausanias relates, that Milo, when but a child, was seven times victorious in one day at the Pythian games; that he won six victories (at wrestling) in the Olympick 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 force 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 move him on these occasions. 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 the other, 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

(o) Lib. vi. p. 369, 370.

* This *discus* was a kind of quoit, flat and round;

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tunity of making a much more laudable use of it. (p) One day as he was attending the lectures of Pythagoras, (for he was one of his most constant disciples) the pillar which supported the cieling of the school in which the pupils were assembled, being shaken by some accident, Milo supported it by his single strength, gave the auditors time to get away, and afterwards he escaped himself.

What is related of the voracious appetite of the Athletæ is almost incredible. (q) Milo's appetite was scarce satiated with twenty minæ (pounds) of meat, the same quantity of bread, and three * *congi* 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 shoulders, 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?

(r) 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.*

(s) And yet he either forgot or concealed his weakness from himself; the strong persuasion he entertained of his own strength, and which he preserved 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.

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(p) Strab. l. vi. p. 263. (q) Athen. l. x. p. 412. (r) Cic. de Senect. n. 27. (s) Pautan. l. vi. p. 370.

* Thirty pounds, or fifteen quarts.

(t) An author has judiciously observed, that this surprizingly-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 courtezan having gained so great an ascendant over Milo, that she tyrannized over him in the most imperious manner, and made him obey whatever commands she laid upon him.

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C H A P. 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 writ 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 not be so minute, and 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.

A. M.
3573.
Ant. J. C.
431.

SECT. I. *The siege of Platææ by the Thebans. Alternate ravages of Attica and Peloponnesus. Honours paid to the Athenians who fell in the first campaign.*

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

(u) **T**HE 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, about two hundred excepted, what were taken prisoners, and who a little after were put to death.

H 2

The

(t) Ælian. l. ii. c. 24. (u) Thucyd. l. ii. p. 99---122. Diod. l. xii. p. 97---100. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.

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The Athenians, as soon as the news was brought of the action at Plataeæ, sent succours and provisions thither, and cleared the city of all persons who were incapable of bearing arms.

The truce being evidently broke, 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 neuter, 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. In this temper of mind were the Greeks at that time. The confederates of each of those states were as follow.

All Peloponnesus, Argos excepted, which stood neuter, had declared for Lacedæmonia. The Achæans, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, had also joined them; but the latter also engaged insensibly in that war. Out of Peloponnesus were the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium.

The confederates of the Athenians were, the people of Chios, Lesbos, Plataeæ, the Messenians of Naupactus; the greatest part of the Acarnanians, Corcyrans, Cephaleanians, and Zacynthians, besides the several tributary countries, as maritime Caria, Doria that lies near it, Ionia, the Hellespont; and the cities of Thrace, Chalcis and Potidæa excepted; all the islands between Crete and Peloponnesus, eastward; and the Cyclades, Melos and Thera excepted.

Immediately after the attempt on Plataeæ, the Lacedæmonians had ordered forces to be levied both within

within and without Peloponnesus; and made all the preparations necessary for entering the enemy's country. All things being ready, two-thirds of the troops marched to the isthmus of Corinth, and the rest were left to guard the country. Archidamus king of Lacedæmonia, 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, but that they were going to march against an enemy, who, though greatly inferior to them in numbers and in strength, were nevertheless very powerful, warlike, and daring; and whose courage would doubtless 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 in 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; since otherwise an army would soon march into Attica. But the Athenians,

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* Gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni. Tac
Annal. l. xiii. c. 31.

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so far from admitting him to 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 for Attica, at the head of sixty thousand chosen forces.

Pericles, before the Lacedæmonians had entered this 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 handle to slander him, as holding intelligence with him, he declared, that from that day he made 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, exclusive of 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 troopers, 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,

country, and the rest to awe the allies, on whom contributions were levied, without which the Athenians could not defray the expences of the war.

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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 near 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 habitations in the city, as conveniently as they could, in the midst of such confusion; retiring either to their relations or friends; and some withdrew even to the temples and other publick places.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, being set out upon their march, entered the country, and encamped at Cœnoe, 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 opportunity to carry off all their effects, out 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

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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 greatest towns near Athens, and but fifteen hundred paces from the city. He there pitched his camp, in hopes that the Athenians, exasperated to see him advanced so near, would fall out to defend their country, and give him an opportunity of coming to a battle.

It indeed was 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 eyewitnesses of the dreadful havock 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 in 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 intreaties 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 shewed so much rancour against
Pericles

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, and at the same time a specious voice; and besides he possessed, in a wonderful manner, 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 merit; and a boldness of speech, which he carried to so high a pitch of insolence as to spare no man. But none of these things could move Pericles †. His great strength of mind raised him above low, vulgar clamours. Like 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 intreaties of those whom fear has distracted; Pericles, in like manner, after having put the city in a good posture of defence, and posted guards in all places to prevent a surprize, 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. (x) 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

(x) Plat. An Seni ger. fit. resp. p. 724.

* It is he whom Aristophanes has inveighed so much against, in several of his comedies.

† Tacit.

‡ Δικουλοσε, μινενθ τα υπλα τυ δημω και τα κλεις των πυλων απροφρηγισαμεν.

† Spem. undis rumoribus vali-

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on their arms, the seal of his authority, to forbid their making use of them. Things happened exactly as Pericles had foretold; for the enemy, finding the Athenians were determined not to stir out of their city, and having advice that the enemy's fleet carried fire and sword into their territories, they raised their camp, and, after making dreadful havock in the whole country through which they marched, they 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 Xerxes's approach, he made the Athenians march out of their city, and abandon it to the enemy. But a little reflexion will shew, 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 deprived him of all hopes of being succoured by his 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. (y) Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, condemns absolutely the resolution which Pompey formed and executed, to abandon 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

After the Lacedæmonians were retired, the Athenians put troops into all the important posts both by sea and land, 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 an hundred gallies; 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 gallies which had been sent into Peloponnesus made dreadful havock 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 ensued, and the earth was over-spread with the deepest gloom. This phænomenon 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 saw: The pilot answering, that the cloak took away all objects from his sight; Pericles then gave him to understand, that a like cause, *viz.* the interposition of the vast body of the moon between his eyes and the sun, prevented his seeing its splendor.

(2) The first year of the war of Peloponnesus being now elapsed, the Athenians, during the winter, solemnized publick 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

(2) Thucyd. l. ii. p. 122---130.

* Three millions.

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wards 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, majestick, 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 publick monument, in the finest suburb of the city, called the Ceramicus; where were buried, in all ages, those who lost their lives in the field, except the warriors of Marathon, who, to immortalize their rare 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 exercise this honourable office. When the ceremony was ended, he went from 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 stile, as for the just beauty of the thoughts, and the greatness of the sentiments which shine in every part of it. (a) 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 publick, who did not confine their gratitude to empty ceremonies and tears, maintained their widows, and all 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 Odryfians

(a) Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130.

• These are called *Cenotaphia*.

† Ἐθλα γὰρ οἷς κείται ἀρετῆς μεγίστης, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἕνθε; ἀμύσει πολιτεύουσι.

Odryfians in Thrace; and, in confequence of this treaty, his fon was admitted a citizen of Athens. They alfo made an accommodation with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, by reftoring him the city of Thermæ; after which they joined their forces, in order to carry on the war in Chalcis.

SECT. II. *The plague makes dreadful havock in Attica. PERICLES is divested of the command. The Lacedæmonians address the Perfians for aid. Potideæ is taken by the Athenians. PERICLES is reftored to his employment. His death, and that of ANAXAGORAS.*

SECOND AND THIRD YEARS OF THE WAR.

(b) **I**N the beginning of the fecond campaign, the enemy made an incurfion into the country as before, and laid it wafte. But the plague made a much greater devaftation in Athens; the like having never been known. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it defcended into Egypt, from thence fpread over Libya, and a great part of Perfia; and at laft broke at once, like a flood, upon Athens. Thucydides, who himfelf was feized with that deadly difeafe, has defcribed very minutely the feveral circumftances and fymptoms of it, in order, fays he, that a faithful and exact relation of this calamity may ferve as an inftruction to pofterity, in cafe the like fhould ever happen. (c) Hippocrates, who was employed to vifit the fick, has alfo defcribed it in a medical, and (d) Lucretius in a poetical way. This peftilence baffled the utmoft efforts of art; the moft robuft conftitutions were unable to withftand its attacks; and the greateft care and fkill of the phyficians were a feeble help to thofe who were infected. The instant a perfon was feized, he was ftruck with defpair, which quite difabled him from attempting a cure. The affiftance that was given them was ineffe-
A. M. 3574.
Ant. J. C. 430.

as

(b) Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130---147. Diod. p. 101, 102. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171. (c) Epidem. l. iii. §. 3. (d) Lib. ii. c. 47.

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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, in which they could scarce 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.

(e) The plague, before it spread into Attica, had made wild havock in Persia. Artaxerxes, who had been informed of the mighty 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 rewards on the side of interest, and, with regard to honours, promising to make him equal with the most considerable persons in his court. The reader has already been told, the prodigious regard which was shewn 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 to corrupt him; nor stifle the hatred and aversion which was become natural to the Greeks for the Persians, ever since the latter 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.

Greece. Kings are not used to denials. Artaxerxes, ARTAX. LONGINA. therefore, in the highest transports of rage, sent to the city of Cos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he was at that 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 footsteps 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 Artaxerxes's threats would be equally impotent; that, let what would be the consequence, they would never give up their fellow-citizen; and that they depended on the protection of the gods.

Hippocrates had said in one of his letters, that he owed himself 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 was 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 this generous care of Hippocrates. They therefore ordained, by a publick 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 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 publick games, on the solemn festival of Panathenæa: That the freedom of the city should be given him, and himself be maintained, at the publick charge, in the

* *The Attick stater was a gold coin weighing two drachms. It is in the original $\chi\sigma\upsilon\sigma\ \sigma\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$.*

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the Prytaneum, all his life-time, 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 an hundred gallies, in order to hasten their retreat by his making so powerful a diversion; and after having made a dreadful havock, (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 Lacedæmonia, to obtain, if possible, an accommodation by some means or other, firmly resolved to make whatever concessions should be demanded of them: However, the ambassadors returned back 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," says 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

“ which neither you nor myself could foresee. Had ARTAX-
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 “ 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, but 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 forgot 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 your duty to preserve this glory and this
 “ empire, or to 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.
 “ Don’t shew 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 enter-
 “ prizes, 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

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“ 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 long-lived, 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 in vain 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 sight and presence only 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 publick disgrace of Pericles was not to be very lasting. The anger of the people was appeased by this first effort, and had spent itself in this injurious treatment of him, as the bee leaves its sting in the wound. But he was not now so happy with regard to his domestick evils; for, besides his having lost a great number of his friends and relations by the pestilence, feuds and divisions had long reigned in

* Fifteen or fifty thousand French crowns.

in his family. Xanthippus his eldest son, who him-^{ARTAX.}self was extremely profuse, and had married a young^{LONGIMA.}wife no less extravagant, could not bear his father's exact œconomy, 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 know 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 wanted 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 shew 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 rude stroke quite amazed him, though he did his utmost to preserve his usual tranquillity, and not shew 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 transports 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 the greatness of soul he had ever shewn; and that on this occasion, the sensibility of the father would fully the glory of the conqueror. Exceeding error, childish 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

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of constancy and resolution, merely to be admired. But does martial bravery extinguish nature? Is a man dead to all humane sentiments, because he makes a considerable figure in the state? Antoninus the emperor had a much juster way of thinking, when, on occasion of Marcus Aurelius's lamenting the death of the person who had brought him up, he 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 domestick misfortunes, and to be fired more and more with a zeal for their country's glory; and in their ardor 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 for the loss he had sustained. However, Alcibiades and the rest of his friends intreated him to go abroad, and shew himself in publick. The people asked him pardon for their ungrateful usage of him; and Pericles, moved with their intreaties, 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 atchieved in her defence against Persia.

* Permite illi ut homo sit: imperium tollit affectus. *Jur.*
neque enim vel philosophia vel *Capitol. in vit. Antonin. P.*

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 publick peace, and afterwards to be sent to Athens, where, without suffering them to be heard, they were put to death the same day; and their bodies thrown into 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 scarce possible to conceive how two cities, which, a little before, were so strongly united, and ought to have shewn a mutual civility and forbearance for each other, could contract so inveterate an hatred, and break into such cruel acts of violence, as infringe all the laws of war, humanity, and nations; and prompted them to exercise greater cruelties upon one another, than if they had been at war with 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 expence of the siege, which had already cost * two thousand talents †. They therefore came out of the city with their wives and children, as well citizens as foreigners, with each but one suit of cloaths, 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

I 3

extremities,

* 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.

† Six millions.

ARTAX. extremities, they would have surrendered at discretion.
 LONGIMA. They sent a colony thither.

A. M. The first thing Pericles did, after his being re-elected
 3575. generalissimo, was to propose the abrogating of that
 A. T. J. C. law, which he himself had caused to be enacted
 429. against bastards, when there were legitimate children.
 It declared, that such only 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 con-
 demned and sold as slaves, whilst 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
 domestick 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 little 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 rare merit, they ran over his
 exploits, and computed the number of his victories;
 for whilst 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

* Plutarch does not name this
 king. Perhaps it was Inarus, son
 to Psammetichus king of Lybia, 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.

but it was far otherwise, for not a single word of their discourse had escaped him; when, breaking suddenly from his silence; "I am surprized," says 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 circumstance in my life; I mean, *my never having caused a single citizen to put on mourning.*" Excellent words! 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 has 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 high-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 publick deliberations, and by the dexterity and 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 characteristick which was peculiar to him. He acted with so much wisdom, moderation, disinterestedness and zeal for the publick 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 autho-

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rity. But the most surprizing circumstance is, he gained this great ascendant 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 publick affairs, and reasons of state, make them necessary.

(b) Anaxagoras died the same year as Pericles. Plutarch relates a circumstance concerning him, that happened some time before, which 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 publick 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 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 a little his head, 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.

(b) Plut. in Pericl. p. 162.

* It was the custom for those to who were reduced to despair, and cover their heads with their cloaks, resolved to die.

SECT. III. *The Lacedæmonians besiege Platææ. Mitylene is taken by the Athenians. Platææ surrenders. The plague breaks out again in Athens.*

FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(c) **T**HE most memorable 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, Pausanis, 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 Lacedæmonian. 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 neuter, 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

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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 long-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 terrass on all sides; he then threw into it 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 reposing themselves, whilst the rest were at work.

The besieged observing that the work began to rise, they 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 paniers filled with

with mortar, in the place of the earth which had been removed, because these could not be so easily 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 gave 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 amusing themselves any longer at this work, or carrying the wall higher on the side towards the battery, they 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 fresh works.

In the mean time the besiegers having set up their machines (doubtless after they had filled up the ditch, though Thucydides does not say this) shook the city wall in a very terrible manner, which, though it alarmed the citizens very much, did not however discourage them. They employed every art that fortification could suggest against the enemy's batteries. They prevented the effect 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 nature of a ballance; 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 deaden'd its force, and consequently made it of no effect,

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* The end (downward) of these ropes formed a variety of slip-knots, with which they caught the head of the battering ram, which they raised up by the help of the machine.

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The besiegers finding 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 all the artifices imaginable, to make themselves masters of it as soon as possible, and with little expence. 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 such a prodigious blaze, that the like was never seen. This invention was very near carrying the city, which had baffled all others; for the besieged could not make head at once against 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 fosse. 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 Platææ, but four hundred inhabitants, and fourscore Athenians; with an 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.

(d) The next summer, which was the fourth year of the war, the people of Lesbos, the citizens of Methymne 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 Methymne 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, tho' in great consternation 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 accommodation, 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 Lacedæmonia, 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, being arrived in Lacedæmonia, the Spartans deferred giving them audience, till the solemnization of the Olympick 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,

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at once, to give a just idea of Thucydides's stile, and 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 reciprocally granted. But it is far otherwise between us and the Athenians; and we intreat 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 being come hither to demand admittance into the number of your friends and allies, we ought to begin our own justification, by 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, so 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 our liberty, ARTAXAS
“ they obliged us to follow them; though we could LONGIMAS
“ no longer rely on their words, and had the strongest
“ reason to fear the like treatment. And indeed,
“ what probability is there, after their enslaving all
“ the other states, that they should show a regard to us
“ only, and admit us upon the foot of equals, if they
“ may become our masters whenever they please;
“ especially as their power increases daily, in propor-
“ tion as ours lessens? A mutual fear between confe-
“ derates, 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 equity and specious
“ moderation they have shown us. First, they pre-
“ tended to prove, from their moderate conduct in
“ regard to us, that as we are 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
“ most 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 compleated 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 republick,
“ 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.

“ What

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“ What friendship then, what lasting alliance can
 “ be concluded with those who never are friends and
 “ allies, but when force is employed to make them
 “ continue such? For, as they were obliged to care
 “ 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 occasion: Let there-
 “ fore 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 a
 “ necessity of waiting one, 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 upon us to provide for our safety: We should
 “ have claimed your protection before, had you
 “ been sooner inclined to afford it us; for we offered
 “ ourselves to you, even before the war broke out:
 “ We are 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,
 “ our declaring so precipitately, with more generosity
 “ than prudence, and without having made the least
 “ preparations. But this also ought to engage you
 “ to be the 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

“ 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 sea and land. 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 deal 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 Ju-
 “ piter Olympius, in whose temple we now are, not
 “ to frustrate the hopes of the Greeks, nor reject
 “ suppliants, whose preservation may be highly ad-
 “ vantageous, and whose ruin may be infinitely per-
 “ nicious to you. Show yourselves such now, as the
 “ idea entertained of your generosity, and the ex-
 “ treme 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 incursion
 into the enemy's country was immediately resolved,
 and that the allies should rendezvous at Corinth with
 two-thirds of their forces. The Lacedæmonians ar-

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rived first, and prepared engines for transporting the ships from the gulf of Corinth into the sea of Athens, in order to invade Attica both by sea and land. 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, put to sea a fleet of an hundred sail, which they mann'd 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 shewed 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 Salamis with a fleet of an 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 expences of this powerful armament entirely exhausted their treasure, which had been very much drained before by that of the siege of Potidæa.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly surprized at so formidable a fleet, which they no ways 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

were in such great want of money for carrying on this siege, that they were reduced 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 not preceded by any ill treatment, and it 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 they 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 imaged 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;

K 2

and

* Two hundred thousand crowns, about 45,000 l. sterling.

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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 everywhere ready to revolt.

Diodorus, who had contradicted Cleon in the first assembly, now opposed his reflections 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, whilst 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 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, ARTAX. LONGINA.
 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 laments. The moment that the sentence was going to be put in execution, advice came that a second galley was arrived. Immediately the cruel massacre was suspended. The assembly was again convened; and the decree which granted a pardon was listened to with such a silence and joy, as 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 Methymne 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.

(b) 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 enterprize, entirely lost courage when they came to the execution; but the rest (who were about two hundred and twenty
 K 3 soldiers)

(b) Thucyd. l. iii. p. 185---186.

* The Attick mina was worth an hundred drachms, that is, fifty French livres.

ARTAX. soldiers) persisted in their resolution, and escaped in
LONGIMA. the following manner.

Before I begin the description 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 this siege; however, for brevity 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 terrass, 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 it 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 in the nature of guard-houses. Such was the contravallation, on both sides of which was 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 small 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 one night when there was no moon, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain.

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 rain and wind 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 sliding so easily in the mire. Those who carried the ladders laid 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 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 de 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 shew 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 wall for that purpose.

In the mean time, those who had mounted first having possessed themselves of the two towers which

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

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 good 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. Whilst this was doing, they had time to set up several ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the rest might come up with greater ease. As fast as they came up, they went down on the other side, and drew up near the fossé 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 fossé 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: However, this was not done without difficulty, because the ditch was froze 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 was not likely that they had fled towards a city of the enemy's. Immediately they perceived the besiegers, with torches in their hands, pursuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about six or seven * stadia, they turned short toward the mountain, and resumed the route of Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived, out of two hundred and twenty who had quitted the place; the rest having returned back to it through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the side
of

* *Upwards of a quarter of a league.*

of the fossé 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 were returned, to justify themselves, affirmed they were,) sent a herald to demand the dead bodies; but being told the true state of the affair, he withdrew.

(c) 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 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 surprized, 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 Lacedæmonia, 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 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
“ manes

ARTAX. “manes of the dead. You thought fit to intrust
LONGIMA. “their bodies with us, as we were eye-witnesses of
“their bravery: And yet you will now give up their
“ashes to their murtherers, in abandoning us to the
“Thebans, who fought against them at the battle
“of Plataæ. 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 byassed more by the answer the Thebans made, and which was expressed in the most haughty and bitter terms against the Plataæans; and besides, they had brought their instructions from Lacedæmon. They stood therefore to their first question, *Whether the Plataæans had done them any service since the war?* and making them pass one after another, as they severally answered No, he was 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 Plataæ; but the year after they demolished it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, sacrificed the Plataæans to their animosity, ninety-three years after their first alliance with the Athenians.

A. M. (d) In the sixth year of the war of Peloponnesus,
3578. the plague broke out anew in Athens, and again swept
Ant. J. C. away great numbers.
426.

(d) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 232.

SECT. IV. *The Athenians possess themselves of Pylus, and are afterwards besieged in it. The Spartans are shut up in the little island of Sphaacteria. CLEON makes himself master of it. ARTAXERXES dies.*

THE 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: (*e*) 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 Sphaacteria, 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 in to them.

The news of the defeat being come 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

(*e*) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 253---280. Diod. l. xii. p. 112---114. 5

* Twenty French leagues.

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

A. M.
3579.
Ant. J. C.
425.

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

ble for him to save those who were in 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 surrender up all their gallies, 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 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 would be broke; 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 surrendring about threescore ships; after which they sent ambassadors to Athens.

Being admitted to audience before the people, they began by saying, that they were 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 Lacedæmonians:

However,

* For the masters, two Attick half pints of wine, and a piece of cheenices of flour, making about four pounds and a half, two cotyles, or servants.

However, that their affairs were far from being desperate, and therefore, that now was the time to establish, between the two republicks, 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 shifting the scene, and rendering them as unfortunate as they before had been happy: That they ought to consider, that the fate of arms 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 an 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 ascendant 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 transact 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

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

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 disposition from 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 carriage in success, and want of faith in the observation of treaties, never fail, at last, 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 run any into it. Provisions were therefore now brought, (at the hazard of mens lives) from all parts of Peloponnesus. There were even divers, 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 both of 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

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, lest the Lacedæmonians, after their countrymen were once extricated from their danger, should refuse to hearken to any conditions of peace; so that they now repented their having refused it when offered them.

Cleon saw plainly that these complaints would terminate in 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; Nicias, 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 enterprize, might lose him the favour of the people. But now Cleon was greatly surprized as well as embarrassed; for he did not expect that the Athenians would take him at his word, he being a finer talker than soldier, and much more able with his tongue than his sword. However, he desired leave to wave the honour they offered him, for which he alledged 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 rodomontade, 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 those words, set up a laugh, for they knew the man.

Cleon

ARTAX.
LONGIMA.

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 battle-array, faced about to that side only where they could be attacked, and defended themselves like so many lions. As the engagement had held the greatest part of the day, and the soldiers were oppressed with heat and weariness, and parched with thirst, the general of the Messenians, directing 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 backs 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, they 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 dispatch a messenger to the camp, to know the resolution of the generals.

This was not allowed, but they called heralds from ARTAX. the coast; and after several messages, a Lacedæmonian LONGIMA. advanced 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 an hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell, out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at first; so that there survived not quite three hundred, an 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 threecore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus; and Cleon's promise, though so vain and rash, was found literally true. But the most surprizing circumstance was, the capitulation that had been made; for it was believed that the Lacedæmonians, so far from surrendring their arms, would die sword in hand.

Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain prisoners till a peace should be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incursions into their country, for that then they should all be put to death. They left a garrison in Pylus. The Messenians of Naupactus, who had formerly possessed it, sent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infested the Lacedæmonians by their incursions; and as these Messenians spoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of slaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, sent several deputations to Athens, but to no purpose; the Athenians being too much elated with their pro-

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prosperity, and especially their late success, to listen to any terms.

(*f*) In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes sent to the Lacedæmonians an ambassador named Artaphernes, with a letter written in the Assyrian language, in which he said, that he had received many embassies from them, but the purport of them all differed so widely, that he could not comprehend in any manner what it was they requested: That in this uncertainty, he had thought proper to send a Persian, to acquaint them, that if they had any proposal to make, they should send a person in whom they could confide along with him, from whom he might be exactly informed in what they desired. This ambassador, arriving at Eion on the river Strymon in Thrace, was there taken prisoner, about the close of this year, by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens. He was treated with the utmost civility and respect; the Athenians being extremely desirous of recovering the favour of the king his master.

The year following, as soon as the season would permit the Athenians to put to sea, they sent the ambassador back in one of their ships at the publick expence; and appointed some of their citizens to wait upon him to the court of Persia, in quality of ambassadors. Upon landing at Ephesus, they were informed that Artaxerxes was dead; whereupon the Athenian ambassadors, thinking it not advisable to proceed farther after this news, took leave of Artaphernes, and returned to their own country.

(*f*) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 285, 286.





 BOOK THE EIGHTH.

THE ANCIENT

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

 Persians *and* Grecians.

C H A P. I.

THIS chapter contains thirteen years of the Pe-^{XERXES}loponnesian war, to the nineteenth inclusively. ^{11.}

SECT. I. *The very short reigns of XERXES II. and SOGDIANUS. They are succeeded by DARIUS NOTHUS. He puts a stop to the insurrection of Egypt, and that of Media. He bestows on CYRUS, his youngest son, the supreme command of all Asia minor.*

(a) **A**RTAXERXES died about the beginning A. M. of the forty-ninth year of his reign. Xerxes, ^{3579.} who succeeded him, was the only son which the queen ^{Ant. J. C.} his wife brought him: But he had seventeen others ^{425.} by his concubines, among whom was Sogdianus, (who is called Secondianus by Ctesias) Ochus and Arsites. Sogdianus, in concert with Pharnacias one of Xerxes's A. M. eunuchs, came insidiously, one festival day, to the new ^{3580.} king, who, after drinking too immoderately, was re- ^{Ant. J. C.} tired to his chamber, in order to give the fumes of the ^{424.} 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.

L 2

He

SOGDIA-
NUS.

He was scarce on the throne, but he put to death Bagorazus, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. It was he who had been appointed to superintend the interment of Artaxerxes, and of 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 life-time 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. However Ochus, 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 Sogdianus's cruelty and ill-conduct. 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 before been 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 him to be thrown into ashes, where

he

he died a cruel death. (b) This was a kind of punish-^{SOGDIA-}ment peculiar to the Persians, and exercised only on^{NUS.} great criminals. One of the largest towers was filled to a certain height with ashes. The criminal then was 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 saw himself^{DARIUS} possessed of the empire. As soon as he was well settled^{NOTHUS.} in it, he changed his name from Ochus to that of Darius. To distinguish him, historians add the epithet^{A. M.} *Nôthos*, signifying bastard. He reigned nineteen years.^{3581.}
^{Ant. J. C.}
^{423.}

Arsites, seeing in what manner Sogdianus had sup- planted 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 Artsites. Artyphius, with the Grecian troops in his pay, defeated twice 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,

L 3 when

(b) Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

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 thereby 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 inculcating 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. However, Darius 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.

A. M.
3590.
Aut. J. C.
414.

(c) 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,

Pisuthnes, who, by this desertion, was unable to carry on his designs, surrendered, upon his being flattered with the hopes of obtaining his pardon; but the instant he was brought 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; (d) 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 Iafus, a city of Ionia; and delivered up by the inhabitants to Tissaphernes, who put him to death.

(e) 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, by the sequel of this history, that they always governed absolutely in it. (f) We may know their character, and the danger to which they expose princes, by the picture which Dioclesian, after he had resigned the empire, and reduced himself to a private station of life, drew of freedmen, 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 shew 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 only besiege him continually, he cannot be informed of any thing but through their canal, 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*

L 4

Diocletianus

(d) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 554—567, 568. (e) Ctes. c. lii. (f) Vopisc. in vit. Aurelian. Imper.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

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 disposed of 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 and cruel death.

(g) But the greatest misfortune which happened in Darius's reign, was the revolt of the Egyptians. This terrible blow fell out the same year with Pisuthnes's rebellion. But Darius could not reduce Egypt as he had done that rebel. (b) The Egyptians, weary of the Persian government, flocked from all parts to Amyrtæus of Sais, who at last was come out of the fens where he had defended himself, from the suppression of the revolt of Inarus. The Persians were drove out, and Amyrtæus 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,

(g) Euseb. in Chron.

(b) Thucyd. l. i. p. 72, 73.

* *cis præcipuum esse indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos. Plin. ad Trajan.*

Egypt, he prepared to pursue them as far as Phœni-^{DARIUS}cia, and had already concerted measures with the ^{NOTHUS.} Arabians, to attack them in that country. News of this being brought the king of Persia, he recalled the fleet which he had promised the Lacedæmonians, to employ it in the defence of his own dominions.

Whilst 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 (till then easy enough) was made heavier: A fate that rebellious subjects always experience, when the government, which they endeavoured to throw off, gains the upper hand.

(i) Darius's arms seem to have had the like success against the Egyptians. Amyrtæus dying after he had reigned six years, (he possibly was killed in a battle) Herodotus observes, it was by the assistance of the Persians that Pausiris his son succeeded him in the throne. 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 re-^{A. M.}stored the affairs of Egypt to their former situation, ^{3597.}Darius gave Cyrus, the youngest of his sons, the su-^{Ant. J. C.}preme command of all the provinces of Asia minor: ^{407.}An important commission, by which he commanded all the provincial governors in that part of the empire.

I thought it necessary to anticipate times, and draw 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.

(i) Herod. l. iii. c. 15.

SECT. II. *The Athenians make themselves masters of the island of Cythera. Expeditions of BRASIDAS into Thrace. He takes Amphipolis. THUCYDIDES the historian is banished. A battle is fought near Delium, where the Athenians are defeated.*

THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

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THE three or four campaigns which followed the reduction of the small island of Sphacteria, were distinguished by very few considerable events.

A. M. 3580.
Ant. J. C. 424.
(s) The Athenians under Nicias took the little island of Cythera, situated on the coast of Lacedæmonia, near cape Malea, and from thence they infested the whole country.

(t) Brasidas, on the other side, marched towards Thrace. The Lacedæmonians were induced by more than one motive to undertake this 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, whom they expected to rise in rebellion, from 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 publick registers, in order for 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 an umbrageous policy and power, when filled

(s) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 286.
Diod. l. xii. p. 117, 118.

(t) Ibid. p. 304—311.

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 enterprize. This general brought over several cities, either by force or intelligence, and still more by his wisdom and moderation. The chief of these were Acanthus and Stagyra, which were two colonies from Andros. (u) He also marched afterwards towards Amphipolis, an Athenian colony, on the river Strymon. The inhabitants immediately dispatched a messenger to * Thucydides the Athenian general, who was then in Thasus, a little island of the Ægæan 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 credit in all that country, where he was possessed of some gold-mines, made all the dispatch imaginable, to get thither 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 dispatch, the Athenians however 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

(u) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 320—324.

* The same who wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war.

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ration 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 the 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 disservice 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, because it 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.

(x) 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. (y) Socrates was in this battle; and Laches, who accompanied that great man

(x) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 311—319.
In conviv. p. 221. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

(y) Plat. in Lach. p. 181.

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, to which a cauldron hung; 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 cauldron. 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 pallisades burnt, the city was easily taken.

SECT. III. *A twelve-month's truce is agreed upon between the two states. CLEON and BRASIDAS die. A treaty of peace for fifty years concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.*

NINTH, TENTH AND ELEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(2) **T**HE losses and advantages on both sides were pretty equal; and the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expence, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce, for a year, was therefore concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The former resolved

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solved 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 Sphaacteria; 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 went still 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 infirmities to object to the Athenians.

It will naturally be supposed, that they were far from being pleased with this conduct of Brasidas. Cleon, in all publick assemblies, was for ever inflaming the minds of the Athenians, and blowing up the fire of war. (a) His great success in the expedition of Sphaacteria had raised his credit infinitely with the people: He now was 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 stile 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 whilst he was making his speech. In a word, he first introduced among the
 orators,

(a) Plut. in vit. Nicia, p. 68.

orators, and all those who were in publick employ-^{DARIUS}ments, an ungovernable licentiousness, and a contempt^{NOTHUS.} of decency; a licentiousness and contempt, which soon introduced terrible irregularities and confusion in publick affairs.

(b) 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.

(c) 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 not to march immediately towards the enemy: But finding his soldiers, who had followed him involuntarily and with regret, grow weary of continuing so long unactive, and 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 the same good fortune would attend him at Amphipolis. He therefore approached it, as he said, to take a view of the place, and till such time as all his forces should be come up; not that he thought he wanted them for carrying that city,

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3582.
Ant. J. C.
422.

(b) Plut. in vit. Nicæ, p. 528. (c) Thucyd. l. iii. p. 342—352.
Diod. l. xii. p. 121, 122.

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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 incamped 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 be come up, thought this the critical juncture. He had concerted proper measures, and given the orders necessary. Accordingly he made a sudden sally on the Athenians, which surprized 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 his 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 univer-

fally broke and routed. Brasidas was then carried DARIUS
 into the city, where he survived his victory but a few NOTHUS.
 moments.

The whole army being 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 publick 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 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.

(d) 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 declared him superior to all other generals: *You are mistaken, says she, my son was a valiant man, but Sparta has many citizens braver than him.* 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 publick honours.

(e) After this last engagement, in which the 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 Amphipolis, which had very much brought down their haughtiness, were

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undeceived

(d) Diod. l. xii. p. 122.

(e) Thucyd. l. v. p. 351---354.

† Agnon the Athenian.

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undeceived with regard to the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their own strength, that 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 dejected and terrified 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 desire a 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 Lacedæmonia, 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 also was 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 ^{DARIUS} the perpetual calamities of the war, were daily re- ^{NOTHUS.}
vived. As for Nicias, the most fortunate general of his age, he was afraid lest 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.

(f) 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 chorusses 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.*

(g) 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 Bœotians and Corinthians were exceedingly disgusted at it, and for that reason used their utmost endeavours to excite fresh troubles. (b) 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 assured with regard to

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3583.
Ant. J. C.
421.

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(f) Thucyd. l. v. p. 354. Plut. in Nic. p. 528, 529. (g) Diod. l. xiii. p. 122. (b) Thucyd. l. v. p. 358, 359.

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each other. The Athenians, in consequence of this treaty, at last restored the prisoners they had taken in the island of Sphacteria.

SECT. IV. *ALCIBIADES begins to appear. His character. He opposes NICIAS in every thing, and breaks the treaty he had concluded. The banishment of HYPERBOLUS puts an end to the Ostracism.*

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(k) **A**LCIBIADES began now to advance himself in the state, and appear in the publick assemblies. Socrates had attached himself 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, lest being neglected, it should wither as it grew, and absolutely degenerate. And indeed, Alcibiades was exposed to numberless dangers; the greatness of his extraction, 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 very heart, and leave in it the strongest inticements to virtue and solid glory. But those very obstacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates.

Notwithstanding the strong endeavours that were used to divert this young Athenian from a correspondence which alone was capable of securing him from

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(k) Plut. in Alcib. p. 192, 194.

so many snares, he devoted himself entirely to it. ASDARIUS
NOTHUS. he had abundance of wit, he was fully sensible of Socrates's extraordinary merit; and could not resist the charms of his sweetly-insinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater ascendant 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 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 ugly and odious a light did he expose the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himself.

Alcibiades, in those moments when he listened to Socrates, differed so much from himself, that he appeared quite another man. However, his head-strong, 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 disgusted 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, that 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 things 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 sus-

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picions,

* *Abbé Fraguier justifies Socrates in one of his dissertations.* Mem. of the Academy of Belles Lettres, Tom. iv. p. 372.

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pitions, 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 henceforward will have a very great share in the affairs of the republick of Athens. I shall make a very short extract from it in this place, which I hope will not displease my readers.

(*l*) 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 Alcibiades's education (a fault too common in the greatest men) since he had put him under the tutorage 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 Lacedæmonia, 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 the publick 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 going to mount the rostra, in order to give the people some advice

advice relating to the publick affairs, demonstrates to him, by various questions, and by Alcibiades's answers, that he is quite ignorant of the affairs about which he is going to speak, as he had never studied them himself, nor been informed in them by others. After making Alcibiades confess this, he paints, in the strongest colours, the absurdity of his conduct, and makes him fully sensible of it. What, says Socrates, would Amestris (the mother of Artaxerxes, who then reigned in Persia) say, were she to hear, that there is a man now in Athens who is meditating war against her son, and even intends 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 is able to raise a mighty army, and march it wherever he pleases; and, at the same time, that he has 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 is not twenty years old; that he is utterly ignorant of publick affairs; has not the least knowledge of war, and no credit with the citizens or the allies; would it be possible for her to refrain from laughing at the folly and extravagance of such an enterprize? This nevertheless, says Socrates, (directing himself to Alcibiades) is your picture; and unhappily resembles most of those who thrust themselves into the publick 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 publick 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 asks how he must act for the attainment of it. Socrates, being unwilling to discourage his pupil, tells him, that as he is so young, these evils might be remedied, and afterwards continually gave him the wisest counsels. He had entire

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leisure to improve from them; as upwards of twenty years passed between this conversation, and his engaging in publick affairs.

Alcibiades was of a convertible genius, that would take any impression which the difference of times and circumstances might require, still veering 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.* (m) 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 groveling 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.

(n) 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 threescore and ten 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 have the Athenians discourse about what I have done to my dog, that they*

(m) *Quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos. Juvenal.* (n) Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

* About 160l. sterling. The dred drachmas, and the drachma Attick mina was worth an hundred-pence, French money.

they may not entertain themselves with saying worse things of me. DARIUS
NOTHUS.

(o) 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 republick; there was nothing however to which he was so fond of owing the credit 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.

(p) 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. A. M.
3584.
Ant. J. C.
420.

The first thing he did to infringe the peace was this; having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to break with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared, he flattered them secretly with the hopes that the Athenians would succour them, by suggesting to them that they 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

(o) τὸ φιλέικον, καὶ τὸ φιλόπρωτον. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195, 196.
(p) Thucyd. l. v. p. 368—378. Plut. in Alcib. p. 197, 198.

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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 Lacedæmonia, 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 credit, 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 spoke, but Alcibiades exclaims against them; declares them to be treacherous knaves; calls upon the council as witness to the speech they had made the night before; and desires 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.

Words could never express the surprize 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 Mantinea and Elis, who had quitted the party of the Lacedæmonians, in which the Argives

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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.

(a) Plutarch, after relating the intrigue 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 how successful soever it might have been, was notwithstanding horrid in itself, and of a nature never to be sufficiently detested.

(b) There was in Athens a citizen, Hyperbolus by name, a very wicked man, whom the comick 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, was 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

(a) In Alcib. p. 198. (b) Plut. in Alcib. p. 196, 197. In Nic. p. 530, 531.

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 whichever 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 by (and put an end to) the ostracism, which seemed to have been demeaned, in being employed against a 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.

SECT. V. — *ALCIBIADES engages the Athenians in the war of Sicily.*

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(c) 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.

A. M. 3588.
Ant. J. C. 416.

(d) Alcibiades had gained a surprizing ascendant 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 pleasure and debauchery. He shewed 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

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(c) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 350---409. (d) Plut. in Alcib. p. 198---200. In Nic. p. 531.

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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*, shews 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 wink 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 to see 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, on the contrary he ran to meet him, and stretching out his hand to him in a friendly way; *Courage, my son, says he, thou dost right in pushing thy fortune, for thy 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

* *The Frogs, Act 5, Scene 4.*

inculcate to 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 enterprizes, 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 surpass the desire they had to conquer it, and their eyes were continually upon that island. (e) Some time after Pericles's death, 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 Gorgis, 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 so prodigious 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 were preparing to invade them with a greater force.

But the person who most inflamed this ardor was Alcibiades,

(e) Diod. l. xii. p. 99.

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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 enquiring seriously into matters, were enchanted with the mighty hopes he gave them. This expedition was the only topick of all conversations. The young men, in the places where the publick 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 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 place of arms and their 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.

(f) It is related that neither Socrates nor Methon the astronomer believed that this enterprize would be successful; the former, being inspired, as he insinuated, by his familiar spirit, who always warned him of the evils with which he was threatened; and the other, directed by his reason and good sense, which, pointing 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.

(f) Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 532.

SECT. VI. *Account of the several people who inhabited Sicily.*

BEFORE I enter on the relation of the war of ^{DARIUS} ^{NOTRUS.} 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.

(g) It was first inhabited by the Lestrygones 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, who 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 Thucydides's time, 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 border 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

A. M.
3294.
Ant. J. C.
710.

VOL. III.

N

Corinthian

(g) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 410---412.

* It is called Segesta by the Romans.

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Corinthian laid the foundations of Syracuse. Seven years after, the Chalcidians founded Leontium and Catania, after having drove 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 barely Hybla, from Hyblon a Sicilian king, by whose permission they settled in his dominions. It is well known that the Hyblæan honey was very famous among the ancients. An hundred years after, the inhabitants of that city built Selinonta. Gela, built on a river of the same name, forty-five years after the founding of Syracuse, founded Agrigentum about an hundred an eight years after. Zancle, called afterwards Messana or Messene by Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, who was of Messene a city of Peloponnesus, had several founders, and at different periods. The Zancians built the city of Himera; the Syracusans built Acre, Casimene, and Camarina. These are most of the nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who settled in Sicily.

SECT. VII. *The people of Egesta implore aid of the Athenians. NICIAS opposes, but to no purpose, the war of Sicily. ALCIBIADES carries that point. They both are appointed generals with LAMACHUS.*

A. M. 3578.
Ant. J. C. 416. (b) **A**THENS was in the disposition above related, when ambassadors were sent from the people of Egesta, who, in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid against the inhabitants of Selinunta, who were assisted by the Syracusans. It was the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. They represented, among other things, that should 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

(b) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 413---415. Diod. l. xii. p. 129, 130. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. In Nic. p. 531.

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 Egesta to enquire into the state of affairs, and to see whether there was money enough in the treasury to defray the expence 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 Egesta, who carried threescore talents in ingots, as a month's pay for the gallies which they demanded; and a promise of larger sums, which, they said, were ready both in the publick treasury and in the temples. The people, struck with these fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themselves the leisure to examine; and seduced by the advantageous reports which their deputies made, in the view of pleasing them; immediately granted the Egestans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias and Lamachus to command the fleet; with full power, not only to succour Egesta, 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 republick.

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 coldness and wisdom of Nicias.

(i) Five days after, to hasten the execution of the decree, and make the necessary preparations, a second assembly was held. Nicias, who had had time enough to reflect deliberately on the affair proposed, and was still better convinced of the difficulties and

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dangers

(i) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415---425.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.A. M.
3589.
Ant. J. C.
415.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

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 republick. He said, "That it was surprizing so important an affair should have been determined, the moment almost it was taken into deliberation: That without once enquiring 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 (says he) can accrue from thence to the republick? 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 it is they we ought to guard against. Will it be a proper time to make these reflections, when (after having divided our troops, and our arms will be employed elsewhere, and unable to resist them) we shall be attacked at once by all the forces of Peloponnesus?

“ We do but just begin to breathe, after the calamities DARIUS
 “ in which war and the plague had plunged us; and NOTHUS.
 “ 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 Egesta, about whose
 “ welfare we ought to be very indifferent? And will
 “ it suit our interest, to attempt to revenge their
 “ injuries, at a time that we do not discover the
 “ least resentment 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 as well as they can. Should any of our
 “ generals advise you to this enterprize, 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 republick to his, or permit him to involve it
 “ in the same ruin with himself. An enterprize 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 resolu-
 tions 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, equi-
 pages and moveables; not to mention the delicacy
 and sumptuousness of his table. He disputed the
 prize in the Olympick games with seven sets of chariot

ΓΑΡΙΟΥΣ
ΝΟΘΟΥΣ.

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 conquering Sicily and Carthage, (which he pretended to possess afterwards as his own,) 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, says 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, is, I will presume to
 “ say it, the honour of my country, and ought to
 “ gain me applause. The splendor in which I live;
 “ the great sums I expend, particularly in the publick
 “ 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 republick, 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 aggran-
 “ dize your empire, of Alcibiades’s youth and folly,
 “ (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 enterprize publickly resolved upon, and which
 “ may redound infinitely both to your glory and ad-
 “ vantage. 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 whomsoever shall offer to
 “ take off the yoke under which they have so long
 “ groaned. Though the citizens of Egæta, in qua-
 “ lity of your allies, should not have a right to your
 “ protection; yet the glory of Athens ought to en-
 “ gage you to support them. Republicks aggran-
 “ dize themselves by succouring the oppressed, and
 “ not by living unactive. In the present state of
 “ your affairs, the only way to dispirit your enemies,
 “ and shew that you are not afraid of them, will be,
 “ to harrass one nation, to check the progress of
 “ another, to keep them all employed, and carry your
 “ arms into distant countries. Athens was not form-
 “ ed for ease; and it was not by inactivity that your
 “ ancestors raised it to the height in which we now
 “ see it. For the rest, what hazards will you run by
 “ engaging in the enterprize 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 op-
 “ portunity 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 in-
 “ vade 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 biased by
 “ Nicias’s reasons. The only tendency of them is to
 “ sow the seeds of discord between the young and
 “ old men, who can do nothing without one another;
 “ since it is wisdom and courage, counsel and execu-
 “ tion, that give success to all enterprizes: And this
 “ in which we are going to embark, cannot but turn
 “ to your advantage.”

(m) The Athenians, flattered and pleased with Al-
 cibiades’s speech, persisted in their first opinion. Ni-
 cias, on the other side, did not depart from his; but
 at the same time did not dare to oppose Alcibiades

DARTUS
NOTHUS.

any further. 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 all things 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 shews 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 starting a great number of difficulties, drawn especially from the great expence 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

* Κατάπερ ἀμολεῖ χαλιναῖ τῷ λόγῳ περιώμετο· ἀποτρέφειν τὸν δῆμον ἢ κατέχειν.

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 conveniencies 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 enterprize, 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 that he would not rely on caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies.

(n) Nicias had flattered himself, that this speech would cool the ardour of the people, whereas it only enflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raise as many troops, and fit out as many gallies as they should judge necessary; and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens and other places, with inexpressible activity.

(n) Diod. l. xiii. p. 134.

SECT. VIII. *The Athenians prepare to set sail. Sinister omens. The statues of Mercury are mutilated. ALCI- BIADES is accused, and insists upon his being tried, but his request is not granted. Triumphant departure of the fleet.*

DARIUS
NOTHUS.
A. M.
3589.
Ant. J. C.
415.

(o) **W**HEN 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 disquietude. 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 of that kind. Whence it was feared, that this gay and magnificent armament would soon lose all its splendor, 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 accused. 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.

(o) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 428. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200, 201.

* 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.

† The historian alludes to the plants and flowers that were carried in that ceremony, and which went by the name of Adonis's gardens.

head. (p) It highly concerns all those in exalted sta-^{DARIUS}tions, to be extremely careful of every step they take, ^{NOTHUS.}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 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 telling 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 but their affection for Alcibiades; and that, should the least injury be done him, they would all leave the service; he took heart, 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 superseded. 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 enquiry into the accusations and horrid slanders which were cast upon him;

(p) Plut. in præc. de rep. p. 800.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

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.

(q) They accordingly prepared to set sail, after having appointed Corcyra 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 Pyræus. The former attended their children, relations, friends or companions, with a joy overcast with a little sorrow, upon their bidding adieu to persons that 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, tho' they flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be successful. The foreigners came thither to feed 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 then they were not equipped with so much magnificence, neither was their voyage so long, nor their enterprize so important. Here were seen a land and a naval army, provided with the utmost care, and at the expence of particular persons as well as of the publick, with all things necessary, on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furnished an hundred empty gallees, that is, threescore light ones, and forty to transport the soldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma, 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 eclipse the rest, and each captain endeavouring

(q) Thucyd. p. 430—432. Diod. l. xiii. p. 135.

* They were called *Σπῆραι*. They had longer oars than the rest, and consequently more trouble in rowing.

deavouring to make his ship the lightest, and at the same time the gaiest 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; any more than of their officers who had laid out considerable sums purely to distinguish themselves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their persons and circumstances; so that this fight 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 expence and splendor.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

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. And now, the hymn being sung, and the ceremonies ended, the ships sailed one after another out of the harbour; after which they strove to outvail 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.

SECT. IX. *Syracuse is alarmed. The Athenian fleet arrives in Sicily.*

(r) **A**DVICE of this expedition coming to Syracuse from all quarters, it was thought so improbable, that at first no body 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

(r) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 432—445. Diod. l. xiii. p. 135, 136.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

diers 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 an hundred and thirty-six ships, an hundred whereof 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 an 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 an 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 stand neuter, 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 enquire whether the citizens of Egesta had
got

* These were called *ἄστες*.

got 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.

(s) He did not fail, the instant this news was brought, to expatiate on the counsel he had given in Athens; to shew the wrong step they had taken in engaging in this war; and to amplify the fatal consequences which might be expected from it: In all which he acted very imprudently. It 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 of the command, he ought not to be perpetually looking backward, nor to have repeated incessantly, that this 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 enterprizes. The Athenians, on the contrary, ought to have advanced boldly towards the enemy; should have attacked them with vigour, and have spread an 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 Selinunta, 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 Selinunta, 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

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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 farther, that after seeing who were their friends and who their enemies, and strengthening themselves by the addition of a new reinforcement, they then should attack either Selinunta 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 surprize, 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 Catania by surprize.

SECT. X. *ALCIBIADES is recalled. He flies, and is sentenced to die as an outlaw. He retires to Sparta. Flexibility of his genius and disposition.*

(t) **T**HIS was the first and last exploit performed ^{DARIUS} by Alcibiades in this expedition, he being ^{NOTHUS} immediately recalled by the Athenians, in order to be tried upon the accusation against him. For, from 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; his enemies, I say, taking advantage of his absence, had proceeded in the affair with greater vigour 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 Pisistratides made them apprehensive of the like fate; and strongly possessed with this fear, they would not give ear to any thing.

At last, they sent out the * ship of Salamin, 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, and went immediately on board his galley; but the instant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on

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shore,

(t) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446---450. Plut. in Alcib. p. 202.

* This was a sacred vessel appointed to fetch criminals.

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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," says he, "rely on my mother, for fear lest she should inadvertently mistake a * black bean for a white one." The galley of Salamin returned back without the commander, who was ashamed of his having suffered his prey 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 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,* says he, *that I am alive.*

(u) Much about this time Diagoras of Melia was prosecuted at Athens. He had settled himself in the latter city, where he taught atheism, and was brought to a trial for his doctrine. (x) 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.

(y) About twenty years before a like affair 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

(u) Joseph. contr. App. (x) Diod. l. xiii. p. 137. (y) Diog. Laert. in Protag. Joseph. contr. App. Cic. l. i. de nat. deor. n. 62.

* *The judges made use of beans in giving their suffrages, and the black bean denoted condemnation.*

† φάσκειν αὐτῶν ἢ καταρῆν ἰβρίων γενομένων

“standings 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 a doubt;
 and for this reason, they ordered proclamation to be
 made by the publick cryer, for all persons who had
 any copies of this book, to bring them to the magi-
 strates: After which they were burnt as infamous
 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.

(z) From the departure of Alcibiades, Nicias had
 possessed the whole authority: For Lamachus his col-
 league, 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 in 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 im-
 bibed a passion for luxury and magnificence; the na-
 tural consequence of which is, a love of riches. As
 Nicias, therefore, governed all affairs solely, all his
 actions were of the same cast with his disposition,
 that is, of a slow and fearful kind: He suffered every
 thing to languish, sometimes either by laying 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 terrible
 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.

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the ruining of Hyccara, a small town inhabited by Barbarians, from which place, it is said, that Lais the courtezan, at that time very young, was sold with the rest of the captives, and carried to Peloponnesus.

(a) In the mean time, Alcibiades having left Thurium, was 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 gained the love and esteem of all its inhabitants. He charmed, and even enchanted them, by his conforming himself so easily to their way of living. Such people as 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 chearfully to this kind of life, had ever kept cooks in his palace; had used essences and perfumes; had wore the rich stuffs of Miletus; in a word, that he had hitherto lived in the midst of voluptuousness and profusion of all things. But flexibility was the characteristick that chiefly distinguished Alcibiades. Cameleon like, he could 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 in 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

(a) Plut. in Alcib. p. 230.

The first part of the history is a general account of the
 state of the world at the beginning of the world. It
 describes the creation of the world and the first
 of man. It then goes on to describe the history of
 the world from the time of the first of man to the
 present. It is divided into three parts: the first part
 is a general account of the world; the second part
 is a history of the world; and the third part is a
 history of the world. The first part is a general
 account of the world, and the second part is a
 history of the world. The third part is a history of
 the world. The first part is a general account of
 the world, and the second part is a history of the
 world. The third part is a history of the world.

A PLAN OF THE CITY OF SYRACUSE Besieged by the Athenians



The Fortifications of the Athenians and Syracusans

- 1 The fortified Camp of the Athenians
- 2 The Wall that Gese, Fope, &c. on it
- 3 Consecration which the Athenians attempt to carry from the Fort of Fope, & about the Northern Wall of Tyche as far as Streptia
- 4 The lowest Wall drawn by the Syracusans to cut the Communication of the Athenians
- 5 Western Consecration of the Athenians from the hills of Fope, &c. down wards, called the long Wall
- 6 Continuation of the western Consecration of the Athenians from the

Then to the great Harbour
 called the double Wall
 7 The Fort built with Wall made
 made by the Syracusans
 to cut the Communication
 thro' the Forts
 8 The Wall carried on by the
 Syracusans, going upwards
 from the City towards
 Fope, & about the long
 Wall built by the Athenians

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. DARIUS
NOTUS.

But he was not barely satisfied with gaining the esteem of the Lacedæmonians. He insinuated himself so far into the affection of Timea, the wife of king Agis, that he had a son by her, who, in publick, went by the name of Leotychides; 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 Leotychides for his son; for which reason he was afterwards excluded the throne.

SECT. XL. *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 for that reason, in order to give my readers an idea of the manner of besieging by the ancients; I judged it necessary, before I enter into that detail, to give the reader a description and plan of the city of Syracuse; in which he will also find the different fortifications, both of the Athenians and Syracusans, mentioned in this siege.

(b) Syracuse stood on the eastern coast of Sicily. Its vast extent, its advantageous situation, the conveniency of its double harbour, 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,

O 3

how

(b) Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117---119.

* Urbem Syracusas elegerat, bulentaque tempestate fuerit, quin aliquo tempore solem ejus diei esse loci cœlique dicitur, ut nullus unquam dies tam magna tur-
bulentia viderent. Cic. Verr. 7. n. 26.


DARIUS
NOTHUS.

how cloudy soever it might be, in which the sun did not display its beams.

A. M.
3295.
Ant. J. C.
709.

(c) 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  (Nafos) signifying, in Greek, an island, but pronounced according to the Dorick dialect; and Ortygia. It was joined to the continent by a bridge. (d) 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.

(e) 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 gave occasion to the following lines of Virgil:

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.—

Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabêre Sicanos,
Doris amara suam non intermiscat undam.

VIRG. *eclog.* 10.

Thy

(c) Strab. l. vi. p. 269. (d) Cic. *Verr.* 7. n. 97. (e) Strab. l. vi. p. 270. Senec. *Nat. Quæst.* l. iii. c. 26.

*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.*

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

DRYDEN.

ACHRADINA, 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 (*Τύχη*) which embellished that part of the city, extended along Achradina westward from the north towards the south, and was very well inhabited. It had a famous gate called Hexapylum, which led into the country, and was situated to the north of the city.

EPIPOLÆ was a hill without the city, which it commanded. It was situated between Hexapylum and the point of Euryelus, 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 attacks of the enemy. Euryelus was the pass or entrance which led to Epipolæ. On the same hill of 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 inclosed 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.

(f) 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 fens or moors, 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

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

temple of Jupiter Olympius 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 isle, *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 buildings as parts of the city.

The greatest harbour was a little above † five thousand paces, or two leagues in circumference. It had a gulph 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 Plemmyrium, which was commanded by a fort or castle of the same name.

Above Achradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilus.

SECT. XII. NICIAS, *after some engagements, besieges Syracuse. LAMACHUS is killed in a battle. The city is reduced to the greatest extremities.*

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(g) **A**T the end of the summer, news was brought 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

(g) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 453-461. Plut. in Nic. p. 533, 534. Diod. l. cxxxvii, cxxxviii.

* Portus habet prope ædificatione aspectuque urbis inclusos. Cic. Ver. 6. v. 117.

† According to Strabo, it is eight stadia in circumference,

which is twice its real extent; a plain proof that this passage of Strabo is corrupt. Cluver. p. 167.

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, upon the first advice they should have of their march, would come to blows, and overpower him by the superiority of forces.

To extricate himself from this perplexity, and enable himself 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 piece of news to be given to the enemy, *viz.* that by means of a conspiracy, which was to take effect on a certain day, they might seize on his camp, and possess themselves of all 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 day-break 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 over-reached, returned immediately to Syracuse; and, in the greatest rage, drew up in battle-array, 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, coming unexpectedly, the Syracusans, who were unexperienced, and the greatest part of them having never carried arms before, were frightened at the tempest, whilst 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,

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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 publick 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 design to return in the beginning of 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, whom 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 coast of the Tuscan sea, which had promised to assist them.

The Syracusans were far from desponding. Hermocrates, who, of all their leaders, were 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 enemies, though very brave, owed their victory to their good fortune rather than to their merit; that the having a multitude of leaders,

(they were fifteen in number) from which confusion and disobedience are inseparable, had done them prejudice; that it would be absolutely necessary for them to chuse 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. Accordingly they 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.

(b) The ambassadors of Syracuse being 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

(b) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 471---482. Plut. in Alcib. p. 203. In Nic. p. 534, 535. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138.

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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 not being able ever 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 partizans of Sparta.

A. M.
3590.
Ant. J. C.
414.

Nicias had received some succours from Athens. It consisted of two hundred and fifty horsemen, whom the Athenians supposed would be furnished with horses in Sicily, (the troops bringing only the furniture) and of thirty 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 action, he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he before had been slow and timorous in undertaking, as he shewed 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 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

* About 67,000*l.* sterling.

should be given for that purpose. But Nicias conducted his design with so much prudence; expedition, and secrecy, that they had not time to do this. He sailed from Catana with all his fleet, without the enemy's having the least suspicion of his design. Being arrived at the port of Trogilus near Leontium, which is but a quarter of a league (six or seven furlongs) from Epipolæ, he put 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 staccado.

The land-forces marched with the utmost expedition to seize on Epipolæ, by the pass of Euryelus, before the enemy, who were in the plains of Anapis at above 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 forward in confusion, but were easily defeated; and three hundred of them, with their leader, left dead in 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 Egesta sent the Athenians three hundred horse, to which some of their 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 horse.

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

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whole army in throwing up a line of contravallation, to shut up their city northward from Tyche as far as Trogilus, situate on the sea-side. This work was carried on with such a rapidity, as terrified the Syracusans. They thought it absolutely necessary to prevent the carrying on of this work, and accordingly made some sallies and attacks, but always 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, 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.

Accordingly they 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 compleated, the Syracusans left

left a body of troops to defend the palifade and guard the wall, and then returned into the city.

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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 palifade, pursued those who guarded it as far as that part of the city wall which covered Temenos, 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 palifades of the intrenchment, 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 inclosure of the city; *viz.* to carry a wall from the hills of Epipolæ, westward, through the plain and the fens 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 palifades, from the city through the fens, 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 day-break; when throwing planks and beams in that part
where

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where the fen was only slimy and more firm than in other places, they immediately carried the greatest part of the fossé lined with palisades, and then the rest, after having beat 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 passage 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 put the first battalions 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 intrenchment that covered the fort, but Nicias saved it. He was sick in this fort, and at that time in his bed, with only his domesticks about him. Animated by the danger and the presence of the enemy, he struggles with his indisposition; rises up, and commands his servants to set fire immediately to all the timber, lying between the intrenchment and the fort for the military engines, and to the engines themselves. This 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 they should be attacked from behind,

behind, and over-powered by the land-forces, they retired, and returned to the city with all their forces; 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 their 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

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elate from 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 Gylippus's approach, 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 pyrate, 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 Gylippus's landing, he would have taken Syracuse, and the whole affair had been ended.

SECT. XIII. *The Syracusans resolve to capitulate, but GYLIPPUS's arrival changes the face of affairs. NICIAS is forced by his colleagues to engage in a sea-fight, and is overcome. His land-forces are also defeated.*

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

A. M. (k)
3591.
Ant. J. C.
413.

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 the fens 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.

3

It

(k) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 485---489. Plut. in Nic, p. 535, 536. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138, 139.

It was at that very instant, and in 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 gallies, which came to their aid. The Syracusans astonished, or rather stupified, as it were, with this news, could scarce believe what they heard. Whilst they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach, and order them to march out all their troops to meet him. He himself, after having taken a * fort in his way, marched in battle directly for Epipolæ; and ascending by Euryelus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, whilst the Syracusans should charge them, on their side, with the forces of Syracuse and his. The Athenians, exceedingly surprized 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 his soldiers bursting out a laughing, 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 intrenchments which surrounded the city on the north side towards Tyche and Trogilus. The Athenians, after having finished the wall, which

P 2 extended

* *Jeges.*

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extended as far as the sea towards the great harbour, were 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 forces of the Syracusans, and were the better able to observe the various motions of it; 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 field. Advice being brought to Nicias, that the Corinthian fleet was advancing, he sent twenty gallies against

against it; ordering them to observe the enemy to-^{DARIUS}
wards Locris, Rhegium, and the rest of the avenues ^{NOTHUS.}
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 battle-array before it, as did the Athenians. When he saw it was a proper time for engaging, he began the battle in the spot lying 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) he therefore marched against the Syracusans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place, 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

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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.

(a) After this success, the Syracusans, to whose aid the Corinthian fleet was 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 Lacedæmonia and Corinth, to desire a reinforcement; Gylippus went in person to all the cities of 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 lessen, 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 ne-
 “ cessary you should know the present situation of
 “ affairs, that you may resolve accordingly. After
 “ we had been victorious in several engagements,
 “ and almost compleated our contravallation, Gylip-
 “ pus arrived in Syracuse with a body of Lacedæmo-
 “ nian 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 intrenchments,
 “ without daring to make any attempt, or compleat
 “ 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

(a) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 490---494. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. l. xiii. p. 139.

“ an opportunity of employing all our forces in
 “ battle. Besides, as the Syracufans have cut our
 “ lines, by a wall, in that part where they were not
 “ compleat, it will no longer be poffible for us to
 “ invest the city, unlefs we fhould force their intrench-
 “ ments; fo that inftead of befieging, we ourfelves
 “ are befieged, and dare not ftir out, for fear of
 “ their horfe.

“ Not contented with thefe advantages, they are
 “ bringing new fuccours from Peloponnesus, and
 “ have fent Gylippus to force all the neutral cities of
 “ Sicily to declare for them; and the reft to furnifh
 “ them with men and fhips, to attack us both by
 “ fea and land. I fay by fea, which though very
 “ furprizing, is however but too true. For our fleet,
 “ which before was considerable, from the good con-
 “ dition of the gallies and mariners, is now very
 “ deficient in thofe very circumftances, and prodi-
 “ giously weakened.

“ Our gallies leak every where; becaufe we cannot
 “ draw them on fhore to careen them, for fear, left
 “ thofe of the enemy, which are more numerous,
 “ and in better condition than ours, fhould attack
 “ us on a fudden, which they feem to threaten every
 “ moment. Besides, we are under a neceffity of
 “ fending many backwards and forwards to guard
 “ the convoys which we are forced to fetch from a
 “ great diftance, and bring along in fight of the
 “ enemy; fo that fhould we be ever fo little
 “ negligent in this point, our army would be
 “ ftarved.

“ With regard to the fhips crews, they decrease fen-
 “ fibly every day; for as great numbers of them dif-
 “ perfe to maraud, or to fetch wood and water, they
 “ are often cut to pieces by the enemy’s horfe. Our
 “ flaves, allured by the neighbourhood of the enemy’s
 “ camp, desert very faft to it. The foreigners
 “ which we forced into the fervice, diminifh daily;
 “ and fuch as have been raifed with money, who
 “ came for plunder rather than fighting, finding

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“ themselves baulked, 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 unexperienced, and incapable of serving,
 “ and by that means have quite subverted all disci-
 “ pline. 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 a fleet must inevitably be
 “ ruined.

“ But the most unhappy circumstance is, that tho'
 “ I am generalissimo, I cannot put a stop to these
 “ disorders. For (Athenians) you are very sensible,
 “ that such is your disposition, that you do not easily
 “ brook restraint; besides, I do not know where
 “ to furnish myself with seamen, whilst 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 pro-
 “ visions, (hearing the extremity to which we are re-
 “ duced, and your not taking the least care to send
 “ us any succour) join the Syracusans, we are un-
 “ done; 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 advan-
 “ tageous to you, nor which could give you a more
 “ just idea of the subjects on which you are to delibe-
 “ rate. I am sensible that you love to have such ad-
 “ vices only sent you as are pleasing; but then 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

“ justly made either against the officers or common
 “ soldiers, both having done their duty very well. DARIUS
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“ But now that the Sicilians join all their forces
 “ against us, and expect a new army from Pelopon-
 “ nefus; you may lay this down as the foundation
 “ for your deliberations, that our 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 us, with money in propor-
 “ tion. You must also think of appointing a per-
 “ son to succeed me; it being impossible for me,
 “ through my nephritick disorder, to sustain any
 “ longer the weight of the command. I imagine
 “ that I deserve this favour at your hands, on ac-
 “ count of the services I have done you, in the se-
 “ veral 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 in the very begin-
 “ ning of the spring. The succours which our ene-
 “ mies 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

* 120 talents.

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A. M. 3591.
Ant. J. C. 413. (b) 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 dispatch. This post is about an 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 was 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 greatest 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 manner, and the Athenians enjoying no longer the revenues

(b) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 494—496, and 502—504. Diod. l. xiii. p. 140.

revenues which arose from the produce of their lands, there was a prodigious scarcity of money; so that they were forced to take the twentieth part of all the imports, to supply their usual subsidies.

(u) 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 their 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 gallies 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 amaze 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, failed 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,

(u) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 497---500. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140.

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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 day-break; 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 gallies 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 center of their camp.

The Syracusans also raised three trophies for their taking 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 publick, as well as of merchants and captains of gallies, 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 gallies, 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, whilst the latter was possessed of Plemmyrium, they procured these securely and expeditiously; whereas, after their being dispossessed of it,

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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 the Athenians could have no provisions but from the point of their swords; which dispirited the soldiers very much, and threw the whole army into a great consternation.

(o) There afterwards was a little skirmish in defending a staccado 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, made it advance as near as possible to the staccado, 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 defending themselves with their harbour, and the enemies with their tower. Such stakes as had been drove 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 drove in their places. The utmost efforts were used on both sides, in the attack as well as the defence.

(p) 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 gallies 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

(o) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 500, 501.
in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140, 141.

(p) Ibid. p. 509---513. Plut.

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way of props. 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 gallies 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 gallies, 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 the 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; whilst the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their gallies set sail.

Nicias did not care to venture a second battle, saying, that 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 with 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 alledged 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.

ance. The Athenians had seventy-five gallies, and the Syracusans eighty. DARIUS
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The first day the fleets continued in fight 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 with 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 in 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, they entered them in great disorder, so that they had not time to draw them up in a 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 stopt by the sailyards 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.

(q) 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 now is involved in

(q) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 513---518. Plut. in Nic. p. 537. Diod.

p. 141, 142.

* This engine, so violent was its motion, broke through a galley from the deck to the hold.

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in a greater than any of them, by his complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilst 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 gallies, on board of which were five thousand fighting men, and about three thousand archers, slingers, and bowmen. All these gallies 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 fight 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 enquiry into the state of things, imagined that it would not be proper for him to lose time as Nicias had done, who, having spread an universal terror at his first arrival, became afterwards the object of contempt, for his having wintered in Catana, 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

tended to raise the siege, and no longer harass and lessen the troops by fighting battles never decisive; nor quite exhaust the city of Athens, by employing its treasures in needless expences.

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 going to abandon 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 was 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 Demosthenes's opinion, and Nicias himself was at last forced to acquiesce with 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

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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 Eurycles, as before, unperceived by the centinels; attack the first intrenchment, and storm 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, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, sustained by Gylippus, march 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 surprize, they are stopt on a sudden by the Bœotians, who make a vigorous stand, and marching against the Athenians with their pikes presented, they repulse them with great shouts, and make a dreadful slaughter. This spreads an universal terror through the rest of the army. Those who fled either force, along such as were advancing to their assistance, or else, mistaking them for enemies, turn 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 fought 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

caſioned no little diſorder; not to mention that they, ^{DARIUS} by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, ^{NOTHUS.} 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, ſtraggl'd 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.

SECT. XIV. *The conſternation with which the Athenians are ſeized. They again hazard a ſea-fight, and are defeated. They reſolve to retire by land. Being cloſe purſued by the Syracuſans, they ſurrender. NICIAS and DEMOSTHENES are ſentenced to die, and executed. The effect which the news of the defeat of the army produces in Athens.*

(r) **T**HE Athenian generals, after ſuſtaining ſo great a loſs, were in a prodigious 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. Demotheſenes was of opinion that it would be proper for them to leave the country immediately, ſince they had been unſucceſſful in ſo important an enterprize; 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 their blockade of Athens, than for them to continue that of Syracuſe, by which they exhausted themſelves to no

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purpose;

(r) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 511—520. Plut. in Nic. 538---542. Diod. p. 142.

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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 publick 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 compleat 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 displeas'd: 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 good choice they could make, would be to retire. However, as he had been unsuccessful in his former opinion, he was afraid of insisting upon this; and he was the more inclined to come into that of Nicias, from imagin-

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ing, with many others, that this general might have some secret resource, as he was so firmly resolved to stay.

(s) 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 splendor; 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; and 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 enterprize but for three days. The soothsayers pronounced, that he must not set sail till three times nine days were past, (these are Thucydides's words) 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

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instant

(s) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 521---548. Plut. in Nic. p. 538. Diod. l. xiii. p. 142---161.

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instant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interposition 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 failed, 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 center, 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 staccado, 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 should have taken. However, he was repulsed by the Tyrrenians, 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 Syracufans for the defeat of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before: And the Athenians, for their having drove part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently difpofed. The Syracufans, who had been thrown into the utmoft confternation at the arrival of Demofthenes with his fleet, feeing themfelves victorious in a naval engagement, refumed fresh hope, and affured themfelves of a compleat victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, frufterated of their only refource, and overcome by fea fo contrary to their expectations, entirely loft courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

The enemy, to deprive them of all refource and prevent their efcaping, fhut the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with gallies placed crofwife, and other veffels fixed with anchors and iron chains; and at the fame time made the requifite preparation for the battle, in cafe they fhould have courage to engage again. When the Athenians faw themfelves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers affembled, in order to deliberate on the prefent ftate of affairs. They were in abfolute want of provifions, 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, unlefs they were mafters of the fea. This made them refolve to venture a fea-fight. In this view, they were determined to leave their old camp, and their walls, which extended to the temple of Hercules; and to intrench themfelves on the fhore, near their fhips, in the fmalleft compafs poffible. Their defign was, to leave fome forces in that place to guard their baggage and the fick; and to fight with the reft on board all the fhips they fhould have faved. They intended to retire into Catana, in cafe they fhould be victorious; otherwife, to fet fire to

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their ships, and to march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies.

This resolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled an hundred and ten gallies (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 gallies, 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 gallies with leather, to prevent their being so easily laid hold of. The commanders on both sides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men; and none could ever have been prompted from stronger motives; for the battle which was going 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 gallies came rushing on each side, in a narrow place, there must necessarily be a very great confusion; and the vessels could not easily advance forward, or retire, nor turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the gallies, for this reason, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent discharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed with a shower of stones, which always did execution from what place soever 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 little execution. Ariston the pilot had given the Syracusans this counsel. These discharges

charges 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 whilst 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. Farther, 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 employed their utmost efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more compleat 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; whilst 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, and 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 drove 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; whilst the Athenians, who were quite dejected and over-powered, did not so much as request that their dead soldiers might be delivered

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to them, in order to pay the last sad duty to their remains.

There now remained but two methods for them to chuse; 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. Demosthenes 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 day-light; for the Syracusans lie in ambush for him, and have seized on the passes." This false advice stopt 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

places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the ^{DARIUS.} bridges, and spread detachments of horse up and ^{NOTHUS.} 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 cloaths when they were going; or else, dragging themselves after them, followed them as far as their strength would permit; and, when this failed, they had recourse to tears, sighs, imprecations; and sending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods as well as men to avenge their cruelty, whilst 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

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rior 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 couragious 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 center. 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 presented 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,

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, came forward in good order; but above half the rear-guard, with Demosthenes at their head, quitted 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 the 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 at the same evening at the river Eri-neus, 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 expences 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

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liged 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, however 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 havock 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 his army. A great number were killed, and more taken prisoners, so that all Sicily was filled with them. (t) The Athenians seemed to have been displeas'd with their general, for surrendring in this manner at discretion; and, for this reason, his name was omitted in a publick monument, on which was 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 a kind of trophies of those 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 compleat 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 greatest authority among the people, propos'd, That all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all such Sicilians as had joined with them, should be imprisoned,

(t) Pausan. l. i. p. 66.

prisoned, and only two measures of flour, and one of water, given them daily; that the slaves and all the allies should be publickly sold; and that the two Athenian generals should be first scourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

(u) This last article was exceedingly disliked by all 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 * ancient man, 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 harangues, and the instant he appeared a profound silence was made. “ You here behold,” says 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 supports of my old age. I can-
 “ not indeed forbear admiring their courage and fe-
 “ licity, in sacrificing, to their country’s welfare, a
 “ life of which they would one day have been de-
 “ prived 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 in-
 “ flicted on them, for so unjustly declaring war
 “ against us; but have not the gods, the just aven-
 “ gers

(u) Diod. l. xiii. p. 149---161.

* *Nicolaus.*

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“gers of crimes, punished them and revenged 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
 “dedicated a temple in their city to clemency, had
 “not found any in your’s? Surely victories and tri-
 “umphs 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 pro-
 “nounce, was the very man who pleaded your cause
 “in the assembly of the Athenians; and employed
 “all his credit, 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, com-
 “mitted by my countrymen and fellow-citizens.”

The people seemed moved to compassion at this speech, especially as, when this venerable old man first ascended, 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 republick 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
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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 murtherers: On these representations, the people returned to their sanguinary resolution, and followed Diocles's advice 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 for him 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 greatest part of them were tempted to exclaim against providence, in seeing that a 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

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of their wounds and of sickness; in fine, worn out by hunger and thirst, for their 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.

(x) 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 enterprize, 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 Peloponnesus. Cicero had reason to observe *, speaking of the battles

(x) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 551—553. Plut. de Garrulit. p. 509.

* Hic primum opes illius civitatis victæ, comminutæ, depressæ, que sunt: in hoc portu Athenien- sum nobilitatis, imperii, gloriæ naufragium factum existimatur. Cic. Verrin. 7. n. 97.

bles in the harbour of Syracuse, that it was there the troops of Athens, as well as their gallies, 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, and 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 expences, and established a new council of ancient 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 in which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the necessities of the state, and docile to all advice that might promote its interests.

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 Lyfander.

C H A P. II.

SECT. I. *Consequences of the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily. Revolt of the allies. ALCIBIADES grows into great power with TISSAPHERNES.*

(a) **T**HE 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 expences of a 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 republick, after the dread-

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ful blow it had received, thought it best to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture, for throwing off the yoke of dependance, 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 army, augmented by the ruins of the Athenian fleet.

(b) In effect 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 Pharnabafus. The first was governor of Lydia and Ionia, the other of the Hellespont. Those viceroys of Darius wanted neither application nor zeal for the interest of their master. Tissaphernes, promising the Lacedæmonians all the necessary expences 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 Pisisthna. Pharnabafus 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 credit 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

(b) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 555—558. * *Three millions of livres.*

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 Iafus, in which (c) 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 drachma or ten-pence a day to each soldier, observing that he had orders to give them only half that sum for the future.

(d) Calcidæus then made a treaty with Tissaphernes, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, of which one of the principal articles 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. (e) Agis, who was already his enemy in effect 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 enterprizes was owing to him. The most powerful and ambitious of the Spartans,

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(c) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 568. (d) Idem, p. 561---571, 572---576.
 (e) Idem, 577---579. Plut. in Alcib. p. 164, 165.

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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 apprized 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.

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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 degree of credit 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 kind of manners and characters, and his great ability in the conduct of affairs. And indeed there was no heart so hard, or 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, was 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 surprizing 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

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 Persian 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 underhand to excite divisions amongst 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 republicks, 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 expences, or setting numerous armies on foot, effect the reduction of the states whose power gives them umbrage, either by sowing domestick divisions amongst 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

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of their being one day in a condition to do hurt? 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 underhand, and by a thousand secret methods; 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 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.

SECT. II. *The return of ALCIBIADES to Athens negotiated upon condition of establishing the aristocratical, in the room of the democratical, government. TISSAPHERNES concludes a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians.*

(f) **T**HE Athenians were intent upon nothing so much as Samos, where they had all their forces. From thence with their fleet they reduced all the cities that had abandoned them under their obedience, kept the rest in their duty (g), 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 secretly 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 republick 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, with design to concert with him 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 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 publick impositions, because being the richest of the people, the burden lay heaviest upon them, and of making their country triumph after having possessed themselves of the government. At
 3 their

(f) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 579---587. (g) Plut. in Alcib. p. 204---206.

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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 amongst the troops, that the king was inclined to declare in favour of the Athenians, upon condition that Alcibiades were re-instated, 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.

Phrynicus, 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 republick, 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, as 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 from the king of Persia, which would be a certain means to triumph over Sparta. Upon this proposal great numbers exclaimed against it, and especially the enemies of Alcibiades. They alledged, amongst other reasons, the imprecation's pronounced by the priests, and all the 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 republick in the deplorable condition to which it was reduced: And as it was admitted there were 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 Phrynicus should be recalled, and another general appointed to command the fleet in his stead.

The deputies did not find Tissaphernes in so good a disposition as they had been made to hope. He was afraid of the Lacedæmonians, but did not care 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

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cruise in the Grecian seas; which had been expressly provided against in the celebrated treaty concluded with Artaxerxes. The deputies thereupon broke up the conferences 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 expences 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 chuse that the king should pay it, to be re-imbursed 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 of the Peloponnesian war.

SECT. III. *The whole authority of the Athenian government having been vested in four hundred persons, they abuse it tyrannically, and are deposed. ALCI-BIADES is recalled. After various accidents, and several considerable victories, he returns in triumph to Athens, and is appointed generalissimo. He causes the great mysteries to be celebrated, and departs with the fleet.*

(b) **P**ISANDER, 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 commissaries with absolute power to be appointed, who were however at a certain fixed time to give the people an account of what they had done.

At

(b) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 590, 594. Plut. in Alcib. p. 105.

At the expiration of that term, 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 publick affairs, and to elect new magistrates. For this purpose five presidents were established, who nominated an hundred persons, including themselves. Each of these 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, whilst 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 an hundred years, after having abolished the tyranny of the Pisistratides.

This decree being passed without opposition, after the separation of the assembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by an 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

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to oppose this change, or even to complain of it; were butchered upon false pretexts; 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 to it.

(i) 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 Thrasylus and Thrasylulus were the principal, and in highest credit. Alcibiades was recalled, and chosen generalissimo by the whole army, that desired to sail directly for the 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 shew himself to that governor with all the power he had been invested, 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 the alteration made at Athens to the soldiery. 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

(i) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 595---604. Plut. in Alcib. p. 205. Diod. p. 165.

For he did not think himself obliged to an absolute and implicit compliance with them in every thing, though, from an exile and a 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 had made themselves masters of Ionia, the Hellespont, and all the islands without resistance; whilst 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 republick, but that it was necessary to depose the four hundred, and to re-establish the senate.

(k) Whilst this passed, the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians impatiently expected, approached, and news came that it was arrived at * Aspendus. 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,

(k) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 604, 606.

* A city of Pamphylia,

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complete, for not bringing it with him, sufficiently shews that he had other reasons for his conduct.

(*l*) 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 beat the fleet, sent by the four hundred to the aid of Eubœa, had made themselves masters of the island. Athens was in the highest 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 republick 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 take party, 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 sollicitated 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.

A. M.
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For this purpose, leaving Samos with a small number of

(*l*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 607---614. Plut. in Alcib. p. 206---210. Diod. p. 171, 172, & 175---177, & 189---192.

of ships, he cruised about the island of Cos and Cnidus; and having learnt that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was 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 pursued 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 Pharnabazus 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 re-taken 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's presenting himself very opportune, 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 Clazomena, where, to revenge himself on Tissapher-

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nes, he gave out, that he had set him at liberty. From Clazomena he repaired to the Athenian fleet, where he was joined by Theramenes with twenty ships from Macedonia, and by Thraſybulus with twenty more from Thafos. He sailed from thence to Parium in the Propontis. All those ships, to the number of fourſcore and 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 Pharnabaſus 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 for 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 not be apprized 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 enterprize 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 his 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.

flight. Mindarus and Pharnabafus opposed his efforts DARIUS
NOTHUS. 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 laconick, 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. (m) They dispatched ambassadors immediately to demand, that an end should be put to a 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, of which they had for many years experienced the salutary effects. 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. (n) Cleophon, amongst others, the most reputed orator at that time, animated the people from the tribunal 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.

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This

(m) Diod. l. iii. p. 177---179.

(n) Æsch. in Orat. de fals. legat.

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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 inrolled 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 siege, he took another town, called Selymbria. Pharnabafus, terrified by the rapidity of his conquests, made a treaty with the Athenians to this effect; “ That Pharnabafus 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 Pharnabafus, who engaged for the safe conduct of their ambassadors to “ the great king.” Byzantium and several other cities submitted to the Athenians.

A. M. 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 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 burnt, which were more than the others; the whole amounting to about two hundred ships. It is said, that reflecting

3597.
Ant. J. C.
407.

on

on what had been done against him, upon approach-^{DARIUS}
 ing the port, he was struck with some terror, and was ^{NOTHUS.}
 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 en-
 treated 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, whilst the old men
 shewed him to their children. They repeated with
 the highest praises all the great actions he had done for
 his country; nor could they refuse their admiration
 even to those he had done against it during his banish-
 ment, of which they imputed the fault to themselves
 alone. This publick 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 re-
 " ferred 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 scarce 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 republick from its ruins; and not con-
 " tent with having re-instated it in the possession of
 " the sovereignty of the sea, has rendered it univer-
 " sally victorious by land; as if the fate of Athens
 " had been in his hands alone, either to ruin or pre-
 " serve it, and victory was annexed to his person,
 " and obeyed his orders."

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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 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 anathema's themselves had decreed, by the vows and prayers which they made in his favour. Whilst 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 has 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 shining 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, adored under the name of Agraulis. The priests took off all the ornaments from the goddess's

3

statue

* The Eumolpides and Ceryces who had exercised those offices. 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 those offices. Perhaps the employment of the latter had some relation to that of heralds, *ἑρμῆας*.

statue to wash it, from whence that feast was called ^{DARIUS} Πλουτήρια, and afterwards covered it; and that day ^{NOTKUS.} was accounted one of the most ominous and unfortunate. It was the 25th of the month Thargelion, which answers to the 2d of July (*ρ*). 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.

(*ρ*) 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 Eleufina, 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 the beginning of the next volume.

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 chuse 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 publick and ostentatious act of piety, which struck the people's view in so sensible a manner, and was so extremely to his taste, Alcibiades's

S 4

principal

(*ρ*) N. S.

(*ρ*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 219.

DARIUS principal design was to efface entirely from their minds
NOTHUS. the suspicions of impiety, to which the mutilation of statues, and prophanation of mysteries, had given birth.

Having taken that 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 shew, 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 an high-priest, than those of a general. No enemy dared to appear, or 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, whilst he commanded them.

He acquired the affection of the poor, and the lower sort of people so much, 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, decrees, 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

ingly with an hundred ships, and steered for the island of Andros, that had revolted. His high reputation, and the good fortune which had attended him in all his enterprizes, made nothing but what was great and extraordinary to be expected from him.

DARTUS
NOTRUS.

SECT. IV. *The Lacedæmonians appoint LYSANDER admiral. He becomes very powerful with young CYRUS, who commanded in Asia. He beats the Athenian fleet near Ephesus in the absence of ALCIBIADES, who is deprived of the command. Ten generals are chosen in his stead. CALLICRATIDAS succeeds LYSANDER.*

(q) **T**HE 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 Lyfander, 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 their winter-quarters there. An idle and voluptuous life, filled up with luxury and empty shew, could not fail of disgusting infinitely a man like Lyfander, 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 of gallies, made the ports free for merchants, gave the publick 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

(q) Xenoph. Hellen. l. xi. p. 440---442. Plut. in Lyfand. p. 434, 435. Dioc. l. xiii. p. 192---197.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

which it afterwards attained. So great a change can the application and ability of a single person occasion in a state!

Whilst he was making these dispositions, he received advice, that Cyrus, the king's youngest son, was 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 of her husband. It was she that occasioned his having the supreme government of all the provinces of Asia minor given 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 to 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 ballance, 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 enterprizes against the Persian empire.

Upon Lyfander's being apprized, 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

This discourse pleased Cyrus, who looked upon Tif-^{DARIUS}saphernes as a very bad man, and his particular ene-^{NOTHUS.}my; 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. Lyfander, contrary to the common character of the Spartans, was submissive and condescending, full of complacency for the grandees, always ready to pay his 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 compleat 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 drachma † 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, Lyfander 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 Lyfander ten thousand || Daricks for that purpose; that is, an hundred thousand livres, or about five thousand pounds sterling.

This

* Five hundred thousand crowns, about 112,500 l. sterl.

† Ten-pence.

‡ One thousand five hundred livres, about 112 l. sterling.

§ The drachma was six oboli,

or ten-pence French; each obolus being three half-pence; so that the four oboli were six-pence half-penny a day, instead of five-pence, or three oboli.

|| A Darick is about a pistole.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

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 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 ballance 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 mariners 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 order not to fight or attack the enemy in his absence; the new commander, to make shew 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 by little and little, 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

Thraſybulus at the ſame time, the moſt dangerous enemy he had in his army, left the camp, and went to Athens to accuſe him. To enflame 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 licence 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 credit about him; that he abandoned his whole authority to them, to be at leiſure to enrich himſelf in the provinces, and to plunge himſelf there into intemperance and all other infamous exceſſes, to the diſgrace of Athens, whiſt his fleet was left neglected in the face of the enemy's.

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 opinions; 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; of which, when he received

* 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.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

received advice, he retired in his galley to some castles he had in the Thracian Chersonesus.

(r) About this time died Pliftonax, one of the kings of Lacedæmonia, 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, says he, at Sparta the laws command men, and not men the laws.*

(s) Lyfander, who intended to establish the government of the nobility in all the cities in the dependence of Sparta, that the governors of his chusing might be always at his disposal, from his having rendered them independent of their people, he caused such persons of the principal cities to come to Ephesus, as he knew to be the boldest, and most enterprizing and ambitious. These he placed at the head of affairs, promoted to the greatest honours, and raised to the first employments of 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 Lyfander 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 falshood and fraud, to which were joined a truly Spartan nobleness and grandeur of soul. The great

(r) Diod. p. 196. (r) Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 442---444. Plut. in Lyfand. p. 433---436. Diod. p. 197, 198.

* Ὅτι τὰς νόμους τὰς ἀνθρώπων, ὃ τὸ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτάσσουσιν οἱ νόμοι. Plut. in Apoph. p. 230.

great and powerful could not hinder themselves from admiring his virtue; but they were better pleased with the facility and condescension of his predecessor, who was blind to the injustice and violence of their actions.

DARIUS
NOTHUS;

It was not without mortification and jealousy, Lyfander 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 publick, he did him all the ill offices in his power. Of the ten thousand Daricks, 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.

(*t*) 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 Lyfander 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 dishonour 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 were indeed disgraced by so mean a prostitution.

(*t*) Plut. in Apoph. p. 222.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

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 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 every thing, are not ashamed of the meanest actions and prostitutions, provided from those unworthy means; they have reason to expect the success of their designs. Cicero places Callicratidas amongst the former, and Lyfander amongst the latter, to whom he gives two epithets 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 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 returned 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

* 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 versutissimum et patientissimum. Lacedæmo-

nium Lyfandrum accepimus, contraque Callicratidem. *Offic.* l. i. n. 109.

† *The Greek says literally that he was drinking, αἶμα. The Persians valued themselves upon arinking a great deal, as an instance of their merit, as we shall see in Cyrus's letter to the Lacedæmonians.*

and pretence for insulting the rest of mankind. Ad-^{DARIUS}
 dressing himself at the same time to those about him, ^{NOTHUS}
 he swore, that as soon as he returned to Sparta, he
 would use his utmost endeavours to reconcile the
 Greeks amongst themselves, that for the future they
 might become formidable to the Barbarians, and have
 no further 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 pro-
 duced of the most excellent and most consummate,
 had not the good fortune to return to his country, nor
 to apply himself to a work so great, and so worthy of
 him.

SECT. V. *CALLICRATIDAS is defeated by the Athe-
 nians near the Arginusæ. The Athenians pass sentence
 of death upon several of their generals for not having
 brought off the bodies of those who had been slain in
 the battle. SOCRATES alone has the courage to oppose
 so unjust a sentence.*

(a) **C**ALLICRATIDAS, 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, with-
 out hope of aid, and in want of provisions, found
 means to apprise 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 an
 hundred and ten sail were fitted out, on board of which
 were embarked all that 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 situate between Cuma
 and Mitylene. Callicratidas, being informed of their
 course,

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(a) Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 444--452. Died. l. xiii. p. 158, &
 201. 217---222.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

course, left Eteonicus to continue the siege with fifty ships, and put to sea with an 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 Thrasylus, who had each fifteen gallies. 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 Erasimides and Pericles*. The main body, consisting of near thirty gallies, amongst which were the three Athenian admirals, was disposed in one line. They had strengthened each of their wings with a second line; because their gallies 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 with drawing up in one line, in order to equal their front, and for the greater facility of running between the Athenian gallies, 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 republick. *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 gallies 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

* He was son of the great Pericles.

pected to fall in the battle, did amazing actions 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, from the important concern they were in, lest they should fall into the hands of the Athenians, against 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.

(b) Plutarch equals Callicratidas, the Lacedæmonian general, for his justice, valour, and magnanimity, with all who had ever rendered themselves most worthy of admiration amongst the Greeks.

(c) 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

T 2

upon

(b) Plut. in Lyfand. p. 436.

(c) Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

* He was a famous general of the Athenians.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

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 that 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 lives, for their country, but who out of a 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 that 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, Thrasylulus, and some other officers, to return with about fifty gallies to take up the wrecks and dead bodies, in order to their interment, whilst they rowed on with the rest against Eteonicus, who kept Conon besieged before Mitylene. But a rude tempest came on suddenly, and prevented the execution of this order. Eteonicus having received news of the defeat, and fearing it might occasion alarm and terror amongst 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

* Inveni multi sunt, qui non modo pecuniam; sed vitam etiam, profundero pro patria parati essent, iidem gloriæ jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem postulante: ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedæmoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello, multa que fecisset egregiè, vertit ad extre-

mum omnia, cum consilio non paruit eorum, qui classem ab Arginuis removendam, nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit, Lacedæmonios, classe illa amissâ, aliam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse. *Offic.* l. i. n. 48.

the victory, and destroyed the whole Athenian fleet.^{DARIUS}
 Upon their return he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving,^{NOTHUS.}
 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 burnt the camp. Conon being delivered in this
 manner from the blockade, joined the victorious fleet,
 which returned forthwith to Samos. However, 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 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; upon which they believed
 their happiness in another life depended. They had
 little or no idea of the resurrection of the body; but
 however, the Pagans, in the soul's concern for the body
 after death, the religious regard paid to it, and the
 passion with which they rendered solemn honours to the
 dead, seem to argue, that they had some confused no-
 tion of a resurrection, which subsisted amongst all na-
 tions; and descended from the most ancient tradition,
 though they could not distinguish clearly upon it.

Hence arose the fury of the people of Athens. They
 immediately nominated new generals, retaining only
 Conon of the old ones, to whom they gave Adimantes
 and Philocles for colleagues. Eight days after which,
 two of them withdrew themselves, and only six re-
 turned 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 wrote to the se-
 nate and people, wherein they excused themselves from
 the violence of the storm, without charging any body.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

That calumny was detestably vile, as done in 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 prevail for the time necessary for making their defence, contented themselves with representing in few words the estate 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 it was thought proper to adjourn the assembly, because of the night, 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. 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 that stood firm, and persisted obstinately in opposing a decree so notoriously unjust, and so contrary to all laws

* Minerva

laws. The orator, who mounted the tribunal in defence of the generals, shewed, "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 unexpectedly at the
 " very instant, was an unanswerable apology, and en-
 " tirely discharged the accused from all guilt. He
 " demanded, that a whole day should be allowed them
 " to make their defence, a favour not denied to the
 " most criminal, and that they should be tried sepa-
 " rately. 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 con-
 " cerned; 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 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 republick; 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

T 4

" the

* *Quem adeo iniquum, ut fluctus deliquerint? Tacit. An- sceleri assignet, quod venti et nal. l. xiv. c. 3.*

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

“ 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 dis-
 course so full of goodness and religion, and admire
 with surprize 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 coun-
 try, which had doomed them to perish) upon what it
 owed the gods in common with them for the victory
 they had lately obtained.

The six generals were hardly executed, when the
 people opened their eyes, and perceived all the horror
 of that sentence; but their repentance could not restore
 the dead to life. Callixenes, the orator, was put in
 prison, and 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 ab-
 horred by all the world, as all false accusers and slan-
 derers ought to be. Diodorus remarks, that the peo-
 ple themselves were justly punished for their crime by
 the gods, who abandoned them soon after, not to a
 single master, but to thirty tyrants, that treated them
 with the utmost rigour and cruelty.

(d) The disposition of a people is very naturally ima-
 ged 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
 unconstant, ungrateful, cruel, suspicious animal, in-
 capable of submitting to the government of reason;
 which is no wonder, adds he, as it is commonly com-
 posed of the dregs of a city, and is a monstrous
 assemblage, without form or order, of all that is
 worst in it.

The

(d) Plut. in Axioch. p. 368, 369.

* ἡ κοινότης ἀφύστατος, ἀκαταστάτος, ἀπειροπαύτος, ἀπειροπαύτος

The same relation shews 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 had being. 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.

Amongst all the judges, only one, truly worthy of his reputation, the great Socrates, in this general treason and perfidy, stood firm and immoveable; and though he knew 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 frantick people. We see in this instance how far the cause of justice may be abandoned. We may conclude 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 dialogue, 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 the ensuing volume, in which I shall treat the history of the tyrants of Syracuse at large.

A. M.
3598.
Ant. J. C.
406.

* Οὐ γὰρ ἐφάιστό μοι σσιμὸν δῆμον ματαιομένῃ συνεξάγειν.

SECT. VI. LYSANDER *commands the Lacedæmonian fleet.*

CYRUS *is recalled to court by his father.* LYSANDER'S *celebrated victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos.*

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

A. M.
3599.
Ant. J. C.
405.

(f) AFTER the defeat at the Arginusæ, the affairs of the Peloponnesians declining, the allies, supported by the credit of Cyrus, sent an embassy to Sparta, to demand that the command of the fleet should again be 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 should 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 the 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 extreme joy; promising themselves, from his influence, the final subversion of the democrattick 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 represented to him, that it was unworthy the descendants of Hercules to make use of fraud and treachery, he laughed

(f) Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 45. Plut. in Lys. l. ix. 436, 437. Diod. l. xiii. p. 223.

laughed at them; For, said he, *where the lion's skin is* DARIUS
not long enough, it is necessary to tack the fox's tail to it. NOTHUS.

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*; shewing 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.

(g) Here ends the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. In this year it was, that young Cyrus, dazzled with the unusual splendor 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 amidst the submissions and prostrations of the courtiers, entertained long by the discourses of an ambitious mother that 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 surprizing haughtiness and rigour. Two Persians of the royal family, his cousin-germans by their mother, his father Darius's sister, had omitted to cover their hands with their sleeves in his presence, according to a ceremonial 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's as an attempt upon himself, to whom alone that honour was due. He resolved therefore to take his govern-
 ment

(g) Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 454.

* 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.
 Ἐκέλευε τῆς μὲν παιδας ἀσεργάλοις,
 τῶν δ' ἀνδρας ὄρκους ἐξαπατᾶν.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

ment 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 Lyfander to Sardis, and put into his hands great fums of money for the payment of his 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 setting 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.

(b) After that prince's departure, Lyfander sailed towards the Hellespont, and laid siege to Lampfacus. Torax, having marched thither with his land-forces at the same time, assaulted the city on his side. (i) The place was carried by storm, and abandoned by Lyfander to the mercy of the soldiers. The Athenians, who followed him close, came to an anchor in the port of Eleontum in the Chersonesus, with an hundred and fourscore gallies. But upon the news of the taking of Lampfacus, they immediately steered for Sestos, and after having taken in provisions, they stood away from thence, sailing along the coast to a place called * Ægospotamos, where they halted over-against the enemy, who were then at anchor before Lampfacus. The Hellespont is not above two thousand paces broad
in

(b) Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 455---458. (i) Plut. in Lyf.
p. 437, & 440. Idem, in Alcib. p. 212. Diod. l. xiii. p. 225, 226.

* The river of the goat.

in that place. 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 Lyfander had another design in view. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board their gallies, 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 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. Lyfander, though his ships were ranged in order of 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 gallies, 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 fear, in their sense, prevented from shewing themselves, and attempting any thing.

Whilst this passed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horse, and came to the Athenian generals; to whom he represented, that they kept upon 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, whilst 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

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NOTHUS.

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 with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day the Athenians presented themselves again, and offered him battle; retiring in the evening according to custom with more insulting airs than the days before. Lysander, as usual, 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 each ship's head as soon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himself in the mean time ran 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 galley had given the signal by the sound of trumpet, the whole fleet set forwards 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 in this place, is about fifteen stadia*, or three quarters of a league in breadth, which space was presently cleared through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first who perceived, from shore, the enemy's fleet advance in good order to attack him; upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of sorrow and perplexity, some he called to by their names, some he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their galleys; but all
his

* 1875 paces.

his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the soldiers being dispersed on all sides. For they were no sooner come on shore, than some were ran to the futtlers, some to walk in the country, some to sleep in their tents, and others had 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 their foldiers 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 gallies, 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, took immediately the gallies which were empty, and disabled and destroyed such as began to fill with men. The foldiers, 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. Lyfander took three thousand prisoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet. After having plundered the camp, and fastened the enemy's gallies to the sterns of his own, he returned to Lampfacus, amidst the sound of flutes and songs of triumph. It was his glory to have atchieved 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 seven-and-twenty years, and which perhaps, without him, had been of much longer continuance. Lyfander immediately sent dispatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

The three thousand prisoners, taken in this battle, having been condemned to die, Lyfander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had caused all the prisoners taken in two gallies, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly persuaded

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NOTHUS.

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 for handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to serve at the oar. Lyfander therefore caused him to be brought forth, 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, put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremost to the execution. All the prisoners were put to the sword, except Adamantus, who had opposed the decree.

After this expedition, Lyfander 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 route; declaring, that after a certain time fixed, all such should be punished with death, as 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 democratick, 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 into power but such as were entirely devoted to his service.

SECT. VII. *Athens, besieged by LYSANDER, capitulates, and surrenders. LYSANDER changes the form of government, and establishes thirty commanders in it. He sends GYLIPPUS before him to Sparta with all the gold and silver taken from the enemy. Decree of Sparta upon the use to be made of it. The Peloponnesian war ends in this manner. Death of DARIUS NOTHUS.*

(f) **W**HEN the news of the entire defeat of the DARIUS NOTHUS. 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 shut up all the ports, one only excepted; to repair the breaches in the walls; and mount guard to prepare against a siege. A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

In effect Agis and Pausanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced towards Athens with all their troops. Lysander soon after arrived at the Piræus with an 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, re-instated all persons attainted by any degree, without speaking the least word of a capitulation however, 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

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to

(f) Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 458---462. Plut. in Lysand. p. 440, 441.

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to treat with them. When they arrived at Salafia, 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 know, 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; 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 hearkening 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; twelve

“ twelve only excepted; that they should abandon DARIUS
 “ all the cities they had seized, and content themselves NOTHUS
 “ 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 continued during 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 *harmostes*, or governor. Agis dismissed 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

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NOTHUS.

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 bottom; 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 distinguishing 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 republick, 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 usual 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.

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The

* About 337,000 l. sterling.

† Ἀποδιωκτέμεναι πάν τὰ ἀργύριον ἔ τὸ χρυσίον, ὡς περ κ' ἔσται ἐπαγορεύουσι.

The men of address and policy found out a third DARIUS NOTHUS. expedient, which, in their sense, reconciled both the others with great success: This was wisely to chuse the mean betwixt 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 publick treasury; that it should only pass in the occasions and uses 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 the species of gold and silver, and not the avarice they occasion; an avarice, less to be extinguished by prohibiting to particulars the possession of it, than enflamed by permitting the state to amass and make use of it for the service of the publick. For it was impossible, whilst that money was in honour and esteem with the publick, that it should be despised in private as useles, and that people should look upon that, as of no value in their domestick affairs, which the city prized, and were so much concerned to have for its occasions; bad usages, authorized by the practice and example of the publick, being a thousand times more dangerous to particulars, than the vices of particulars to the publick. 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 ad 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 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 A. M 3600 Ant. J. C. 454. his

DARIUS
MOTHUS.

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 Darius did not carry his complaisance for her so far. He gave the crown to Arfaces, his eldest son by Parysatis also, whom Plutarch calls Arficas, and bequeathed only to Cyrus the provinces he had already.

BOOK THE NINTH.

THE ANCIENT

HISTORY

OF THE

Perfians *and* Grecians;

CONTINUED,

During the first fifteen years of the reign of
ARTAXERXES MNEMON.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. *Coronation of ARTAXERXES MNEMON.*
CYRUS attempts to assassinate his brother, and is sent into Asia minor. Cruel revenge of STATIRA, wife of ARTAXERXES, upon the authors and accomplices in the murder of her brother. Death of ALCIBIADES. His character.

ARSACES, upon ascending the throne, assumed the name of Artaxerxes, the same to whom the Greeks gave the surname of * MNEMON, from his prodigious memory. (a) 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 sense, and well worthy of being set up

ARTAX.
MNEMON.
A. M.
3600.
Ant. J. C.
404.

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in

(a) Athen. l. xii. p. 548.

• Which word signifies in the Greek, one of a good memory.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

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 instructions to their children on their death-beds, that 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.

(b) Soon after Darius's death, the new king set out from his capital for the city of * Pafargades, in order to his coronation, 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 eat 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 upon being for ever prevented from ascending a throne his mother had given him, and on seeing the 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

(b) Plut. in Artax. p. 1012.

• A city of Persia built by Cyrus the Great.

whole court, just when he took off his own, to put on the robe of Cyrus. Artaxerxes was apprized of this design by the priest himself, who had educated his brother, to whom he had imparted it. Cyrus was seized, and condemned to die, when his mother Paryfatis, almost out of her senses; flew to the place, clasped him in her arms, tied herself to him with the tresses of her hair, fastened her neck to his, 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 of 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 nourishing and enflaming, 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.

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(c) Artaxerxes has espoused Statira. Scarce 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 has not 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 for the reader's 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,

(c) Ctes. c. li, lv.

* Ne quis mobiles adolescentium animos præmaturis honoribus ad superbiam extolleret. Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 17.

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beauty, which induced Artaxerxes to marry her, who was then called Arfaces. At the same time Teriteuchmes, Statira's brother, married Hamestris, Arfaces's sister, one of the daughters of Darius and Parysatis; in favour of which marriage Teriteuchmes, upon his father's death, had his government given him. There was at the same time 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 project, by the force of presents and promises engaged Udiastes, Teriteuchmes's intimate friend and confident, to prevent so black a design, by assassinating him. He obeyed, and had for his reward the government of him he had put to death with his own hands.

Amongst Teriteuchmes's guards 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 blocked 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 that mother, exasperated to the last excess 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 Arfaces; whose love for his wife made him spare no pains for her preservation, though Darius, his
father,

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. ARTAX.
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Statira, as soon as her husband was upon the throne, causes 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 recompence 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 a 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 those two great events in all the extent they deserve. It was without doubt with the same view, that Cyrus presented Lyfander 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. Lyfander went soon after to Sardis, charged with magnificent presents for Cyrus from the allies.

It was upon that occasion Cyrus had the celebrated conversation with Lyfander related by Xenophon, and which Cicero after him has applied so beautifully. That young * prince, who piqued himself more upon his integrity

* Narrat Socrates in eo libro imperii gloria, cum Lyfander
Cyrum minorem, regem Persarum, præstantem ingenio atque
Lacedæmonius, vir summæ vir-
tutis, venisset ad eum Sardes, ei-
que

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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. Lyfander, 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 universally throughout the delightful scene. “Every thing charms and transports me in this place,” said Lyfander, 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 with my own hands.” “What,” replied Lyfander, considering 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 play the gardiner, and employ your royal hands in planting trees!” “Does that surprize you,” said Cyrus? “I swear by the god * Mithras, that when
“ my

que dona à sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lyfandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quemdam conspectum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lyfander et proceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines, & humuni subactam atque puram, & suavitatem odorum qui efflarentur è floribus; tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam solertiam ejus, à quo essent illa dimensa atque descripta. Et ei Cyrum respondisse:

Atqui ego ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt factæ. Tum Lyfandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: Recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta est. Cic. de Senec. n. 59.

* The Persians adorèd the sun under that name, who was their principal god.

“ 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.” Lyfander was amazed
 at this discourse, and pressing him by the hand; * “ Cy-
 rus,” said he, “ you are truly happy, and deserve your
 “ high fortune; because you unite it with virtue.”

Alcibiades was at no pain to discover the mystery of
 the levies made by Cyrus, and went into the province
 of Pharnabafus, with design to proceed to the court of
 Persia, and to apprize Artaxerxes of the scheme laid
 against him. Had he arrived there, a discovery of
 such importance had infallibly procured him the favour
 of that prince, and the assistance he wanted for the
 re-establishment of his country. But the Lacedæmon-
 ian partisans at Athens, that is to say, the thirty ty-
 rants, apprehended the intrigues of so superior a ge-
 nius 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 Pharnabafus, and with an abject
 meanness not to be excused, and which shewed how
 much Sparta had degenerated from her ancient man-
 ners, made pressing instances to him, to deliver them
 at any rate from so formidable an enemy. The satrap
 complied to 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 Bar-
 barians were afraid to stay 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

* Δικαιοσ, ἡ Κύρις ἐβδαιωνεῖ. ἐγὰρ
 γὰρ ἐβδαιωνεῖ. Which Cicero trans-
 lates: Recte verò te, Cyre, bea-
 tum ferunt, quoniam virtutis tue
 fortuna conjuncta est.

† It was said, that Lais the
 famous courtesan, called the Corin-
 thian, was the daughter of this
 Timandra.

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having adorned and covered it with the finest robes she had, she made as magnificent a funeral for it, as her present 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 the 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 affairs, 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 give into, 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 convertibility of character according to occasions, the customs of countries, and his own interests, discover an heart void of principles, 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 correspondencé 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

* Cujus nescio utrum bona an illis enim cives suos decepit, his vitia patriæ perniciosiora fuerint; afflixit. *Val. Max.* l. iii. c. 1.

of worth. His actions were glorious; but without rule or principle. His character was elevated and grand; but without connection 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 an universal destructive war in Greece, from the sole motive of commanding, by including 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.

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He had the fate generally experienced by persons of his character, and of which they cannot reasonably complain. He never loved any one, himself being his sole motive; nor ever found a friend. He made it his merit and glory to amuse all men, and no body confided in, or adhered to, him. His sole view was to live with splendor, 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 one only woman for the last honours rendered to his remains.

About this time died Democritus the philosopher, of whom more will be said elsewhere.

SECT.

SECT. II. *The Thirty exercise the most horrid cruelties at Athens. They put THERAMENES, one of their colleagues, to death. SOCRATES takes his defence upon himself. THRASYBULUS attacks the tyrants, makes himself master of Athens, and restores his liberty.*

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(d) **T**HE council of Thirty, established at Athens by Lyfander, committed the most execrable 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 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 amongst themselves. They put more people to death, says Xenophon, in eight months of peace, than the 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 an 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 poinards, to advance to the bar, he said that he thought

(d) Xenoph. Hist. l. ii. p. 462, & 479. Diod. l. xiv. p. 235---238. Justin. l. v. c. 2, 10.

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, leaping 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 sanction of altars protect me, but I would shew 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 crouds of the citizens, who saw with tears, in the fate of a man equally considerable 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 drank it, he poured the bottom upon the table, after the usual manner observed in feasts or publick rejoicings, saying, *This for the noble Critias.* Xenophon relates this circumstance, inconsiderable in itself, to shew, says he, the tranquillity of Theramenes in his last moments.

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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 † Harmodius's as they had tyrants? Terror had taken entire possession of their minds, whilst the whole city deplored in secret their loss of liberty, without having one amongst them generous enough to attempt the breaking of its 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 vent 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 port in the midst of thirty tyrants, who made all else tremble, but could never shake the constancy of Socrates with their menaces. (e) 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 the youth; but Socrates, who neither acknowledged his authority, nor feared the violent effects of it, paid no regard to so unjust an order.

All

(e) Xenoph. memorab. l. i. p. 716, 717.

* Poteratne civitas illa con-
quiescere, in qua tot tyranni e-
rant, quot satellites essent? Ne
spes quidem ulla recipiendæ liber-
tatis animis poterat offerri, nec
ulli remedio locus apparebat con-
tra tantam vim malorum. Unde
enim miseræ civitati tot Harmo-
dios? Socrates tamen in medio
erat, et lugentes patres consola-

batur, et desperantes de republica
exhortabatur—et imitari vo-
lentibus magnum circumferebat
exemplar, cum inter triginta do-
minos liber incederet. *Senec. de
tranquil. anim. c. iii.*

† Harmodius formed a conspiracy
for the deliverance of Athens
from the tyranny of the Pisistra-
tides.

All the citizens of any consideration in Athens, and who retained a 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 Thraſybulus, 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 whatsoever, that 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 expence, and sent them to the aid of the common country of eloquence.

Thraſybulus 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 battle sufficiently warm 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, the success was not doubtful, but followed the better cause. The tyrants were overthrown. Critias was killed upon the spot. And as the rest of the army were taking to flight, Thraſybulus cried out; “Wherefore do you fly from me as from a victor, rather than assist me as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow-citizens; nor have we declared war against the city, but against the thirty tyrants.” He continued with bidding them remember, that they had

X 2

the

* Quingentos milites, stipendio suo instructos, in auxilium patriæ communis eloquentiæ misit. *Justin.* l. v. c. 9.

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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. This discourse had suitable effects. 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 surprize, that so sudden, so universal, so tenacious, and so uniform a conspiracy against the publick 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 augments our wonder is, that this passion for tyranny should possess so immediately republicans, born in the bosom of liberty, accustomed to an equality of condition on which it is founded, and principled from their earliest infancy in an abhorrence of all subjection and dependency. (*f*) There must be on the one side in power and authority some violent impulse, to actuate in this manner so many persons, of whom many, no doubt, were not without sentiments of virtue and honour; and to banish so suddenly the principles and manners 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 for them. It was sealed with the blood of the tyrants, who, having taken arms to re-instate themselves in the government,

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. Thraſybulus at that time propoſed the celebrated amnesty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath that all paſt tranſactions ſhould be buried in oblivion. The government was re-eſtabliſhed upon its ancient foot, 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 domeſtick 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 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 publick 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 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 giving in to the puniſhment of the guilty, eternal ſeeds of diſcord and enmity would remain, to weaken the republick by domeſtick 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 from the view itſelf of making amends for paſt miſbehaviour.

Such a conduct after great troubles in a ſtate has always ſeemed, with the ableſt politicians, the moſt certain and ready means to reſtore the publick peace and tranquillity.

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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. (g) Cardinal Mazarin observed to Don Lewis 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 lost a foot of land by them to that day*; 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 an age 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 posterity will form of 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

(g) Let. XV. of Card. Maz.

* In ædem Telluris convocati sumus; in quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamentum pacis; Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum, Græcum etiam ꝑ verbum usurpavi, quod tum in

sedandis discordiis usurpaverat civitas illa; atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. *Philipp. i. n. 1.*

† Some believe that word was ἀμαρτία; but as it is not found in the historians, who have treated this fact, it is more likely, that it was τὴν παντοκρατίαν, which has the same sense, and is used by them all.

† Cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptâ famâ, contemni virtutes—Quo magis socordiam eorum inrideri libet, qui præsentii

potentiâ credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis ævi memoriam—suum cuique decus posteritas reppendit. *Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 30, & 35.*

suppress for some time the publick 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 a very short duration; their guilt immortal, which will be remembered with abhorrence throughout all ages, whilst 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 of the greatness of mind and noble generosity of ancient Sparta; so much power have 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 princes," says he, (and the same may be said of all persons 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."

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

SECT. III. *LYSANDER abuses his power in an extraordinary manner. He is recalled to Sparta upon the complaint of PHARNABASUS.*

(b) **A**S Lysander had the greatest share in the celebrated exploits, which had raised the glory of the Lacedæmonians to so high a pitch; so had he acquired a degree of power and authority, of which there was no example before in Sparta; but he suffered him-

X 4

self

ARTAX. self to be carried away by a presumption and vanity
 MNEMON. still greater than his power. He permitted the Grecian
 cities to dedicate altars to him as to a god, and to offer
 sacrifices, and sing hymns and canticles in honour of
 him. The Samians ordained by a publick decree, that
 the feasts celebrated in honour of Juno, and which
 bore the name of that goddess, should be called *the*
feasts of Lyfander. He had always a crowd of poets
 about him, (who are often a tribe of venal flatterers,)
 that emulated each other in singing his great exploits,
 for which they were magnificently paid. Praise is un-
 doubtedly due to noble deeds; but diminishes their
 lustre when either forged or excessive.

This sort of vanity and ambition, had he stopt 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 con-
 junction 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 abso-
 lute government of cities with tyrannick 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 Lyfander'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 prompted his designs; nor was he less cruel than
 revengeful; of which what he did at Miletus is a suf-
 ficient proof. Apprehending that those who were at
 the head of the people would escape him, he swore not
 to do them any hurt. Those unfortunates gave credit
 to his oath, and no sooner appeared in publick, than
 they were put to the sword with his consent by the
 nobility, who killed them all, though no less than
 eight hundred. The number of those in the party of
 the

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 Lyfander; whilst 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 slow and drowsy, becomes immediately warm and officious; a certain proof that it is not the love of justice that actuates it: This appears here in the conduct of the Lacedæmonian magistrates. Pharnabafus, weary of Lyfander'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 them. Lyfander 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 Pharnabafus, 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 Lyfander, says Plutarch, in such an application to Pharnabafus, forgot the * proverb, *Set a thief to catch a thief*. The satrap promised

* The Greek proverb is, Cretan Crete, who passed for the greatest against Cretan, from the people of cheats and liars in the world.

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MNEMON.

promised all he desired, and accordingly wrote such a letter in Lyfander'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.

Lyfander departed well satisfied, and being arrived at Sparta, alighted at the palace where the senate was assembled, and delivered Pharnabafus's letter to the Ephori. But he was strangely surprized 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 difficulties, he embarked.

As soon as he was gone, the kings, reflecting that he held all the cities in his dependence, by the means of their governors and magistrates established 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 share in it. This alteration occasioned great tumults at first. About the same time Lyfander, being apprized of the design of Thrafsybulus, to re-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,

observed, that Pausanias, from a more noble spirit of ^{ARTAX.} equity and generosity, gave peace to Athens, and by ^{MNEMON.} that means, says Plutarch, clipped the wings of Lyfander's ambition.

CH A P. II.

Young CYRUS, with the aid of the Grecian troops, endeavours to dethrone his brother ARTAXERXES. He is killed in battle. 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 the view of depriving him at once of his crown and life. We see him, I say, fall dead in the battle at the feet of that brother, and terminate, by so unhappy a fate, an enterprize equally glaring 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 less 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 reduce them to undergo.

This

* Post mortem Cyri, neque armis à tanto exercitu vinci, neque dolo capi potuerunt; revertentesque inter tot indomitas nationes et barbaras gentes per tanta itineris spatia, virtute se usque terminos patriæ defenderunt. *Jus- tin. l. v. c. 11.*

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MNEMON.

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 an historian, who was not only eye-witness of the facts he relates, but the first mover, the soul of this great enterprize. I shall only abridge it, and abstract its most material circumstances; but I cannot omit advising young persons, who make arms their profession, to consult the original, of which there is a good translation extant in French, though far short of the admirable beauties of the 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 (*u*), *That he was equally capable of forming his pupil for eloquence or arms.*

Μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι, πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.

SECT. I. CYRUS raises troops secretly against his brother ARTAXERXES. Thirteen thousand Greeks join him. He sets out for Sardis, and arrives in Babylonia after a march of six months.

A. M.
3600.
Ant. J. C.
404.

(*) **W**E have already said, that young Cyrus, son of Darius Nothus and Parysatis, saw with pain his elder 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 insensible 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

(*u*) Iliad. x. ver. 443.

(*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 243---249, & 252. Justin. l. v. c. 11. Xenoph. de Cyri exped. l. i. p. 243---248.

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 that 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, tho' without forgetting the dignity of their general; these he formed by various exercises for the trade 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 Tiffaphernes 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 Tiffaphernes, assembled troops openly; and to amuse the court the 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 Cyrus's preparations regarded only Tiffaphernes, and continued quiet, from the assurance of having nothing to apprehend for himself.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.
A. M.
3601.
Ant. J. C.
403.

A. M.
3602.
Ant. J. C.
402.

(a) 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

(a) Plut. in Artax. p. 1013.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

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 enterprizes 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 amongst the people, to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They talked that the state required a king of Cyrus's character; a king, magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and showered his favours upon those that 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.

A. M.
3603.
Ant. J. C.
401.

The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. He was then twenty-three years old at most. After the important services he had done the Lacedæmonians, without which they had never 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

* By the knowledge of the Magi, amongst the Persians, was meant the science of religion and government.

ledge of the Magi, and that he could drink more wine without being disordered in his senses, a very meritorious quality amongst the Barbarians, but not so proper to recommend him to the opinion 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.

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MNEMON.

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 an hundred thousand regular men of the barbarous nations. Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponnésian troops, except the Achæans, who had Socrates of Achaia for their leader. The Bœotians were under Proxenes the Theban, and the Theffalians under Menon. (c) The Barbarians had Persian generals, of whom the chief was Ariæus. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships under Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian, and of twenty-five commanded by Tamos the Ægyptian, admiral of the whole fleet. It followed the land-army, coasting along near the shore.

Cyrus had opened his design only to Clearchus of all the Greeks, foreseeing aright that the length and boldness of the enterprize 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 effectual orders that they should want for nothing. Proxenes, between whose family and Xenophon's an ancient friendship subsisted, presented that young Athenian to Cyrus (d), who received him very favourably, and

(c) Xenoph. Cyri Exped. l. i. p. 252. (d) Xenoph. l. ii. p. 294.

* Quærentes apud Cyrum gratiam; et apud Artaxerxem, si crevissent. *Jussin.* l. v. c. 11. vicisset, veniæ patrocinia, cum

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and gave him an employment in his army amongst the Greeks. He set out for Sardis at length, 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.

(e) Tissaphernes, rightly judging that all these preparations were too great for so small an enterprize as against Pisidia, had set out post 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 has kindled this war, and plunged us into an abyss of misfortunes." The antipathy and hatred of the two queens for each other were already very great, and much enflamed by such warm reproaches. We shall see what consequences they have. Artaxerxes assembled a numerous army to receive his brother.

(f) 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

(e) Plut. in Artax. p. 1014.

(f) Xenoph. l. i. p. 248---261.

that important post, which a small body of troops might have made good against the greatest army.

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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 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 made them easy, and they chose him and some other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had secretly apprized 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 going, they resolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, instead of one † Darick 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 gallies after them; which might be done with great ease, and that when

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they

* It is not said where he commanded. It appears to be 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 Darick was worth ten Livres.

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MNEON.

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 publickly 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 surprizing effect; and made even 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 shew 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.

(g) 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 intrenchment to be thrown up in the plains of Babylonia, with a fosse of five fathoms broad, and three deep,

(g) Plut. in Artax. p. 1014. Xenoph. l. i. p. 261---266.

* Beneficiis potius quam re- ferat princeps, qui bonos esse pa-
mediis ingenia experiri placuit. titur, quam qui cogit. *Plin. ibid.*
Plin. in Troj. Plerumque habita fides ipsam

† Nescio an plus moribus con- obligat fidem. *Liv.*

deep, extending the space of twelve * parasangas or leagues, from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the fossé 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 Tiribafus, 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.

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SECT. II. *The battle of Cunaxa. The Greeks are victorious on their side, ARTAXERXES on his. CYRUS is killed.*

(b) **T**HE place where the battle was fought, was called Cunaxa, about † twenty-five leagues from Babylon. The army of Cyrus consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, an hundred thousand Barbarians, and twenty chariots armed with scythes. The enemy in horse and foot might amount to about twelve hundred thousand under four generals, 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 an hundred and fifty chariots armed with scythes.

Cyrus believed, from the enemy's not having defended the pass at the fossé, that there would be no battle; so that the next day the army marched with great negligence. But on the third, Cyrus being

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(b) Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263---266. Diod. l. xiv. p. 253, 254. Plut. p. 1014---1017.

* The parasanga is a measure of ways peculiar to the Persians. It was commonly thirty stadia, which make about a league and a half French. Some were from twenty to sixty stadia. In the march of Cyrus's army I suppose the parasanga only twenty stadia, or one league, for reasons I shall give hereafter.

† Five hundred stadia.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

in his chariot, with few soldiers in their ranks before him, and the rest marching without any order, or having their arms carried for them, an 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, he gave orders universally 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 to Menon, at the head of their several corps. The left wing, composed of Lydians, Phrygians, and other Asiatick 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 around 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 shew myself unworthy of being so?* That wise and generous answer proves, that he knew the duty of a general, especially on 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

preserving the due distinction between the leader and the troops, that their danger should be common, and no one exempt 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 the equality of danger. The retiring of Cyrus had either ruined, or greatly weakened, all these potent motives, by discouraging as well the officers as soldiers of his army. He thought, that being their general, it was incumbent upon him to discharge all the functions of that office, and to shew 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 of the clock a great dust like a white cloud arose, followed soon after with a blackness that overcast 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 composed 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 Artagerfes. Though he was in the center, he was beyond the left wing of Cyrus's army, so much did the front of his own exceed that of the enemy in extent. An 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 assant, so as to cut down, and overthrow all before them.

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MNEMON.

As Cyrus relied very much upon the valour and experience of the Greeks, he bade Clearchus, as soon as he had beat the enemies in his front, to take care to incline to his left, and fall upon the center, where the king was posted; the success of the battle 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 be in no pain, and 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 his own, and considered both of them with great attention. Xenophon, perceiving him, spurred directly up to him, to know whether he had any further 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 shewed 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 air, or a look of 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 surprized 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 above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to sing the hymn of battle, and to march on, softly at first, and with silence. When they came near the enemy, they set up great cries, striking their darts upon their shields to frighten the horse, and then moving all together, they sprung forwards upon the Barbarians with all their force,

force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels, and fled universally; except Tissaphernes, who stood his ground with a small part of his troops.

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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 killed Artagerfes, who commanded the king's guards of six thousand horse, with his own hand, 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 follow the run-aways, which was an essential fault.

(i) 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, joined 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 flight of darts aimed at him from all sides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the 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 killed by a Carian soldier.

Y 4

Mithridates,

(i) Diod. l. xiv. p. 254.

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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 chuse 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 stopt 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.

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 made their discharge upon 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 Cyrus's camp, 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, believed each of them 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 learnt, that the king, in pursuing
Cyrus's

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.

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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 on their backs, to prevent their being taken in the rear. Upon seeing that, 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 took to their heels, ran farther than before, and were pursued to a village at the foot of an 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 all their troops, broke, and in the utmost disorder and confusion. Clearchus, having drawn up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lycias the Syracusan and another to go up it, and observe what passed in the plain. They returned with an account that the enemies fled on all sides, and that their whole army was routed.

As it was almost night, the Greeks laid down their arms to rest themselves, much surprized, 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 waggons laden

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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 shews the superiority of valour and military knowledge to multitude without them. The small army of the Greeks did not amount to more than twelve or thirteen thousand men; but they were seasoned 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 compleat themselves in the art of war, and the methods of battle. Artaxerxes's side 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 amongst the enemy; and in the second action, Artaxerxes himself did not dare to wait their attack, but shamefully betook himself to flight.

Plutarch here blames Clearchus the general of the Greeks very much, 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's 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 answered directly to the part where the king was; that is, to the main body, and not in the right, which was very remote from it.

Clearchus

Clearchus may indeed be reproached with having followed the pursuit too warmly and too long. If after having put 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 compleat 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 whatsoever. 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 head-long 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 the 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 the judges in the art of war, and would not chuse to advance my own opinion upon things out of my sphere.

SECT. III. *Eulogy of CYRUS.*

(k) **X**ENOPHON 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 that 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

(k) De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 266, 267.

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all of his own age in every exercise, whether it were in managing the horse, drawing the bow, throwing the dart, or in the chace, 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 recommend merit.

When his father had made him satrap of Lydia, and the neighbouring * provinces, 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 publick treaties, but the most minute of his promises; a quality very rare amongst princes, and 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 whilst he surmounted 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 favour and benevolence.) Nor was there ever prince, that 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 other sentiments, but 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 shew, 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.

* *Great Phrygia and Cappadocia.*

profusion. He did not * lavish, but distribute, 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 themselves 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 that 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 effect, 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

* Habebit sinum facilem, non ant, nihil excidat. Senec. de vit, perforatum: ex quo multa exe- beat. c. xxiii,

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The first of these advantages he derives from his rank; 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 every day to him from the king's party after the war was declared, and even of such as had most credit 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 surprized, 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 an historian, whose chief duty it is to paint virtue and vice in their proper colours, to relate at large an enterprize 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.

SECT. IV. *The king is for compelling the Greeks to deliver up their arms. They resolved to die rather than surrender themselves. A treaty is made with them. TISSAPHERNES takes upon him to conduct them back to their own country. He treacherously seizes CLEARCHUS and four other generals, who are all put to death.*

(1) **T**HE Greeks, having learnt, 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 victors,

(1) Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 272---292. Diod. l. xiv. p. 255---257.

victors, 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 an haughty air, that they talked 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 if they advanced or retired, that they would be treated as enemies. The Greeks agreed, and 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 he should set out early the next day to return into 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, Miltiocytes 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

* Sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et juventutem, et promptum libertati aut ad mortem animum. *Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 46.*

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night at the camp of Ariæus. After they had drawn up in battle, the principal officers went to wait on him in 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 dipt their swords, and the Barbarians the points of their javelins, in the blood of the victims.

Ariæus did not think it proper to return by the same rout 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 effect. Towards the 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 judge, that the enemy were not far off. Upon which they stood their ground, and waited their coming up; and the next day, before sun-rising, 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, whilst 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 shew the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the most shewy 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 shewed, that the king, or whoever spoke in his name, was

was not very distant. They said, they had orders to conduct them to villages, where they would 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 domesticks. 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 re-conduct 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 list 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 surprize 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:

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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 country, who had been so insolent to come thither to make war upon him. "In fine," said he, "you may now assure yourselves of not finding any obstacle 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 to declare war by violating the treaty; that they should remain without a conductor in a country where nobody would supply

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 could 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 forwards 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 amongst 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 an 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 Tygris, after having cross'd two of its canals, cut expressly for watering the country. They then passed the † Tygris upon a bridge of twenty-seven boats near Sitacum, a very great and populous city. After four days march they arrived

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at

* Twenty Parasangas.

† The march of the Greeks and the rest of the army, from the day after the battle till the passing of the Tygris, abounds in the text of Xenophon with very great obscu-

rities, to explain which fully, require a long dissertation. My plan does not admit me to enter into such discussions, which I must therefore refer to those who are more able than me.

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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 Tygris, 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 an explanation once for all with Tissaphernes. He began with observing upon 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 added afterwards many things to prove, that the Greeks were obliged by their own interest 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 persons had done him bad offices with him. "If you will bring your officers hither," said he, "I will shew you those, who have wronged you in their representations." He kept him to supper, 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
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the satrap in the presence of Arius; besides which, ARTAX. MNEMON. 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, with the other generals, was sent to the king, who ordered their heads to be struck off. Xenophon describes with sufficient extent the characters of those officers.

Clearchus was valiant, bold, intrepid, and of a capacity for forming great enterprizes. His courage was not rash, but directed by prudence, and he 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 mien was awful and severe; his language rough; his punishments 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

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his

* Manebat admiratio viri et fama; sed oderant. *Facit. Histor.*
l. ii. c. 68.

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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 pædagogus. We may say of him with Tacitus, that by an excess of severity he made, what had otherwise been well done by him, unamiable; (a) *Cupidine severitatis in his etiam, quæ rite faceret, acerbus.*

Proxenes was of Bœotia. From his infancy he aspired at great things, 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 Cyrus's service with the view of advancing himself. He did not want ambition, but would take no other path to glory than that of virtue. He had been a perfect captain, had he had to do with none but brave and disciplined men, and it had been only necessary to be beloved. He was more apprehensive of being in his soldiers displeasure, 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 facility. He died at thirty years of age.

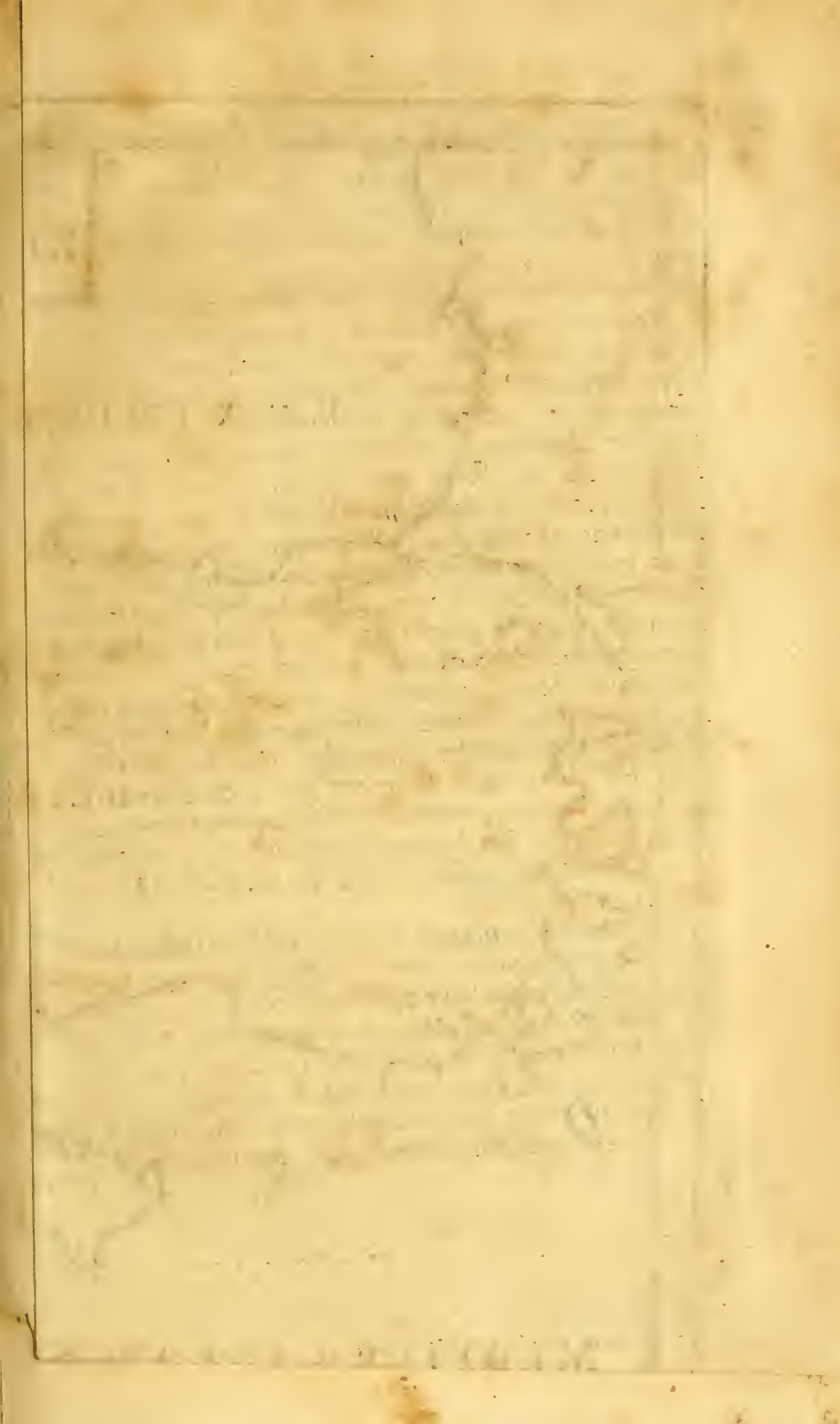
* Could the two great persons, we have here drawn after Xenophon, have been moulded into one, something perfect might have been made of them; retrenching their several defects, and retaining only their virtues: But it rarely happens, that the same man, † as Tacitus says of Agricola, behaves, according to the exigency of times and circumstances, sometimes with gentleness, and sometimes with severity, without lessening

(a) Tacit. Annal. c. lxxv.

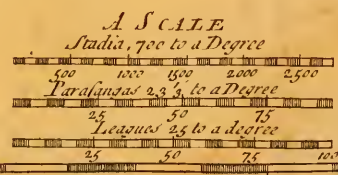
* Egregium principatus temperamentum, si, demptis utriusque vitiiis, solæ virtutes miscerentur. Tacit. Histor. l. ii. c. 5.

† Pro variis temporibus ac ne-

gobis severus et comis---nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas autoritatem, aut severitas amorem, deminuit. Tacit. in Agric. c. ix.



A MAP OF THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND



lessening his authority by the former, or the people's affection by the latter.

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Menon was a Theſſalian, avaritious 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 of 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; falſhood, fraud, perjury; whilſt ſincerity, and integrity of heart, ſtood in his ſcheme for 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, and calumny; and that of the ſoldiery by licence and impunity. In ſine, 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.

It was in my thoughts 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.

SECT. V. *Retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks from the province of Babylon to Trebiſond.*

(b) **T**HE 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 enemy nations, without any ſupplies of proviſions. In this ſtate of general dejection, they could not think of taking either nourishment or reſt. In the middle of the night, Xenophon, a young Athenian, but of prudence and capacity

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(b) Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. iii. & iv.

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city 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 an hundred officers were present, and Xenophon, being desired to speak, deduced the reasons at large, he had at first but lightly touched upon; and by his advice commanders were appointed. They were Timasion for Clearchus, Xanthicles 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 amongst 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 chuse 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 Platæa, 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,

“tle, and combat for us. For the rest, fellow-foldiers,
 “as we have no refuge but in victory, which must be
 “our hope, and will make us ample amends for what-
 “ever it costs to attain it; I should believe, if it were
 “your opinion, that, for the making a more ready
 “and less difficult retreat, it would be very proper to
 “rid ourselves of all the usefess baggage, and to keep
 “only what is absolutely necessary in our march.” All
 the soldiers that moment lifted up their hands to sig-
 nify 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 equi-
 page giving it others who had too little, and destroy-
 ing the rest.

It was resolved to march the army without tumult
 or violence, if their return was not opposed; but
 otherwise to open themselves a passage sword in hand
 through the enemy. They began their march in the
 form of a great hollow square with the baggage in the
 centre. Chirifophus the Lacedæmonian had the van-
 guard; 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 rude; be-
 cause, having neither horse nor slingers, they were ex-
 tremely harrassed by a detachment sent against them:
 But they provided against that inconvenience by fol-
 lowing 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 harrassing
 the Greeks, who moved on continually. The latter
 observing

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observing the difficulty of retreating in an 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 two 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 Tygris. As its depth would not admit them to repass 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 Tygris at its source, and afterwards the Euphrates, not very distant from it. To gain those 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. Chirifophus continued at the head of the advanced guard, with the troops armed with missile 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 danger 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

the slaves lately taken; because both the one and the other 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 fight. That regulation was executed without delay, and they continued their inarch, 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, against 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.

They marched afterwards with less interruption; passed the source of the Tygris, 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 Tiribafus, a satrap much beloved by the king, and had the honour to help him to * mount on horseback when at the court:

He

* The French translator of Xenophon, without considering, that the ancients used none, stirred when he got on horseback,

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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. Tiribafus 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 learnt from a prisoner, that Tiribafus 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 languor 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, of whom many, 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, that 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

houses were built under-ground, with an opening at ARTAX. top, like a well, through which the descent was by a MNEMON. 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 shewed 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 rout.

After a march of seven days they arrived at the river Araxes, called also the Phafus, which is about an 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 the sending of 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 are 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

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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 they descried the sea. The first who perceiv'd it, rais'd great shouts of joy for a considerable time; which made Xenophon imagine, that the van-guard was attacked, and go 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 gaiety; 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!* whilst 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 possess'd themselves. The Greeks drew up in 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, that in some places was 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 fourscore files, each consisting of about an hundred men, with eighteen hundred light-armed soldiers, divided in 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 implored 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,

tain, and encamped in villages, where they found provisions in abundance. ARTAX.
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A very strange accident happened there to the army, which put them into great consternation. For the soldiers, finding abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with raving fits; so that those, who were 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 after taking a violent medicine.

Two days after, the army arrived near Trebisond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, situate 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 an happy return into their own country. They also celebrated the games of the horse and foot races, wrestling, boxing, the pancratium; the whole attended with the greatest joy and solemnity.

SECT. VI. *The Greeks, after having undergone excessive fatigues, and surmounted many dangers, arrive upon the sea-coast opposite to Byzantium. They pass the strait, and engage in the service of SEUTHES prince of Thrace. XENOPHON afterwards repasses the sea, advances to Pergamus, and joins THIMBRON general of the Lacedæmonians, who marches against TISSAPHERNES and PHARNABASUS.*

(c) **A**FTER having offered sacrifices to the several divinities, and celebrated the games, they deliberated upon the proper measures for their return into Greece. They concluded upon going thither by sea, and for that purpose Chirisophus offered to go to Anaxibius, the admiral of Sparta, who was his friend,
to

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to obtain ships of 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.

In the small time the Greeks continued in these parts, several divisions arose, as well with the inhabitants of the country, as with some of the officers, who were jealous of Xenophon's authority, and endeavoured to render him odious to the army. But his wisdom and moderation put a stop to those disorders; having made the soldiers sensible, that their safety depended upon preserving union and a good understanding amongst themselves, and obedience to their generals.

From Cerasus they went to Cotyora, which is not very remote 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 gal-

* This city of Cerasus became famous for the cherry-trees, which dispersed all over the western world, Lucullus first brought into Italy,

lies, 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 chuse a Lacedæmonian for their general; the Spartan state at that time actually ruling Greece, and in consideration of that choice, would be disposed to support them. This reason was not relished, and they objected to it, that they were far from intending a servile dependance upon Sparta, or to submit to regulate their enterprizes 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 whence it appeared that they did not approve their choice. It was surprizing 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 little affected with the 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 amongst the troops,

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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 concluded, the troops divided themselves into three bodies, of which the Achaians 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. Chirifophus commanded another party of about fourteen hundred men, besides seven hundred light-armed infantry. Xenophon had the third, almost the same in number, of which three hundred were light-armed foldiers, with about forty horse, which were all the cavalry of the army. The first having obtained ships from the people of * Heraclea, to whom they had sent to demand them, set out before the rest to make some booty, and made a descent in the port of Calpe. Chirifophus, 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 imprudence of the troops and their leaders had involved them in ill measures, not without loss, from whence the address of Xenophon extricated them more than once. Being all reunited again, after various success, they arrived by land at Chryso polis in Caledonia facing Byzantium, whither they repaired some days after, having passed the small arm of the sea which separates the two continents. They were upon 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 once for all, 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

" established

* A city of Pontus.

“ established in it, you will be deemed the mortal ene-
 “ mies of their republick, and of all their allies. Athens ARTAX.
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 “ my country, that had four hundred gallics at sea
 “ and in the arsenals, when it took up arms against
 “ them, great sums of money in its treasury, a re-
 “ venue 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 hope, who are but an
 “ handful of men, 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 Lace-
 “ dæmonians? Let us demand satisfaction from the
 “ Byzantines, and not avenge their fault by a much
 “ greater of our own, which must draw upon us in-
 “ evitable ruin.” He was believed, and the affair ac-
 commodated.

(d) From thence he led them to Salmydeffa, to serve
 Seuthes prince of Thrace, who had before solicited
 him by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in order
 to his re-establishment 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 he 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 expence 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 up-
 on honour, probity, and justice, as mere chimeras,
 and that there was nothing real but the possession of

A a 2

much

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much money, had no thoughts, in consequence, but of enriching himself by any means whatsoever, and robbed his master first with impunity, and all his subjects along with him. "However," continued Xenophon, "every wise man, especially in authority and command, ought to regard justice, probity, and the faith of engagements, as the most precious treasure he can possess; and as an assured resource, and 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.

Whilst the dispute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmest, Charminus and Polynices arrived, as ambassadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republick had declared war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabafus; that Thimbron had already embarked with the troops, and promised a Darick a 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 Lampfacus 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 amongst the soldiers, and to make them a 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 Pharnabafus.

(e) Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon reckons from the first setting out of that prince's

prince's army from the city of Ephesus to their arrival ^{ARTAX.} where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty ^{MNEMON.} parasangas or leagues, and fourscore and thirteen days march; (f) and in their return 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 an 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, (g) and two hundred and fifteen days march; and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of rest, was fifteen months.

It appears by this calculation, that the army of Cyrus marched daily, one day with another, almost six parasangas † or leagues in going, and only five in their return. It was natural, that Cyrus, who desired to surprize his brother, should use all possible diligence for that purpose.

This retreat of the ten thousand Greeks has always passed amongst the judges in the art of war, as I have already observed, for a perfect model in its kind, and never had a parallel. Indeed no enterprize could be formed with more valour and bravery, nor conducted with more prudence, nor executed with more success.

A a 3

Ten

(f) Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. iii. p. 355.
p. 427.

(g) Xenoph. l. vii.

* I add, five, which are left out in the text, to make the total agree with the two parts.

† The parasanga is a measure of the ways peculiar to the Persians, and consists of three stadia. The stadium is the same with the Greeks, 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 hitherto, according to which the parasanga is a league and a half.

I observe here a great difficulty. In this calculation we find, the or-

dinary days marches of Cyrus, with an army of more than an hundred thousand men, would have been one day with another nine leagues, during so long a time; which according to the 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 ways of the ancients, have differed widely according to times and places, as they still do amongst us.

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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 the king at the head of them, to retire through the seat of his empire, and in a manner from the gates of his palace, and 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 exposed; passes of rivers, of mountains and defiles; open attacks; secret ambuscades from the people upon their rout; 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 in reality had orders to destroy them. For Artaxerxes, who was sensible how much the return of those Greeks into their country would cover him with disgrace, and decry the majesty of the empire in the sense 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. (b) 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!*

And it was the good 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 sole 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 universal than ever

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(b) Plut. in Antio. p. 937. τὸ μύθισι.

in Greece after this celebrated expedition, that gave birth to those bold enterprizes 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.

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SECT. VII. *Consequences of CYRUS's death in the court of ARTAXERXES. Cruelty and jealousy of PARYSATIS. STATIRA poisoned.*

(i) **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 part, 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 those that had any share in the death of her son. Animated by her barbarous revenge, she commanded the executioners to take that 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 heated his brain with wine, that it was he gave Cyrus his mortal wound, paid very dear for that sottish and imprudent vanity. He was condemned to suffer the punishment of the * troughs,

A a 4

one

(i) Plut. in Artax. p. 1018---1021.

* See the description of this torture, as before given in this Volume,

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one of the most cruel that was ever invented, and after having languished in torment during seventeen days, died at last slowly in exquisite 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 this 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 had been 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 especial care never to lose sight of him, and to leave Statira as little alone with him as she could, desiring to gain an absolute ascendant 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 Daricks *, 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, 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

* *The Darick was worth ten Livres.*

Jay 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 further 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
 " decrepid wretch of an eunuch, when I, who lost a
 " thousand good Daricks, and paid them down upon
 " the spot, don't say a word, and am satisfied."

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All these cruelties seem to have been only essays and preparations for a greater crime 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 credit 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. Of what is not the jealousy of an ambitious woman capable! This resolved ^{her} to rid herself, whatever it 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 amongst 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,

* Plutarch explains this circumstance no farther.

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MNEMON. her, took an extremely exquisite 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 horrible 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 enquiry into the crime. All his mother's officers and domesticks were seized and put to the question; when Gygis, one of Parysatis's women and confidants, confessed the whole. 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 the Persians punished poisoners, which is thus: They lay their heads upon a great and very broad stone, and beat upon it with another till they are entirely crushed, and have 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 whilst she was there.

C H A P. III.

SECT. I. *The Grecian cities of Ionia implore aid of the Lacedæmonians against ARTAXERXES. Rare prudence of a lady continued in her husband's government after his death. AGESILAUS elected king of Sparta. His character.*

(k) **T**HE cities of Ionia, that had taken party with Cyrus, 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

(k) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 479---487.

Thimbron was sent thither, to whose troops Xenophon ARTAX. had joined his, after their return from Persia. MNEMON. Thimbron was soon recalled upon some discontent, and had A. M. for his successor Dercyllidas, surnamed Sisyphus, from 3605. his industry in finding resources, and his capacity in Ant. J. C. inventing machines of war. He took upon him the 399. command of the army at Ephesus. When he arrived there, he was apprized, that there was a difference between the two satraps, who commanded in the country.

The provinces of the Persian monarchy, of which several, situate at the extremity of the empire, required 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 vice-roys 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, nevertheless each being more affected with 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 even acted entirely against them. The remoteness of the court, and the absence of the prince, gave room for these dissentions; and perhaps a secret policy contributed to keep them up, to elude, or prevent, conspiracies, which too good an understanding amongst the governors might have excited.

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Dercyllidas having heard, therefore, that Tiffaphernes and Pharnabafus were at variance, made a truce with the former, that he might not have them both upon his hands at the same time, entered Pharnabafus's province, 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 Pharnabafus 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 husband's reward; that she would 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 arts of ruling. To the ordinary tributes, which her husband had paid, she added presents of an extraordinary magnificence, and when Pharnabafus 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 * Lariffa, Amaxita, and Colona.

Hence we may observe, that prudence, good sense, and courage, are of all 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 Pharnabafus in all his enterprizes, 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 such a distinction, as might have excited jealousy, if the modesty and affability of that lady

* From the Lydians and Pisidians.

lady had not prevented bad effects, by throwing in a manner a veil over all her perfections, which softened their lustre, and let them only appear to be the 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. Dercyllidas 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 Pharnabafus a truce, took up his winter-quarters in Bithynia, to avoid being chargeable to his allies.

(m) 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 amongst 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.

(n) 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,

(m) Xenoph. p. 487, 488.

(n) Plut. in Artax. p. 1021.

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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 splendor.

This Athenian general, knowing the success of his views had occasion for 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.* (o) Pharnabafus, in concert with Conon, was gone to court to complain against the conduct of Tissaphernes, as too much in favour of the Lacedæmonians. Upon the warm instances of Pharnabafus, the king ordered five hundred talents * to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give Conon the command of it. He sent Ctesias into Greece, who, after having visited Cnidos, his native country, went to Sparta.

(p) 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 made use of to dress the wounds Artaxerxes had received, of 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 quality. Whilst 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

(o) Diod. l. xiv. p. 267. Justin. l. vi. c. 1. (p) Strab. l. xiv. p. 656. Plut. in Artax. p. 1014---1017---1020. Diod. l. xiv. p. 273. Aristot. de Hist. anim. l. viii. c. 28. Phot. Cod. LXII.

* 500,000 crowns, or about 112,000 l. sterling.

history of the country, which he wrote in three-and-twenty 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 Cyrus's reign to the third year of the XCVth Olympiad, which agrees with the three hundred and ninety-eighth before JESUS CHRIST. He wrote also an history of India. Photius has given us several extracts of both these 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 speak of him as of a very vain man, whose veracity is not to be relied on, and who has inserted fables; and sometimes even lies, in his history.

(q) Tissaphernes and Pharnabafus, though secretly each other's enemies, had upon the king's orders united their troops, to oppose the enterprizes 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. Pharnabafus was of this opinion: But Tissaphernes apprehending the valour of the Greeks, who had been of Cyrus's army, which he had experienced, and to whom he conceived all others resembled, 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 could be known.

(r) Whilst 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 Olympick games. Upon pretence of the non-payment of a fine by Sparta, they had insulted their citizens during the

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(q) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 439, 490. Diod. l. xiv. p. 267.
(r) Ibid. p. 292.

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the games, and hindered Agis from sacrificing in the temple of Jupiter Olympius. 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 Olympius, to which they had not much right, but were more worthy of that honour than those who disputed it with him.

(s) Agis in his return fell sick, and died upon arriving at Sparta. Almost divine honours were paid to his memory, and after the expiration of some days, according to the custom, Leotychides and Agefilaus, the one son, and the other 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 effect there was a current report, that she had him by Alcibiades (t), as has been related in its place, and that the Athenian general had corrupted her by a present of a * thousand Daricks. Agis protested the contrary at his death. Leotychides having thrown himself at his feet all bathed in his tears, he could not refuse the grace he implored of him, and owned him for his son before all that were present.

Most of the Spartans, charmed with the virtue and great merit of Agefilaus, and deeming it an extraordinary advantage to have a person for their king, who had been educated amongst 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. Lyfander only made a jest of it, and turned its sense against Leotychides himself; endeavouring

(s) Xenoph. p. 493. Plut. in Lyf. p. 445. In Agefil. p. 597.
(t) Athen. l. xii. p. 534.

* 1000 *pissoles*.

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 Lyfander, carried it against his nephew, and was declared king.

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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 * taught youth obedience perfectly well. The law dispensed with this education only to such children, as were designed for the throne. Agesilaus therefore had this in peculiar, that he did not arrive at commanding, till he had first learnt 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 that prince, to the great qualities with which nature had endowed him for commanding and the sovereignty, had united by his education the advantage of being humane and popular.

It is surprizing 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 most need of being early habituated to the yoke of obedience, in order to their being the better qualified to command.

(u) 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 sur-

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B b

passing

(u) In Agesil. p. 596.

* Hence it was, that the poet Simonides called Sparta, the tamer of men, *δαμασιμώτερον*, as that 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, *ὡς μάλιστα διὰ τῶν ἰθῶν τὸς πολιτας τοῖς νόμοις πειθομένους ἢ χειρότεροις ποιῶσαν.*

† Τῷ φύσει ἄγευστοιῦν ἢ βασιλεῦσιν προσηλαμένῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τοῦ δημότιου ἢ φιλάθροπον.

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passing all others, with a gentleness, submission, and docility, that complied at a single word, and made him infinitely sensible of the lightest reprimand, so that every thing might be obtained of him from the 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 gaiety with which he supported and rallied it first 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 enterprize, however difficult, that he would refuse upon account of that inconvenience.

(x) 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 during his life that his picture should be drawn, and even in dying, expressly forbid any image to be made of him, either in colours or relieve. (y) 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 respect in their kings; and Theophrastus affirms, that the Ephori laid a fine upon their king Archidamus, the father of him we speak of, for having espoused a very little woman: * *For*, said they, *she'll give us poppets instead of kings.*

(z) It has been remarked, that Agefilus, 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

(x) Plut. in moral. p. 55. (y) Ibid. p. 191. (z) Plut. in Agefil. p. 598.

* Οὐ γὰρ βασίλειε, ἴφρασαν, ἀρμυρῶν, ἀλλὰ βασίλειδι γυνάτεϊ.

his friends, when they committed faults. He would even support them when they were in the wrong (a), and upon such occasions looked upon the zeal for justice as a vain pretence to cover the refusal of serving them. And in proof of this, a short letter is cited, wrote by him to a judge in recommendation of a friend; the words are: *If Nicias be not guilty, acquit him for his innocence; if he be, acquit him for my sake; but however it be, acquit him.*

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It is understanding the rights and privileges of friendship very ill, to be capable of rendering it in this manner the accomplice of crimes, and the protectress of bad actions. It is the fundamental law of friendship, says Cicero, never to ask of, or grant any thing to, friends, that does not consist with justice and honour: (b) *Hæc prima lex in amicitia sancitur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati.*

Agésilauſ was not ſo delicate in this point, at leaſt in the beginning, and omitted no occaſion of gratifying his friends, and even his enemies. By this officious and obliging conduct, ſupported by his extraordinary merit, he acquired great credit, 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; alledging as their ſole reaſon, * that he attached the hearts of the citizens to himſelf alone, which were the right of the republick, and ought not to be poſſeſſed but in common.

When he was declared king, he was put into poſſeſſion of the whole eſtate of his brother Agis, of which Leotychides was deprived as a baſtard. But ſeeing the relations of that prince, on the ſide of his mother Lampito, were all very poor, he divided the whole inheritance with them, and by that act of benevolence acquired great reputation, and the good-will of all the world, inſtead of the envy and hatred he might have drawn upon himſelf by the inheritance.

B b 2

fore

(a) Plut. in Ageſil. p 603.

(b) De amicit. n. 40.

* Οτι τῶν κινῶν πολιτῶν, ἰδίῳ κιάται.

ARTAX. fort of sacrifices are glorious, though rare, and can
MNEMON. never be sufficiently esteemed.

Never was king of Sparta so powerful as Agefilaus, 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, 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. Agefilaus took 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 enterprize, 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, whilst 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 people's goodwill and esteem 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 Agefilaus, of whom much will be said hereafter, and with whose character it was therefore necessary to begin.

SECT. II. AGESILAUS sets out for Asia. LYSANDER falls out with him, and returns to Sparta. His ambitious designs to alter the succession to the throne.

(c) **A**GESILAUS had scarce 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. Conon's letters, seconded by the remonstrances of Pharnabafus, 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 his thoughts to humble that proud republick, by raising up its rival, and by that means re-establishing the ancient balance between them, which could alone assure his safety, by keeping them perpetually employed against each other, and thereby prevented from uniting their forces against him.

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Lyfander, who desired to be sent into Asia, in order to re-establish his creatures 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 republick having made this proposal to him, he could not refuse it, and charged himself with the expedition against Artaxerxes, upon condition 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 been lately made freemen, and six thousand troops of the allies, which was immediately resolved. Lyfander was placed at the head of the thirty Spartans, not only upon 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

B b 3 well

(c) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 495, 496. Ibid. de Agesil. p. 652. Plut. in Agesil. p. 598, & in Lyfand. p. 446.

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MINEMON.

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 nor 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 what reason had induced his coming 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. (*d*) 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 on both sides. Tissaphernes, who laid no great stress upon an oath, took the advantage of this delay to assemble troops on all sides. The Lacedæmonian general was apprized of it, but however 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 reputa-
tion

(*d*) Xenoph. p. 496, & 652.

tion 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 effect, Xenophon remarks, that this religious observation of treaties gained him the universal esteem and opinion of the cities; whilst the different conduct of Tissaphernes entirely lost him their favour.

Agefilaus made use of 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 Lyfander had established it. (e) The people of the country had no communication with Agefilaus, nor had ever known him; for which reason they made no court to him, conceiving, that he had the title of general for form-sake only, and that the whole power was really vested in Lyfander. As no governor had ever done so much good to his friends, or hurt to his enemies, it is not wonderful, 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; whilst Agefilaus 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 Lyfander's recommendations, and ceased to employ him himself. Lyfander 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

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(e) Plut. in Agefil. p. 599, 600. In Lyfand. p. 446, 447.

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greatest part of them gave over importuning him with their affairs, but did not cease to pay their court 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. Lyfander, naturally 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 addressees to him with more application than ever.

This ridiculous affectation of authority and grandeur grew still more and more offensive to Agefilaus, and seemed as if intended to insult him. He resented it so highly, that having given the most considerable commands and best governments to private officers, he appointed Lyfander 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.*

Lyfander thought it then incumbent upon him to speak, and to come to an explanation with him. Their conversation was brief and laconick. *Certainly, my lord, said Lyfander, 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 Lyfander, 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 most of serving you effectually.*

The effect of this conversation was the lieutenantcy of the Hellespont, which Agefilaus gave him. In this employment he retained all his resentment, without however neglecting any part of his duty, or of what conduced to the success of affairs. Some small time after he returned to Sparta, without any marks of honour

honour and distinction, extremely incensed against Agefilaus, and with the hope of making him perfectly sensible of it. ARTAX.
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It must be allowed that Lyfander's conduct, as we have here represented it, denotes a vanity and narrowness of mind on his side, much unworthy of his reputation. Perhaps Agefilaus carried too far his sensibility and delicacy in point of honour, and that he was a little too severe upon a friend and benefactor, whom secret animadversions, attended with openness of heart and expressions of kindness, might have reclaimed to his duty. But as shining as Lyfander's merit, and as considerable as the services he had rendered Agefilaus, might be, they could not all of them give him a right, not only to an equality with his king and general, but to the superiority he affected, which in some measure tended to making the other insignificant. He ought to have remembered, that it is never allowable for an inferior to forget himself, and to exceed the bounds of a just subordination.

(g) Upon his return to Sparta he had it seriously in his thoughts to execute a project, which he had many years revolved in his mind. At Sparta there was only two families, or rather branches, of the posterity of Hercules, who had a right to the throne. When Lyfander had attained to that high degree of power, which his great actions had acquired him, he began to see with pain a city, whose glory had been so much augmented by his exploits, under the government of princes, to whom he gave place neither in valour nor birth; for he 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 took effect, no Spartan could be capable of disputing that honour with him, and that he should have the preference to all others.

This

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This ambitious project of Lyfander fhews, that the greateft captains are often thofe, from whom a republick has moft to apprehend. Thofe haughty valiant fpirits, accuftomed to abfolute power in armies, bring back with victory a daring loftinefs of mind, always to be dreaded in a free ftate. Sparta, in giving Lyfander unlimited power, and leaving it for fo many years in his hands, did not fufficiently confider, that nothing is more dangerous than to confide to perfons of fuperior merit and abilites, employments of fupreme authority, which naturally expofes them to the temptation of rendering themfelves independent, and abfolute mafters of power. Lyfander was not proof againft it, and practifed fecretly to open himfelf a way to the throne.

The undertaking was bold, and required long preparations. He thought it impoffible to fucceed without firft making ufe of the fear of the divinity, and the terrors of fuperftition, to amaze and fubdue the citizens into a more eafy difpofition to receive what he wanted to have them underftand; for he knew that at Sparta, as well as throughout all Greece, nothing of the leaft importance was determined, without the oracle's being previously confulted. He tempted with great presents the priests and priefteffes of Delphos, Dodona, and Ammon; though ineffectually at that time; and the latter even fent ambaffadors to Sparta, to accufe him of impiety and facrilege; but he extricated himfelf from that bad affair by his credit and addrefs.

It was neceffary to fet other engines at work. A woman in the kingdom of Pontus, affirming that fhe was with child by Apollo, had been delivered fome years before of a fon, to whom the name of Silenus was given, and the greateft perfons of that nation had difputed the honour of nurfing and educating him. Lyfander, taking this wondrous birth for the commencement, and in a manner the foundation, of the piece he meditated, fupplied the reft himfelf, by employing a good number of perfons, and thofe not inconfiderable,

considerable, to disperse, by way of prologue to the performance, the miraculous birth of this infant; whereby, no affectation appearing in them, people were disposed to believe it. This being done, they brought certain discourses from Delphos to Sparta, which were industriously spread abroad every where: That the priests of the temple had in their custody some books of very ancient oracles, which they kept concealed from all the world, and of which it was not permitted, either for them or any other persons whatsoever, to have any knowledge; 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 the books in their keeping, was to take and carry them away.

All this being well 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 enquiry into every thing, not without affecting great difficulty, and asking endless questions for the full proof of his birth. At length, as 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 the world; and particularly that for which the whole contrivance had been cooked up. The sense of this was, *That it was more expedient and advantageous for the Spartans to elect no king for the future but the most worthy of their citizens.* Lyfander in consequence was to mount the tribunal, to harangue the citizens, and induce them to make this alteration. Cleon of Hali-carnassus, a celebrated rhetorician, had composed a very eloquent discourse for him upon this subject, which he had got by heart.

Silenus grew up, and repaired to Greece in order to play his part, when Lyfander had the mortification to see his piece miscarry, by the timidity and deser-

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tion 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 to the time it was to have made its appearance, that nothing of it was known during the life of Lyfander. How it came to light after his death we shall soon relate, but must at present return to Tiffaphernes.

SECT. III. *Expedition of AGESILAUS in Asia. Disgrace and death of TISSAPHERNES. Sparta gives AGESILAUS the command of its armies by sea and land. He deposes PISANDER to command the fleet. Interview of AGESILAUS and PHARNABASUS.*

(b) **W**HEN Tiffaphernes 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 refusal. His officers were all alarmed, not believing him in a condition to oppose the great army of the Persian king. For himself, he heard Tiffaphernes's heralds 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 beat 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 Tiffaphernes by a just and allowable deceit, he made a feint

(b) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 497---502. Idem, de Agesil. p. 652---656. Plut. in Agesil. p. 600.

feint of marching his army into Caria, the residence of ARTAX.
 that satrap; and as soon as the Barbarian had caused MNEMON.
 his troops to march that way, he turned short, and fell
 upon Phrygia, where he took many towns, and amas-
 sed immense treasures, which he distributed amongst
 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 con-
 trary, to deceive an enemy by the stratagems of war,
 is not only just and glorious, but a sensible delight at-
 tended with the greatest advantages.

The spring being come, he assembled all his forces
 at Ephesus; and to exercise his soldiers, he proposed
 prizes both for the horse and foot. This small induce-
 ment set every thing in motion. The place for exer-
 cises was perpetually full of all kind of troops, and the
 city of Ephesus seemed only a palæstra, and a school
 of war. The whole market-place was filled with horses
 and arms, and the shops with different kinds of mili-
 tary 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
 going 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 flour-
 ish, the best hopes must be conceived.

To give his soldiers new valour from the contempt
 of their enemies, he made use of this contrivance. He
 ordered the commissaries, who had charge of the booty,
 to strip the prisoners and expose them to sale. There
 were abundance of buyers for their habits; but for
 themselves, their bodies were so soft, white, and de-
 licate, having been nurtured and brought up in the
 shade, that they laughed at them, as of neither service
 nor value. Agesilaus took this occasion to approach
 and say to his soldiers, pointing to the men, *See there*
against whom ye fight; and shewing them their rich
 spoils, *and there for what you fight*.

When the season for taking the field returned, Age-
 silaus gave out, that he would march into Lydia.

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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, made his troops march directly for Caria; not doubting, but at this time, Agefilaus would turn his arms that way; the rather, because it was natural for him, as he wanted cavalry, to endeavour to make a rough and difficult country the seat of action, which might render the horse of an enemy usefess and unserviceable. But he deceived himself: Agefilaus entered Lydia and approached Sardis. Tissaphernes hastened thither with his horse, with intent to relieve the place. Agefilaus, knowing that his infantry had not had time to arrive, thought proper to take the advantage of so favourable an opportunity to give him battle, before he had re-assembled all his troops. 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, whilst he followed with the second line, composed of his heavy-armed infantry. The Barbarians did not sustain the first shock, but took to their heels immediately. The Greeks pursued them, and forced their camp, where they made a great slaughter, and a still greater booty.

(i) After this battle the troops of Agefilaus 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. (k) The king had already received abundance of 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

(i) Xenoph. p. 501, & 657. Plut. in Artax. p. 1022. & in Agefil. p. 601. (k) Diod. l. xiv. p. 299. Polyæn. Stratag. l. vii.

power the charges against him; for she had been entirely restored to favour by the king her son.

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As Tissaphernes had a 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 council, and all his forces, in seizing Tissaphernes. He lost no time, and sent to desire Tissaphernes would 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. Whilst he was in a bath, without sabre or 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 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. (k) 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
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(k) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 501. Plut. in Agesil. p. 601.

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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 could 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 give Tithraustes the satisfaction of removing out of his province, and of expressing his gratitude to him for having punished the common enemy of the Greeks, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabafus. 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 in 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 their 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 man, and had his failings.

The first thing he did was to establish 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

out regard to the service of the publick, to do honour to an ally, and to please his wife, who was Pisander's sister, he entrusted him with the command of the fleet; that employment being much above his abilities, though he was not without his merit.

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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 relation 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 it were inconsistent to expect from instruments so ill chosen.

(1) Agesilaus continued with his army in Phrygia, upon the lands of Pharnabafus's government, where he lived in the abundance of all things, 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 sense 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 Pharnabafus, and go over to Agesilaus, to whom from his revolt he had rendered great services; for he had a great body of troops, and was very brave. This officer, having entered Phrygia, had laid waste the whole country under Pharnabafus, who never dared appear in the field against him, nor even 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 Herippidas, (the chief of the council of thirty sent by the republick 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

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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 this whole expedition nothing so sensibly affected Agesilaus as the retreat of Spithridates. For, besides his being very sorry for the loss of so good an officer, and so 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, thro' 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, degenerate into minuteness and petulancy, and which, thro' an extreme affectation of virtue, becomes a real and dangerous vice.

(*m*) Some time after, Pharnabafus, 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 Pharnabafus upon the turf under the shade of a tree. When Pharnabafus 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

(*m*) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 510---512. Plut. in Agesil. p. 602.

was seen to pay homage to the Spartan modesty and simplicity. ARTAX.
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After reciprocal salutations, Pharnabafus fpoke to this effect: That he had ferved the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnefian war to the utmoft of his power, fought feveral battles for them, and fupported their naval army, without giving any room to reproach him with fraud or treachery, as Tiffaphernes had done: That he was furprized at their coming to attack him in his government; burning the towns, cutting down the trees, and laying wafte the whole country: That if it was the cuftom with the Greeks, who made profefion of honour and virtue, to treat their friends and benefactors in fuch a manner, he did not know what they might mean by juft and equitable. Thefe complaints were not entirely without foundation, and were uttered with a modelt, but pathetick, air and tone of voice. The Spartans, who attended Agefilaus, not feeing how they could be answered, caft down their eyes, and kept a profound filence. Agefilaus, who obferved it, replied almoft in thefe terms. “ Lord
 “ Pharnabafus, you are not ignorant, that war often
 “ arms the beft friends againft each other for the de-
 “ fence of their country. Whilft we were fuch to the
 “ king your mafter, we treated him as a friend; but
 “ as we are become his enemies, we make open war
 “ againft him, as it is juft we fhould, and endeavour
 “ to hurt him by what we aét againft you. However,
 “ from the inftant you fhall 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 Perfia’s flave, you may reckon that all the
 “ troops you fee before your eyes, our arms, our hips,
 “ our perfons to the laft man of us, are only here to
 “ defend your poffeffions, and fecure your liberty,
 “ which of all bleffings is the moft precious and de-
 “ firable.”

Pharnabafus answered, that if the king fent another general in his place, and fubjected him to the new-comer, he fhould very willingly accept his offer; that

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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 Pharnabafus, 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, whilst he could subsist elsewhere.

SECT. IV. *League against the Lacedæmonians. AGESILAUS recalled by the Ephori to defend his country, obeys directly. LYSANDER'S death. Victory of the Lacedæmonians near Nemæa. Their fleet beaten by CONON at Cnidus. Battle gained by the Lacedæmonians at Coronæ.*

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(ii) **A**GESILAUS 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 his great wisdom, disinterestedness, moderation, intrepid valour in the greatest dangers, and invincible patience in supporting the rudest fatigues. Of so 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 to 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, soften their note in the presence of a man meanly clad, and at his single word, however short and laconick, 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.

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(ii) Plut. in Agesil. p. 603, 604. Xenoph. in Agesil. p. 657.

* Ὡς περ μὴ αἰεὶ χρεῖσθαι ταῖς ὑπὸ θεῶ κεκραμέναις αἰαῖς περιεκάσας

All Asia was already in motion, and most of the provinces ready to revolt. Agefilaus had already re-^{ARTAX.} stored order and tranquillity in all the cities, had re-^{MNEMON.} instated 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 for his own person and the tranquillity he enjoyed in Ecbatana and Susa, and to find him so much business, as should make it impracticable for him to embroil all Greece from his cabinet, by corrupting the orators and persons of greatest authority in its cities with his presents.

(o) Tithraustes, who commanded for the king in Asia, seeing the tendency of Agefilaus's designs, 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 defections against Sparta. He knew, that the haughtiness of the Lacedæmonians, (for all their generals did not resemble Agefilaus,) and the imperious manner with which they treated their neighbours and allies, especially since they considered themselves as 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 to their tutors, and afterwards to their magistrates, they exacted a like submission from the cities in their dependance, 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, Corinth, entered into his measures: The deputy did not

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(o) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 502---507. Plut. in Lysand. p. 449---451.

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go to Athens. These three cities, influenced by those that 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 endeavoured 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 without or within Greece, 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 at the sound of their 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.

Thrasylulus, 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. Lyfander 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. The letter was intercepted. Lyfander, 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; but however continued his march to Haliartus, and called a council of war to consider upon 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
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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.

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Lyfander'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 which 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 house.

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 republick did not suffer so sordid a baseness to go unpunished, nor Lyfander's poverty, which was the strongest proof of his justice and virtue, to be treated as an obstacle to allying into his family. They were fined in a great sum, publickly 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 allying 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 enflame and gratify the lust of gain, is very rare, and well worthy of admiration; but in Lyfander, it was attended with great defects, which entirely obscure its lustre. Without speaking of his imprudence in introducing gold and silver

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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, brave indeed, well read in men, skilful in affairs, and of great ability in the arts of government, and what is commonly called policy, but who regards probity and justice as nothing; to whom falshood, 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 prophane 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?

(p) When Agefilaus was upon the point of leading his troops into Persia, the Spartan Epicydidas 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. Agefilaus did not deliberate a moment, but returned this answer immediately to the Ephori, which Plutarch has transmitted to us. (q) *Agefilaus 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 prevent it if possible. I received the command not 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 Agefilaus 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 re-called him to deliver Carthage from the dangers that threatened it. Here a victorious prince, ready to enter the enemy's country,

(p) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Idem in Agefil. p. 657. Plut. in Agefil. p. 603, 604. (q) Plut. in Apoph. Laccnic. p. 211.

try, 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.* ARTAX.
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On his departure he said, *that thirty thousand of the king's archers drove him out of Asia*; alluding in those words to a species of Persian coin, which had on one side the figure of 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.

(r) Agefilaus 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 in Persia with Cyrus, to keep it for him in trust, and in case of death to consecrate it to the goddesses.

(s) 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, the Lacedæmonians were like a river that grew larger as it removed from its source; or to a swarm of bees, which it is easy to burn in their hive, but disperse themselves a great way when they fly abroad, and 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 Nemæa, a city not very remote from Corinth, where a rude battle ensued. The Lacedæmonians had the advantage, which was very considerable.

(r) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. v. p. 350. (s) Xenoph. p. 514---517.

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able. Agefilaus 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.

(*t*) When the approach of Agefilaus was known at Sparta, the Lacedæmonians that remained in the city, to do him honour for the ready obedience he had paid to their orders, caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all young persons who were willing to aid their king, might come and list 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.

(*u*) 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, Agefilaus's brother-in-law, 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 king's assistance. 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 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 his affairs to be disconcerted and ruined for want of the necessary expences; that the richest king in the world should give place to his enemies in the very point 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.

These

(*t*) Plut. in Agefil. p. 605. (*u*) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 578. Diod. l. xiv. p. 302. Justin. l. vi. c. 2 & 3.

These remonstrances were free, but just, and solid. The king received them perfectly well, and shewed, by his example, that truth may often be spoke 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 fourscore and ten gallies, 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 Ægospotamos, used extraordinary efforts in this to retrieve his misfortune, and to obliterate by a glorious victory the disgrace of his former defeat. * He had this advantage, that in the battle he was going to give, the Persians would be at the whole expence, 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. Pisander had also strong motives to shew his valour upon 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 effect, he behaved with extreme valour, and had at first some advantage; but the battle growing warm, and the allies of Sparta betaking themselves to flight, he could not resolve to follow them, and died sword in hand. Conon took fifty gallies, and the rest escaped to Cnidos. 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.

(x) Isocrates makes a very just reflection upon the revolutions

(x) Isocrat. in Orat. Areop. p. 278---280.

* Eo speciosius quod ne ipso pugnaturus periculo regis, vic-
rum quidem Atheniensium sed turus præmio patriæ. *Justin.*
alieni imperii viribus dimicet,

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revolutions of Sparta and Athens, which had always their source and origin in the insolent prosperity of both those republicks. 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 ever occasion a people to change their conduct. Sparta became as haughty and untractable as before; and so experienced the same destiny again.

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 nume- “ rous 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, indulge me to speak with truth and freedom, “ I think quite otherwise. The cause of my apprehen- “ sion is, my having observed, that the decline of the “ greatest republicks has always been at the time they “ believed themselves most powerful, and that their “ very security has prepared the precipice into 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 extra- “ vagant measures: On the contrary, the companions “ of adversity, are modesty, self-diffidence and cir- “ cumſpection, 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 un-
 “ happy, 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 Cnidos is
 a mournful proof of what he says.

(y) Agesilaus was in Bœotia, and upon the point of
 giving battle when this bad 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 publick with a wreath of
 flowers upon his head, he offered a sacrifice of thank-
 giving for the good news, and sent part of it in pre-
 sents to his officers. (z) The two armies, almost equal
 in strength, were in view of each other upon the plains
 of Coronæa, when they drew up in 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. Xeno-
 phon says, that this was the most furious battle in his
 time, and 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 Orchome-
 nians to flight, and Agesilaus overthrew and routed the
 Argives. But both parties having learnt, that their
 left wing had been very severely handled and fled, re-
 turned immediately; Agesilaus to oppose the Thebans,
 and to wrest the victory out of their hands, and the
 Thebans to follow their left wing, that was retired to
 Helicon. Agesilaus at that moment might have as-
 sured himself of a compleat victory, if he would have
 let the Thebans pass on, and had charged them after
 in the rear; but carried away by the ardour of his cou-
 rage,

(y) Plut. in Agesil. p. 605. (z) Plut. in Agesil. p. 605. Xenoph.
 Hist. Græc. p. 518---520. & in Agesil. p. 659, 660.

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rage, he resolv'd to stop them with an attack in front, and to beat them by pure force. In which, says Xenophon, he shew'd more valour than prudence.

The Thebans, seeing Agesilaus advance against them, drew all their foot immediately into one body, form'd 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 sav'd his life; for they fought around him with exceeding ardour, and expos'd 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, sacrific'd a great number of Thebans to 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 forced to have recourse to what they had at first reject'd. They opened their phalanx to let them pass; which when they had done, as they march'd afterwards in more disorder, they charg'd 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 gain'd Helicon, elate with the success of the battle, wherein on their side they had always 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 inform'd 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 ask'd 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 them a guard to escort them in safety wherever they thought fit. ARTAX.
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The next morning Agesilaus, to try whether the Thebans would have the courage to renew the battle, commanded his troops to crown themselves with flowers, and the musick of the army to play, whilst a trophy was erected and adorned in honour of his victory. At the same instant the enemy sent heralds to demand his 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 Asia to the god, which amounted to an hundred talents*. These great men, no less religious than brave, never failed to express by presents their gratitude to the gods for their successes in arms; declaring, by that publick homage, that they believed themselves indebted for their victories to their protection.

SECT. V. AGESILAUS returns victorious to Sparta.

He always retains his simplicity and ancient manners.

CONON rebuilds the walls of Athens. A peace, shameful to the Greeks, concluded by ANTALCIDES the Lacedæmonian.

(a) **A**FTER the festival, Agesilaus returned to Sparta. His citizens received him with all the marks of the most real 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, baths, equipage of his

(a) Plut. in Agesil. p. 606.

* An hundred thousand crowns, or, about 22,500 l. sterling.

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his wife, ornaments of his arms, or furniture of his house. In the midst of so shining a reputation, and the 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.

(b) 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 it 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. He persuaded his sister Cynisca to dispute the prize in the Olympick games, in order to shew 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 expence. She was the first of her sex who shared in this honour. He had not 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 Lyfander'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: (c) Upon some affairs, which related to the government, it was necessary to consult Lyfander's papers, and Agefilaus went to his house for that purpose. In running them over, he fell upon the sheets, which contained at large the harangue of Cleon, for the new method of proceeding in the election of kings. Surprized

(b) Plut. de sui laud. p. 555. (c) Plut. in Agefil. p. 606.

* Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ ἡ δικαιοσύνη.

prized at perusing 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 Lyfander was, and how much they had been deceived in regard to him. But Lacratidas, a wife and prudent person, and president of the Ephori, interposed, by telling him, That it was highly improper to raise Lyfander 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 universally prevailed in it, against which it might prove no easy matter to resist. Agefilaus was of the same opinion, and the piece was consigned to silence and oblivion, as the best use that could be made of it.

(d) As his credit was very high in the city, he caused Telutias, his brother by the mother's side, to be declared admiral of the fleet. It were 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. Agefilaus soon after sat out with his land-army to besiege Corinth, and took the long walls, as they were called, whilst his brother Telutias attacked it by sea. He did several other exploits against the people of Greece at war with Sparta, which always argue indeed the valour and experience of the general, but are neither very important nor decisive, and which we thought, for that reason, might be omitted.

(e) At the same time Pharnabafus 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

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city,

(d) Plut. in Agefil. p. 606. (e) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 534---537. Diod. l. xiv. p. 303. Justin. l. vi. c. 5.

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city, formerly so flourishing, and at that time reduced to so melancholy a condition, gave him more grief, than he felt 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 artificers, the soldiers, mariners, citizens, allies, in a word, all that 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 re-instituted at their own cost, and by the spoils taken from them. What a vicissitude and alteration was this! Athens at this time had those for its allies, which had formerly been its most violent enemies, and for enemies, those with whom before it had contracted the most strict and most confirmed union. Conon, seconded by the zeal of the Thebans, soon rebuilt the walls of Athens, restored the city to its ancient splendor, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies. (f) After having offered to the gods a whole hecatomb, that is to say, a sacrifice of an 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.

(g) Sparta could not see without extreme affliction so glorious a revolution. It looked upon the grandeur and power of a city, its ancient rival and almost continual enemy, as its own ruin, which made the Lacedæmonians take the mean resolution of avenging themselves at once upon Athens, and Conon its restorer, by making peace with the king of Persia. With this view they dispatched Antalcides to Tiribafus. 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 the re-establishment of Athens; and of having formed the design of depriving the Persians of Æolia

(f) Athen. l. i. p. 3. (g) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 537, 538. Plut. in Agesil. p. 608.

Æolia and Ionia, and to subject them a-new to the republick of Athens, upon which they had formerly depended. By the second, he had orders to make the most advantageous proposals to Tiribafus his master could desire. Without giving himself any manner of trouble in regard to Asia, he stipulated only, 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 Agefilaus 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 manner of means, because the war augmented the authority, glory, and reputation of Agefilaus.

The most considerable cities of Greece had sent deputies at the same time to Tiribafus, and Conon was at the head of those from Athens. All of them 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.

Tiribafus 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 underhand 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

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prince was well satisfied with it, and directed him in the strongest terms to put the last hand to it. Tiribafus also laid before him the Lacedæmonians accusation of Conon. Some authors, according to Cornelius Nepos, have wrote that he was carried to Susa, and there executed by the king's order. The silence of Xenophon, who was his cotemporary, in regard to his death, makes it doubtful, whether he did not escape from prison, or suffer, as has been said.

Whilst this treaty was negotiating, several actions little considerable passed between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. It was also at the same time, that Evagoras extended his conquests in the island of Cyprus, of which we shall soon treat.

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(b) Tiribafus 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 further reserved to himself the isles of Cyprus and Clazomena, 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 that should refuse to agree to it. We have already said it was Sparta itself 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 domestick 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
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the others, by whom they found themselves univer-
sally abandoned.

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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 amongst the several estates; invincible in arms, and to the sword, but not to the gold and presents of the Persians; so remote were they in this respect from the character of the ancient Greeks their fore-fathers.

To comprehend aright how much Sparta and Athens differed from what they had been in former times, we have only to compare the two treaties concluded between the Greeks and Persians; the former by Cimon the Athenian (*i*) 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 Asiatick Greeks, gives the law to the Persians, imposes what conditions it 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 long vessels in any of the seas between the Cyanæan and Chalidonian islands, that is to say, from the Euxine to the coasts of Pamphilia. In the second, on the contrary, Persia, grown haughty and imperious, takes pleasure in humbling its conquerors, in depriving them, with the single stroke of a 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

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glorious

(i) Diod. l. xii. p. 74, 75.

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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 dissension 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. (*k*) 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 that 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.

(*l*) These two states, which might have carried their victorious arms into the heart of Persia, and have attacked in their turn the great king upon his throne itself; 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 little importance, and to exhaust the forces ineffectually against themselves, which ought to have

(*k*) Isoc. in Panegy. p. 143.
In Panath. p. 524, 525.

(*l*) Isoc. in Panegy. p. 132---137.

have been employed solely against the Barbarians, that could not have resisted them. For it is remarkable, that the Persians never had any advantage over the Athenians or Lacedæmonians, whilst they were 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.

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These divisions induced them to take such measures, as neither Sparta nor Athens would ever have otherwise been capable of. We see both the one and the other dishonour themselves by their mean and abject flatteries, not only of the king of Persia, but even of his satraps; pay their court to them, earnestly solicit their favour, cringe to them, and even suffer 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 little 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 for ever be the reproach of Sparta and Athens.

SECT. VII. *War of ARTAXERXES against EVAGORAS king of Salamin. Eulogy and character of that prince. TIRIBASUS falsely accused. His accuser punished.*

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 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. At the court every thing was determined by the intrigues of women, and the cabals of favourites, whose whole merit often consisted in flattering their prince, and soothing his passions. It was upon their credit officers were chosen, and the first dignities dis-

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posed of; by their opinion the services of the generals of armies were judged, and their rewards decided. The sequel will shew, that from the same source arose the insurrection of provinces, the distrust of the greatest part of the governors, the discontent and consequential revolt of the best officers, and the ill success of almost all the enterprizes 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.

(*m*) 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, of whose education great care was taken. He was distinguished amongst the youth by the beauty of his aspect, the vigour of his body, and more by the modesty and innocence of his manners †, which are 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 an height, as to give jealousy to those that 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

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(*m*) Isocrat. in Evag. p. 380.

* This Teucer was of Salamin, Xerxes.
a little island near Athens, celebrated for the famous battle under

† Et qui ornat ætatem, pudor.
Cic.

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 usurper, 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 foldiers.

He was already very powerful, and had acquired great reputation, when Conon, the Athenian general, after his defeat at Ægos-potamos, took refuge with him; (o) 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.

A. M.
3599.
Ant. J. C.
405.

A. M.
3605.
Ant. J. C.
399.

Evagoras

(o) Isocrat. in Evag. p. 393---395.

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MNEMON.

Evagoras and Conon, with the great 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 republick, had deserved. The satraps of Asia saw with pain their country ravaged by the Lacedæmonians, and found themselves in great difficulties, from not being in a condition to make head against 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 credit with the king of Persia, to Conon's being appointed general of his fleet. The celebrated victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidos was the consequence, and gave the mortal wound to that republick.

A. M.
3606.
Ant. J. C.
398.A. M.
3610.
Ant. J. C.
394.

(p) The Athenians, in acknowledgment of the important services Evagoras and Conon had rendered them with Artaxerxes, erected statues in honour of them.

(q) 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.

A. M.
3614.
Ant. J. C.
390.

(r) Being employed elsewhere by more important affairs, he could not keep his word with them so soon as he expected, and had engaged. That war of Cyprus continued six years, and the success, with which Evagoras supported it against the great king, ought to

(p) Pausan. l. i. p. 5. (q) Diod. l. xiv. p. 311. (r) Isocrat. in Paneg. p. 135, 136.

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

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 little considerable, as they also were the two following years. During all that time it was less a real war, than a preparation for war: (s) But when he had disengaged himself from the Greeks, he applied to it vigorously, and attacked Evagoras with all his forces.

411
ARTAX.
MNEMON.

A. M.
3618.
Ant. J. C.
386.

The army by land, commanded by Orontes his son-in-law, consisted of three hundred thousand men, and the fleet of three hundred gallies; of which Tiribafus, a Persian 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 an handful, in comparison with the formidable preparation of the Persians. He had a fleet of only four-score and ten gallies, and his army scarce 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 amongst 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 gallies, 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 attacked immediately 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,

(s) Diod. l. xv. p. 328---333.

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MNEMON.

Pythagoras, quitted it in the night with ten gallies, 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. Tiribafus, who commanded the siege, would abate nothing of his pretensions.

Orontes, the other general, jealous of his colleague's glory, had wrote 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 the force of presents, promises, and a complacency of manners not 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 dispatched orders immediately to Orontes, to seize Tiribafus, and send him to court in chains, which was instantly put in execution. Tiribafus, 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 cares, had no leisure at that time to take cognizance of the affair.

Orontes in the mean time seeing that the besieged made a vigorous defence, and that the soldiers of the army, discontented with the removal of Tiribafus,

quitted the service and refused to obey him, was afraid affairs would take a bad turn with regard to him. He therefore caused Evagoras to be spoke to underhand; the negociation was resumed, the offers made at first by the letter 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.

ARTAXI
MNEON.

A. M.
3619.
Ant. J. C.
385.

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. Nicoles his eldest son succeeded him, and inherited his virtues as well as 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 treading in the steps 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 further of them in the ensuing volume.

Eulogy and Character of Evagoras.

(y) Though Evagoras was only king of a little 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 effect 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 the blood

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blood royal, 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 fancy, that it could be supposed, as every other condition and station of life made a kind of apprenticeship necessary to its success, 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 it was necessary to act; 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 in instructing himself, in reflecting, meditating, 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 of 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 him attentive to all persons, who were capable of serving or hurting 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 each his proper post, to bestow authority according to merit, and to make the private and publick good promote each other. He neither rewarded nor punished his subjects, says
Isocrates,

* 'Εἰ τὸ ζῆτεῖν, ἀφροτιζέειν, ἢ βολεύεσθαι, τὸν πολιτικὸν χεῖρον δάτερον.

Isocrates, from the 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 enquiry and penetration.

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MNEMON.

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 sense 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 enterprize, without having first consulted the wise persons 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 counsel at all, or not to follow it when they do.

Intent upon discovering the excellent in every form of government and private condition of 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 virtue, 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

* Τυράννικον δὲ τῷ ὄντι πάντως διαφέρειν.

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MNEMON.

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 disguises, falshood, 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 whatsoever.

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 that 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, sciences, commerce, navigation, and military discipline, were seen to flourish at Salamin; insomuch that that 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 publick good? The condition of Evagoras, before he came to govern, seems to me to have contributed very much to it. The being born a prince, and the having never experienced any other condition but 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 despotick power. He had seen himself exposed to envy and calumny, and had been in danger

ger for his merit and virtue. Such a prince had only to be told upon his ascending the throne, what was said to a great * emperor; “ † You have not always
 “ been what you now are. Adversity has prepared
 “ you to make a good use of power. You have lived
 “ long amongst 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, 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 Tiribafus, 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 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 at his devotion. Without loss of time he sent deputies to Achoris king of Egypt, and concluded a league with him against the king of Persia. On another side, he solicited the

VOL. III.

E e

Lacedæmonians

* *Trajan.*

† *Utilissimus quidem ac bre-*

† *Quam utile est ad usum secundorum per adversa venisse! Vixisti nobiscum, periclitatus es, timuisti. Quæ tunc erat innocentium vita scis, et expertus es.*

visissimus bonarum malarumque rerum delectus, cogitare quid aut nolueris sub alio principe, aut volueris. Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 16.

Plin. in Panegy.

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MNEMON.

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 hearkened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy this occasion of taking arms against Artaxerxes; the rather, because 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 Tiribafus. He was so just 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 an 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 letter of Orontes; that is to say, of a declared enemy, studious to supplant his rival. Orontes was in hopes, from his credit at court, that the affair would not have been discussed in the usual forms, and that upon the memorial sent by him, the accused would have been condemned without further examination. But that was not the custom with the Persians. By an anciently established regulation, to which amongst 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 Tiribafus, 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, 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 he had made them sign sufficiently explained, whether his own,

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* Diodorus refers the decision shall soon speak; this seems very of this affair, till after the war improbable.
with the Cadusians, of which we

or the king's interests, were his motives for it. He did not deny his credit 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 Tiribafus 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 falshood, would for ever shut the door against calumny. How many innocents 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 publick tranquillity!

SECT. VII. *The expedition of ARTAXERXES against the Cadusians. History of DATAMES the Carian.*

(a) **W**HEN 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 as to the occasion of this war. Those people inhabited part of the mountains, situate between the Euxine and Caspian seas in the north of Media. The soil is there so ungrateful, and so little proper for cultivation, that no corn is sowed 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. Tiribafus was with him in this expedition.

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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 carriage beasts; which soon became so scarce, that an ass's head was valued at sixty drachmas *, and was very hard to be got 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, Tiribafus contrived a stratagem, which saved the king and army. The Cadusians had two kings, who were encamped separately with their troops. Tiribafus, who took care to be informed of all that passed, had been apprized, that there was some misunderstanding between them, and that their jealousy of each other prevented their acting in concert, as they ought to have done. After having communicated his design to Artaxerxes, he went himself to one of the kings, and dispatched 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 their whole credit. The fraud succeeded. The † pagans thought it no crime to use it with enemies. Ambassadors set out from both princes with Tiribafus and his son in their company.

As this double negotiation lasted some time, Artaxerxes began to suspect Tiribafus; 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

* *Thirty livres.* † *Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? Virgil.*

pend with a credulous and suspicious prince! Whilst this pass'd, arriv'd Tiribafus 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, Tiribafus 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 ſix-and-thirty millions of livres *, prevented his having an equal ſhare in the whole 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 his example, became ſo light, that they ſeemed rather to fly than walk. At length he arriv'd 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 ſurprizing, as the whole country about it was entirely naked, and bore no kind of trees. As it was the depth of winter, and exceſſive 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 not being able to reſolve to fell timber of ſuch exceeding beauty and ſtate- lineſs, the king took an ax, 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 confeſs Artaxerxes's generoſity 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.

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* Twelve thousand talents.

ARTAX.
M. NEMON.

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 ill success of his expedition, he became very much out of humour with the grandees 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.

(b) One of the principal officers that perished in this expedition against the Cadusians, was Camisares, by nation a Carian, and governor of Leuco-Syria, a province inclosed 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 amongst the Barbarians. It appears from his history of it, that no one ever excelled him in boldness, valour, and ability in inventing schemes and stratagemis, 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, than a noble theatre, and more exalted occasions; and perhaps an 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

(b) Corn. Nep. in vit. Datamis.

upon him at first to try the 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 him 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 surprize. 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 an 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 was in effect. 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 toils. The novelty of the sight drew the whole city after it: But nobody was so much surprized 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 an 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 Pharnabafus and Tithraustes, the two principal persons in the state, and even appointed him general in chief, when he recalled Pharnabafus.

When he was upon the point of setting out for that expedition, Artaxerxes ordered him to march directly

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against Aspis, who had made the country revolt, which he commanded in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia. The commission was little important for 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 an handful of men, and marched night and day; judging that diligence, without a great number of troops, was all that was necessary to surprize and vanquish the enemy. It happened according to his expectation, and the couriers dispatched by the king, met Aspis in chains upon the road to Susa.

Nothing was talked of at the court but Datames. It was not known which to admire most, his ready obedience, his wise and enterprizing bravery, or his extraordinary 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, apprized 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

* Docet eum magno fore in periculo, siquid, illo imperante, in Ægypto adverti accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regum, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunæ suæ; quo facile fieri, ut impel-

lantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res malè gestæ nunciuntur. Illum hoc majore fore in discrimine, quòd, quibus rex maxime obediatur, eos habeat inimicissimos. *Corn. Nep.*

to great dangers: That it was the custom with kings ARTAX. MNEMON. to attribute good successes to themselves and their auspicious fortune only, and to impute the bad to the faults of their generals, for which they were responsible at the peril of their heads: That he ran the greater risque, 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 a 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. (c) 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 feint concerted between him and his father-in-law, and followed him close, as if he designed to put his troops into a disposition for charging the enemy in two different attacks. The stratagem had 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

(c) Diod. l. xv. p. 399.

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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 common enough. His own eldest son, called Scismas, made himself his accuser, and discovered his whole designs 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, of which twenty thousand 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; never captain having better known how to take his advantages and chuse 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 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 in inaction before an handful of enemies. He therefore gave the signal. The first attack was rude; but the troops of Autophradates soon gave way, and were entirely routed. The victor pursued them for
some

some time with great slaughter. There were only a thousand men killed on the side of Datames. ARTAX.
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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, intreated an accommodation, and proposed to him, the 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 the 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 afforded 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 every man of honour, and how 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,

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mises, 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 piqued 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 heroick 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 master for the services he had rendered him, nor † any other pretext could sufficiently authorize.

I am surprized, that, comparable as he was to the greatest persons of antiquity, he has 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 shewn, 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 obedi-

ence (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.

C H A P. 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 the 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 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 Socrates's accusation and defence; 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.

* Socrates, cujus ingenium ram nullam reliquit. *Cic. de Orat.* variosque sermones immortalitati l. iii. n. 57. scriptis suis Plato tradidit, lite-

SECT. I. *Birth of SOCRATES. He applies at first to sculpture; then to the study of the sciences: His wonderful progress in them. His taste for moral philosophy: His manner of living, and sufferings from the ill humour of his wife.*

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(a) 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 Socrates often used in his discourses, that he was neither ashamed of his father's or mother's profession. (b) He was surprized 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. (c) He would often say, that he exercised the function 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 learnt his father's trade, in which he made himself very expert. (d) In the time of Pausanias, there was a Mercury and the Graces to be seen at Athens of his workmanship; and it is to be presumed, these statues would not have found place amongst those of the greatest masters in the art, if they had not been thought worthy of it.

(e) 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 the disciple of Archelaus, who conceived

(a) Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 100. (b) Ibid. p. 110. (c) Plat. in Theatet. p. 149, &c. (d) Paus. l. ix. p. 596. (e) Diog. p. 101.

ceived a great affection for him. Archelaus had been pupil to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philosopher. His first study was physicks, 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 (*f*) 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 it 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. (*g*) He found there was a kind of folly in devoting the whole vivacity of his mind, and employing all his time, in enquiries merely curious, involved in impenetrable darkness, and absolutely incapable of contributing to human happiness; whilst 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; 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.

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(*f*) Lib. iv. Memorab. p. 710.

(*g*) Xenoph. Memorab. l. i.

p. 710.

* Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit e caelo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis quaerere. *Cic. Tusc. Quaest. l. v. n. 10.*

Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis; et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante

eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocavisse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse; ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quaereret; caelestia autem vel procul esse a nostra cognitione censeret, vel si maxime cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre. *Cic. Acad. Quaest. l. i. n. 15.*

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It was so far from preventing him to discharge 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. It is difficult to carry the contempt of riches and the love of poverty farther than he did. (b) He looked upon it as a divine perfection to be in want of nothing, and believed, the less we are contented with, the nearer we approach to the divinity. * Seeing the pomp and shew 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 ego!*

(i) His father left him fourscore minæ, that is to say, four thousand livres, 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. (k) We find in Xenophon's *Œconomicks*, that his whole estate amounted to no more than five minæ, or two hundred and fifty livres. The richest persons of Athens were his friends, who could never prevail upon him to accept any share of their wealth. When he was in want of any thing, he was not ashamed

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(b) Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 731. (i) Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 640. (k) Xenoph. Oecon. p. 822.

* Socrates in pompa, cum magna vis auri argentique ferretur; *Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v.*

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 body 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 ought to have prevented both the want and the demand.

He generously refused the offers and presents of Archelaus king of Macedonia, 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 shew 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 servitutem is cujus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit (l).*

(m) The peculiar austerity of his life did not render him gloomy and morose, as was common enough with the philosophers of those times. (n) 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 piqued himself upon the neatness of his person and house, and could not suffer the ridiculous affectation of Antisthenes, who always wore dirty and ragged cloaths. He told him once, that through the

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holes

(l) Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6. (m) Xenoph. in conviv. (n) Ælian. l. iv. c. 11. & l. ix. c. 35.

* Socrates amicis audientibus: acciperet, ambitus fuit—Post hoc quisquis properaverit, sero dat; jam Socrati defuit. Senec. de Benef. l. vii. c. 24.

Emissem, inquit, pallium, si numeros haberem. Neminem poposcit omnes admonuit. A quo

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holes in his cloak, and the rest of his tatters, abundance of vanity might be discerned.

One of the most distinguishing 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 had attained, was the effect of his reflections and endeavours to subdue and correct himself; which would still add to his merit. (o) 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 took himself 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," says he, "if I were not angry:" (p) *Cæderem te, nisi irascerer.* Having received a box on the ear, he contented himself with only saying, with a smile; (q) *'Tis a misfortune not to know when to put on an helmet.*

Without going out of his own house, he found enough to exercise his patience in all its extent. Xantippe his wife put it to the severest proofs by her capricious, passionate, 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 (r) that he had expressly chosen her, from the conviction, that if he should be capable of bearing her insults, there would be no body, though ever so difficult to endure, with whom he could not live. Never was woman of so violent and fantastical a spirit, and so bad a temper. There was no kind of abuse or injurious treatment, which he had not to experience from her.

(o) Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 15. (p) Ibid. l. i. c. 15. (q) Ibid. l. iii. c. 11. (r) Xenoph. in conviv. p. 876.

* Contra potens malum et spicimus, et nostri sumus, ad apud nos gratiosum, dum con- vocemus,

her. She would sometimes be transported with such an excess of rage, as to tear off his cloak in the open street; (s) 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.*

(t) Some ancient authors write, that Socrates married a second wife, named Myrto, who was the granddaughter 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 offence they could invent. They pretend, that during the Peloponnesian war, after the pestilence had swept off great part of the Athenians, a decree was made, whereby, to retrieve the sooner the ruins of the republick, each citizen was permitted to have two wives at the same time, and that Socrates took the benefit 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, Paënetius, 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 Lettres, a dissertation of Monsieur Hardion's upon this subject, wherein he demonstrates, that the second marriage of Socrates, and the decree upon bigamy, are supposititious facts.

F f 2

S E C T.

(s) Diog. in Socrat. p. 112. (t) Plut. in Aristid. p. 335. Athen. J. xiii. p. 555. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 105.

SECT. II. *Of the dæmon, or familiar spirit of*
SOCRATES.ARTAX.
MNEMON.

OUR knowledge of Socrates would be defective if we knew nothing of the genius, which, he said, had assisted him with its council and protection in the greatest part of his actions. It is not agreed amongst authors, what this genius was, commonly called *The dæmon of Socrates*, from the Greek word *Δαιμόνιον*, that 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 have been prejudicial to him, without ever inducing him to act any thing: (u) *Esse divinum quoddam, quod Socrates dæmonium appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti, sæpe revocanti.* Plutarch, in his treatise intitled, *Of the genius of Socrates*, repeats the different sentiments of the ancients upon the existence and nature of this genius. (x) I shall confine myself to that of them, 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 man cannot penetrate into its darkness but by uncertain and confused conjectures: that those who succeed best in that research, are such, 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 conducing to the success or miscarriage of an effect or enterprize. This foresight and discernment has something of divine in it, exalts us above the rest of mankind, approaches 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 piercing judgment, joined with the most exquisite prudence. He might
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(u) Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 122.

(x) Page. 580.

call this judgment and prudence *Δαξιμόδιον*, something di-^{ARTAX.}
vine, using indeed a kind of equivocality in the ex-^{MNEMON.}
pression, without attributing to himself however the
merit of his wisdom in conjecturing upon the future.
The Abbé Fraguier comes very near the same opinion
in the dissertation he has left us upon this subject in
the (y) Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

(z) 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 going to engage in any bad affair, and
communicated it to him; and several instances are re-
lated, wherein they found themselves very unfortunate
from not having believed him. Now what other sig-
nification can be given to this, than that it implies, un-
der mysterious terms, 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 intend-
ed to lessen in his own person the merit of an unerring
judgment, by attributing it to 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 (a), the censure of arro-
gance and falsehood?

(b) God has always prevented me from speaking to
you, says he to Alcibiades, whilst 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 republick. Is
it not visible here, that prudence prevented Socrates
from treating Alcibiades seriously, at a time when grave
and severe conversation would have given him a disgust,
of which he might perhaps never have got the better?

(c) And when, in his dialogue upon the common-
wealth, Socrates ascribes his avoiding publick business

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to

(y) Tom. IV. p. 368. (z) Plat. in Theag. p. 128. (a) Memorab.
l. i. p. 708. (b) Plat. in Alcib. p. 150. (c) Lib. vi. de Rep. p. 496.
Apolog. Soc. p. 31, 32.

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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 (*d*), when he appears before the judges that were to condemn him, that divine voice is not heard to prevent him, as it was 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. Every body knows what his prognostication had been long before, upon the unfortunate expedition of 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 prophesy upon the event of it, without the aid of a dæmon's inspiration.

It must be allowed, however, that the opinion which gives men genii and angels to direct and guard them, was not unknown, even to the pagans. (*e*) 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.*

Ἄπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρασταεῖ
 Ἐὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τῷ βίῃ
 Ἄγαθός.

It may be believed with probability enough, that the dæmon of Socrates, which has been so differently spoken of, and thereby made it 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, and with the aid of a long experience, supported by wise reflections, made him foresee the events of those things, upon which he was either consulted, or deliberated himself.

I conceive at the same time, that he was not sorry the people should believe him inspired, or that he knew futurity by any effect of the divinity whatsoever. That
 opinion

(*d*) Apolog. Soc. p. 40.

(*e*) De anim. tranquil. p. 474.

opinion might exalt him very much in the sense 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.

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SECT. III. SOCRATES *declared the wisest of mankind by the oracle of Delphos.*

(f) THIS declaration of the oracle, so advantageous in appearance for Socrates, did not a little contribute to the enflaming 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, happening to be at Delphos, demanded of the oracle, whether there was a wiser man than Socrates in the world: The priestess replied there was none. This answer puzzled Socrates extremely, who could scarce comprehend the sense of it. For on the one side, he well knew, says he of himself, that there was neither much nor little wisdom in him; and on the other, he could not suspect the oracle of falshood, the divinity being incapable of telling a lye. He therefore considered it attentively, and took great pains to penetrate 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 himself in terms sufficiently intelligible; which made him extremely

F f 4

odious

(f) Plut. in Apolog. p. 21, 22.

* *Lycurgus and Solon had recourse to the authority of oracles to advance their credit. Zaleucus 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 Sertorius's kind had something divine in it.*

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odious to that citizen, and all who were present. He did the same by several others of the same profession; and all the fruit of his enquiry was, to draw upon himself a greater number of enemies. From the statesman 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 enquiries to the artificans, 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 abundance of wit, they pretended to be knowing in every thing, and believed themselves capable of pronouncing upon all things. His enquiries amongst strangers were not more successful.

Socrates afterwards entering into and 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 only God is truly wise, and that the true meaning of his oracle was to signify, that all human wisdom was no great matter, or, to speak more properly, was nothing at all. And as to the oracle's naming me, it no doubt did so, says he, by way of setting me up for an example, as if it intended to declare to all men, The wisest amongst you is he, who knows like Socrates, that there is no real wisdom in him.

* 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, que 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. i. c. 15, 16.

SECT. IV. SOCRATES *devotes himself entirely to the instruction of the youth of Athens. Affection of his disciples for him. The admirable principles with which he inspires them either for government or religion.*

AFTER having related some particularities 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 in forming the youth of Athens.

(g) He seemed, says Libanius, the common father of the republick, 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.

(b) 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, conversation, at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the publick 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 light. To be a publick 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

(g) In *Apol. Socrat.* p. 641. (b) *Plut. an seni fit. ger. resp.* p. 796.

* Habet ubi se etiam in privato late explicet magnus animus ---Ita delituerit (vir ille) ut ubicunque otium suum absconderit, prodesse velit et singulis et universis, ingenio, voce, consilio.

Nec enim in solus reip. prodest, qui candidatos extrahit, et tuetur reos, et de pace belloque censer, sed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute instruit animos,

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highest tribunals for the administration of justice. Many do this, who, though honoured with the fine names of orators, prætors, and senators, 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 to give wise council to those who consult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to inspire them with sentiments of probity, equity, generosity, and love of their country; this is, says Plutarch, the true magistrate and ruler, in whatsoever condition or place he be.

Such was Socrates. The services he did the state, by the instructions he gave their youth, and the disciples he formed, are inexpressibly great. Never had master a greater number, or so illustrious. Plato, though alone, were worth a multitude. (i) Upon the point of death he blessed and thanked God for three things; that he had endued him with a rational soul, that he was born a Greek and not a Barbarian, and that he had placed his birth in the life-time of Socrates. Xenophon (k) had the same advantage. It is said, that one day Socrates met him in the street, and stopping him with his staff, asked him whether he knew where provisions were sold? It was not difficult to answer this question. But Socrates having demanded in what place men learnt virtue, and seeing this second question put him to a stand: "If you desire to know it," 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,

(i) Plut. in Mario, p. 433.

(k) Diog. in Xenoph. p. 120.

mos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriam-
que cursu ruentes prenhat ac re-
trahit, et si nihil aliud certe mo-
ratur, in privato publicum nego-
tium agit. An ille plus præstat,
qui inter peregrinos et cives, aut
urbanos prætor aduentibus adfes-

foris verba pronunciat; quam
qui docet, quid sit justitia, quid
pietas, quid patientia, quid for-
titude, quid mortis contemptus,
quid deorum intellectus, quam
gratuitum bonum sit conscientia?
Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. iii.

(*l*) Aristippus, upon a conversation with Ischomachus, in which he had introduced some strokes of Socrates's doctrine, conceived so ardent a passion to become his disciple, that he grew lean and wan in effect of it, till he could go to the fountain-head, and imbibe his fill of a philosophy, that taught the knowledge and cure of evil.

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What is reported of Euclid the Megarian, explains still better how high the passion of Socrates's disciples ran, to receive the benefit of his instructions. (*m*) 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 to set foot in Attica upon pain of death. This decree could not extinguish nor suspend the zeal of Euclid. (*n*) 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 disease. I have before related some instances of this temper of his. (*o*) One day when Alcibiades was boasting of his wealth, and the great estates in his possession, (which generally blow up the pride of young people of quality,) he carried him to a geographical map, and asked him to find Attica. It was so small it could scarce be discerned upon that draught; he found it, however, though with some difficulty: But upon being desired to point out his own

(*l*) Plut. de Curios. p. 516. (*m*) Plut. in Peric. p. 168. (*n*) Aul. Gel. Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 39. (*o*) Ælian, l. iii. c. 28.

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own estate there: "It is too small," says he, "to be distinguished in so little a space." "See then," replied Socrates, "how much you are affected about an imperceptible point of land." This reasoning might have been urged much further still. For what was Attica compared to 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 this abyss of 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 at the highest employments. (p) One of these, named Glauco, had taken it so strongly into his head, to enter upon the administration of the publick 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 upon account of Plato his brother, was the only person that could prevail upon him to change his resolution.

Meeting him one day, he accosted him so happily with discourse, that he engaged him to give him the hearing. "You are desirous then to govern the republick," 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 confines of your country. You will make yourself known not only to Athens, but throughout all Greece, and perhaps your renown, like that of Themistocles, may spread abroad amongst the barbarous nations. In short, wherever you are, you will attract the respect and admiration of the whole world."

So

So smooth and insinuating a prelude was extremely pleasing to the young man, who was taken by his blind side. He staid willingly, gave no occasion to press him on that account, and the conversation continued.

“ Since you desire to be esteemed and honoured, no doubt your view is to be useful to the publick?”

“ Certainly.” “ Tell me then, I beg 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 should answer: “ I presume,”

continues 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 expences of the republick 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, whilst you are unacquainted with its revenues and expences.”

“ 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 republick and that of our enemies

“ by sea and land? Have you a state of them in writing? Be so kind to let me see it.” “ I have it not at pre-

“ sent,”

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“sent,” 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 enquiries 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 publick, than that of an high esteem for themselves, and an immoderate ambition of rising to the first places and dignities. “Have a care, 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 publick. This is a lesson for all ages, and may be very useful to persons in all stations and conditions of life.

(*q*) Socrates did not urge his friends to enter early upon publick employments; but first to take pains for the attainment of the knowledge necessary to their success in them. (*r*) “A man must be very simple,” said he, “to believe that the mechanick arts are not 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 at publick 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 publick good, and an 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

(*q*) Xenoph. memorab. l. iv p. 80. (*r*) Idem, p. 792. Euthy-

Euthydemus, upon providence, which is one of the finest passages to be found in the writings of the ancients. ARTAX.
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“ Did you never reflect within yourself,” says 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 dispense 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 occasions of life ; and continuing to observe upon the wonderful attention of providence in all that regards us. “ What say you,” pursued he, “ upon the sun’s return after winter to re- “ visit 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 track 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 or heat, if we were to “ pass in an instant from the one to the other, do you

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“not admire, that whilst this star approaches and re-
moves 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 provi-
“dence and goodness, not only attentive to our ne-
“cessities, 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 man-
“kind. 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 but observe, that all these ani-
“mals subsist only for man’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 ani-
mals; the wonderful gift of speech, by the means of
which we communicate our thoughts reciprocally,
publish our laws, and govern states.

“From all this,” says Socrates, “it is easy to discern
“that there are gods, and that they have man in their
“particular care, though we cannot discover them by his
“senses. Do we perceive the thunder, whilst it strikes
“through all things which oppose it? Do we distinguish
“the winds, whilst they are tearing up all before them in
“our view? Our soul itself, with which we are so inti-
“mate, 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 fa-
“vours, The GREAT GOD himself,” (these words are
remarkable, and demonstrate that Socrates acknow-
ledged one supreme God, the author of all being, and
superior

* Ωρα: ερησιότητα: προς τῆτο μεθα πολλὰ ἢ παντοῖα παρασκευ-
παρέχειν, αἱ ἡμῖν δὲ μόνον ὡν θεῶ- ἀχυσιν, ἀλλὰ ἕως εὐφρανομεθα.

superior to all others, who were only the ministers of ARTAX.
 his will,) “ this great God, who has formed the uni- MINEMON.
 “ verse, 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 suffi-
 “ ciently 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, con-
 “ sists in pleasing him, and we can only please him in
 “ doing his will.”

(s) In this manner Socrates instructed youth; these are the principles and sentiments he inspired into 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 that please them, he recommends above all things the making of them propitious 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 the directly 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 you.* The vulgar imagined, that there are things which the gods observe, and others of which they take no notice:

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(s) Xenoph. Memorab. l. iv. p. 803, & 805.

* *Ἐπι θεοῖς ἐστὶν, οἴμαι, ὡς εἰ καὶ χάρις, καὶ τὰναντία τέτυκται.* Plut. in *δαδίας ἀτὶ ἀντις εὐχόμενον* τὸν Alcib. l. ii. p. 148.

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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.

SECT. V. SOCRATES *applies himself to discredit the sophists in the opinion of the young Athenians. What is to be understood of the ironical character ascribed to him.*

SOCRATES found it necessary to prejudice the young people against a bad taste, which had prevailed for some time in Greece. A sect 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 the others who made a 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 *. (t) 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, whom they paid a great price for their instruction. There was nothing these masters did not profess: Theology, physicks, ethicks, arithmetick, astronomy, grammar, musick, poetry, rhetorick, and history. They knew every thing, and could teach every thing. Their greatest supposed skill lay in philosophy and eloquence. Most of them, like Gorgias, 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 an universal contempt for every body else; so that not a scholar quitted these

(t) Plat. in Apolog. p. 19, 20.

* Sic enim appellantur hi, qui philosophantur. Cic. in Lucul. ostentationis aut questus causa n. 129.

these schools, but was more impertinent than when he first entered them.

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It was necessary to decry the false eloquence and bad logick of these proud teachers in the sense of the young Athenians. To attack them in front, and dispute 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 no means to succeed against great haranguers, whose sole aim was to dazzle 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 ironick character. He was very ugly, and besides that, † had something very blockish 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.

When ‡ he happened into the company of some 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 atten-

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tion,

* Socrates in ironia dissimulantiæque longè 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 detrahens in disputatione, plus tribuebat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita, cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est illa dissimulati-

one, quam Græci εἰρωνείαν vocant. *Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 15.*

Sed et illum quem nominavi (Gorgiam) et cæteros sophistas, ut è Platone intelligi potest, lufos videmus à Socrate. Is enim percontando atque interrogando elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibuscum diserebat, ut ad ea, quæ ii respondissent, si quid videretur, diceret. *Cic. de Finib. l. ii. n. 2.*

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tion, and instead of giving him a precise answer, fell into his common places, and talked a great deal without saying any thing to the purpose. Socrates, after having praised (not to enrage) his adversary, entreated him to adapt himself to his weakness, and to descend so low as him, 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 scientifick person could not recede. When Socrates had once got him out of his entrenchment, 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 sophist's character, of which I have now spoke, who were in high credit with the great, who lorded it amongst the youth of Athens, and had been long celebrated for their wit and learning, could not be attacked with impunity; and the rather, because they had been taken in the two most sensible points, their fame, and their interest. (u) 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.

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(u) Plat. in Apolog. p. 23.

SECT. VI. SOCRATES *is accused of holding bad opinions in regard to the gods, and of corrupting the Athenian youth. He defends himself without art or fear. 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 out of 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 against him, and had drawn abundance of envy upon him.

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MNEMON.

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(x) His enemies having sworn his destruction, and perceiving the difficulty of the attempt, prepared the way for it at distance, and at first attacked him in the dark and by obscure and secret methods. 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 bring him into the theatre in a comedy, wherein the first seeds of the accusation meditated against him were sown. It is not certain whether Aristophanes was suborned by Anytus, and the rest of Socrates's enemies, to compose that satyrical 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, whilst he proposed an extraordinary esteem for the tragedies of Euripides, might be the poet's true motive for taking his revenge of the philosopher. However it were, Aristophanes, to the disgrace of poetry, lent his pen to the malice of Socrates's enemies, or his own resentment, and employed his whole genius and capacity to depreciate the best

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(x) *Ælian. l. ii. c. 13. Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 19.*

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and most excellent man, that ever the pagan world produced.

He composed a piece called *The Clouds*, wherein he introduced the philosopher, perched in a basket, and hoisted up amidst the air and clouds, from whence he vents 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, of a very bad, to make 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 this 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 impertinencies, 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 a 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 a refined raillery, and a salt, which could not fail of pleasing a people of so quick and delicate a taste as the Athenians, who were besides naturally invidious to 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 acted in the theatre, went thither upon the day to see the comedy, contrary to his custom; for it was not
common

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, upon 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 began with a dangerous maxim, and went out immediately, without considering the injury his withdrawing might do his friend's reputation. 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 publickly torn in pieces. He was present at this without the least emotion, and without expressing any discontent; and some strangers being in pain to know who the Socrates (z) intended by the play was, he rose up from his seat, and shewed 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.

There is no appearance, as I have already observed, that Aristophanes, though he was not Socrates's friend, had entered into the black conspiracy of his enemies, and had any thought of occasioning his destruction. It is more probable, that a poet, who diverted the publick at the expence of the principal magistrates and most celebrated generals, was also willing to make them laugh at the expence 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

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ple to the contempt of his person, and contempt proceeds to injustice. For the world are naturally bold in insulting, abusing, and injuring a man, when once he becomes the object of their general contempt.

These were the first blows struck at him, and served as an essay and tryal of the great affair meditated against him. It lay dormant a long while, and did not break out in twenty years afterwards. The troubles of the republick might well occasion that long delay. For it was in that interval the enterprize against Sicily happened, the event of which was so unfortunate, that Athens was besieged and taken by Lysander, who changed its form of government, and established the thirty tyrants, that were not expelled till a very small time before the affair we speak of.

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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 republick, and introduced new divinities: The second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring, that sentence of death ought to 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, and in the dark. His lessons were given publicly and in the view of great numbers of auditors. He had always observed the same conduct, and taught the same principles. What then could be Melitus's motive for this accusation, after such a length of time? How came his zeal for the publick good, after having been languid and drowsy for so many years, to awake on a sudden, and become so violent? Is it pardonable, for so warm and worthy a citizen as Melitus would appear, to have continued mute and inactive, whilst any one corrupted the whole youth of that city, by instilling seditious maxims into them, and by inspiring them with a disgust and contempt for the established

established government? For he who does not prevent an evil, when it is in his power, is equally criminal with him that commits it. (b) Libanius speaks thus in a declamation of his called the Apology of Socrates. But, continues he, though Melitus, whether out of distraction, indifference, or real avocation of 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 publick 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.

(c) As soon as the conspiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lyfias, the most able orator of his times, 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 pathetick strokes, (d) capable of moving the most obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleasure, and approved it very much; but as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetorick than the sentiments and fortitude of a philosopher, he told him frankly, that it did not suit him. Upon which Lyfias, 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 vulgar comparison, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or shoes embroidered with gold, to 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 sollicitation or entreaty.

(b) Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 645---648. (c) Cicer. l. i. de Orat. n. 231, 233. (d) Quint. l. xi. c. 1.

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entreaty. He brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their sighs and tears. Nevertheless, * though he firmly refused to make use of any voice but his own 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 but that of truth, and brightened universally 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 master-pieces of antiquity. I shall here make an extract from it.

(e) 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 shine 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 scarce knew himself, they had given such artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, though there was not the least word of truth in all they had advanced.

(f) I have already said, that their accusation consisted

(e) Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. Xenoph. in Apolog. Socrat. & in Memor. (f) Plat. in Apolog. p. 24.

* His et talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæsit ad iudicium capitis, nec iudicibus supplex fuit; adhibuitque li-beram contumaciam à magnitudine animi ductam, non à superbia. Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. i.

sisted of two heads. The first regards religion. So-^{ARTAX-}crates enquires out of an impious curiosity into what ^{MNEMON.} passes in the heavens, and in the bowels of the earth. He denies the gods adored by his country. He endeavours to introduce a new worship, and, if he may be believed, an unknown god inspires him in all his actions. To make short, he believes there are no gods.

The second head relates to the interest and government of the state. Socrates corrupts 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 republick; by declaring openly against the choice of the magistrates by * lot; by exclaiming against the publick assemblies, where he is 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. He glories in a pretended oracle, and believes himself the wisest of mankind. He taxes all others with folly, and condemns 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 mischiefs 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.

(g) Socrates began his discourse with this point, and declared

(g) Plat. p. 17.

* Socrates in reality did not approve this manner of electing the magistrates. He observed, that when a pilot, a musician, or an architect is wanted, nobody is willing to take him at a venture; though the faults of these people are far from being of the great importance of those errors, which are committed in the administration of the republick. Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 712.

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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.

(b) He then proceeds to particulars. Upon what foundation can it be alledged, that he does not acknowledge the gods of the republick; he, who has been often seen to sacrifice in his own house, and in the temples? Can it be doubted whether he uses divination or not, whilst it is made a crime in him to report, that he received counsels from a certain divinity; and thence concluded that he aims at introducing new deities? But in this he innovates nothing more than others, who, putting their faith in divination, observe the flight of birds, consult the entrails of victims, and remark even words and accidental encounters: Different means, which the gods employ to give mankind a foreknowledge of the future. Old or new, it is still evident, that Socrates acknowledges divinities, by the confession of even Melitus himself, who in his information avers that he believes dæmons, that is to say, subaltern spirits, the offspring of the gods. Now every man who believes the offspring of the gods, believes the gods.

(i) As to what relates to the impious enquiries into natural things imputed to him; without despising or condemning those who apply themselves to the study of physicks, he declares, that as for him, he had entirely devoted himself to what concerns moral-virtue, the conduct of life, and the rules of government, as to a knowledge infinitely more useful than any other; and he calls upon all those who have been his hearers, to come forth and belye him if he does not say what is true.

“ I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of in-
 “ stilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in re-
 “ gard to the worship of the gods, as the rules of go-
 “ vernment. 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

“ fold my instructions. I have an undeniable evidence ARTAX.
 “ for me in this respect, which is my poverty. Al- MNEMON.
 “ ways 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 amongst those who hear me, there are any that
 “ 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 em-
 “ ployment is to persuade the young and old against
 “ too much love for the body, for riches, and all other
 “ precarious things of whatsoever 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 pub-
 “ lick as private, have their source in the same prin-
 “ ciple.

“ 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 fa-
 “ thers, brothers, and uncles cannot, as good relations
 “ and good citizens, dispense with their not standing
 “ forth to demand vengeance against the corrupter of
 “ their sons, brothers, and nephews. But these are the
 “ persons who take upon them my defence, and in-
 “ terest themselves in the success of my cause.

“ (k) Pass on me what sentence you please, Athe-
 “ nians; but I can neither repent nor change my con-
 “ duct. I must not abandon or suspend a function,
 “ which God himself has imposed on me. Now he
 “ has charged me with the care of instructing my fel-
 “ low-

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“ low-citizens. If after having faithfully kept all the
 “ posts, wherein I was placed by our generals at Poti-
 “ dæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death
 “ should at this time make me abandon that in which
 “ the Divine Providence has placed me, by command-
 “ ing 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, I ho-
 “ nour and love you, but I shall chuse 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 tel-
 “ ling 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; whilst 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?*

(1) “ I am reproached with abject fear and mean-
 “ ness of spirit, for being so busy in imparting my ad-
 “ vice to every one in private, and for having always
 “ avoided to be present in your assemblies, to give
 “ my counsels to my country. I think I have suffi-
 “ ciently 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,

(1) Plat. p. 31.

* Πείσομαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν.

men, ἢ ἀριστὸν ἀνθρώπων; which was an

† The Greek signifies, O best of obliging manner of accusing.

“ occasion, I opposed the violent and cruel orders of ARTAX.
 “ the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has prevent- MNEMON.
 “ ed me from appearing in your assemblies? It is that
 “ dæmon, that voice divine, 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 republick; and that
 “ with the greatest reason; for I should have been
 “ amongst the dead long ago, had I been concerned
 “ in the measures of the state, without effecting any
 “ 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 free-
 “ dom. Every man who would generously oppose a
 “ whole people, either amongst us or elsewhere, and
 “ who inflexibly applies himself to prevent the viola-
 “ tion 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 con-
 “ tend for justice, if he has any thoughts of living, to
 “ remain in a private station, and never to have any
 “ share in publick affairs.

(m) “ For the rest, Athenians, if, in the extreme
 “ danger 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 con-
 “ tempt for you, but solely for your honour, and for
 “ that of the whole city. You should know, that
 “ there are amongst 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

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“ be consistent for me, after all the lessons I have
“ given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it
“ myself, and to belye in my last action all the prin-
“ ciples 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 shew favour by violating the laws, but to do jus-
“ tice 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 your-
“ selves to be accustomed to it; for in so doing, both
“ the one and the other of us equally injure justice
“ and religion, and both are criminals.

“ Do not therefore expect from me, Athenians,
“ that I should have recourse amongst you to means
“ which I believe neither honest nor lawful; especi-
“ ally upon 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 exist-
“ ence 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 your-
“ selves 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

* Socrates ita in judicio capitis pro se ipse dixit, ut non simplex aut reus, sed magister aut

dominus videretur esse judicium. Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231.

with which he spoke, without however losing any thing of the modesty natural to him. So noble and majestick a deportment displeas'd 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 tendency of mind, that they should appear in their presence with humble submission and respectful awe; an homage which they think due to their supreme authority.

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This was what happened now. 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 condemn'd 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 had been oblig'd to pay this fine, if Anytus and Lycon had not join'd him, and present'd themselves also as the accusers of Socrates. Their credit drew over a great number of voices, and there were two hundred and fourscore against Socrates, and in consequence only two hundred and twenty for him. He wanted no more than 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 declar'd Socrates guilty, without decreeing him any || penalty. For when the law did not determine the punishment, and when a 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

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had

* Odit iudex fere litigantis securitatem; cumque jus suum intelligat, tacitus reverentiam postulat. *Quint.* l. iv. c. 1.

† 500 livres.
‡ The text varies in Plato; it says, thirty-three, or thirty, whence it is probably defective.

tantum iudices damnarent an absolvent. Erat autem Athenis, reo damnato, si fraus capitalis non esset, quasi pœnæ æstimatio. Ex sententia, cum iudicibus daretur, interrogabatur reus, quam quasi æstimat onem commeruisse se maxime confiteretur. *Cic.* l. i.

|| Primis sententiis statuebant *de Orat.* n. 231, 232.

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had a right to chuse 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 chuse 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 domestick affairs, and all publick 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 expence of the republick for the rest of my life." * This last answer so † much offended the judges, that they condemned him to drink the hemlock, a punishment very much in use amongst them.

(n) 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 should

(n) Plat. p. 39.

* 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 (fifty livres) and that at the instances of his friends, who had bound themselves for him, he rose in his offer to thirty mina. Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 38. But Xeno-

phon 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 solicitations of his friends.

† Cujus responso sic judices exariterunt, ut capitis hominum innocentissimum condemnarent. Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 233.

“ I should have employed, according to the custom,
 “ flattery and pathetick expressions, and the timorous
 “ and creeping behaviour of a suppliant? But in trials,
 “ as well as war, an honest man ought not to use all
 “ sorts of means for the preservation of his life. It is
 “ equally dishonourable both in the one and the other,
 “ to ransom it only by prayers, and tears, and all those
 “ other abject methods, 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?*

(*o*) Plutarch, to shew, 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, *Axytus 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

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generous

(*o*) 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 judiciis reservavit, brevi detrimento jam ultimæ senectutis ævum seculorum omnium consecutus. *Quint. l. i. c. 1.*

ARTAX. generous sacrifice of a very advanced life, acquired
 MNEMON. and assured to himself the esteem and admiration of
 all succeeding ages.

SECT. VII. SOCRATES *refuses to escape out of prison.*
He passes the last day of his life in discoursing with his
friends upon the immortality of the soul. He drinks
the poison. Punishment of his accusers. Honours paid
to his memory.

AFTER the sentence had been passed upon him,
 * Socrates with the same intrepid aspect, 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 him during thirty days, which pas-
 sed between his condemnation and death. The cause
 of that long delay was, the Athenians sent every year
 a ship 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 of its de-
 parture, 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 conti-
 nuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had sufficient oppor-
 tunity 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. (p) In
 this sad condition he did not cease to enjoy that pro-
 found tranquillity of mind, which his friends had
 always

(p) Plat. in Criton.

* Socrates eodem illo vultu,
 quo aliquando solus triginta ty-
 rannos in ordinem redegerat,
 carcerem intravit, ignominiam
 ipsi loco detractus. Neque
 enim poterat carcer videri, in

quo Socrates erat. *Senec. in Con-
 sol. ad Helvet. c. xiii.*

Socrates carcerem intrando
 purgavit, omnique honestiore in-
 curia reddidit. *Id. de vit. beat.
 c. xxvii.*



H. Gravelot inv. et del.

J. P. Le Bas Sculp.

The DEATH of SOCRATES.

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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 composed also an 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 let him know that bad news, and at the same time, that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; that the jailer was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, *whether he knew any place out of Attica, where people did not die?* Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take the advantage of so precious an opportunity, adding arguments upon arguments to induce his consent, and to engage him to resolve upon his escape. Without mentioning the inconsolable grief he should suffer for the death of such a friend, how should he support the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in his power to have saved him, but that he would not sacrifice a small part of his wealth for that purpose? Can 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 amongst them, and to supply him abundantly with all he should have occasion for. Ought he to abandon himself to enemies, who have occasioned his being condemned unjustly, and can he

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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 a 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 give into his opinion, was for examining whether it was just for him to depart out of prison without the consent of the Athenians. The question therefore here, is to know whether a man condemned to die, though unjustly, can without a crime escape from justice and the laws? I do not know, whether, even amongst 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 “ upon 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 alledged, as to money, reputation, “ family, prove nothing, unless you shew 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 that commits it, whatever “ men may say, or whatever good or evil may be consequential of it. We have always reasoned from “ this principle even 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 of fixed “ and

“and determinate?” At each proposition he waited Crito’s answer and assent.

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“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 whatsoever 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 inviolably; no interest being capable to dispense with it. Now if at the time I should be ready to make my escape, the laws and republick 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 going to do, Socrates? To fly from justice in this manner, is it aught else but ruining entirely the laws and the republick? Do you believe, that a state subsists, after justice is not only no longer in force in it, but is even corrupted, subverted, and trod under foot by particulars? But, say I, the republick 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 republick? 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 effect 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 republick. Do you believe yourself free to break through engagements with her, 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

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“ 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 ho-
 “ noured and revered, to be complied with in her ex-
 “ cesses, and to be treated with tenderness and kind-
 “ ness, 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 suffered without mur-
 “ muring in all she shall decree? As for your chil-
 “ dren, Socrates, your friends will render them all
 “ the services in their power; at least the Divine Pro-
 “ vidence will not be wanting to them. Resign your-
 “ self therefore to our reasons, and take the counsel of
 “ those who have given you birth, nurture, and edu-
 “ cation. Set not so high a value upon your children,
 “ your life, or any thing in the world as justice; so
 “ shall it come to pass, 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 con-
 “ tinue 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 endea-
 “ vours 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 agreeing in effect that he had nothing to reply, continued silent, and withdrew from his friend.

(*g*) At length the fatal ship returned to Athens, which was in a manner 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

The jailer desired them to wait a little, because the eleven magistrates (who had the direction of the prisons) were at that time signifying to 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, *Oh 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.

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 occasion to this discourse, was a question introduced 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 shews that nothing is more unjust 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, intitled *The Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the

* 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.

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the soul immortal, and refutes all the objections against it, which are very near the same as are made at this day. This treatise is too long for me to attempt an abstract of it.

(r) Before he answers any of these objections, he deplores a misfortune common enough amongst men, who, in consequence of hearing ignorant persons, that contradict and doubt every thing, dispute, and believe there is nothing certain. “Is it not 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 the narrowness of their sense with them, 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 demonstrates the injustice of this proceeding. He observes, that of two things equally uncertain, it consists with wisdom to choose that which is most advantageous with least hazard. “If what I advance,” says he, “upon the immortality of the soul, proves true, it is good to believe it; and if after my death it proves 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, whilst

(r) Plut. p. 90, 91.

* Monsieur Pascal has expatiated upon this reasoning in his seventh article, and deduced from it a demonstration of infinite force.

whilst I hazard very little; and if false, I lose nothing; on the contrary, I am still a great gainer.

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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 life; in explaining what the hope of an 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 punishments 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 amongst 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.

“(s) 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 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 consequence of the education it has received, and the causes of eternal happiness or misery.

“ When

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“(t) 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 from deliberate will have 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 violence 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 abodes 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 thro’ all eternity in a series of joys and delights 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

(t) Plat. p. 113, 114.

* *Dæmon* is a Greek word, which signifies spirit, genius, and with us, angel.

† *The resurrection of the body was unknown to the Pagans.*

“ how high an hope is proposed to us. And tho’ 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 enchant 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 that he held the deadly draught in his hand, he talked in such a manner, as shewed 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.

(a) 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,

(a) Pag. 115---118.

* Cum penè in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem arudi, verùm in cœlum videretur ascendere. Ita enim censebat, itaque disseruit : duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animorum è corpore excedentium. Nam, qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, & se totos libidinibus, dedissent quibus coarctati velut domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinassent,

iis devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum à concilio deorum : qui autem se integros castosque servavissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper sevocassent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos, à quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patère. *Cic. Tuscul. Quest. l. i. n. 71, 72.*

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“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 hands.” 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 going to see dead in a little while. He confounds me with my carcase, and therefore asks me how I would be interred.” In finishing these words he rose up, and went to bathe himself in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He spoke to them for some time, gave his orders to the women 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 sunset,) the servant was so much affected with sorrow, that he turned his back, and fell a weeping. “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 to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates asked what it was necessary for him to do. “Nothing more,” replied the servant, “than as soon as you have drunk off the draught to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down upon your bed.” He took 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

“ this drink ; may one make a libation out of it ? ” Upon ARTAX.
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 “ At least , ” continued he , “ we may say our prayers
 “ to the gods , as it is our duty ; and implore them to
 “ make our exit from this world , and our last stage
 “ happy ; which is what I most ardently beg 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 drank the potion , they were no longer their own masters , and wept abundantly . Apollodorus , who had been in tears during almost the whole conversation , began then to raise great cries , and to lament with such excessive grief , as pierced the hearts of all that 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 admire 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 peace-
 “ ably , and blessing the gods . Be at ease , I beg you ,
 “ and shew 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 back , 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 pray don't 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 ;

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in the first year of the 95th 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 Socrates's disciples, apprehending the rage of his accusers was not fatiated by that victim, retired to Mægara to the house of Euclid; where they staid till the storm blew over. Euripides, however, to reproach the Athenians with the horrible crime they had committed, in condemning the best of men to die upon such slight grounds, composed his tragedy, called *Palamedes*, in which, under the name of that hero, who was also destroyed by a black calumination, he deplored the misfortune of his friend. When the actor came to repeat this verse,

You doom the justest 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 publick. Some believe Euripides was dead before Socrates, and reject this circumstance.

However it were, 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 discourses in favour of Socrates. The academy, the Lycaëum, private houses, publick 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 ac-

* Quid dicam de Socrate, cujus morti illacrymari soleo Platonem legens? *De nat. Deor.* lib. iii. n. 82.

count 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 amongst 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.

(b) 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 Σωκρατείον, that is to say, *the chapel of Socrates*.

SECT. VIII. *Reflections upon the sentence passed upon SOCRATES by the Athenians, and upon SOCRATES himself.*

WE must be very much surprized, 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 hear comedies every day, in which all the gods are turned into ridicule in a manner capable of inspiring the highest contempt for them. All Aristophanes's pieces abound with pleasantries, or rather buffooneries, of this kind; and if it is true, that this poet did not know what it was to spare the greatest men of the republick, 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

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pain, but with such joy, pleasure, and applause, that they rewarded the poet with publick honours, who diverted them so agreeably. What was there in Socrates, that came near this excessive licence? Never did any person of the pagan world speak of the divinity, or of the adoration due to him, in so pure, so noble, and so respectful a manner. He did not declare against the gods publickly 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, and which were only proper to depreciate and decry them in the sense 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 shew could not be agreeable to the gods without uprightnes of intention and purity of heart.

This wise, this illumined, this religious man however, with all his veneration and noble sentiments in regard to the divinity, is condemned as an impious person by the suffrages of almost an 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 determinate a contradiction arise amongst 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 publick, 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 immemorial time, and especially confirmed by the oracles, augurs, offerings, and sacrifices. It is by this standard they regulated their piety; against which they could not suffer the least attempt whatsoever: 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 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.

(c) What grossness did they not attribute to Juno and Venus? No citizen would have been satisfied, that his wife or daughters should have resembled those goddesses. Timotheus, the famous musician, having represented Diana upon the stage of Athens, transported with folly, fury, and rage, one of the spectators conceived, he could not make a greater imprecation against him, than to wish his daughter might become the likeness of 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 prophane, if we may be allowed to say so, than so gross and absurd a superstition.

However it be, the sentence, of which we have related the circumstances, will, through all ages, cover Athens with infamy and reproach, that all the splendor of its glorious actions for which it is otherwise so justly renowned can never obliterate, and shews at the same time, what is to be expected from a people, gentle, humane, and beneficent at bottom, for such the Athenians really were, but warm, proud, haughty, inconstant, 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, like the people, though calm and peaceable of itself, is subject to be frequently agitated by a violence not its 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 an height he carries the sub-

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limity 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 end 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 scarce persuade ourselves, that from so dark and obscure a fund as paganism, should shine forth such living and such glorious rays of light.

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. (*d*) This question has been discussed amongst the learned, but my plan will not admit me to treat it in its extent. The reader may see abbé Fraguier's dissertation in defence of Socrates, against the reproaches made him upon account of his conduct. The negative argument 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 publick games, from which at the same time he did not exclude the fair sex, and the behaviour of Socrates himself, who wrestled naked man to man with Alcibiades, give us no great idea of that philosopher's delicacy in point of modesty

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(*d*) *Memoirs de l'Academie des Inscript. Tom. IV. p. 372.*

modesty and bashfulness. (e) 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.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

I am the less surprized 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 (f) 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 publickly avowing their belief, and were not ashamed to associate him with an innumerable multitude of divinities, ridiculous and infamous even in their own opinions.

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 illuminated 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 but from 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

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(e) Xenoph. Memorab. l. iii. p. 783—786. (f) Rom. ch. i. ver. 17—32.

* Quæ omnia (ait Seneca) sapiens servabit tanquam legibus iusta, non tanquam diis grata--- Qm̄nem istam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longo ævo longa superstitione congestit, sic, inquit, adorabimus, ut meminimus cultum ejus magis ad morem, quam

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MNEMON.

publick 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 publick 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.

And 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 the philosophers, declared by the Delphick oracle the wisest of mankind, who, notwithstanding his internal conviction of 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

ad rem, pertinere---Sed iste, quem philosophia quasi liberum facerat, 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. *S. August. de civit. Dei. l. vi. c. 10.*

* Ecrum sapientes, quos philosophos vocant, scholas habebant dissentientes, et templa communia. *Id. lib. de ver. rel. c. i.*

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 publick: I mean, the unity of God, and the vanity of idols. Let us also compare the so much boasted death of this prince of philosophers, with that of our holy bishops, who have done the christian religion so much honour, by their sublimity of genius, the extent of their knowledge, and the beauty and excellence of their writings; a saint Cyprian, a saint Augustin, and so many others who were all seen to die in the bosom of humility, fully convinced of their unworthiness and nothingness, penetrated with a lively fear of the judgments of God, and expecting their salvation from his sole goodness and condescending mercy. Philosophy inspires no such sentiments; they could proceed only from the grace of the Mediator, which, *we are taught to believe*, Socrates did not deserve to know.

* Non sic ista nati erant, ut populorum suorum opinionem ad verum cultum veri Dei à simularum superstitione atque ab hujus mundi vanitate converterent. *S. August. lib. de ver. rel. c. ii.*

 B O O K T H E T E N T H .

 T H E A N C I E N T
 H I S T O R Y
 O F T H E

 P e r s i a n s *and* G r e c i a n s .

M A N N E R S a n d C U S T O M S o f t h e G R E E K S .

TH E most essential part of history, and which it 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 shew the genius and character of the people themselves. I shall confine myself to those of Lacedæmon and Athens, who always held the first rank amongst the Greeks, and shall reduce what I have to say upon this subject to three heads; their political government, war, and religion.

Signius, Meursius, Potter, and several others, who have wrote upon the Grecian antiquities, supply me with great lights, and are of equal use to me in the matters it remains for me to treat.

C H A P. 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 inconveniencies. 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 whatsoever 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 making them virtuous. As the pilot's end, says Cicero *, is to steer his vessel happily into its port, the physician's to preserve or restore health, the general's of an army to obtain victory; so a prince, and every man 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 publick, (*a*) *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 an hundred places esteems as nothing the most shining qualities and actions of those who govern, if they do not tend to promote the two great ends I have mentioned, the virtue and happiness of the people;

(a) Cic. de leg. l. iii. n. 8.

* Tenes-ne 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.

ple; and he refutes at large, in the first (*b*) book of his Republick, one 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 would be the most perfect, which should unite in itself, by an happy mixture of institutions, all the advantages, and exclude all the inconveniencies, of the rest; and almost all the ancients have believed (*c*), 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 despotick 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 beginnings, was always involved in commotions and revolts; which would infallibly have occasioned its ruin, as had happened at Argos and Messène, two neighbouring cities equally powerful with itself, if the wise foresight of Lycurgus had not prevented fatal consequences by the reformation he made in the state. I have related it at large (*d*) in the life of that legislator, and shall only touch here upon what regards the government.

(*b*) Page 338---343. (*c*) Polyb. l. vi. p. 458, 459. (*d*) Vol. II.

SECT. I. *Abridged idea of the Spartan government.*
Entire submission to the laws in a manner the soul
of it.

LYCURGUS restored order and peace in Sparta by the establishment of the senate. It consisted of twenty-eight senators, and the two kings presided in it. This august counsel, formed out of the wisest and most experienced men in the nation, served as a counterpoise to the two other authorities, that of the king's, 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 ballance between both. At length, to prevent this body itself from abusing its power, which was very great, a kind of curb was annexed to it, 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 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. (d) However, 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 their being out of favour with them, in order that there should be no connivance on their side, and the republick 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
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(d) Arist. de rep. l. ii. p. 331.

the princes of the blood royal, whom they had a right to imprison, which they actually used in regard to Pausanias. When they sat upon their seats 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 Agefilaus (*e*), 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 him it was not usual for the kings to behave in that manner, Plutarch relating this behaviour of Agefilaus as peculiar to him.

All publick business was proposed and examined in the senate, and resolutions passed accordingly in the same place. But the decrees of the senate were not of force, unless ratified by the people.

There must have been exceeding 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. (*f*) This reflection, which both Xenophon and Polybius make, shews the idea they had of the wisdom of Lycurgus, in point of his policy, and the opinion we ought to have of it. In effect no other city of Greece had this advantage, and all of them experienced many changes and vicissitudes, for want of the like 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

(*e*) Plut. in Agefil. p. 597. (*f*) Xenoph. in Agefil. p. 651. Polyb. l. vi. p. 456.

sovereign authority; whereas the greatest part of the other Grecian cities, abandoned to the caprice of private men, to despotick power, to an arbitrary and irregular sway, experienced the truth of Plato's saying (*g*), 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 shew how just and true that reflection is. (*b*) 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 swore alliance, and protection of each other. These three cities, governed alike by monarchical power, had the same advantages; except in the fertility of the lands where they were situated, in which the two latter carried it extremely. 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 engrafted into them, and confirmed by long habitude. 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. (*i*) Plato observes, that this salutary custom had banished from Sparta, and all the territory in its dependance, drunkenness, debauchery, and all their consequential disorders;

(*g*) Plat. l. iv. de leg. p. 715. (*b*) Plat. l. iii. de leg. p. 683---685. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 43. (*i*) Plat. l. i. de leg. p. 637.

orders; infomuch that it was a crime punishable by law to drink wine to excess even in the Bacchanalia, which every where else were days of licence, whereon whole cities gave themselves up to the last 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 mean, 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 to their being obeyed and respected themselves by their inferiors.

(l) Hence came the so much celebrated answers of Demaratus. Xerxes could not comprehend, how the Lacedæmonians, who had no master to controul them, should be capable to confront 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." (m) Upon another occasion, when somebody expressed their surprize, that being king he should suffer himself to be banished: *It is*, says he, *because at Sparta the laws are stronger than the kings.*

(n) This appears evidently in the ready obedience of Agesilaus to the orders of 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

(l) Herod. l. vii. c. 145, 146.
p. 220.

(n) Idem, in Agesil. p. 603, 604.

* Ὡς τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην καλλιῶν, ἀρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν. Plut. in Ἐπιθίας. Plat. in Lycurg. p. 58.

(m) Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. Agesil. p. 606.

† Μαθησομένους τῶν μαθημάτων τῶν

ed more * glorious to obey his country and the laws, than to command numerous armies, or even to conquer Asia.

SECT. 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 to 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 publick the use of gold and silver coin, was it not a wise amendment of what was too strained and excessive 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. Whilst 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

* Multo gloriosius duxit, si si bello superasset Asiam. *Corn. institutis patriæ paruisset, quàm Nep. in Ageſt. c. iv.*

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 application and employment, in a word, all his laws and institutions shew, that his view was to form a people of soldiers, solely devoted to arms and military functions. I do not pretend to justify absolutely this scheme, which had its great inconveniencies, and I have expressed my thoughts of it elsewhere. But admitting it good, we must confess, that legislator shewed great wisdom in the means he took for its execution.

The almost inevitable danger of a people solely trained up for war, who have always their arms in their hands, and what is most to be feared, is injustice, violence, ambition, the desire of encreasing their power, of taking advantage of their neighbours weakness, 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 horrid in private persons, and the ordinary commerce 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 war at sea to his citizens. The situation of his city, and the fear lest commerce, the usual source of luxury and depravation, should corrupt the purity of the Spartan manners, might have a share in this decree. But his principal

* Ἀπέργετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ναύταις εἶναι, ἢ πολεμεῖν. Plut. in instit. Lacon.
p. 239.

principal motive was to put it out of his citizens power 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 should foreign troops be raised and paid, fleets fitted out, and numerous armies kept up either by land or sea?

So that the design of Lycurgus, in rendering his city warlike and putting arms into their hands, was not, as (o) 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 end was, that, shut up within the extent of the lands 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 lands 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. In effect, let us imagine a little republick, like that of Sparta, of which all the citizens are inured to labour, accustomed to live on a little, warlike, courageous, intrepid; and that the fundamental principle of this small republick, 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 such a republick, 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?

(p) This was the end 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 as it might always suffice to its own happiness, and act upon principles of 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, Lyfander, Callicratidas, and Agefilaus; * regarding the city of Sparta as a model for all others, in the arts of living and governing.

The epocha of the declension of Sparta begins with the open violation of Lycurgus's laws. I do not pretend that they had always been exactly observed till that time, which was far from 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, Sparta, forgetting her ancient

(p) Plut. p. 58.

* Περὶ συμμαχίας τῆς τοῦ Σπάρτην εὐσχυμῶτος εἰς τὴν τελευτήν; πολλοί τε αἰὶν ὄσπερ καιδαρχὸν ἢ διδασκαλὸν ἀποδέχονται.

cient maxims, saw herself reduced to have recourse to the Barbarians, which 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, that is to say, 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 he established at Sparta. Another legislator, who had preceded him several ages, has a right to share this glory with him.

SECT. III. *Laws established by MINOS in Crete the model of those of Sparta.*

ALL the world knows, that Lycurgus had 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 studying of them. It is proper I should give some idea of them here, having forgot 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 institutions.

Minos, whom fable calls the son of Jupiter, was the author of these laws. He lived about an 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. (r) The end which he proposed in the establishment of these

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laws,

(r) Strab. l. x. p. 480.

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 amongst 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 Pyrrhick; in order, says Strabo, that even to their diversions, every thing might breathe, and form them for war. They were also made to learn certain airs of musick, but of a manly, martial kind.

(s) They were not taught either to ride, or to wear heavy armour; but in return, 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, as is that of the Thessalians, who passed for the best cavalry in Greece; but a rough, broken country, full of shelves and high lands, 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

Minos thought proper to establish in Crete a community of tables and meals. Besides several other great advantages which he found in this institution, as the 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 cementing friendship and unity between them by the usual gaiety and familiarity of the table, he had also in view the custom of war, in which the soldiers are obliged to eat together. (t) It was the publick that supplied the expences of these tables. Out of the revenues of the state, a part was applied to the uses of religion, and the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the publick meals. So that the women, children, and men of all ages, were fed at the cost, and in the name of the republick. 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.

(u) 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.

(x) 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 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

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by

(t) Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 10.
(x) Plat. de leg. l. i. p. 626.

(u) Athen. l. iv. p. 643.

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.

Amongst 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 (y) Homer, of much later date than the laws of Minos, were not unknown amongst them, though they set small value upon, and made little use of, foreign poets. (z) They were very curious in such knowledge as is proper to form the manners; and, what is no small praise, they piqued themselves upon thinking much and speaking little. (a) 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 Minos's institutions, which Plato (b) admires the most, was to inspire early into the youth an 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 institution; but to consider them not as prescribed and imposed by men, but as emanations of the divinity himself. Accordingly he had industriously apprized 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 most great and excellent * man observes, the king can do every thing over the people,
but

(y) Plat. de leg. l. ii. p. 680. (z) Idem, l. i. p. 641. (a) Plut. in Solon. p. 84. (b) De leg. l. i. p. 634.

* Monsieur de Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray.

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 deposites, 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 abroad the defender of his country at the head of armies, and 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 forgets, and devotes himself to the publick good. (c) Such is the idea 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 that prince, *the most royal of mortal kings*, βασιλεύτατον Ἰσητῶν βασιλέων; that is to say, that he possessed in a supreme degree all royal virtues, and was a king in all things.

(d) It appears, that the authority of king was of no long duration, and that it gave place to a republican government, as Minos had intended. The senate, composed of thirty senators, formed the publick council. In that assembly the publick 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*, held the two other bodies of the state in respect, 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

K k 4 for

(c) Plat. in Min. p. 320.

(d) Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 10.

* κίσμοι, ordo.

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 *Periæci*, apparently from their being people in the neighbourhood, whom Minos had subjected. As they inhabited an island, and consequently a country separate 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.

(e) A custom anciently established in Crete, from whence it was adopted by the Romans, gives us reason to believe, that the vassals who manured the lands, were treated with great goodness 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 masters, that their servants were of the same condition with themselves, and that to treat them with cruelty or pride, was to renounce humanity.

(f) 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 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,

(e) Athen. l. xiv. p. 639.

(f) Plat. in Min. p. 320.

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 the judges of the other world; for every body knows, that fable is founded upon real history, though disguised under agreeable emblems and allegories, adapted to recommend truth by the ornaments of fancy.

(g) It was, according to fabulous tradition, a law established from all times, 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 injustices. Princes, who had been cruel and tyrannical, appearing before their judges in all the pomp and splendor 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 shew, 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 inalice pursued them even to this last tribunal, and found means to have them doomed for ever 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 other for the Europeans; and Minos over them to decide supremely in cases of doubt and obscurity. Their tribunal is situated in a place called *The Field of Truth*, because neither falsehood nor calumny can approach it. The greatest prince must appear there, as soon as he

has

has 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 be found guilty of crimes, which are of a nature to be expiated, he is confined in Tartarus for a certain time only, and with assurance of being released, as soon as he shall be sufficiently purified. But if his crimes are unpardonable, such as injustice, perjury, and the oppression of his people, he is cast into the same Tartarus, there to suffer eternal miseries. The just, on the contrary, of whatsoever condition they are, are conducted into the blest abodes of peace and joy, to partake of a felicity which shall 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 image the extraordinary happiness Crete enjoyed under the wise government of Minos? This happiness did not expire with him. (b) The laws he established, subsisted in all their vigour even in Plato's time; that is to say, more than nine hundred years after. (i) And they were considered as 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: (k) Διὸς μέγ' ἄλλ' ὁ ἀριστεύς; the most exalted praise, according to him, that can be given to a mortal, and which that poet ascribes only to Minos.

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Notwith-

(b) Plat. in Min. p. 321. (i) Idem, p. 319. (k) Odyss. T. ver. 179.

* Et Jovis arcanis Minos admittus. 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.

Notwithstanding so shining and solid a merit, the theatres of Athens resounded with nothing so much as imprecations against the memory of Minos; and Socrates, in the dialogue of Plato I have already often cited, observes upon, and gives the reason for them: But first he makes a reflection well worthy of being weighed. "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 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; and on the contrary another 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 Athenians hatred of 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 they never fail to let fly 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

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscip. Tom. III.

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 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 a degree of thinking that no gain was base, enemies of labour and regularity of life, professed liars and knaves; so that to *Cretise* became a proverb amongst 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, (it is believed of Epimenides) who paints them in colours much to their dishonour; but this change of manners, in whatever time it might arrive, does not at all affect the probity of the ancient Cretans, nor the glory of Minos their king.

(1) 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 the 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 conjunctures. Athens, after having long been

(1) Plat. p. 320.

* *Κρητες αει ψευται και βηλια, always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.*
245:18; 252:1. The Cretans are Titus i. 12.

been governed by kings, and afterwards by archons, assumed entire liberty, which gave place however for some years to the tyrannick power of the Pisistratides, but was soon after re-established, and subsisted with splendor 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 amidst 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 establishment, the different parts of which the republick consisted, the council or senate of the five hundred, the assemblies of the people, the different tribunals for the administration of justice, the revenues or finances of the republick. 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 (*m*).

SECT. I. *Foundation of the government of Athens according to SOLON's plan.*

(*n*) **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 superintendance in religious affairs and all offices were confided; the labourers or husbandmen; and the artisans. He had proposed the establishment of a kind of equality between the three orders. For if the nobles were considerable by their honours and dignities, the husbandmen had the advantage of their utility to the publick, and the necessity there was for their labours; and the artisans had

(*m*) Vol. II.

(*n*) Plut. in Thef. p. 10, 11.

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.

(o) Solon's great principle was to establish as much as possible a kind of equality amongst his citizens; which he regarded with reason as the foundation and essential point of liberty. He resolved therefore to leave the publick 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 *Pentacosiomedimni*, 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 only classes the magistrates and commanders were chosen. All the other citizens, who were below these three classes, and had less revenues, were comprized 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 in the sequel. I do not know whether Solon foresaw it, but he used to say, (p) that the people were never more obedient

(o) Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

(p) Ibid. p. 110.

* It is believed they were so in the middle were termed *Zugitæ*; their place was between the *Thetæ* and the *Thranitæ*.
as in the galleys those who rowed

dient and submissive, than when they possessed neither too much nor too little liberty: Which comes very near Galba's expression, (*q*) 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.

(*r*) The people of Athens, being become more haughty after their victories over the Persians, pretended to have a right to share in all the publick offices and the magistracy; and Aristides, to prevent the disorders which too tenacious opposition might have occasioned, thought proper to give way to them in this point. (*s*) 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.

(*t*) The citizens of the three first classes paid every year a certain sum of money, to be laid up in the publick 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, as their revenues augmented, the people were allowed to rise to a superior class.

If (*u*) Plutarch may be believed, Solon formed two councils, which were a kind of double limitation to fix and temper 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 new lustre by augmenting its power. The second was the council of the Four hundred, that is, an hundred of each tribe; for Cecrops, 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, all affairs were

(*q*) Tacit. Hist. l. x. c. 16.

(*s*) Xenoph. de rep. Athen. p. 691.

(*u*) In Solon. p. 88.

* Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.

(*r*) Plut. in Aristid. p. 332.

(*t*) Pollux. l. viii. c. 16.

† One thousand French crowns.

‡ Five hundred livres.

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.

SECT. II. *Of the inhabitants of Athens.*

A. M. 3690.
Ant. J. C. 314.
(x) THERE were three sorts of inhabitants of Athens: Citizens, strangers, and servants. In the account taken by Demetrius Phalæreus in the cxvith 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 Cecrops, and less under Pericles.

1. *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. (y) We have seen that Pericles restored this law to all its force, which had not been exactly observed, and which he himself some small time after infringed. The people could 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

(x) Athen. l. vi. p. 272.

(y) Vol. III.

* The text says, *μυριαδας τεσσαρακοντα*, four hundred thousand, which is a manifest error.

as to Hippocrates; and even kings have sometimes canvassed 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 inrolled upon the list of citizens, after having taken an oath; and it was only in virtue of that publick and solemn act, that they became members of the state. The form of this oath is exceedingly remarkable, which Stobæus and (z) 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 be. I will not bring my country into a worse condition than I found it, but will use my utmost endeavours to make it more 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 their country into the hearts of the young citizens.

The whole people at first had been divided into four tribes, and afterwards into ten. Each tribe was subdivided into several parts, which were called *Δῆμοι*, *Pagi*. It was by these two titles the citizens were described in the publick acts. *Melitus, è tribu Cecropide, è pago Pittbenfi.*

2. *Of the strangers.*

I call those by that name, who being of a foreign country,

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country,

(z) Pollux, l. viii. c. 9.

country, came to settle at Athens, or in Attica, whether for the sake of commerce, or the exercising any trade. They were termed μέτοικοι, *inquilini*. They had no share in the government, nor votes 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 held to observe all the laws of the republick, 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. (a) 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 publick revenues; a kind of men who in all times have been very little sensible 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.*

3. 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 publickly in them. Part of their masters estate consisted in them, who disposed absolutely of them, but generally treated them with great humanity. (b) Demosthenes observes, in one of his harangues, that the condition

(a) Plut. in Flamin. p. 375.

(b) Philip. 3.

* *Thais patri se commendavit in clientelam & fideam: Nobis de-* dit sese. *Eunuch. Act 5. scen. ult.*
 † *Six livres.*

dition of servants was infinitely more gentle at 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!

(c) 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. (d) 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; and the same grace was always granted them by the publick, when the necessity of the times obliged the state to arm and list them for the war amongst 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 republick to the very brink of destruction.

(e) 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 men well, and for the sake of habituating humanity and benevolence. 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*,

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(c) Plut. de superst. p. 166. in Catone, p. 338, 339.

(d) Plaut. in Cæsin.

(e) Plut.

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 publick expence till its death.

SECT. VI. *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, an 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 an 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 publick 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 names 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 enquiry 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

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*, and this rank was decided by lot. This 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. This 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 Πρόεδροι, 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. He was charged with the publick seal, as also 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 *goddesses of good counsel* ‡, 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 scrutiny, in putting a bean into the urn. If the number of the white beans carried it, the question passed, otherwise it was rejected. This sort of decree was called Ψήφισμα, or Προβουλευμα, 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 shews 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 ex-

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pected

* Πρύτανεις.

† He was called Ἐπιστάτης.

‡ Βούλαια, βούλαια.

pected in a confused and tumultuous assembly, composed of a great number of citizens, most of them without education, capacity, or much zeal for the publick 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 besides a method judiciously contrived for supporting a wise ballance 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; wars, 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.

SECT. IV. *Of the Areopagus.*

THIS council took its name from the place where it assembled, called * *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 attribute 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.

This senate had the care of seeing the laws duly observed, of inspecting the manners of the people, and especially

* Ἀρειῶν πύργος.

especially of judging in criminal cases. They held their sittings in an open place, and during the night. The former very probably to avoid being under the same roof with the criminals, and not to defile themselves by such a commerce with them; the latter, that they might not be softened by the sight of the guilty, and might judge according to justice and the laws. It was for the same reason, the orators were not permitted to use their 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 the sanguinary inclination, as the mark of a very wicked disposition, which might one day prove fatal to many, if he were 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. (u) 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 (x), 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 se-

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ate,

(u) Cohort. ad Græc.

(x) Acts xvii. 18---20.

* Nec mihi videntur Areopagitæ, cum damnaverunt puerum oculos coturnicum eruentem, aliud judicasse, quam id signum

esse perniciosissimæ mentis, multisque malo futuræ si adolevisset. *Quintil.* l. v. c. 9.

nate, thinks he makes a great encomium upon it, in comparing it with the Areopagus. (y) *Senatus*, "Ἀρεοπαγῶν, *nil constantius, nil severius, nil fortius*. Cicero must have conceived a very advantageous 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 had so great a part, with the establishment of the Areopagus, that he ascribes to Solon; and makes no 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 victory was useful to the republick 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 republick was at that time "directed by the wise counsels of that august senate."

It appears from this passage of Cicero's, that the Areopagus had a great share in the government, and I do not doubt but it was consulted upon important affairs. Cicero here perhaps may 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 publick 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 his admission, attempted to weaken its authority, and attained his point: Which is a great blot in his reputation.

(y) *Ad Attic. l. i. Ep. 13.*

* *Quamvis Themistocles jure laudetur, et sit ejus nomen, quàm Solonis, illustrius, citeturque Salamis clarissimæ testis victoriæ, quæ anteponatur consilio Solonis ei, quo primùm constituit Areopagitas: non minùs præclarum hoc, quàm illud, judicandum est. Illud enim semel profuit, hoc semper proderit civitati: hoc con-*

filio leges Atheniensium, hoc majorum instituta servantur. Et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum joverit: at ille adjuvit Themistoclem. Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatus ejus, qui à Solone erat constitutus. Offic. l. i. n. 75.

SECT. V. *Of the Magistrates.*

OF these a great number were established for different functions. I shall speak only of the Archons, who are the most 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 only to one. When Solon was commissioned to reform the government, he found them upon this foot, and 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 denominated from him: * *Under such an Archon such a battle was fought.* The second was called THE KING, which was the remains and footsteps 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, of which he had so long preserved some part. 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 offices, 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.

* From thence he was also called Ἐπιώνυμος.

SECT. VI. *Of the assemblies of the people.*

THESSE 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 express proclamation.

The place for the assembly was not fixed. Sometimes it was the publick market-place, sometimes a part of the city near the citadel, called Πύξ, 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 set down.

All the citizens, poor as well as rich, had a right to give their suffrages. They were liable to a penalty, who failed of being present at the assembly, or who came too late; and to induce their punctual attendance, a reward was annexed to it, at first of an obolus, which was the sixth part of a drachma, then of three oboli, which made about five pence French.

The assembly always began with sacrifices and prayers, in order for the obtaining 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 publick 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 χειροτονεῖν. The
assembly

assembly was sometimes adjourned till another day, because it was too late for the number of those that 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 *small stone*, because they were sometimes used in giving suffrages by scrutiny.

All the great affairs of the republick 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 enquired 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 republick; 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 people's power 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 republick; 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 multitude 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.

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 it remains for me to say further upon the government of Athens.

SECT. 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 this it was that rendered their power so great and considerable. (z) 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 is 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. Whilst they sat in judgment, they held in their hands a kind
of

(z) Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 664.

of scepter, which was the mark of their dignity, and laid it down when they withdrew.

The judges salary 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 publick, and exhausted the treasury without much enriching particulars. We may judge of this from what is related in Aristophanes's 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 publick 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 a head *per* day. This appears to be annually, including all of them, only an hundred and fifty talents †. The calculation is easy. The 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 in consequence one hundred and fifty in ten months. According to this calculation, the most assiduous judge gained only seventy-five livres (about three guineas) 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 publick treasury; to the orators, who incessantly flattered the people; and to those who were employed in the government and army. I have extracted this remark

* About 280,000 l. sterling.

† About 7000 l. sterling.

mark from the works of Father Brumoi the Jesuit; with which I shall make very free, when I come to speak of publick shews and dramattick representations.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Amphictyons.*

THE famous council of the Amphictyons is introduced here, though not particular to the Athenians, but common to all Greece, because it is often mentioned in the Grecian history, and I do not know whether I shall have a more natural occasion to speak of it.

The assembly of the Amphictyons was in a manner the holding of a general assembly of the states of Greece. The establishment of it is attributed to Amphictyon, king of Athens and son of Deucalion, who gave them his 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 that union to undertake the defence of each other, and be mutually vigilant for 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 frequently 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; (a) Themistocles, in the speech he made to the Amphictyons to prevent that design from taking effect, seems to insinuate, that there were only

(a) Plut. in Themist. p. 122.

only one-and-thirty cities at that time which had this right.

Each city sent two deputies, and in consequence 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 amongst them.

The Amphictyons had full power to discuss and determine finally in all differences which might arise between the Amphictyonick 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 spoke elsewhere, are an evident proof of this power.

Before they were installed into this body, they took a very remarkable oath, of which * Æschines has preserved the form; it runs to this effect: “ I swear that
 “ I will never destroy any of the cities honoured with
 “ the right of sitting in the Amphictyonick council, nor
 “ turn their running waters out of their course either
 “ in times of war or peace: 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 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 execrations.
 “ That if any one infringes any thing contained in
 “ the

“ the oath I have now taken, whether private person, city, or people, may that person, city, or people, be deemed accursed; and in that acceptation, experience the whole vengeance of Apollo, Latona, Diana, and Minerva the fore-knower. 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 be themselves and their children 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 amongst 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 in virtue of their office. This Demosthenes reproaches him with in his third Philippick; *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 the Grecian liberty, by which the Athenian orator images the base and abject subjection of the greatest lords in Philip's court.

If the reader desires a further knowledge of what relates to the Amphictyons, the dissertations of Monsieur Valois (*a*) may be consulted, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, wherein this subject is treated with great extent and erudition.

SECT. IX. *Of the revenues of Athens.*

THE revenues *, according to the passage of Aristophanes which I have cited above, and in consequence as they stood in the time of the Peloponnesian war, amounted to two thousand talents, that is to say, to six millions of livres. They were generally reduced to four species.

1. The first relates to the revenues arising from agriculture, the sale of woods, the produce of mines, and other funds of a like nature, appertaining to the publick. Amongst these may be included the duties upon the import and export of merchandize, and the taxes levied upon the inhabitants of the city, as well natives as strangers.

The history of Athens often mentions the silver mines of Laurium, which was a mountain situate between the Piræum 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 publick might gain by industriously working these mines, from the example of the many persons they had enriched. (*b*) Hipponicus lett 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 mina, about two pounds five shillings. 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 species of revenue were the contributions paid the Athenians by the allies for the com-

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(*a*) Vol. III.

(*b*) Pag. 925.

* Τέλη.

one hundred drachmas a mina, and sixty minæ a talent.

† De ration. redituum.

‡ Six oboli made a drachmæ,

mon expences of the war. At first, under Aristides, they amounted to only four hundred and sixty talents*. Pericles augmented them almost a third, and raised them to six hundred, and some time after they were run up 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 the allies, and the most solemn engagements to the contrary.

3. A third sort of revenue were the extraordinary capitation taxes, levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as strangers, in pressing occasions and emergencies of the state.

4. The fines laid upon persons by the judges for different misdemeanors, were applied to the uses of the publick, and laid up in the treasury; except the tenth part of them, which was consecrated to Minerva, and a fiftieth to the other divinities.

The most natural and legal application of these different revenues of the republick, was in paying the troops both by sea and land, building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing the publick buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But the greatest part of them, especially after Pericles's time, was misapplied to unnecessary uses, and often consumed in frivolous expences; games, feasts, and shews, which cost immense sums, and were of no manner of utility to the state.

SECT. 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 as much may be said of almost all the people of Greece) were dancing, musick, hunting, fencing, riding, polite learning, and philosophy. It may be observed that I

speak

* A talent was worth a thousand crowns.

ſpeak generally, and treat very ſlightly theſe ſeveral articles.

1. *Dancing. Muſick.*

Dancing is one of the exerciſes of the body, cultivated by the Greeks with great attention. It made a part of what the ancients called *the Gymnaſtick*, divided, according to * Plato, into two kinds, *the Orcheſtrick*, which takes its name from the dance, and *the Paleſtrick* †, ſo called from a Greek word 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 uſes of ſociety.

Dancing had another end, and taught 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.

Muſick 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. (c) Polybius, a grave and ſerious hiſtorian, and who is certainly worthy of belief, attributes 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: Polybius, I ſay, aſcribes this difference to the ſtudy of muſick, (I mean, ſays he, the true and noble muſick,) induſtriouſly cultivated by the one, and abſolutely neglected by the other people.

After this it is not ſurprizing, that the Greeks con-

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(c) Polyb. p. 288---291.

* Ὀρχηστρον. Saltare.

† Πάλη.

sidered musick as an essential part in the education of youth. * Socrates himself, in 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. ‡ An ignorance in this respect was deemed a defect of education; on the contrary, a capacity 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 musick and dancing, and set no value upon them. It is very likely, the wisest and most knowing amongst the latter, did not apply to them with any great industry; and Philip's expression to his son Alexander, who had shewn too much skill in musick at a feast, induces me to be of this opinion: *Are you not ashamed, said he, to sing so well?*

For the rest this esteem for dancing and musick had its foundation. Both the one and the other were employed in the most august feasts and ceremonies of religion, to express their acknowledgment to the 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 ever began or ended, without some odes being sung in honour of the victors in the Olympick games, and on other the like occasions. They had a part also in war; and we know, that the Lacedæmonians marched to battle dancing, and to the sound

* Socrates, jam senex institui lyra non erubescibat. *Quintil.* l. i. c. 10.

† Themistocles, cum in epulis recusasset lyram, habitus est indoctior. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* l. i. n. 4.

‡ Summam eruditionem Græci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus — discabantque id omnes; nec qui nesciebat,

fatis 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 institutis judicantur. *Corn. Nep. in præfat. vit. Epam.*

found of flutes. (*d*) Plato, the most grave philosopher of antiquity, considered 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 musick, 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 support the most vicious passions; this licence, I say, soon corrupted an art, which might have been of some advantage, had it been regulated by Plato's opinion. Musick had a like destiny; and perhaps the corruption of this did not a little contribute to the depraving and perverting 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.

(*e*) Plutarch, in lamenting that the art of dancing was so much fallen 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 musick, with which it was ill united, and which had taken place of the ancient poetry and musick, 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 publick schools of criminal passions and gross vices, wherein no regard was had to reason.

The reader, without my observing upon it to him, will make the application of this passage of Plutarch to the sort of musick 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

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virtue

(*d*) De leg. l. vii.(*e*) Sympof. l. ix. qu. 15. p. 748.

virtue that remained among us. Quintilian describes the musick of his times in these terms, (f) *Quæ nunc in scenis effeminata, & impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minima, si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit.*

2. *Of the other exercises of the body.*

The young Athenians, and in general all the Greeks, were very intent upon 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, Palæstra or Gymnasia; which answers very near to our academies. Plato, in his books of laws, after having shewn of what importance it was in war to cultivate the hands and feet, adds, (g) that far from banishing from a well-regulated republick the profession of the Athletæ, on the contrary, prizes ought to be proposed for all exercises, that conduce to the improvement of military virtue; such are 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 enterprizes. We must remember, that there was no Athenian, who ought not to have been capable of handling the oar in the largest gallies. The citizens themselves did this office, which was not left to slaves and criminals as in these days. They were all destined to the trade 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 publick, and therefore this philosopher excludes only those from them, who were incapable of service in war.

(b) 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 art military,

(f) Quintil. l. i. c. 1.
(b) Plut. in Lachete, p. 181.

(g) Lib. viii. de leg. p. 832, 833.

litary, and to become good commanders. The whole science of the latter consisted in what the ancients called the Tactick, that is to say, the art of drawing up troops in battle, and of making military evolutions. That science was useful, but did not suffice. (i) Xenophon shews its defect, in producing a young man lately come from such a school, in which he imagined he had learnt every thing, though in reality he had only acquired a foolish esteem for himself, attended with perfect 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.

Hunting was also considered by the ancients as a fit exercise for forming youth to the stratagems and fatigues of war. It is for this reason Xenophon, who was no less a great general than a great philosopher, (k) did not think it below him to write a treatise expressly upon hunting, in which he descends to the lowest particular; and observes upon the considerable advantages consequential of it, from being inured to suffer hunger, thirst, heat, cold, without being discouraged either by the length of the course, the difficulty of the cliffs and thickets, through which it is often necessary to pass, 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; and that a wise and moderate man would not however abandon himself so much to it as to neglect the care of his domestick affairs. (l) The same author, in the *Cyropædia*, frequently praises hunting, which he looks upon as a real exercise of war, and shews, in the example of his young hero, the good use that may be made of it.

3. *Of the exercise 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 mathematicks, were

M m 4

in

(i) Memorab. l. iii. p. 761, &c. (k) De venatione. (l) *Cyropædia* l. i. p. 5, 6. & l. ii. p. 59, 60.

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 its whole beauty, energy, number, and cadence. (m) 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 an Homer, gave the master a box on the ear as an ignorant fellow, (n) and one who dishonoured his profession.

As for eloquence, it is no wonder that it was particularly studied at Athens. It was that opened the way to the highest offices, reigned absolute in the assemblies, decided the most important affairs of the 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 rhetorick, they annexed that of philosophy: I comprize under the latter, all the sciences, which are either parts
of,

(m) Cic. in Brut. n. 172. Quintil. l. viii. c. 1. Plut. in Peric. p. 156.

(n) In Alcib. p. 194.

of, or relate to, it. The persons, known to antiquity under the name of sophist, had acquired a great reputation at Athens, especially in the time of Socrates. These teachers, who were as presumptuous as avaritious, 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 they instilled into their disciples. I have observed, in the life of Socrates, that philosopher's endeavours and success in discrediting them.

C H A P. II.

Of WAR.

SECT. I. *People of Greece in all times very warlike, especially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

NO people of antiquity (I 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 the captains she sent 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 republicks, 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 amongst them. Every city, little satisfied with its own dominion, was studious to aggrandize itself at the expence 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 universal people a mar-

tial spirit, and an intrepidity of courage which made them invincible in the field; as appeared in the sequel, when the whole united forces of the East came to invade Greece, and made her sensible what she was, and of what capable.

Two cities distinguished themselves above the rest, and held indisputably the first rank; these were Sparta and Athens: In consequence of which those cities, either successively or together, had the empire of Greece, and maintained themselves thro' a long series of time in a power, which the sole superiority of merit, universally acknowledged by all the other states, had acquired them. This merit consisted principally in their military knowledge and martial virtue; of which they had given the most glorious proofs in the war against the Persians. Thebes disputed this honour with them for some years, by surprizing actions of valour, which had something of prodigy in them; but this was but a short-liv'd blaze, which, after having shone out with exceeding splendor, 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.

SECT. II. *Origin and cause of the valour and military virtue by which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians always distinguished themselves.*

ALL the laws of Sparta and institutions of Lycurgus seem to have no other object than war, and tended solely to the making the subjects of that republick a body of soldiers. All other employments, all other exercises, were prohibited amongst them. Arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, even husbandry itself, had no share in their applications, 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 well adapted

adapted to that end. To go barefoot, to lie hard, to shift with little meat and drink, to suffer heat and cold, to exercise continually hunting, wrestling, running on foot and horseback, to be inured to blows and wounds so as to vent neither complaint nor groan; these were the rudiments of the Spartan youth with regard to war, and enabled them one day to support all its fatigues, and to confront all its dangers.

The habit of obeying, contracted from the most early years, respect for the magistrates and elders, a perfect submission to the laws, from which no age nor condition was exempt, prepared them amazingly for military discipline, which is in a manner the soul of war, and the principle of success in all great enterprizes.

Now 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 them out 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 surprized, 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 had no less 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 amongst the Athenians (and we must say as much of the other people of Greece) arts, trades, husbandry,

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 the first dignities of the republick. Plutarch observes, that Solon, seeing 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 on the side of fertility. This taste became one of the maxims of the government and fundamental laws of the state, and perpetuated itself amongst the people, but without lessening in the least their ardor 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 enterprizes.

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 excel 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 the 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 to them.

(*n*) Athens had a law by which it was ordained, that those who had been maimed in the war, should be maintained at the expence of the publick. The same grace 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 subsist themselves. The republick, 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 Plataea, 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, of which one half were Spartans, that is to say, inhabitants of Sparta, and eight thousand Athenians. It is true, each Spartan brought with him seven Helots, which made in all thirty-five thousand men; but they were scarce ever reckoned as soldiers.

This shining 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 much superior to them in number, were in pain to see themselves subjected to their order, 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 an herald, that all smiths, masons, carpenters, and so on, through the other trades, should rise up.

Almost

(*n*) Plat. in Solon. p. 96. Ibid. in Menex. p. 242, 249. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

Almost all the allies did so, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, to whom all trades were prohibited. Agefilaus 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 Agefilaus spoke and acted in that manner from the prejudice of his opinion in favour of the Lacedæmonian education; for indeed those, whom he was for having considered only as simple artisans, had well demonstrated in the glorious victories they had obtained 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.

SECT. III. *Different kind of troops of which the armies of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were composed.*

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 Revelations, that all were obliged (o) *to receive the mark of the beast in their right hand, or in their foreheads*; and that St. Paul says of himself, (p) *I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus*.

The citizens of Lacedæmonia 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 Lycurgus's time the Spartans amounted to nine thousand, and the others to thirty thousand. This number seems to have been somewhat diminished

(o) Rev. xiii. 16.

(p) Gal. vi. 17.

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 republick 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 was in the army; he answered, *as many as are necessary to repulse the enemy*. They served the state at their own expence, and it was not till after a length of time that they received pay from the publick.

The greatest number of the troops in the two republicks were composed of the *Allies*, who were paid by the cities which sent them.

The foreign troops in the pay of the republick, to the aid of which they were called in, were stiled *Mercenaries*.

The Spartans never marched without Helots, and we have seen that in the battle of Plataea 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 masters 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 scymitars. 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 sling their javelins and stones at the enemy;
and

and when they had discharged, they retired through the intervals behind the battalions as a second line, and continued their volleys.

(7) 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 Squirites, to the number of six hundred; these were horsemen, of whom I shall soon speak further. The company consisted, according to the Greek interpreter, of an 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 fourscore and 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 according to occasion.

The Lacedæmonians did not actually begin to use cavalry, till after the war with Messene, where they perceived their want of it. (r) 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, and this was their post by right.

Cavalry was still more rare amongst the Athenians: the situation of Attica, broke with abundance of mountains, was the cause of this. 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 encreased afterwards to twelve hundred; a small body for so powerful a republick.

I have already observed, that amongst the ancients, as well Greeks as Romans, no mention is made of the stirrup, which is very surprizing. They threw themselves nimbly on horseback.

— *Corpora*

(r) Thucyd. l. v. p. 390.

— *Corpora saltu*

Subjiciunt in equos.—— Æn. l. xi. ver. 287.

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 Cœlii Equ. Rom.

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 surprized 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 apprized. 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 worth the reading of all who profess arms. In the latter he states the means of placing the cavalry in honour, and lays down rules upon the art military in general, which might be of very great use to all those who are designed for the trade of war.

I have wondered, in running over this second treatise, to see with what care Xenophon, a foldier and a

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pagan,

* Ἐναζωτέως μὲν διαμένους. This *αὐτὸς* helped his master to mount on *αὐτὸς* ἀναζωτέως, signifies a servant, horseback.

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 enterprize 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 whomsoever 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 illuminate 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 of instructions to his son Gryllus, to whom he addresses the treatise we mention, and who, according to the common opinion, was appointed to discipline the Athenian cavalry.

SECT. IV. *Of maritime affairs, fleets, and naval forces.*

IF the Athenians were inferior to the Lacedæmonians in respect to cavalry, they carried it infinitely against them in naval affairs, and we have seen their abilities that way make them masters at sea, and give them a great superiority to all the other states of Greece. As this subject is very necessary to the understanding many passages in this history, I shall treat it more extensively

tenfively than other matters, and fhall make great ufe of what the learned father Don Bernard de Montfaucon has faid of it in his books upon antiquity.

The principal parts of a fhip were the prow or head, the poop or ftern, and the middle, called in Latin *carina*, the hulk or waift.

The Prow was the part in the front of the waift or belly of the fhip; it was generally adorned with paintings and different fculptures 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 brafs, and fometimes with iron. The Greeks termed it *ἔμβολον*.

The other end of the fhip, oppofite to the prow, was called the Poop. There the pilot fat and held the helm, which was a longer and larger oar than the reft.

The WAIST was the hollow of the vefiel, or the hold.

The fhips were of two kinds. The one were rowed with oars, which were fhips of war, the other carried fails, and were vefiels of burden, intended for commerce and transports. Both of them fometimes made ufe of oars and fails together, but that very rarely. The fhips of war are alfo very often called long fhips by authors, and by that name diftinguifhed from vefiels of burden.

The long fhips were further divided into two fpecies: Thofe which were called *actuariæ naves*, and were very light vefiels, like our brigantines; and thofe called only long fhips. The firft were ufually termed *open fhips*, becaufe they had no decks. Of thefe light vefiels there were fome larger than ordinary, of which fome had twenty, fome thirty, and others forty oars, half on one fide, and half on the other, all on the fame line.

The long fhips, which were ufed in war, were of two forts. Some had only one rank of oars on each fide; the 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 *apbraēti*; that is to say, uncovered, and had no decks: This distinguished them from the *catapbraēti*, which had decks. They had only small places to stand on, at the head and stern, 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 occasion for abundance of 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 gallies. 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 considerably 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 the thing conceived in that manner, seemed to them utterly impossible. But such a way 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 are placed obliquely, and as it were rising by degrees.

In ancient times the ships with several ranks of oars were not known: They made use of long ships, in which the rowers, of whatever number they were, worked all upon the same line. (a) Such was the fleet which the Greeks sent against Troy. It was composed

posed of twelve hundred sail, of which the gallies of Bœotia had each an hundred and twenty men, and those of Philoctetes fifty; and this no doubt intends the greatest and smallest vessels. Their gallies 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.

(b) The Corinthians are said to have been the first, who changed the form of ships, and instead of simple gallies, 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 well for commerce, and served as a staple for merchandize. From their example the inhabitants of Corcyra, and the tyrants of Sicily, equipped also many gallies of three benches, a little before the war against the Persians. It was about the same time the Athenians, 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 of which most use was made in sea-fights.

(c) Ariston of Corinth persuaded the Syracusans, when their city was besieged by the Athenians, to make their prows lower and shorter; which advice gained them the victory. For the prows of the Athenian vessels being very high and very 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, at a single blow often sunk the triremes of the Athenians.

Two sorts of people served on board these gallies. The one were employed in steering and working the ship, who were the rowers, *remiges*, and the mariners, *nautæ*. The rest were soldiers intended for the fight,

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(b) Thucyd. l. i. p. 10.

(c) Diod. l. xiii. p. 141.

and are meant in Greek by the word *ἐπιβάται*. This distinction was not understood in the early times, when the same persons rowed, fought, and did all the necessary work of the ship; which was also not wholly disused in later days. For (*d*) Thucydides, in describing the arrival of the Athenian fleet at the small island of Sphaacteria, observes, that only the rowers of the lowest bench remained in the ships, and that the rest went on shore with their arms.

1. The condition of the rowers was very hard and laborious. I have already said, that the rowers, as well as mariners, were all citizens and freemen, and not slaves or strangers, as in these days. The rowers were distinguished by their several stages. The lower rank were called *Tbalamitæ*, 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 diminish and sooth the pains of their labour.

It is a question amongst the learned, whether there was a man to every oar in these great ships, or several, as in the galleys of these days. What Thucydides observes on the pay of the *Thranitæ*, seems to imply that they worked single. 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 of the labour than them? Father Montfaucon believes, that in the vessels of five ranks there might be several men to one oar.

He

(*d*) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 275.

* Musicam natura ipsa videtur ad tolerandos facilis labores veluti muneri nobis dedisse. Siquidem et reniges cantus hortatur; nec solum in iis operibus, in qui-

bus plurium conatus præeunte aliqua jucunda voce conspirat, sed etiam singulorum fatigatio quamlibet se rudi modulatione solatur. *Quintil.* l. i. c. 10.

He who took care of the whole crew, and commanded the vessel, was called *naulerus*, and was the principal officer. The second was the pilot, *gubernator*; his place was in the poop, where he held the helm in his hand, 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.

2. The soldiers, who fought in the ships, were armed almost in the same manner with the land-forces. (e) The Athenians, at the battle of Salamin, had an hundred and fourscore 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 *τηνῆραρχος*, and the commander of the whole fleet, *ναύαρχος* or *στρατηγός*.

We cannot exactly say the number of soldiers, mariners, and rowers, that served on board each ship; but it generally amounted to two hundred, more or less, as appears from Herodotus's estimate 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 very much at different times. When young Cyrus arrived in Asia (f), it was only three oboli, which was half a drachma, or five-pence; and the * treaty between the Persians and Lacedæmonians was concluded upon this foot; which gives reason to believe, that the usual pay was three oboli. Cyrus, at Lyfander's request, added a fourth, which made six-pence half-penny a day. (g) It was often raised to a whole drachma, about ten-pence French. In the fleet fitted out against Sicily the Athenians gave a drachma a day to the troops.

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(e) Plut. in Themist, p. 119.
(g) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 431.

(f) Xenoph. hist. l. i. p. 441.

* 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.

The sum of sixty talents (*b*) *, which the people of Egeſta advanced the Athenians monthly for the maintaining of ſixty ſhips, ſhews that the pay of each veſſel for a month amounted to a talent, that is to ſay, to three thouſand livres; which ſuppoſes, that each ſhip's company conſiſted of two hundred men, each of whom received a drachma or ten-pence a day. As the officers pay was higher, the republick 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 their 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. (*i*) Thimbron the Lacedæmonian, when he marched againſt Tiſſaphernes, promiſed a darick a month to each ſoldier, two to a captain, and four to the colonels. Now a darick a month is four oboli a day. Young Cyrus, to animate his troops, whom a too long march had diſcouraged, inſtead of one darick, promiſed one and a half to each ſoldier, which amounted to a drachma, or ten-pence French a day.

It may be aſked how the Lacedæmonians, whoſe iron coin, the only ſpecies current amongſt them, would go no where elſe, could maintain armies by ſea and land, and where they found money for their ſubſiſtance. It is not to be doubted, but they raiſed it, as the Athenians did, by contributions from their allies, and ſtill more from 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.

(*b*) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415.

(*i*) Xenoph. exped. Cyr. l. vii.

* About 8400 l. ſterling.

SECT. V. *Peculiar character of the Athenians.*

PLUTARCH furnishes us with almost all the matter upon this head. Every body knows how well he succeeds in copying nature in his portraits, and how proper a person he was to trace the character of a people, whose genius and manners he had studied with so profound an attention.

(k) “ I. * The people of Athens,” says Plutarch, “ were easily provoked to anger, and as easily induced to resume their sentiments of benevolence and compassion.” History supplies us with an infinity of examples of this kind. The sentence of death passed against the inhabitants of Mitylene, and revoked the next day: The condemnation of the ten generals, and that of Socrates, both followed with an immediate repentance and the most lively grief.

“ II. † They were better pleased with penetrating, and almost guessing an affair of themselves, than to give themselves leisure to be informed in it thoroughly, and in all its extent.”

Nothing is more surprising than this circumstance in their character, which it is very hard to conceive, and seems almost incredible. Artificers, husbandmen, foldiers, mariners, are generally a dull, heavy kind of people, and very gross 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, Mr. Stranger, said she, you shall have it for no less.* He was strangely surprized to see himself treated as a stranger, who had passed almost his whole life at Athens,

(k) Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 793.

* Ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων εὐκίνητος ἐστὶ πρὸς ὀργήν, εὐμέλεισθελος πρὸς ἔλεον.

† Μᾶλλον ὀξείως ὑπονοεῖν, ἢ διδάσκεισθαι καὶ ἡσυχίαν βυλόμενος.

‡ Cum Theophrastus percontaretur ex anicula quadam, quanti aliquid venderet, et respondisset

illa, atque addidisset; Hospes, non pote minoris; tulit molestè, se non effugere hospitis speciem, cum atate ageret Athenis, optimeque loqueretur. *Cic. de Clar. Orat. n. 17.*

Athens, and who piqued 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 publick deliberations, were besides versed in affairs of state, and understood every thing at half a word. 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 proper to make people laugh.”

(1) 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 shewed in that they were men; but men abounding with humanity and indulgence, who understood raillery, who were not prone to take offence, nor overdilicate in point of the 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 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, that 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

(1) Xenoph. de Athen. Rep. p. 691.

* Ὅσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἀδόξοις ἢ ἀσπαζέσθαι ἢ προτιμᾶται. τὰ πεινοῖς βοηθεῖν πρεσβυμότερον, ὅτι; † Πικρὸν, σκυθρωπὸν, πρὸς παιδείαν τῶν λόγων τὸς παιγνιώδεις ἢ γελοῖους ἢ χεῖριν ἀπίουλον ἢ σκληρόν.

tor Stratocles, having informed the people of a victory, and in consequence caused sacrifices to be offered, 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 else 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 shew, with what address and effect they employed praises and criticism with regard to the people of Athens.

(m) When the republick enjoyed peace and tranquillity, says the same 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 shewed 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 their 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 in the Athenians, made them extremely jealous

(m) Plut. in Phocian. p. 746.

* Τοῖς μὲν ἐπαινοῖσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα χαίρει, τοῖς δὲ σκώπαισιν ἥκιστα δυσχεραίνει.

* Φόβερός ἐστιν ἄχρι τῶν ἀρχόντων, εἴτα φιλόθρωνος ἄχρι τῶν πολεμίων.

jealous and apprehensive for their liberty, with regard to those who governed.

As to what relates 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, shews that they could forget the injuries which had been done them.

To these different characteristicks, which Plutarch unites in the same passage 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 spoke, 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 one would not expect to find among the common people. (n) 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 rights of which are sacred, and ought to be respected even amongst enemies. The same Athenians having decreed, that a strict search should be made after the presents distributed by Harpalus amongst the orators, would not suffer the house of Calicles, who was lately married, to be visited, out of respect for his bride, not long brought home. Such behaviour is not very common, and upon like occasions people do not stand much upon forms and politeness.

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 see without admiration a people composed for the most part, as I have said before, of artificers, husbandmen, soldiers, and mariners, carry delicacy of taste

(n) Plut. in Demetr. p. 898.

* Πάτριον αὐτοῦ; ἔ; σύμφερον ἢ τὸ φιλόθετον. In Pelop. p. 280.

taste in every kind to so high a degree of perfection, which seems the peculiar attribute of a more exalted condition and a noble education.

VIII. It is no less wonderful, that this people * should have such great views, and rose so high in their pretensions. In the war Alcibiades made them undertake, filled with vast projects and unbounded hopes, they did not confine themselves to the taking of Syracuse, or the conquest of Sicily, but had already added Italy, Peloponnesus, Libya, the Carthaginian gates, and the empire of the sea to the Pillars of Hercules. Their enterprize 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, one may say, so haughty in their projects, had nothing of that character in other respects. In what regarded the expence 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 all things publick, and capable of doing honour to the state. Their victories, conquests, wealth, and continual communication with the people of Asia minor, introduced neither luxury, gluttony, pomp, nor vain profusion amongst them. (o) 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 excellent persons in the arts of war and government; in philosophy, eloquence, poesy, painting, sculpture, and architecture: Of having furnished alone more great men in every kind than any other city of the world; if perhaps we except Rome, which † had imbibed learning and arts from her, and
knew

(o) De Rep. Athen. p. 693.

* Μίγα φρονίῳ, μεγάλων ὀρεγέαι. Plut.

† Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit agresti Latio.

Horat. Epist. 1. l. 2.

Greece taken, took her savage victors hearts,
And polish'd rustick Latium with her arts.

knew how to apply her lessons to the best advantage; of having been in some sort the school, and tutor of almost the whole universe; of having served, and still continuing to serve, as the model for nations, which pique themselves most upon the excellency of taste; in a word, of having 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 the sciences and learned men, that rendered Greece illustrious, with the arts also 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 enterprizes; 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, sacrifice every thing to the liberty of Greece. They abandoned, without the least regret, their lands, estates, city, and houses, and remove 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 (*p*) 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, capricious people, as the Athenians.

(*p*) Plut. in Aristid, p. 324.

SECT. VI. *Common character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

I Cannot refuse giving a place here to what Mr. Bosfuet says upon the character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The passage is long, but will not appear so, and includes all that is wanting to a perfect knowledge of the genius of both those people.

Amongst all the republicks of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the principal. No people could have more wit than the Athenians, nor more solid sense than the Lacedæmonians. Athens affected pleasure; the Lacedæmonian way of life was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty; but the liberty of Athens tended to licence; and controuled by severe laws at Lacedæmon, the more restrained it was at home, the more ardent it was to extend itself in rule abroad. Athens was also for reigning, 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 republick, 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, and the people too much masters. Their laws and philosophy had indeed the most happy effects upon such exquisite natural parts as theirs, but reason alone was not capable of keeping them within due bounds. (q) A wise Athenian, who
knew

(q) Plat. l. iii. de Leg.

knew admirably the genius of his country, informs us, that fear was necessary to those too ardent and free spirits; and that it was impossible to govern them, after the victory at Salamin had removed their fears of the Persians.

Two things then ruined them, 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.

Those two great republicks, so contrary 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 incompatibility of their humours.

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 two republicks too grievous to bear. That of the Lacedæmonians was severe. That people were observed to have something almost brutal in their character. (*r*) A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers too haughty, austere, and imperious in power: Besides which they could never expect to live in peace under the influence of a city, which being formed for war, could not support itself, but by continuing perpetually in arms. (*s*) So that the Lacedæmonians were capable of attaining to command, and all the world were afraid they should do so.

(*t*) The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable. Nothing was more delightful to behold than their city, in which feasts and games were perpetual, where 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

(*r*) Aristot. Polit. l. i. p. 4.
(*t*) Plat. de Rep. l. viii.

(*s*) Xenoph. de Rep. Lacon.

for them not to experience the extravagance and caprice of a flattered people, that is to say, according to Plato, something 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 republicks.

The Persians soon perceived this condition of Greece, and accordingly the whole mystery of their politicks 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 all together. (u) The states of Greece in their wars already regarded only the king of Persia, whom they called the Great King, or *the king*, by way of eminence, as if they had already 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. (x) With a small army, but bred in the discipline we have related, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, made the Persians tremble in Asia minor, and shewed 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 young Cyrus, made their way in a hostile manner through the whole Persian empire, and returned into their own

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country;

(u) Plut. l. iii. de leg. Isocrat. Panegy. (x) Polyb. l. iii.

country; that action, I say, demonstrated to Greece more than ever, that their soldiery was invincible, and superior to all opposers; and that only their domestick divisions could subject them to an enemy too weak to resist their united force.

We shall see, in the series of this history, by what methods Philip king of Macedon, taking advantage of these divisions, came at length, between address and force, to make himself little less than the sovereign of Greece, and to oblige the whole nation to march under his colours against the common enemy. What he had only planned, his son Alexander brought to perfection; and shewed the wondering world, how much ability and valour avail against the most numerous armies and the most formidable preparations.

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