H. Gravelot inv. et delin. J. P. Le Bas Sculp.

The DEATH of

EPAMINONDAS.

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

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Translated from the FRENCH.

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* *After having been expelled for more than ten years, he re-ascended the throne, and reigned two or three years.*

Plate IX.

T. Kitchin sculp.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

THE HISTORY OF DIONYSIUS THE Elder *and* Younger, TYRANTS of *Syracuse*.

SYRACUSE had regained its liberty about ſixty years, by the expulſion of the family of Gelon. The events which paſſed in that interval, except the invaſion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but thoſe which follow, are of a different nature, and make amends for the chaſm; I mean the reigns of Dionyſius the father and ſon, tyrants of Syracuſe; the firſt of whom governed thirty-eight, and the * other twelve, in all fifty years. As this hiſtory is entirely foreign to what paſſed in Greece at the ſame time, I ſhall relate it in this place altogether and by itſelf; obſerving only, that the firſt twenty years of it, upon which I am now entering, agree almoſt in point of time with the laſt twenty of the preceding volume.

This hiſtory will preſent to our view a ſeries of the moſt odious and horrid crimes, though it abounds at

* *After having been expelled for more than ten years, he re-aſcended the throne, and reigned two or three years.*

the ſame time with inſtruction. When * on the one ſide we behold a prince, the declared enemy of liberty, juſtice and laws, treading under his feet the moſt ſacred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the moſt cruel torments upon his ſubjects, beheading ſome, burning others for a ſlight word, delighting and feaſting himſelf with human blood, and gratifying his ſavage inhumanity with the ſufferings and miſeries of every age and condition: I ſay, when we behold ſuch an object, can we deny a truth, which the pagan world itſelf hath confeſſed, and Plutarch takes occaſion to obſerve in ſpeaking of the tyrants of Sicily; that God in his anger gives ſuch princes to a people, and makes uſe of the impious and the wicked to puniſh the guilty and the criminal. On the other ſide, when the ſame prince, the dread and terror of Syracuſe, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and, abandoned to remorſe and regret, can find no perſon in his whole ſtate, not even his wives or children, in whom he can confide; who will not think with Tacitus, † *That it is not without reaſon the oracle of wiſdom has declared, that if the hearts of tyrants could be ſeen, we ſhould find them torn in pieces with a thouſand evils; it being certain, that the body does not ſuffer more from inflictions and torments, than the minds of ſuch wretches from their crimes, cruelties, and the injuſtice and violence of their proceedings.*

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them, he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himſelf, and lives with his ſubjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the ſword of juſtice is in his hands, he appre-

* Erit Dionyſius illic tyrannus, libertatis, juſtitiæ, legum exitium——Alios uret, alios verberabit, alios ob levem offenſam jubebit detruncari. *Senec. de conſol. ad Marc.* c. xvii.

Sanguine humano non tantùm gaudet, ſed paſcitur; ſed ut ſuppliciis omnium ætatum crudelitatem inſatiabilem explet. *Id. de Benef.* l. vii. c. 19.

† Neque fruſtra præſtantiſſimus ſapientiæ firmare ſolitus eſt, ſi recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe aſpici laniatus & ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita ſævitia, libidine, malis conſultis animus dilaceraretur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. vi. c. 6.]

apprehends the uſe of it. He loves to turn aſide its edge, and can never reſolve to evidence his power, but with extreme reluctance, in the laſt extremity, and with all the forms and ſanction of the * laws. A tyrant puniſhes only from caprice and paſſion; and believes, ſays Plutarch upon Dionyſius, that he is not really † maſter, and does not act with ſupreme authority, but as he ſets himſelf above all laws, has no other but his will and pleaſure, and ſees himſelf obeyed implicitly. Whereas, continues the ſame author, he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of doing what he ought not.

Beſides theſe characteriſticks of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly diſtinguiſh the firſt Dionyſius, we ſhall ſee in his hiſtory, whatever unbounded ambition, ſuſtained by great valour, extenſive abilities, and the neceſſary talents for acquiring the confidence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of ſovereignty; the various means he had the addreſs to employ for the maintaining himſelf in it againſt the oppoſition of his enemies, and the odium of the publick; and laſtly, the tyrant's ſucceſs in eſcaping, during a reign of thirty-eight years, the many conſpiracies formed againſt him, and in tranſmitting peaceably the tyranny to his ſon, as a legitimate poſſeſſion, and a right of inheritance.

* Hæc eſt in maxima poteſtate veriſſima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate incendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in cives ſuos liceat, experiendo tentare; ſed hebetare aciem imperii ſui——Quid intereſt inter tyrannum & regem, (ſpecies enim ipſa fortunæ ac licentia par eſt,) niſi quod tyranni in voluptate ſæviunt, reges non niſi ex cauſa & neceſſitate? *Senec. de Clem.* lib. i. c. 11.

† Ἔφη ἀπολαύειν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅταν ταχέως ἀβάλεται ποιῶν. μέγας οὖν ὁ κίνδυνος βάλεσθαι ἃ μὴ δεῖ, τὸν ἀβάλεται ποιεῖν δυνάμενον. *Ad Princ. indict.* p. 782.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. *Means made use of by* DIONYSIUS *the elder to possess himself of the tyranny.*

(*a*) DIONYSIUS was a native of Syracuse, of noble and illustrious extraction according to some, but others say his birth was base and obscure. However it was, he distinguished himself by his valour, and acquired great reputation in a war with the Carthaginians. He was one of those who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re-enter Syracuse by force of arms, after having been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. The event of that enterprize was not happy. Hermocrates was killed. The Syracusans did not spare his accomplices, several of whom were publickly executed. Dionysius was left amongst the wounded. The report of his death, designedly given out by his relations, saved his life. Providence had spared Syracuse an infinity of misfortunes, had he expired either in the fight, or by the executioner.

The Carthaginians had made several attempts to establish themselves in Sicily, and to possess themselves of the principal towns of that island, as we have observed elsewhere. (*b*) Its happy situation for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its soil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to such an enterprize. We may form an idea of the wealth of its cities from Diodorus Siculus's account of Agrigentum. (*c*) The temples were of extraordinary magnificence, especially that of Jupiter Olympius, which was three hundred and forty feet in length, sixty in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. The piazzas, or galleries, in their extent and beauty answered to the rest of the building. On one side was represented the battle of the giants, on the other the taking of Troy, in figures as large as the

(*a*) Diod. l. xiii. p. 197. (*b*) *In the history of the Carthaginians*, Vol. I. (*c*) Diod. l. xiii. p. 203, 206.

the life. Without the city was an artificial lake, which was ſeven ſtadia (above a quarter of a league) in circumference. It was full of all kinds of fiſh, covered with ſwans and other water-fowls, and afforded the moſt agreeable proſpect imaginable.

It was about the time of which we ſpeak, that Exenetus, victor in the Olympick games, entered the city in triumph in a magnificent chariot, attended by three hundred more, all drawn by white horſes. Their habits were adorned with gold and ſilver; and nothing was ever more ſplendid than their appearance. Gellias, the moſt wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, erected ſeveral large apartments in his houſe for the reception and entertainment of his gueſts. Servants waited by his order at the gates of the city, to invite all ſtrangers to lodge at their maſter's houſe, whither they conducted them. Hoſpitality was much practiſed and eſteemed by the generality of that city. A violent ſtorm having obliged five hundred horſemen to take ſhelter there, Gellias entertained them all in his houſe, and ſupplied them immediately with dry cloaths, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is underſtanding how to make a noble uſe of riches. His cellar is much talked of by hiſtorians, in which he had three hundred reſervoirs hewn out of the rock, each of which contained an hundred * amphoræ.

This great and opulent city was beſieged, and at length taken by the Carthaginians. Its fall ſhook all Sicily, and ſpread an univerſal terror. The cauſe of its being loſt was imputed to the Syracuſans, who had but weakly aided it. Dionyſius, who from that time had no other thoughts, but of his grand deſigns, and was ſecretly active in laying the foundations of his future power, took the advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general complaints of Sicily againſt the Syracuſans, to render the magiſtrates odious, and to exclaim againſt their adminiſtration. In

 a publick

* *An amphora contained about ſeven gallons; an hundred conſequently conſiſted of ſeven hundred gallons, or eleven hogſheads, ſeven gallons.*

a publick aſſembly, held to conſider of the preſent ſtate of affairs, when nobody dared to open their mouths for fear of the perſons at the helm, Dionyſius roſe up, and boldly accuſed the magiſtrates of treaſon; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought to be depoſed immediately, without waiting till the term of their adminiſtration ſhould expire. They retorted this audacity with treating him as a ſeditious perſon, and a diſturber of the publick tranquillity, and as ſuch, laid a fine upon him according to the laws. This was to be paid, before he could be admitted to ſpeak again, and Dionyſius was not in a condition to diſcharge it. Philiſtus, one of the richeſt citizens, (who wrote the hiſtory of Sicily, which is not come down to us,) depoſited the money, and exhorted him at the ſame time to give his opinion upon the ſtate of affairs with all the liberty which became a citizen zealous for his country.

Dionyſius accordingly reſumed his diſcourſe with more vigour than before. He had long cultivated the habit of eloquence, which he looked upon with reaſon as a very neceſſary talent in a republican government; eſpecially in his views of acquiring the people's favour, and of reconciliating them to his meaſures. He began with deſcribing in a lively and pathetick manner the ruin of Agrigentum, a neighbouring city in their alliance; the deplorable extremity to which the inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting the place under the cover of the night; the cries and lamentations of infants, and of aged and ſick perſons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a cruel and mercileſs enemy; and the conſequential murder of all who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous victor dragged from the temples and altars of the gods, feeble refuges againſt the Carthaginian fury and impiety. He imputed all theſe evils to the treachery of the commanders of the army, who inſtead of marching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated with their troops; to the criminal protraction and delay of the magiſtrates, corrupted by Carthaginian bribes;

bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who regarded nothing but eſtabliſhing their own power upon the ruins of their country's liberty. He repreſented Syracuſe as compoſed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, uſurping all the dignities and wealth of the ſtate; the other, obſcure, deſpiſed and trod under foot, bearing the ſame yoke of a ſhameful ſervitude, and rather ſlaves than citizens. He concluded with ſaying, that the only remedy for ſo many evils was to elect perſons from amongſt the people devoted to their intereſts, and who, not being capable of rendering themſelves formidable by their riches and authority, would be ſolely employed for the publick good, and apply in earneſt to the re-eſtabliſhment of the liberty of Syracuſe.

This diſcourſe was liſtened to with infinite pleaſure, as all ſpeeches are, which flatter the natural propenſity of inferiors to complain of the government, and was followed with the univerſal applauſe of the people, who always give themſelves up blindly to thoſe, who know how to deceive them under the ſpecious pretext of ſerving their intereſt. All the magiſtrates were depoſed upon the ſpot, and others ſubſtituted in their room, with Dionyſius at the head of them.

This was only the firſt ſtep to the tyranny, at which he did not ſtop. The ſucceſs of his undertaking inſpired him with new courage and confidence. He had alſo in view the diſplacing of the generals of the army, and to have their power transferred to himſelf. The deſign was bold and dangerous, and he applied to it with addreſs. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries againſt them at a diſtance; calumniating them by his emiſſaries to the people, and ſparing no pains to render them ſuſpected. He cauſed it to be whiſpered amongſt the populace, that thoſe commanders held ſecret intelligence with the enemy; that diſguiſed couriers were frequently ſeen paſſing and re-paſſing; and that it was not to be doubted, but ſome conſpiracy was on foot. He affected on his ſide not to ſee thoſe leaders, nor to open himſelf to them

at all upon the affairs of the publick. He communicated none of his designs to them; as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having any intercourse or correspondence with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not at a loss to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they silent upon the occasion: But the common people, prejudiced in his favour, incessantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the sole protector and asserter of their rights and liberties.

Another scheme, which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and exceedingly promoted his designs. There was a great number of banished persons dispersed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuse had expelled the city at different times, and upon different pretences. He knew what an addition of strength so numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to a benefactor, and resentment against those who had occasioned their banishment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of his enemies, rendered most proper for the execution of his designs, and attached unalterably to his person and interest. He applied therefore earnestly to obtain their recall. It was given out, that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people were in great pain upon the expence, to which the new levies would amount. Dionysius took the advantage of this favourable conjuncture, and the disposition of the publick. He represented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expence from Italy and Peloponnesus, whilst they might supply themselves with excellent soldiers, without being at any charge at all: That there were numbers of Syracusans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles; that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chose rather

rather to wander about Sicily without ſupport or ſettlement, than to take party in the armies of the enemy, however advantageous the offers to induce them to it had been. This diſcourſe of Dionyſius had all the effect upon the people he could have wiſhed. His colleagues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their oppoſition would not only prove ineffectual, but incenſe the people againſt them, and even augment the reputation of Dionyſius, to whom it would leave the honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuſe without loſing time.

A deputation from Gela, a city in the dependance of Syracuſe, arrived about the ſame time, to demand that the garriſon ſhould be re-inforced. Dionyſius immediately marched thither with two thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe. He found the city in a great commotion, and divided into two factions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the aſſembly to die, and to have their eſtates confiſcated for the uſe of the publick. This confiſcation was applied to pay off the arrears, which had long been due to the former garriſon, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionyſius promiſed the troops he brought with him to Syracuſe to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching ſo many new creatures to himſelf. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the higheſt marks of honour, and ſent deputies to Syracuſe, to return their thanks for the important ſervice that city had done them in ſending Dionyſius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his meaſures, he returned with his troops to Syracuſe, after having promiſed the inhabitants of Gela, who uſed all means in their power to keep him amongſt them, that he would ſoon return with more conſiderable aid.

He arrived at Syracuſe juſt as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him,

him, enquiring with earneſtneſs what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He anſwered with a ſad and dejected air, that the city nouriſhed far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her boſom; that whilſt Carthage was making extraordinary preparations for the invaſion of Syracuſe, thoſe, who were in command, inſtead of rouſing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and ſetting every thing at work againſt the approach of ſo potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amuſements and idle ſhews, and ſuffered the troops to want neceſſaries; converting their pay to their private uſes in a fraudulent manner deſtructive to the publick affairs; that he had always ſufficiently comprehended the cauſe of ſuch a conduct; that however it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, his complaints were founded; that Imilcar, the general of the Carthaginians, had ſent an officer to him, under pretext of treating about the ranſom of priſoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too ſtrict in examining into the conduct of his colleagues; and that if he would not enter into the meaſures of Carthage, at leaſt that he would not oppoſe them; that for his part, he came to reſign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might leave no room for injurious ſuſpicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence, with traitors who ſold the commonwealth.

This diſcourſe being rumoured amongſt the troops, and about the city, occaſioned great inquietude and alarm. The next day the aſſembly was ſummoned, and Dionyſius renewed his complaints againſt the generals, which were received with univerſal applauſe. Some of the aſſembly cried out, that it was neceſſary to appoint him generaliſſimo, with unlimited power, and that it would be too late for ſo ſalutary a recourſe, when the enemy was at the gates of Syracuſe; that the importance of the war which threatened them, required ſuch a leader; that it was in the ſame manner formerly, that Gelon was elected generaliſſimo, and defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which con-

ſiſted of three hundred thouſand men; that as for the accuſation, alledged againſt the traitors, it might be referred to another day, but that the preſent affair would admit no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect; for the people (who, when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion without examining any thing) elected Dionyſius generaliſſimo with unlimited power that inſtant. In the ſame aſſembly he cauſed it to be decreed, that the ſoldiers pay ſhould be doubled; inſinuating that the ſtate would be amply reimburſed by the conqueſts conſequential of that advance. This being done, and the aſſembly diſmiſſed, the Syracuſans, upon cool reflection on what had paſſed, began to be in ſome conſternation; as if it had not been the effect of their own choice; and comprehended, though too late, that from the deſire of preſerving their liberty, they had given themſelves a maſter.

Dionyſius rightly judged the importance of taking his meaſures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one ſtep more to the tyranny, which was to have a body of guards aſſigned him; and that he accompliſhed in the moſt artful and politick manner. He propoſed, that all the citizens under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, ſhould march with proviſions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. The Syracuſans were at that time in poſſeſſion of the place, and had a garriſon in it. It was full of fugitive and foreign ſoldiers, who were very fit perſons for the execution of his deſigns. He juſtly ſuſpected, that the greateſt part of the Syracuſans would not follow him. He ſet out however, and encamped in the night upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noiſe was heard throughout the whole camp. This tumult was raiſed by perſons planted for that purpoſe by Dionyſius. He affected, that ambuſcades had been laid with deſign to aſſaſſinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he paſſed the reſt of the night, after having cauſed a great number of fires to be lighted, and had drawn

off

off ſuch of the troops as he moſt confided in. At break of day the people aſſembled in a body, to whom, expreſſing ſtill great apprehenſion, he explained the danger he had been in, and demanded permiſſion to chuſe himſelf a guard of ſix hundred men for the ſecurity of his Perſon. Piſiſtratus had ſet him the example long before, and had uſed the ſame ſtratagem when he made himſelf tyrant of Athens. His demand ſeemed very reaſonable, and was accordingly complied with. He choſe out a thouſand men for his guard upon the ſpot, armed them compleatly, equipped them magnificently, and made them great promiſes for their encouragement. He alſo attached the foreign ſoldiers to his intereſt in a peculiar manner by ſpeaking to them with great freedom and affability. He made many removals and alterations in the troops, to ſecure the officers in his intereſt, and diſmiſſed Dexippus to Sparta, in whom he could not confide. At the ſame time he ordered a great part of the garriſon, which he had ſent to Gela, to join him, and aſſembled from all parts fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals; a train worthy of a tyrant.

With this eſcort he returned to Syracuſe, that trembled at his approach. The people were no longer in a condition to oppoſe his undertakings, or to diſpute his authority. The city was full of foreign ſoldiers, and ſaw itſelf upon the point of being attacked by the Carthaginians. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more in tyranny, he eſpouſed the daughter of Hermocrates, the moſt powerful citizen of Syracuſe, and who had contributed the moſt to the defeat of the Athenians. He alſo gave his ſiſter in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Hermocrates. He afterwards ſummoned an aſſembly, in which he rid himſelf of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the moſt active in oppoſing his uſurpation. In this manner Dionyſius, from a ſimple notary and a citizen of the loweſt claſs, made himſelf abſolute lord and tyrant of the greateſt and moſt opulent city of Sicily.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Commotions in Sicily and at Syracuse against* DIONYSIUS. *He finds means to dispel them. To prevent revolts he proposes to attack the Carthaginians. His wonderful application and success in making preparations for the war.* PLATO *comes to Syracuse. His intimacy and friendship with* DION.

(*d*) DIONYSIUS had a rude shock to experience in the beginning of his usurpation. The Carthaginians having besieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and after some unsuccessful endeavours against the enemy, threw himself into the place. He behaved there with little vigour, and all the service he did the inhabitants was to make them abandon their city in the night, and to cover their flight in person. He was suspected of acting in concert with the enemy, and the more, because they did not pursue him, and that he lost very few of his foreign soldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela were butchered. Those of Camarina, to avoid the same fate, followed their example, and withdrew with all the effects they could carry away. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, struck Dionysius's troops with compassion, and incensed them against the tyrant. Those he had raised in Italy withdrew to their own country, and the Syracusan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march, from his being surrounded with his foreigners, made forwards, and having entered Syracuse, went directly to his palace, which they plundered, using his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill usage, that she died of it soon after. Dionysius, who had foreseen their design, followed them close with only an hundred horse, and four hundred foot; and having marched almost twenty leagues (*e*) with the utmost expedition, he arrived at midnight at one of the gates, which he found shut against him. He set fire to it, and opened himself a passage in that manner. The

5 richest

(*d*) Diod. l. xiii. p. 227, 231. (*e*) 400 *stadia*.

richeſt of the citizens ran thither to diſpute his entrance, but were ſurrounded by the ſoldiers, and almoſt all of them killed. Dionyſius having entered the city, put all to the ſword that came in his way, plundered the houſes of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced the reſt to leave Syracuſe. The next day in the morning the whole body of his troops arrived. The unhappy fugitives of Gela and Camarina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leontines. Imilcar having ſent an herald to Syracuſe, a treaty was concluded, as mentioned in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians. (*f*) By one of the articles it was ſtipulated, that Syracuſe ſhould continue under the government of Dionyſius; which confirmed all the ſuſpicions that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died (*g*).

It was then he ſacrificed every thing that gave him umbrage to his repoſe and ſecurity. He knew, that after having deprived the Syracuſans of all that was dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their extreme abhorrence; and the fear of the miſeries he had to expect in conſequence, increaſed in the uſurper in proportion to their hatred of him. He looked upon all his new ſubjects as ſo many enemies, and believed, that he could only avoid the dangers which ſurrounded him on all ſides, and dogged him in all places, by cutting off one part of the people, to intimidate the other. He did not obſerve, that in adding the cruelty of executions to the oppreſſion of the publick, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loſs of their liberty, to preſerve at leaſt their lives by attempting upon his.

(*h*) Dionyſius, who foreſaw that the Syracuſans would not fail to take the advantage of the repoſe, in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them, to attempt the re-eſtabliſhment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his ſide in ſupport of his power. He fortified the part of the city, called

(*f*) Vol. I. p. 238, 241. (*g*) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. (*h*) Diod.

called the isle, which was before very strong from the nature of its situation, and might be defended by a moderate garrison. He surrounded it with good walls, flanked at due distances with high towers, and separated in that manner from the rest of the city. To these works he added a strong citadel, to serve him for a retreat and refuge in case of accident, and caused a great number of shops and piazzas to be erected, capable of containing a considerable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he chose out the best of them, which he bestowed upon his creatures and the officers of his making, and distributed the rest in equal proportion amongst the citizens and strangers, including the slaves, who had been made free amongst the first. He divided the houses in the same manner, reserving those in the isle for such of the citizens as he could most confide in, and for his strangers.

After having taken these precautions for his security, he began to think of subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the siege of Herbesses. The Syracusans in his army, seeing their swords in their hands, thought it their duty to use them for the re-establishment of their liberty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert their measures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them on that account, was killed upon the spot, and his death served as a signal for their revolt. They sent immediately to Ætna for the horse, who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Dionysius, alarmed at this motion, raised the siege, and marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience. The revolters followed him close, and having seized upon the suburb Epipolis, barred all communication with the country. They received aid from their allies both by sea and land, and setting a price upon the tyrant's head, promised the freedom of the city to such of the strangers as should abandon him. A great number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmost favour and humanity.

manity. They made their machines advance, and battered the walls of the isle vigorously, without giving Dionysius the least respite.

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut up on the side of the country, assembled his friends to consult with them, rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his career, than upon the means of saving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revolters, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents, which was granted, and five ships to transport his people and effects. He had however sent dispatches secretly to the Campanians, who garrisoned the places in the possession of the Carthaginians, with offers of considerable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracusans, who, after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had disarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians, to the number of twelve hundred horse, infinitely surprized and alarmed the city. After having beat such as disputed their passage, they opened themselves a way to Dionysius. At the same time, three hundred soldiers more arrived to his assistance: The face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection changed parties. Dionysius, in a sally, drove them vigorously as far as that part of the city called Neapolis. The slaughter was not very considerable, because he had given orders to spare those that fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to Ætna to understand, that they might return with entire security. Many came to Syracuse, but others did not think it adviseable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their satisfaction, and dismissed.

The

The Lacedæmonians at this time took ſuch meaſures in regard to Syracuſe, as were moſt unworthy of the Spartan name. They had lately ſubverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publickly in all the cities of their dependance againſt popular government. They deputed one of their citizens to Syracuſe, to expreſs in appearance the part they took in the misfortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid; but in reality he was ſent to confirm Dionyſius in ſupporting himſelf in the tyranny; expecting, that from the increaſe of his power he would prove of great advantage and ſupport to their own.

Dionyſius ſaw, from what had ſo lately happened at Syracuſe, what he was to expect from the people for the future. Whilſt the inhabitants were employed abroad in harveſt-work, he entered their houſes, and ſeized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards incloſed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out abundance of ſhips, armed great numbers of ſtrangers, and took all poſſible meaſures to ſecure himſelf againſt the diſaffection of the Syracuſans.

After having made this proviſion for his ſafety at home, he prepared to extend his conqueſts abroad; from whence he did not only propoſe the increaſe of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his ſubjects from the ſenſe of their loſt liberty, by turning their attention upon their ancient and always abhorred enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions, and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He conceived this to be alſo the means to acquire the affection of his troops; and that the eſteem of the people would be a conſequence of the grandeur and ſucceſs of his enterprizes.

Dionyſius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by force or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, and ſome (*l*) other towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuſe, which for that reaſon were very agreeable to

(*l*) Ætna. Enna.

his purpoſes. Some of them he treated with favour and clemency, to engage the eſteem and confidence of the people: Others he plundered, to ſtrike terror into the country. The inhabitants of Leontium were tranſplanted to Syracuſe.

Theſe conqueſts alarmed the neighbouring cities, which ſaw themſelves threatened with the ſame misfortune. Rhegio, ſituate upon the oppoſite coaſt of the ſtrait which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it, and entered into an alliance with the Syracuſan exiles, who were very numerous, and with the Meſſenians on the Sicilian ſide of the ſtrait, who were to aid them with a powerful ſupply. They had levied a conſiderable army, and were upon the point of marching againſt the tyrant, when diſcord aroſe amongſt the troops, and rendered the enterprize abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionyſius and the two cities.

He had long revolved a great deſign in his mind, which was to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily, a great obſtacle to his own, as his diſcontented ſubjects never failed of refuge in the towns dependent upon that nation. The accident of the plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminiſhed its ſtrength, ſeemed to ſupply a favourable opportunity for the execution of his deſign. But, as a man of ability, he knew that the greatneſs of the preparations ought to anſwer that of an enterprize, to aſſure the ſucceſs of it; and he applied to them in a manner, which ſhews the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore uſed uncommon pains and application for that purpoſe; conſcious that war, into which he was entering with one of the moſt powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and have variety of conſiderable events.

His firſt care was to bring to Syracuſe, as well from the conquered cities in Sicily, as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artiſans and workmen of all kinds; whom he induced to come thither by the offer of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging

gaging the moſt excellent perſons in every profeſſion. He cauſed an infinite number of every kind of arms to be forged, ſwords, javelins, lances, partiſans, helmets, cuiraſſes, bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built alſo a great number of gallies, that had from three to five benches of rowers, and were of an entirely new invention; with abundance of other barks and veſſels for the tranſportation of troops and proviſions.

The whole city ſeemed but one workſhop, and continually reſounded with the noiſe of the ſeveral artiſans. Not only the porches, piazzas, portico's, places of exerciſe, and publick places, but private houſes of any extent were full of workmen. Dionyſius had diſtributed them with admirable order. Each ſpecies of artiſts, divided by ſtreets and diſtricts, had their overſeers and inſpectors, who by their preſence and direction promoted and compleated the works. Dionyſius himſelf was perpetually amongſt the workmen, encouraging them with praiſe, and rewarding their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according to their diſtinguiſhing themſelves by their ingenuity or application. He would even make ſome of them dine with him at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindneſs of a friend. * It is juſtly ſaid, that honour nouriſhes arts and ſciences, and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory. The prince, who knows how to put the two great ſprings and ſtrongeſt incentives of the human ſoul, intereſt and glory, in motion under proper regulations, will ſoon make all arts and ſciences flouriſh in his kingdom, and fill it at a ſmall expence with perſons who excel in every profeſſion. And this happened now at Syracuſe, where a ſingle perſon of great ability in the art of governing, excited ſuch ardour and emulation amongſt the artificers, as it is not eaſy to imagine or deſcribe.

* Honos alit artes, omneſque incenduntur ad ſtudia gloriæ. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. i. n. 4.

Dionyſius applied himſelf more particularly to the navy. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building gallies with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious of acquiring for Syracuſe, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that art to perfection; which he effected. The timber for building his gallies was brought, part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the ſea-ſide, and from thence ſhipped to Syracuſe, and part from mount Ætna, which at that time produced abundance of pine and fir-trees. In a ſhort ſpace a fleet of two hundred gallies was ſeen in a manner to riſe out of the earth; and an hundred others formerly built were refitted by his order; he cauſed alſo an hundred and ſixty ſheds to be erected within the great port, each of them capable of containing two gallies, and an hundred and fifty more to be repaired.

The ſight of ſuch a fleet, built in ſo ſhort a time, and fitted out with ſo much magnificence, would have given reaſon to believe, that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accompliſhing ſo great a work. On the other ſide, the view of ſuch an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think, that Dionyſius had ſolely employed himſelf in providing them, and had exhauſted his treaſures in the expence. They conſiſted of one hundred and forty thouſand ſhields, and as many helmets and ſwords; and upwards of fourteen thouſand cuiraſſes, finiſhed with all the art and elegance imaginable. They were intended for the horſe, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign troops, who had the guard of his perſon. Darts, arrows, and lances, were innumerable, and engines and machines of war in proportion to the reſt of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and ſtrangers. Dionyſius did not think of raiſing troops till all his preparations were compleat. Syracuſe and the cities in its dependance ſupplied him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, eſpecially from Sparta. The conſiderable pay he of-

fered brought ſoldiers in crowds from all parts to liſt in his ſervice.

He omitted none of the precautions neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his enterprize; the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that every thing depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for their general, and applied himſelf particularly to the gaining of the hearts, not of his own ſubjects only, but of all the inhabitants of Sicily, and ſucceeded in it to a wonder. He had entirely changed his behaviour for ſome time. Kindneſs, courteſy, clemency, a diſpoſition to do good, and an inſinuating complacency for all the world, had taken place of that haughty and imperious air, and inhumanity of temper, which had rendered him ſo odious. He was ſo entirely altered, that he did not ſeem to be the ſame man.

Whilſt he was haſtening his preparations for the war, and applying to the attainment of his ſubjects affections, he meditated an alliance with the two powerful cities, Rhegium and Meſſina, which were capable of diſconcerting his great deſigns by a formidable diverſion. The league formed by thoſe cities ſome time before, though without any effect, gave him ſome uneaſineſs. He therefore thought it neceſſary to make ſure of the amity of them both. He preſented the inhabitants of Meſſina with a conſiderable quantity of land, which was ſituate in their neighbourhood, and lay very commodiouſly for them. To give the people of Rhegium an inſtance of his eſteem and regard for them, he ſent ambaſſadors to deſire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had loſt his firſt wife in the popular commotion, as before related.

Dionyſius, ſenſible that nothing eſtabliſhes a throne more effectually than the proſpect of a ſucceſſor, who may enter into the ſame deſigns, have the ſame intereſts, purſue the ſame plan, and obſerve the ſame maxims of government, took the opportunity of the preſent tranquillity of his affairs to contract a double

marriage, in order to have a ſucceſſor, to whom he might tranſfer the ſovereignty, which had coſt him ſo many pains and dangers to acquire.

The people of Rhegium, to whom Dionyſius had firſt applied, having called a counſel to take his demand into conſideration, came to a reſolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their final anſwer returned, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The raillery was home and cut deep. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel how dear that city paid for their jeſt.

The Locrians, to whom Dionyſius ſent the ſame ambaſſadors, did not ſhew themſelves ſo difficult and delicate, but ſent him Doris for a wife, who was the daughter of one of their moſt illuſtrious citizens. He cauſed her to be brought from Locris in a galley with five benches of rowers of extraordinary magnificence, and ſhining on all ſides with gold and ſilver. He married, at the ſame time, Ariſtomache, daughter of Hipparinus, the moſt conſiderable and powerful of the Syracuſan citizens, and ſiſter of Dion, of whom much will be ſaid hereafter. She was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horſes, which was then a ſingular mark of diſtinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the ſame day with univerſal rejoicings throughout the whole city, and was attended with feaſts and preſents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and univerſal cuſtom of the weſtern nations from all antiquity that he eſpouſed two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing elſe, the liberty aſſumed by tyrants of ſetting themſelves above all laws.

Dionyſius ſeemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preference to either, to remove all cauſe of jealouſy and diſcord. The people of Syracuſe reported, that he preferred his own country-woman to the ſtranger; but the latter had the good fortune to bring her huſband the firſt ſon, which ſupported him not a little againſt the cabals and intrigues of the Syracuſans. Ariſtomache was a long time

time without any ſymptoms of child-bearing; though Dionyſius deſired ſo earneſtly to have iſſue by her, that he put his Locrian's mother to death; accuſing her of hindering Ariſtomache from conceiving by witchcraft.

Ariſtomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, in great eſtimation with Dionyſius. He was at firſt obliged for his credit to his ſiſter's favour; but after diſtinguiſhing his great capacity in many inſtances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongſt the other marks Dionyſius gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treaſurers to ſupply him, without farther orders, with whatever money he ſhould demand, provided they informed him the ſame day they paid it.

Dion had naturally a great and moſt noble ſoul. An happy accident had conduced to inſpire and confirm in him the moſt elevated ſentiments. It was a kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch ſays, a peculiar providence, which at diſtance laid the foundations of the Syracuſan liberty, that brought Plato, the moſt celebrated of philoſophers, to Syracuſe. Dion became his friend and diſciple, and made great improvements from his leſſons: For though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the ſupreme good was made to conſiſt in pleaſure and magnificence, he had no ſooner heard the precepts of his new maſter, and imbibed a taſte of the philoſophy that inculcates virtue, than his ſoul was inflamed with the love of it. Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious teſtimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, upon whom his diſcourſes made ſo great an impreſſion, or who had conceived his principles with ſo much ardour and vivacity.

As Dion was young and unexperienced, obſerving the facility with which Plato had changed his taſte and inclinations, he imagined, with ſimplicity enough, that the ſame reaſons would have the ſame effects upon the mind of Dionyſius; and from that opinion could not reſt till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear, and converſe with him. Dionyſius conſented: But the luſt of ty-

rannick power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be ever eradicated from it. It was * like an indelible dye, that had penetrated his inmoſt ſoul, from whence it was impoſſible ever to efface it.

(*k*) Though the ſtay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionyſius, he perſevered in giving Dion the ſame inſtances of his eſteem and confidence, and even to ſupport, without taking offence, the freedom with which he ſpoke to him. Dionyſius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuſe, and ſaying, in alluſion to his name, that he had been the *laughing-ſtock* (*l*) of Sicily, the whole court fell into great admiration, and took no ſmall pains in praiſing the quaintneſs and delicacy of the conceit, inſipid and flat as it was, and indeed as puns and quibbles generally are. Dion took it in a ſerious ſenſe, and was ſo bold to repreſent to him, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whoſe wiſe and equitable conduct had been an excellent model of government, and given the Syracuſans a favourable opinion of monarchical power. *You reign*, added he, *and have been truſted for Gelon's ſake; but for your ſake, no man will ever be truſted after you.* It was very much, that a tyrant ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be talked to in ſuch a manner with impunity.

SECT. III. DIONYSIUS *declares war againſt the Carthaginians. Various ſucceſs of it. Syracuſe reduced to extremities, and ſoon after delivered. New commotions againſt* DIONYSIUS. *Defeat of* IMILCAR, *and afterwards of* MAGO. *Unhappy fate of the city of Rhegium.*

DIONYSIUS ſeeing his great preparations were compleat, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publickly opened his deſign to the Syracuſans, in order to intereſt them the more in the ſucceſs of the enterprize, and told them that it was againſt the

(*k*) Plut. p. 960.

* Τὴν βαφὴν ἐκ ἀνίνπα τῆς τυραννίδος, ἐν πόλλῳ χρόνῳ δεισοπειὶν ἴσαν ἢ δυσέκπτυλον. Δρεμμάιος δὲ ἐλλας ἔτι δὲ τῶν χρῆσαν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαν λόγον. Plut. in Moral. p. 779.

(*l*) Γέλως *ſignifies* laughing-ſtock.

the Carthaginians. He repreſented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and eſpecially of thoſe who inhabited Sicily; that the plague, which had lately waſted Carthage, had made the opportunity favourable, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in ſubjection to ſo cruel a power, waited only the ſignal to declare againſt it; that it would be much for the glory of Syracuſe to reinſtate the Grecian cities in their liberty, after having ſo long groaned under the yoke of the Barbarians; that in declaring war at preſent againſt the Carthaginians, they only preceded them in doing ſo for ſome time; ſince as ſoon as they had retrieved their loſſes, they would not fail to attack Syracuſe with all their forces.

The aſſembly were unanimouſly of the ſame opinion. Their ancient and natural hatred of the Barbarians; their anger againſt them for having given Syracuſe a maſter; and the hope that with arms in their hands they might find ſome occaſion of recovering their liberty, united them in their ſuffrages. The war was reſolved without any oppoſition, and began that very inſtant. There were, as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties and under the peace, exerciſed traffick, and thought themſelves in ſecurity. The populace, by Dionyſius's authority, upon the breaking up of the aſſembly, ran to their houſes and ſhips, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the ſame treatment throughout Sicily; to which murders and maſſacres were added, by way of repriſal for the many cruelties committed by the Barbarians upon thoſe they conquered, and to ſhew them what they had to expect, if they continued to make war with the ſame inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionyſius ſent a letter by an herald to Carthage, in which he ſignified, that the Syracuſans declared war againſt the Carthaginians, if they did not withdraw their garriſons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this

this letter at firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the people, occaſioned an uncommon alarm, as the peſtilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However, they were not diſmayed, and prepared for a vigorous defence. They raiſed troops with the utmoſt diligence, and Imilcar ſet out immediately to put himſelf at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionyſius on his ſide loſt no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increaſed by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It amounted to fourſcore thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. The fleet conſiſted of two hundred gallies, and five hundred barks laden with proviſions, and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Motya, a fortified town under the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little iſland ſomething more than a quarter of a league (*m*) from the continent, to which it was joined by a ſmall neck of land, which the beſieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that ſide.

Dionyſius having left the care of the ſiege to Leptinus, who commanded the fleet, went with his land-forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of ſo numerous an army, they all ſurrendered except five, which were Ancyra, Solos, (*n*) Palermo, Segeſta, and Entella. The laſt two places he beſieged.

Imilcar however, to make a diverſion, detached ten gallies of his fleet, with orders to attack and ſurprize in the night all the veſſels which remained in the port of Syracuſe. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders without reſiſtance, and after having ſunk a great part of the veſſels, which he found there, retired well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his enterprize.

Dionyſius, after having waſted the enemy's country, returned, and ſat down with his whole army before Motya, and having employed a great number of hands

(*m*) *Six ſtadia or furlongs.* (*n*) Panormus.

hands in making dams and moles, he reinſtated the neck of land, and brought his engines to work on that ſide. The place was attacked and defended with the utmoſt vigour. After the beſiegers had paſſed the breach, and entered the city, the beſieged perſiſted a great while in defending themſelves with incredible valour; ſo that it was neceſſary to purſue and drive them from houſe to houſe. The ſoldiers enraged at ſo obſtinate a defence, put all before them to the ſword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was ſpared, except thoſe who had taken refuge in the temples. The town was abandoned to the ſoldiers diſcretion; Dionyſius being pleaſed with an occaſion of attaching the troops to his ſervice by the allurement and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raiſed an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. The fleet under Mago's command conſiſted of four hundred gallies, and upwards of ſix hundred veſſels laden with proviſions and engines of war. Imalcar had given the captains of the fleet his orders ſealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at ſea. He had taken this precaution, that his deſigns might be kept ſecret, and to prevent ſpies from ſending advices of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loſs in their paſſage. Imilcar took Eryx by treachery, and ſoon after reduced Motya to ſurrender. Meſſina ſeemed to him a place of importance; becauſe it might favour the landing of troops from Italy in Sicily, and bar the paſſage of thoſe that ſhould come from Peloponneſus. After a long and vigorous defence it fell into his hands, and ſome time after he entirely demoliſhed it.

Dionyſius, ſeeing his forces extremely inferior to the enemy, retired to Syracuſe. Almoſt all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this occaſion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and

gave the ſlaves their liberty, that they might ſerve on board the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty gallies. With theſe forces he took the field, and removed about eighteen leagues from Syracuſe. Imilcar advanced perpetually with his land-army, followed by his fleet, that kept near the coaſt. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march upon the ſea-ſide, and was obliged to take a long compaſs round mount Ætna, which by a new irruption had ſet the country about it on fire, and covered it with aſhes. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming up at Catana. Dionyſius, apprized of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilſt ſeparate from the land-forces, and whilſt his own, drawn up in battle upon the ſhore, might be of ſervice to animate and ſupport his fleet. The ſcheme was wiſely concerted, but the ſucceſs not anſwerable to it. Leptinus his admiral, having advanced inconſiderately with thirty gallies, contrary to the opinion of Dionyſius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces, at firſt ſunk ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, but upon being ſurrounded by the greater number, was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was warmly purſued by the Carthaginians. Mago detached boats full of ſoldiers, with orders to kill all that endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming to ſhore. The land-army drawn up there, ſaw them periſh miſerably without being able to give them any aſſiſtance. The loſs on the ſide of the Sicilians was very great; more than an hundred gallies being either taken or ſunk, and twenty thouſand men periſhing either in the battle, or the purſuit.

The Sicilians, who were afraid to ſhut themſelves up in Syracuſe, where they could not fail of being beſieged very ſoon, ſollicited Dionyſius to lead them againſt Imilcar, whom ſo bold an enterprize might diſconcert; beſides which, they ſhould find his troops fatigued with their long and haſty march. The propoſal pleaſed him at firſt; but upon reflecting, that

Mago

Mago with the victorious fleet, might notwithstanding advance and take Syracuse, he thought it more adviseable to return thither; which was the occasion of his losing abundance of his troops, who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilcar, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some days to refresh his army, and refit his fleet, which had suffered exceedingly by a violent storm.

(*o*) He then marched to Syracuse, and made his fleet enter the port in triumph. More than two hundred gallies, adorned with the spoils of their victory, made a noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they observed in the motion of their oars. They were followed by an infinite number of smaller barks; so that the port, vast as it was, was scarce capable of containing them; the whole sea being in a manner covered with sails. At the same time on the other side appeared the land-army, composed, as has been said, of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Imilcar pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and the army encamped around, at somewhat more than half a league's (*p*) distance from the city. It is easy to judge the consternation and alarm which such a prospect must give the Syracusans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls to offer the city battle, and at the same time seized upon the two remaining * ports by a detachment of an hundred gallies. As he saw no motion on the side of the Syracusans, he retired contented for that time with the enemy's confessing their inequality. For thirty days together he laid waste the country, cutting down all the trees, and destroying all before him. He then made himself master of the suburb called Achradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpina. Foreseeing that the siege would be of long duration, he intrenched his camp, and enclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all

(*o*) Diod. p. 285, 296. (*p*) 12 *stadia*.

* *The little port and that of Trogilus.*

all the tombs, and amongſt others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarate, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts at ſome diſtance from each other; the firſt at Pemmyra; the ſecond towards the middle of the port; the third near the temple of Jupiter; for the ſecurity of his magazines of corn and wine. He ſent alſo a great number of ſmall veſſels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch proviſions.

At the ſame time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionyſius had diſpatched before into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and brought with him a fleet of thirty ſhips, commanded by Pharacides the Lacedæmonian. This reinforcement came in very good time, and gave the Syracuſans new ſpirit. Upon ſeeing a bark laden with proviſions for the enemy, they detached five gallies and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chaſe with forty ſail, to which they advanced with their whole fleet, and in the battle carried the admiral galley, damaged many others, took twenty-four, purſued the reſt to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a ſecond time, which the Carthaginians, diſcouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracuſans, emboldened by ſo unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the gallies they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this ſucceſs, which could be only aſcribed to their valour; for Dionyſius was then abſent with a ſmall detachment of the fleet to procure proviſions, attended by Leptinus; they encouraged each other, and ſeeing they did not want arms, they reproached themſelves with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the ſhameful yoke of ſervitude, and reſuming their ancient liberty.

Whilſt they were in the midſt of theſe diſcourſes, diſperſed in ſmall parties, the tyrant arrived; and having ſummoned an aſſembly, he congratulated the Syracuſans upon their late victory, and promiſed in a ſhort time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to diſmiſs the aſſembly, when

when Theodorus, one of the moſt illuſtrious of the citizens, a perſon of ſenſe and valour, took upon him to ſpeak, and to declare boldly for liberty. "We "are told," ſaid he, "of reſtoring peace, terminating "the war, and of being delivered from the enemy. "What ſignifies ſuch language from Dionyſius? Can "we have peace in the wretched ſtate of ſlavery im-"poſed upon us? Have we any enemy more to be "dreaded than the tyrant who ſubverts our liberty, "or a war more cruel than that he has made upon us "for ſo many years? Let Imilcar conquer, ſo he con-"tents himſelf with laying a tribute upon us, and "leaves us the exerciſe of our laws: The tyrant that "enſlaves us, knows no other but his avarice, his "cruelty, his ambition! The temples of the gods, "robbed by his ſacrilegious hands, our goods made a "prey, and our lands abandoned to his inſtruments, "our perſons daily expoſed to the moſt ſhameful and "cruel treatment, the blood of ſo many citizens ſhed "in the midſt of us and before our eyes; theſe are the "fruits of his reign, and the peace he obtains for us! "Was it for the ſupport of our liberties he built yon "citadel, that he has encloſed it with ſuch ſtrong "walls and high towers, and has called in for his "guard that tribe of ſtrangers and Barbarians, who "inſult us with impunity? How long, oh Syracuſans, "ſhall we ſuffer ſuch indignities, more inſupportable "to the brave and generous than death itſelf? Bold "and intrepid abroad againſt the enemy, ſhall we al-"ways tremble like cowards in the preſence of a ty-"rant? Providence, which has again put arms into "our hands, directs us in the uſe of them! Sparta, "and the other cities in our alliance, who hold it their "glory to be free and independent, would deem us "unworthy of the Grecian name if we had any other "ſentiments. Let us ſhew that we do not degenerate "from our anceſtors. If Dionyſius conſents to retire "from amongſt us, let us open him our gates, and "let him take along with him whatever he pleaſes: "But if he perſiſts in the tyranny, let him experience

"what

" what effects the love of liberty has upon the brave " and determinate."

After this ſpeech, all the Syracuſans, in ſuſpence betwixt hope and fear, looked earneſtly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, roſe up to ſpeak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty: But he did quite the reverſe, and told them, that his republick had ſent him to the aid of the Syracuſans and Dionyſius, and not to make war upon Dionyſius, or to ſubvert his authority. This anſwer confounded the Syracuſans, and the tyrant's guard arriving at the ſame time, the aſſembly broke up. Dionyſius perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, uſed all his endeavours to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and to attach the citizens to his intereſts; making preſents to ſome, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occaſions to treat them with kindneſs and familiarity.

(q) It muſt have been about this time, that Polyxenus, Dionyſius's brother-in-law, who had married his ſiſter Theſta, having without doubt declared againſt him in this conſpiracy, fled from Sicily for the preſervation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionyſius ſent for his ſiſter, and reproached her very much for not apprizing him of her huſband's intended flight, as ſhe could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expreſſing the leaſt ſurprize or fear, " Have I then appeared ſo bad a wife to you, " and of ſo mean a ſoul, as to have abandoned my " huſband in his flight, and not to have deſired to " ſhare in his dangers and misfortunes? No! I knew " nothing of it; or I ſhould have been much happier " in being called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, in " all places, than, in Syracuſe, the ſiſter of the ty- " rant." Dionyſius could not but admire an anſwer ſo full of ſpirit and generoſity; and the Syracuſans in general were ſo charmed with her virtue, that after the tyranny was ſuppreſſed, the ſame honours, equipage, and

(q) Plut. in Diod. p. 966.

and train of a queen, which ſhe had before, were continued to her during her life; and after her death, the whole people attended her body to the tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary appearance.

On the ſide of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new face on a ſudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuſe upon their arrival, and in not taking the advantage of the conſternation, which the ſight of a fleet and army equally formidable had occaſioned. The plague, which was looked upon as a puniſhment ſent from heaven for the plundering of temples and demoliſhing of tombs, had deſtroyed great numbers of their army in a ſhort time. I have deſcribed the extraordinary ſymptoms of it in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians (*r*). To add to that misfortune, the Syracuſans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by ſea and land. The ſurprize, terror, and even haſte they were in, to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confuſion. They knew not on which ſide to ſend relief; all being equally in danger. Many of their veſſels were ſunk, and others almoſt entirely diſabled, and a much greater number deſtroyed by fire. The old men, women, and children, ran in crowds to the walls, to be witneſſes of that ſcene of horror, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for ſo ſignal a protection of their city. The ſlaughter within and without the camp, and on board the veſſels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilcar, reduced to deſpair, offered Dionyſius ſecretly three hundred thouſand crowns (*s*) for permiſſion to retire in the night with the remains of his army and fleet. The tyrant, who was not diſpleaſed with leaving the Carthaginians ſome reſource, to keep his ſubjects in continual awe, gave his conſent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilcar ſet out with the Carthaginians, and only forty ſhips; leaving

(*r*) Tom. I. p. 147.

(*s*) 300 *talents*.

leaving the reſt of his troops behind. The Corinthians, diſcovering from the noiſe and motion of the gallies, that Imilcar was making off, ſent to inform Dionyſius of his flight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to purſue him: But as thoſe orders were but ſlowly executed, they followed the enemy themſelves, and ſunk ſeveral veſſels of their rear-guard.

Dionyſius then marched out with his troops; but before their arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian ſervice had retired to their ſeveral countries. Having firſt poſted troops in the paſſes, he advanced directly to the enemy's camp, though it was not quite day. The Barbarians, who ſaw themſelves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilcar and the Sicilians, loſt courage and fled. Some of them were taken by the troops in the paſſes; others laid down their arms and aſked quarter. Only the Iberians drew up, and ſent an herald to capitulate with Dionyſius, who incorporated them into his guards. The reſt were all made priſoners.

Such was the fate of the Carthaginians; which ſhews, ſays the hiſtorian (*t*), that humiliation treads upon the heels of pride, and that thoſe, who are too much puffed up with power and ſucceſs, are ſoon forced to confeſs their weakneſs and vanity. Thoſe haughty victors, maſters of almoſt all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuſe as already their own, and entered at firſt triumphant into the great port, inſulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly ſhamefully under the covert of the night; dragging away with them the ſad ruins, and miſerable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilcar, who had neither regarded the ſacred refuge of temples, nor the inviolable ſanctity of tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty thouſand men unburied in the enemy's country, returns to periſh miſerably at Carthage, avenging upon himſelf by his death the contempt he had expreſſed for gods and men.

Dionyſius,

(*t*) Diodorus Siculus.

Dionyſius, who was ſuſpicious of the ſtrangers in his ſervice, removed ten thouſand of them, and, under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodiouſly ſituated, and an advantageous ſettlement. He confided the guard of his perſon to other foreigners, and the ſlaves he had made free. He made ſeveral attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, eſpecially againſt Rhegium (*u*). The people of Italy, ſeeing themſelves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a ſtop to his conqueſts. The ſucceſs was tolerably equal on both ſides.

(*x*) About this time, the Gauls, who ſome months before had burnt Rome, ſent deputies to Dionyſius to make an alliance with him, who was at that time in Italy. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.

The Carthaginians, having ſet on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Mago, made new efforts againſt Syracuſe, but with no better ſucceſs than the former. They terminated in an accommodation with Dionyſius.

He attacked Rhegium again, and at firſt received no inconſiderable check. But having gained a great victory againſt the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than ten thouſand priſoners, he diſmiſſed them all without ranſom, contrary to their expectation; with a view of dividing the Italians from the intereſts of Rhegium, and of diſſolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his deſigns. Having by this action of favour and generoſity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned againſt Rhegium. He was extremely incenſed againſt that city upon account of their refuſing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the inſolent anſwer, with which that refuſal was attended. The beſieged, finding themſelves incapable of reſiſting ſo

A. M. 3615. Ant. J. C. 389.

 numerous

(*u*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 304, 310. (*x*) Juſtin. l. xx. c. 5.

numerous an army as that of Dionyſius, and expecting no quarter if the city were taken by aſſault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred thouſand crowns, deliver up all their veſſels to the number of ſeventy, and put an hundred hoſtages into his hands; after which he raiſed the ſiege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their deſtruction ſure, after having firſt reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the falſe pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he beſieged them again with all his forces, firſt ſending back their hoſtages. Both parties acted with the utmoſt vigour. The deſire of revenge on one ſide, and the fear of the greateſt cruelties on the other, animated the troops. Thoſe of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and rude ſallies. In one of them Dionyſius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The ſiege went on ſlowly, and had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the laſt extremities. A meaſure of wheat (of about ſix buſhels) was ſold for two hundred and fifty livres (*z*). After having conſumed all their horſes and beaſts of carriage, they were obliged to ſupport themſelves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at laſt to feed upon the graſs of the fields like beaſts; a reſource, of which Dionyſius ſoon deprived them, by making his horſe eat up all the herbage around the city. Neceſſity at length reduced them to ſurrender at diſcretion, and Dionyſius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Thoſe who ſurvived were rather ſkeletons than men. He took above ſix thouſand priſoners, whom he ſent to Syracuſe. Such as could pay fifty livres (*a*) he diſmiſſed, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves.

(*z*) *Five minæ.* (*a*) *One minæ.*

Dionyſius let fall the whole weight of his reſentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his ſon to be thrown into the ſea. The next day he ordered the father to be faſtened to the extremity of the higheſt of his engines for a ſpectacle to the whole army, and in that condition, he ſent to tell him that his ſon had been thrown into the ſea. "Then "he is happier than me by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards cauſed him to be led through the whole city, to be ſcourged with rods, and to ſuffer a thouſand other indignities, whilſt an herald proclaimed, "that the perfidious traitor was treated "in that manner, for having inſpired the people of "Rhegium with rebellion." "Say rather," anſwered that generous defender of his country's liberty, "that "a faithful citizen is ſo uſed, for having refuſed "to ſacrifice his country to a tyrant." Such an object and ſuch a diſcourſe drew tears from all eyes, and even from the ſoldiers of Dionyſius. He was afraid his priſoner would be taken from him before he had ſatiated his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the ſea directly.

SECT. IV. *Violent paſſion of* DIONYSIUS *for poeſy. Reflections upon that taſte of the tyrant. Generous freedom of* PHILOXENUS. *Death of* DIONYSIUS. *His bad qualities.*

(*b*) AT an interval which the ſucceſs againſt Rhegium had left Dionyſius the tyrant, who was fond of all kinds of glory, and piqued himſelf upon the excellence of his genius, ſent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to diſpute in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry.

The circumſtance, which I am going to treat, and which regards the taſte or rather paſſion of Dionyſius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteriſticks, and having beſides a mixture of good and bad in itſelf, makes it requiſite, for a

(*b*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.

right underſtanding of it, to diſtinguiſh, wherein this taſte of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I ſhall ſay as much upon the tyrant's total character, with whoſe vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented; the veracity of hiſtory requiring, that juſtice ſhould be done to the moſt wicked, as they are not ſo in every reſpect. We have ſeen ſeveral things in his character that certainly deſerve praiſe; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: The mildneſs with which he ſuffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expreſſed of the bold and generous anſwer of his ſiſter Theſta upon account of her huſband's flight, his gracious and inſinuating deportment upon ſeveral other occaſions to the Syracuſans, the familiarity of his diſcourſe with the meaneſt citizens and even workmen, the equality he obſerved between his two wives, and his kindneſs and reſpect for them; all which imply that Dionyſius had more equity, moderation, affability, and generoſity, than is commonly aſcribed to him. He is not ſuch a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Pheræ, Caligula, Nero, or Caracalla.

But to return to Dionyſius's taſte for poetry. In his intervals of leiſure, he loved to unbend in the converſation of perſons of wit, and in the ſtudy of arts and ſciences. He was particularly fond of verſifying, and employed himſelf in the compoſition of poems, eſpecially of tragedies. Thus far this paſſion of his may be excuſed, having ſomething undoubtedly laudable in it; I mean in the taſte for polite learning, the eſteem he expreſſed for learned men, his inclination to do them good offices, and the application of his leiſure hours. Was it not better to employ them in the exerciſe of his wit and the cultivation of ſcience, than feaſting, dancing, theatrical amuſements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleaſures ſtill more pernicious? What wiſe reflection Dionyſius the younger made when at Corinth. (c) Philip of Macedon being

at

(c) Plut. in Timol. p. 243. c. lxxxv. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

at table with him, ſpoke of the odes and tragedies his father had left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and ſeemed to be under ſome difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leiſure for ſuch compoſitions: Dionyſius ſmartly reparteed, *The difficulty is very great indeed! Why, he compoſed them at thoſe hours, which you and I, and an infinity of others, as we have reaſon to believe, paſs in drinking and other diverſions.*

(*d*) Julius Cæſar and the emperor Auguſtus applied themſelves to poetry, and compoſed tragedies. Lucullus intended to have wrote the memoirs of his military actions in verſe. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lelius and Scipio, both great captains, eſpecially the latter; and that report was ſo far from leſſening their reputation at Rome, that it added to the general eſteem for them.

Theſe unbendings therefore were not blameable in their own nature; this taſte for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds; but Dionyſius was ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a ſuperior or competitor in any thing. From being in the ſole poſſeſſion of ſupreme authority, he had accuſtomed himſelf to imagine his wit of the ſame rank with his power: In a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate eſtimation of his own merit flowed in ſome meaſure from the over-bearing turn of mind, which empire and command had given him. The continual applauſes of a court, and the flatteries of thoſe, who knew how to recommend themſelves by his darling foible, were another ſource of this vain conceit. And of what will not a * great man, a miniſter, a prince, think himſelf capable, who has ſuch incenſe and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal Richelieu, in the midſt of the greateſt affairs, not only compoſed dramatick poems, but piqued himſelf on his

 excel-

(*d*) Suet. in Cæſ. c. lvi. in Auguſt.

* ——— Nihil eſt quod credere de ſe
Non poſſit, cum laudatur diis æqua poteſtas. *Juvenal.*

excellency that way; and what is more, his jealousy in that point rose so high as to use his authority by way of criticism upon the compositions of those, to whom the publick, a just and incorruptible judge in the question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things, which though estimable in themselves, and which do honour to private persons, it does not become a prince to desire to excel in. I have mentioned elsewhere Philip of Macedon's expression to his son upon his having shewn too much skill in musick at a publick entertainment: *Are not you ashamed*, said he, *to sing so well?* It was acting inconsistently with the dignity of his character. If Cæsar and Augustus, when they wrote tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been *ridiculous*, but *a reproach* to them. And the reason is, because a prince being obliged by an essential and indispensible duty to apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government, and having an infinitude of various business always recurring to him, he can make no other use of the sciences, than to divert him at such short intervals, as will not admit any great progress in them, and the excelling of those who employ themselves in no other study. Hence, when the publick sees a prince affect the first rank in this kind of merit, it may justly conclude, that he neglects his more important duties, and what he owes to his people's happiness, to give himself up to an employment, which wastes his time and application of mind ineffectually.

We must however do Dionysius the justice to own, that he never was reproachable for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him less active and diligent on any important occasion.

(*e*) I have already said, that this prince, in an interval of peace, had sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race in his name. When he arrived in the assembly,

(*e*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.

bly, the beauty as well as number of his chariots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and ſilver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the ſpectators. The ear was no leſs charmed when the poems of Dionyſius began to be read. He had choſen expreſsly for the occaſion * readers with ſonorous, muſical voices, who might be heard far and diſtinctly, and who knew how to give a juſt emphaſis and numeroſity to the verſes they repeated. At firſt this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience were deceived by the art and ſweetneſs of the pronunciation. But that charm was ſoon at an end, and the mind not long amuſed by the ears. The verſes then appeared in all their ridicule. The audience were aſhamed of having applauded them, and their praiſe was turned into laughter, ſcorn, and inſult. To expreſs their contempt and indignation, they tore Dionyſius's rich pavilion in pieces. Lyſias, the celebrated orator, who was come to the Olympick games to diſpute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried ſeveral times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconſiſtent with the honour of Greece, the friend and aſſertor of liberty, to admit an impious tyrant to ſhare in the celebration of the ſacred games, who had no other thoughts than of ſubjecting all Greece to his power. Dionyſius was not affronted in that manner then; but the event proved as little in his favour. His chariots having entered the liſts, were all of them either carried out of the courſe by an headlong impetuoſity, or daſhed in pieces againſt one another. And to compleat the misfortune, the galley, which carried the perſons Dionyſius had ſent to the games, met with a violent ſtorm, and did not return to Syracuſe without great difficulty; when the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city, that it was his vile poems, which had occaſioned ſo many miſcarriages to the readers, racers, and even the ſhip itſelf. This bad ſucceſs did not at all diſcourage Dionyſius, nor make him abate

* *Theſe readers were called* Ραψῳδοί.

abate any thing in his high opinion of his poetick vein. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to insinuate, that such injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that sooner or later the invidious themselves would be convinced by demonstration, to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.

(*f*) The extravagance of Dionysius in that respect was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warrior, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To attempt to undeceive him in an opinion so favourable to himself, had been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who eat at his table in great numbers, seemed to be in an extasy of admiration, whenever he read them his poems. Never, according to them, was there any comparison: All was great, all noble in his poetry: All was majestick, or, to speak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all the tribe, who did not run with the stream into excessive praise and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in Dithyrambick poetry. There is a story told of him, which Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small fish set before him, and an huge one before the king, the whim took him to lay his ear close to the little fish. He was asked his meaning by that pleasantry: "I was enquiring," said he, "into some affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but this young native of the floods can give me no information; yours is elder, and without doubt knows something of the matter."

Dionysius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having prest him to give him his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real sentiments. Dionysius, who

(*f*) Diod. l. xv. p. 331.

who was not accuſtomed to ſuch language, was extremely offended, and aſcribing his boldneſs to envy, gave orders to carry him to the mines; the common jail being ſo called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account, and ſollicited for the generous priſoner, whoſe releaſe they obtained. He was enlarged the next day, and reſtored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionyſius for the ſame gueſts, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reaſon more than uſually gay and chearful; after they had plentifully regaled a great while, the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the converſation, which were the moſt frequent ſubject of it. He choſe ſome paſſages, which he had taken extraordinary pains in compoſing, and conceived to be maſter-pieces, as was very diſcernable from the ſelf-ſatisfaction and complacency he expreſſed whilſt they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he ſet the greater value, as it was not his cuſtom to be ſo profuſe of it as the reſt. What had paſſed the evening before was a ſufficient leſſon for the poet. When Dionyſius aſked his thoughts of the verſes, Philoxenus made no anſwer, but turning towards the guards, who always ſtood round the table, he ſaid in a ſerious, though humorous tone, without any emotion; *Carry me back to the mines.* * The prince took all the ſalt and ſpirit of that ingenious pleaſantry, without being offended. The ſprightlineſs of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him exceſſively angry. He only laughed at it now, and did not make a quarrel of it with the poet.

He was not in the ſame temper upon a groſs jeſt of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and ſeemed to argue a violent and brutal diſpoſition. The prince in converſation aſked, which was the beſt kind of braſs. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon

* Τότε μὲν διὰ τὴν εὐτραπελίαν τῶν παῤῥησίαν τοῦ γέλωτος τὸν μέμψιν ἐμαλάσσων μειδήσας ὁ Διονύσιος, ἔνεγκε τὸν Ἐλυνοῦν.

Antiphon ſaid, that was the beſt of which the ſtatues of * Hermodius and Ariſtogiton were made. This witty expreſſion (*g*), if it may called ſo, coſt him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus apprehending, that his too great liberty might be alſo attended with fatal conſequences, repreſented to him in the moſt ſerious manner, that thoſe who live with princes muſt ſpeak their language; that they hate to hear any thing not agreeable to themſelves; that whoever does not know how to diſſemble, is not qualified for a court; that the favours and liberalities, which Dionyſius continually beſtowed upon them, well deſerved the return of complaiſance; that, in a word, with his blunt freedom, and plain truth, he was in danger of loſing not only his fortune, but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would take their good advice, and for the future give ſuch a turn to his anſwers, as ſhould ſatisfy Dionyſius without injuring truth.

Accordingly ſome time after, Dionyſius having read a piece of his compoſing upon a very mournful ſubject, wherein he was to move compaſſion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, addreſſed himſelf again to Philoxenus, and aſked him his ſentiments upon it. Philoxenus gave him for anſwer (*h*) one word, which in the Greek language has two different ſignifications. In one of them it implies mournful, moving things, ſuch as inſpire ſentiments of pity and compaſſion: In the other, it expreſſes ſomething very mean, defective, pitiful and miſerable. Dionyſius, who was fond of his verſes, and believed that every body muſt have the ſame good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable conſtruction, and was extremely ſatisfied with Philoxenus. The reſt of the company were not miſtaken, but underſtood it in the right ſenſe, though without explaining themſelves.

Nothing could cure his folly for verſification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus (*i*), that having ſent his

(*g*) Plut. Moral. p. 78, & 833. (*h*) Ὀλοετεῦ. (*i*) Pag. 332.

* *They had delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides.*

his poems a ſecond time to Olympia, they were treated with the ſame ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an exceſs of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned ſoon after into a kind of madneſs and phrenzy. He complained that envy and jealouſy, the certain enemies of true merit, were always at variance with him, and that all the world conſpired to the ruin of his reputation. He accuſed his beſt friends with the ſame deſign; ſome of whom he put to death, and others he baniſhed; amongſt whom were Leptinus his brother, and Philiſtus, who had done him ſuch great ſervices, and to whom he was obliged for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled ſome time after, and re-inſtated in all their fortunes and his favour: Leptinus in particular, who married Dionyſius's daughter.

(*k*) To remove his melancholy for the ill ſucceſs of his verſes, it was neceſſary to find ſome employment, with which his wars and buildings ſupplied him. He had formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing powerful colonies in the part of Italy, ſituate upon the Adriatick ſea facing Epirus; in order that his fleet might not want a ſecure retreat, when he ſhould employ his forces on that ſide; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and reſtored Alcetes king of the Moloſſians to his throne. His principal deſign was to attack Epirus, and to make himſelf maſter of the immenſe treaſures, which had been for many ages amaſſing in the temple of Delphos. Before he could ſet this project on foot, which required great preparations, he ſeemed to make an eſſay of his genius for it, by another of the ſame kind, though of much more eaſy execution. Having made a ſudden irruption into Tuſcany, under the pretence of purſuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the ſuburbs of Agyllum, a city of that country, and carried away a ſum exceeding four millions five hundred thouſand livres (*l*).

He

(*k*) Diod. l. xv. p. 336, 337.

(*l*) 1500 *talents*, or about 200,000 *l. ſterling*.

He had occaſion for money to ſupport his great expences at Syracuſe, as well in fortifying the port, and to make it capable of receiving two hundred gallies, as to encloſe the whole city with good walls, erect magnificent temples, and build a place of exerciſe upon the banks of the river Anapus.

(*m*) At the ſame time he formed the deſign of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily. A firſt victory which he gained, put him almoſt into a condition to accompliſh his project; but the loſs of a ſecond battle, in which his brother Leptinus was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up ſeveral towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great ſums of money to reimburſe their expences in the war. An attempt which he made upon them ſome years after, taking advantage of the deſolation occaſioned by the plague at Carthage, had no better ſucceſs.

(*n*) Another victory of a very different kind, though not leſs at his heart, made him amends, or at leaſt comforted him for the ill ſucceſs of his arms. He had cauſed a tragedy of his to be repreſented at Athens for the prize in the celebrated feaſt of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory with the Athenians, who were the beſt judges of this kind of literature, ſeems to argue the poetry of Dionyſius not ſo *mean* and *pitiful*, and that it is very poſſible, the averſion of the Greeks for every thing which came from a tyrant, had a great ſhare in the contemptuous ſentence paſſed upon his poems in the Olympick games. However it was, Dionyſius received the news with inexpreſſible tranſports of joy. Publick thankſgivings were made to the gods, the temples being ſcarce capable of containing the concourſe of the people. Nothing was ſeen throughout the city, but feaſting and rejoicing; and Dionyſius regaled all his friends with the moſt extraordinary magnificence. Self-ſatisfied to a degree that cannot be deſcribed, he believed himſelf at the ſummit of glory, and did the honours of

(*m*) *See the hiſtory of the Carthaginians.* (*n*) Diod. p. 384, 385.

of his table with a gaiety and eaſe, and at the ſame time with a grace and dignity that charmed all the world. He invited his gueſts to eat and drink more by his example than expreſſions, and carried his civilities of that kind to ſuch an exceſs, that at the cloſe of the banquet he was ſeized with violent pains, occaſioned by an indigeſtion, of which it was not difficult to foreſee the conſequences.

(*o*) Dionyſius had three children by his wife Doris, and four by Ariſtomache, of which two were daughters, the one named Sophroſyne, the other Arete. Sophroſyne was married to his eldeſt ſon, Dionyſius the younger, whom he had by his Locrian wife, and Arete eſpouſed her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying ſoon, Dion married his widow Arete, who was his own niece.

As Dionyſius's diſtemper left no hopes of his life, Dion took upon him to diſcourſe him upon his children by Ariſtomache, who were at the ſame time his brothers-in-law and nephews, and to inſinuate to him, that it was juſt to prefer the iſſue of his Syracuſan wife to that of a ſtranger. But the phyſicians, deſirous of making their court to young Dionyſius, the Locrian's ſon, for whom the throne was intended, did not give him time to alter his purpoſe: For Dionyſius having demanded a medicine to make him ſleep, they gave him ſo ſtrong a doſe, as quite ſtupified him, and laid him in a ſleep that laſted him for the reſt of his life. He had reigned thirty-eight years.

He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occaſion for them all in raiſing himſelf as he did from a mean condition to ſo high a rank. After having held the ſovereignty thirty-eight years, he tranſmitted it peaceably to a ſucceſſor of his own iſſue and election; and had eſtabliſhed his power upon ſuch ſolid foundations, that his ſon, notwithſtanding the ſlenderneſs of his capacity for governing, retained it twelve years after his death. All which could not have been effected without

(*o*) Plut. in Dion, p. 960.

out a great fund of merit as to his capacity. But what qualities could cover the vices, which rendered him the object of his subjects abhorrence? His ambition knew neither law nor limitation; his avarice spared nothing, not even the most sacred places; his cruelty had often no regard to the affinity of blood; and his open and professed impiety only acknowledged the divinity to insult him.

In his return to Syracuse with a very favourable wind from plundering the temple of Proserpine at Locris, *See*, said he to his friends with a smile of contempt, *how the immortal gods favour the navigation of the sacrilegious.*

(*p*) Having occasion for money to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, he rifled the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of solid gold, which ornament Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the spoils of the Carthaginians. He even jested upon that occasion, saying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter; and at the same time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders; adding, that such an habit would be commodious in all seasons.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of Æsculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; giving for his reason, that it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard *, when the father had none.

He caused all the tables of silver to be taken out of the temples; and as there was generally inscribed upon them according to the custom of the Greeks, TO THE GOOD GODS; he would (he said) take the benefit of their GOODNESS.

As for less prizes, such as cups and crowns of gold, which the statues held in their hands, those he carried off without any ceremony; saying, it was not taking, but receiving, them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuse them, when they held out their hands themselves

(*p*) Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. xv. n. 83, 84.

* *Apollo's statues had no beards.*

ſelves to preſent them to you. Theſe ſpoils were carried by his order to the market, and ſold at the publick ſale: And when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their cuſtody any things taken out of ſacred places, ſhould reſtore them entire within a limited time to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the gods, injuſtice to man.

The amazing precautions that Dionyſius thought neceſſary to the ſecurity of his life, ſhew to what anxiety and apprehenſion he was abandoned. (*q*) He wore under his robe a cuiraſs of braſs. He never harangued the people but from the top of an high tower; and thought proper to make himſelf invulnerable by being inacceſſible. Not daring to confide in any of his friends or relations, his guard was compoſed of ſlaves and ſtrangers. He went abroad as little as poſſible; fear obliging him to condemn himſelf to a kind of impriſonment. Theſe extraordinary precautions regard without doubt certain intervals of his reign, when frequent conſpiracies againſt him rendered him more timid and ſuſpicious than uſual; for at other times we have ſeen that he converſed freely enough with the people, and was acceſſible even to familiarity. In thoſe dark days of diſtruſt and fear, he fancied, that he ſaw all mankind in arms againſt him. (*r*) A word which eſcaped his barber, who boaſted, by way of jeſt, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week, coſt him his life. From thenceforth, not to abandon his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, do him that deſpicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the ſciſſars and razors from them, and taught them to ſinge off his beard with nut-ſhells. (*s*) He was at laſt reduced to do himſelf that office, not daring it ſeems to truſt his own daughters any longer. He never went

 into

(*q*) Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. v. n. 57, 63. (*r*) Plut. de Garrul. p. 508. (*s*) Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 55.

into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was surrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a small draw-bridge over it for the entrance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might sleep in security. (*t*) Neither his brother, nor even his sons, could be admitted into his chamber without first changing their cloaths, and being visited by the guards. Is passing one's days in such a continual circle of distrust and terror, to live, to reign!

In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and surrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of almost forty years, notwithstanding all his presents and profusions, he never was capable of making a single friend. He passed his life with none but trembling slaves and sordid flatterers, and never tasted the joy of loving, or of being beloved, nor the charms of social truth and reciprocal confidence. This he owned himself upon an occasion not unworthy of repetition.

(*u*) Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually sworn to observe with inviolable fidelity. Their faith was put to a severe trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned for permission to make a journey into his own country, to settle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time, the other generously offering to be his security. The courtiers, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of so delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend who had bound himself in such a manner. But he, far from expressing any fear or concern,

(*t*) Plut. in Dion. p. 961. (*u*) Cic. de Offic. l. iii. n. 43. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.

concern, replied with tranquillity in his looks, and confidence in his expreſſions, that he was aſſured his friend would return; as he accordingly did upon the day and hour agreed. The tyrant ſtruck with admiration at ſo uncommon an inſtance of fidelity, and ſoftened with the view of ſo amiable an union, granted him his life, and deſired to be admitted as a third perſon into their friendſhip.

(*x*) He expreſſed with equal ingenuity on another occaſion what he thought of his condition. One of his courtiers, named Damocles, was perpetually extolling with rapture his treaſures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the univerſal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his poſſeſſion; always repeating that never man was happier than Dionyſius. "Becauſe you are of that opinion," ſaid the tyrant to him one day, "will you taſte, and "make proof of my felicity in perſon?" The offer was accepted with joy. Damocles was placed upon a golden bed, covered with carpets of ineſtimable value. The ſide-boards were loaded with veſſels of gold and ſilver. The moſt beautiful ſlaves in the moſt ſplendid habits ſtood around, watching the leaſt ſignal to ſerve him. The moſt exquiſite eſſences and perfumes had not been ſpared. The table was ſpread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himſelf as the happieſt man in the world; when unfortunately caſting up his eyes, he beheld over his head the point of a ſword, which hung from the roof only by a ſingle horſe-hair. He was immediately ſeized with a cold ſweat; every thing diſappeared in an inſtant; he could ſee nothing but the ſword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear he deſired permiſſion to retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. A very natural image of the life of a tyrant. Ours reigned, as I have obſerved before, thirty-eight years.

(*x*) Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. v. n. 61, 62.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. DIONYSIUS *the younger succeeds his father.* DION *engages him to invite* PLATO *to his court. Surprizing alteration occasioned by his presence. Conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent the effects of it.*

A. M. 3632. Ant. J. C. 372.

(y) DIONYSIUS the elder was succeeded by one of his sons of his own name, commonly called Dionysius the younger. After his father's funeral had been solemnized with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and desired they would have the same good inclinations for him as they had professed for his father. They were very different from each other in their character. (z) For the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition, as the former was active and enterprizing; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of natural sloth and indolence of temper.

It was surprizing to see Dionysius the younger take quiet possession of the tyranny after the death of his father, as of a right of inheritance, notwithstanding the passion of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince undistinguished by his merit, and void of experience. It seemed as if the last years of the elder Dionysius, who had applied himself towards the close of his life in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had in some measure reconciled them to the tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage itself, as well as to the most potent states of Greece and Italy. Besides which it was to be feared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the sad consequences of a civil war might

(y) Diod. l. xv. p. 385. (z) Id. l. xvi. p. 410.

might deprive them of all thoſe advantages: And at the ſame time the gentle and humane diſpoſition of young Dionyſius gave them reaſon to entertain the moſt favourable hopes of the future. He therefore peaceably aſcended his father's throne.

England has ſeen ſomething of this kind in the famous Cromwell, who died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the beſt of princes, and was interred with the ſame honours and pomp as the moſt lawful ſovereign. Richard his ſon ſucceeded him, and was for ſome time in equal authority with his father, though he had not any of his great qualities.

(*a*) Dion, the braveſt, and at the ſame time the wiſeſt of the Syracuſans, Dionyſius's brother-in-law, might have been of great ſupport to him, had he known how to make uſe of his counſels. In the firſt aſſembly held by Dionyſius and all his friends, Dion ſpoke in ſo wiſe a manner upon what was neceſſary and expedient in the preſent conjuncture, as ſhewed that the reſt were like infants in compariſon with him, and in regard to a juſt boldneſs and freedom of ſpeech, were no more than deſpicable ſlaves of the tyranny, ſolely employed in the abject endeavour of pleaſing the prince. But what ſurprized and amazed them moſt was that Dion, at a time when the whole court were ſtruck with terror at the proſpect of the ſtorm, forming on the ſide of Carthage, and juſt ready to break upon Sicily, ſhould inſiſt, that if Dionyſius deſired peace, he would embark immediately for Africa, and diſpel this tempeſt to his ſatisfaction; or if he preferred the war, that he would furniſh and maintain him fifty gallies of three benches compleatly equipped for ſervice.

Dionyſius admiring and extolling his generous magnanimity to the ſkies, profeſſed the higheſt gratitude to him for his zeal and affection; but the courtiers, who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themſelves, and his great power as a leſſening of their own, took immediate occaſion from thence to calumniate

(*a*) Plut. in Dion. p. 960, 961.

lumniate him, and ſpared no diſcourſe that might influence the young prince againſt him. They inſinuated, that in making himſelf ſtrong at ſea, he would open his way to the tyranny; and that he deſigned to tranſport the ſovereignty on board his veſſels to his nephews, the ſons of Ariſtomache.

But what put them moſt out of humour with Dion, was his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to theirs. For theſe courtiers having preſently inſinuated themſelves, and got the aſcendant of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of ſupplying him perpetually with new amuſements, keeping him always employed in feaſting, abandoned to women and all manner of ſhameful pleaſures. (*b*) In the beginning of his reign he made a debauch, which continued for three months entire, during all which time his palace, ſhut againſt all perſons of ſenſe and reaſon, was crowded with drunkards, and reſounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obſcene jeſts, lewd ſongs, dances, maſquerades, and every kind of groſs and diſſolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offenſive and diſguſting to them than the preſence of Dion, who gave into none of theſe pleaſures. For which reaſon, painting his virtues in ſuch of the colours of vice as were moſt likely to diſguiſe them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity paſs for arrogance, and his freedom of ſpeech for inſolence and ſedition. If he advanced any wiſe counſel, they treated him as a ſour pedagogue, who took upon him to obtrude his lectures, and to ſchool his prince without being aſked; and if he refuſed to ſhare in the debauch with the reſt, they called him a man-hater, a ſplenetick melancholy wretch, who from the fantaſtick height of virtue looked down with contempt on the reſt of the world, of whom he ſet himſelf up for the cenſor.

And indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that he had naturally ſomething auſtere and rigid in his manners and behaviour,

(*b*) Athen. l. x. p. 435.

behaviour, which ſeemed to argue an haughtineſs of nature, very capable not only of diſguſting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidſt flatteries and ſubmiſſions, but the beſt of his friends, and thoſe who were moſt nearly attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude, and nobleneſs of ſentiments, they repreſented to him, that for a ſtateſman, who ought to know how to adapt himſelf to the different tempers of men, and how to apply them to his purpoſes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding. (*c*) Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philoſopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whoſe converſation was very proper to inſpire him with more eaſy and inſinuating manners. He obſerves alſo upon that failing in a letter to him, wherein he ſpeaks to this effect: "Conſider, I beg you, that you are cen-"ſured of being deficient in point of good nature "and affability; and be entirely aſſured, that the moſt "certain means to the ſucceſs of affairs, is to be agree-"able to the perſons with whom we have to tranſact. "An * haughty carriage keeps people at a diſtance, "and reduces a man to paſs his life in ſolitude." Notwithſtanding this defect, he continued to be highly conſidered at court; where his ſuperior abilities and tranſcendent merit made him abſolutely neceſſary, eſpecially at a time when the ſtate was threatened with great danger and emergency.

(*d*) As he believed, that all the vices of young Dionyſius were the effect of his bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, he conceived juſtly, that the beſt remedy would be to aſſociate him if poſſible with perſons of wit and ſenſe; whoſe ſolid, but agreeable converſation, might at once inſtruct and divert him: For the prince did not naturally want parts and genius.

(*c*) Plat. Epiſt. iv. p. 327, 328.

(*d*) Plut. in Dion. p. 962. Plat. Epiſt. vii.

* Ἡδὺ αὐθάδεια ἐρημία ξύνοικος. *M. Dacier renders theſe words; Pride is always the companion of ſolitude. I have ſhewn elſewhere, wherein this verſion is faulty.* Art of teaching the Belles Lettres. Vol. III. p. 505.

The ſequel will ſhew that Dionyſius the younger had a natural propenſity to what was good and virtuous, and a taſte and capacity for arts and ſciences. He knew how to ſet a value upon the merit and talents, by which men are diſtinguiſhed. He delighted in converſing with perſons of ability, and from his correſpondence with them, made himſelf capable of the higheſt improvements. He went ſo far as to familiarize the throne with the ſciences, which of themſelves have little or no acceſs to it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility by which he raiſed them to honour and diſtinction. Nor was he inſenſible to the joys of friendſhip. In private he was a good parent, relation and maſter, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and it might be ſaid of him, that he was rather a tyrant by ſucceſſion and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonſtrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince, (not to ſay a good one,) had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy diſpoſition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, induſtriouſly ſuppreſſed in him all tendency to goodneſs, and every noble and elevated ſentiment, by a baſe and obſcure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing againſt himſelf. It was therefore neceſſary to find a perſon of the character before-mentioned, or rather to inſpire himſelf with the deſire of having ſuch an one found.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful addreſs. He often talked to him of Plato, as the moſt profound and illuſtrious of philoſophers, whoſe merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableneſs of his character, and the charms of his converſation.

He

He repreſented him particularly as the man of the world moſt capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the people's happineſs depended. He told him, that his ſubjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and juſtice, which force and violence extorted from them againſt their will; and that by ſuch a conduct he would, from a tyrant, become a juſt king, to whom all ſubmiſſion would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much theſe diſcourſes, introduced in converſation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated deſign, enflamed the young prince with the deſire of knowing and converſing with Plato. He wrote to him in the moſt importunate and obliging manner to that purpoſe; he diſpatched couriers after couriers to haſten his voyage; whilſt Plato, who apprehended the conſequences, and had ſmall hopes of any good effect of it, protracted the affair, and without abſolutely refuſing, ſufficiently intimated, that he could not reſolve upon it, without doing violence to himſelf. The obſtacles and difficulties, made to the young prince's requeſt, were ſo far from diſguſting him, that they only ſerved, as it commonly happens, to inflame his deſire. The Pythagorean philoſophers of Græcia major in Italy joined their entreaties with his and Dion's, who on his part redoubled his inſtances, and uſed the ſtrongeſt arguments to conquer Plato's repugnance. "This is not," ſaid he, "the concern of a private perſon, but of a powerful prince, "whoſe change of manners will have the ſame effect "throughout his whole dominions, with the extent of "which you are not unacquainted. It is himſelf who "makes all theſe advances; who importunes and ſol-"licits you to come to his aſſiſtance, and employs the "intereſt of all your friends to that purpoſe. What "more favourable conjuncture could we expect from "the divine providence than that which now offers it-

"ſelf?

"ſelf? Are you not afraid that your delays will give "the flatterers, who ſurround the young prince, the "opportunity of drawing him over to themſelves, "and of ſeducing him to change his reſolution? "What reproaches would you not make yourſelf, "and what diſhonour would it not be to philoſophy, "ſhould it ever be ſaid, that Plato, whoſe counſels to "Dionyſius might have eſtabliſhed a wiſe and equita-"ble government in Sicily, abandoned to all the evils "of tyranny, rather than undergo the fatigues of a "voyage, or from I know not what other imaginary "difficulties?"

(*e*) Plato could not reſiſt ſollicitations of ſo much force. Vanquiſhed by the conſideration of his own character, and to obviate the reproach of his being a philoſopher in words only, without having ever ſhewn himſelf ſuch in his actions, and conſcious beſides of the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from his voyage, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded.

The flatterers at the court of Dionyſius, terrified with the reſolution he had taken contrary to their remonſtrances, and fearing the preſence of Plato, of which they foreſaw the conſequences, united together againſt him as their common enemy. They rightly judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be meaſured by the ſtandard of true merit, and no favour to be expected from the prince, but for the ſervices done the ſtate, they had nothing further to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner of purpoſe. They therefore ſpared no pains to render Plato's voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent it. They prevailed upon Dionyſius to recall Philiſtus from baniſhment, who was not only an able ſoldier but a great hiſtorian, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous aſſertor of the tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoiſe in him againſt Plato and his philoſophy. Upon his being baniſhed by Dionyſius the elder, on ſome perſonal diſcontent, he retired into the city of Adria,

(*e*) Plut. p. 962.

Adria, where it was believed he compoſed the greateſt part of his writings. (*f*) He wrote the hiſtory of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionyſius the tyrant in ſix; all which works are entirely loſt. Cicero praiſes * him much, and calls him Thucydides the leſs, *pene puſillus Thucydides*, to ſignify that he copied after that author not unhappily. The courtiers at the ſame time made complaints againſt Dion to Dionyſius, accuſing him of having held conferences with Theodotus and Heraclides, the ſecret enemies of that prince, upon meaſures for ſubverting the tyranny.

(*g*) This was the ſtate of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily. He was received with infinite careſſes, and with the higheſt marks of honour and reſpect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's chariots equally magnificent in its horſes and ornaments attending upon him. The tyrant offered a ſacrifice, as if ſome ſingular inſtance of good fortune had befallen him; nor was he miſtaken, for a wiſe man, who is capable of giving a prince good counſels, is a treaſure of ineſtimable value to a whole nation. But the worth of ſuch a perſon is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uſes which might be made of it.

Plato found the moſt happy diſpoſitions imaginable in young Dionyſius, who applied himſelf entirely to his leſſons and counſels. But as he had improved infinitely from the precepts and example of Socrates his maſter, the moſt exquiſite of all the pagan world in forming the mind for a right taſte of truth, he took care to adapt himſelf with wonderful addreſs to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his paſſions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and inſinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, at the ſame

(*f*) Diod. l. xiii. p. 222.

* Hunc (Thucydidem) conſecutus eſt Syracuſius Philiſtus, qui cum Dionyſii tyranni familiariſſimus eſſet, otium ſuum conſumpſit in hiſtoria ſcribenda, maximéque Thucydidem eſt, ſicut eſt mihi videtur, imitatus. *Cic. de Orat.* l. ii. n. 57.

Siculus ille creber, acutus, brevis, pene puſillus Thucydides. *Id. Epiſt.* xiii. *ad Qu. frat.* l. ii.

(*g*) Plut. in Dion. p. 963.

ſame time triumphant over vice, which keeps mankind in its chains, by the ſole force of allurements, pleaſures, and voluptuouſneſs.

The change was ſudden and ſurprizing. The young prince, who had abandoned himſelf till then to idleneſs, pleaſure and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable conſequence of a diſſolute life, awaking as from a lethargick ſleep, began to open his eyes, to have ſome idea of the beauty of virtue, and to reliſh the refined pleaſure of converſation equally ſolid and agreeable. He was now as paſſionately fond of learning and inſtruction, as he had once been averſe and repugnant to them. The court, which always apes the prince, and falls in with his inclinations in every thing, entered into the ſame way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like ſo many ſchools of geometry, were full of the duſt made uſe of by the profeſſors of that ſcience in tracing their figures; and in a very ſhort time the ſtudy of philoſophy and of every kind of literature became the reigning and univerſal taſte.

The great benefit of theſe ſtudies in regard to a prince does not conſiſt alone in ſtoring his mind with an infinity of the moſt curious, uſeful, and often neceſſary notions of things, but has the farther advantage of abſtracting himſelf from idleneſs, indolence, and the frivolous amuſements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inſpiring him with a paſſion to inform himſelf in the duties of the ſovereignty, and to know the characters of ſuch as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himſelf capable of governing the ſtate in his own perſon, and of ſeeing every thing with his own eyes, that is to ſay, to be indeed a king; but that the courtiers and flatterers are almoſt always unanimous in oppoſing.

They were conſiderably alarmed by a word that eſcaped Dionyſius, and ſhewed how much he was affected with the diſcourſes he had heard upon the happineſs of a king, regarded with tender affection by his

people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and deteſt. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the anniverſary, on which a ſolemn ſacrifice was offered in the palace for the prince's proſperity. The herald having prayed to this effect, according to cuſtom, *That it would pleaſe the gods to ſupport the tyranny, and preſerve the tyrant:* Dionyſius, who was not far from him, and to whom theſe terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, *Will you not give over curſing me?* Philiſtus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expreſſion, and judged from it, that time and habit muſt give Plato an invincible aſcendant over Dionyſius, if the correſpondence of a few days could ſo entirely alter his diſpoſition. They therefore ſet themſelves at work upon new and more effectual ſtratagems againſt him.

They begun by turning the retired life which Dionyſius led with Plato, and the ſtudies in which he employed himſelf, into ridicule, as if intended to make a philoſopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato ſuſpected, and even odious to him. They repreſented them as * impertinent cenſors and imperious pedagogues, who aſſumed an authority over him, which neither conſiſted with his age nor rank. † It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionyſius, who, with the moſt excellent natural parts, and amidſt the beſt examples, would have found it difficult to have ſupported himſelf, ſhould at length give way to ſuch artful inſinuations in a court, that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually beſieged by a crowd of flatterers inceſſantly praiſing and admiring him in every thing.

But the principal application of the courtiers was to decry the character and conduct of Dion himſelf; not ſeparately, nor in the method of whiſper, but all together,

* Triſtes & ſuperciliioſos alienæ vitæ cenſores, publicos pædagogos. *Sen. Epiſt.* cxxiii.

† Vix artibus honeſtis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modeſtia, aut quidquam probi moris ſervaretur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. iv. c. 15.

together, and in publick. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing, that it was visible, Dion made use of Plato's eloquence, to insinuate and enchant Dionysius, with design to draw him into a voluntary resignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children of Aristomache, and establish them in the sovereignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary and afflicting, that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great forces both by sea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss the ten thousand strangers of his guard; to lay aside his fleet of four hundred gallies, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the sake of going to find in the academy (the place where Plato taught) a pretended supreme good not explicable, and to make himself happy in imagination by the study of geometry, whilst he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleasure.

SECT. II. *Banishment of* DION. PLATO *quits the court soon after, and returns into Greece.* DION *admired by all the learned.* PLATO *returns to Syracuse.*

THE courtiers, intent upon making the best use of every favourable moment, perpetually besieged the young prince, and covering their secret motives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, incessantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourses soon raised in the mind of Dionysius the most violent suspicions of Dion, which presently increased into fierce resentment, and broke out in an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionysius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, wherein he tells them, *that*

that when they ſhould treat of peace with Dionyſius, he would adviſe them not to open the conferences but in his preſence; becauſe he would aſſiſt them in making their treaty more firm and laſting. Dionyſius read theſe letters to Philiſtus, and having concerted with him what meaſures to take, (*h*) he amuſed Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and led him alone to the ſeaſide below the citadel, where he ſhewed him his letters, and accuſed him of having entered into a league againſt him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have juſtified himſelf, but he refuſed to hear him, and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coaſt of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after ſet ſail for Peloponneſus.

(*i*) So hard and unjuſt a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noiſe, and the whole city declared againſt it; eſpecially as it was reported, though without foundation, that Plato had been put to death. (*k*) Dionyſius, who apprehended the conſequences, took pains to appeaſe the publick diſcontent, and to obviate complaints. He gave Dion's relations two veſſels to tranſport to him in Peloponneſus his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As ſoon as Dion was gone, Dionyſius made Plato change his lodging, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to aſſure himſelf of his perſon, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato nearer to him, he might alſo have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodiouſly. For charmed with the delights of his converſation, and ſtudious of pleaſing him in every thing, and to merit hir affection, he had conceived an eſteem, or rather paſſion for him, which roſe even to jealouſy, but a jealouſy of that violence, that could ſuffer neither companion nor rival. He was for engroſſing him entirely to himſelf, for [illegible] reigning

(*h*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 410, 411. (*i*) Plut. p. 964. (*k*) Plat. Ep. vii.

reigning ſolely in his thoughts and affections, and for being the only object of his love and eſteem. He ſeemed content to give him all his treaſures and authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendſhip to his. Plutarch has reaſon to call this paſſion *a tyrannick affection* (*l*). Plato had much to ſuffer from it; for it had all the ſymptoms of the moſt ardent jealouſy. * Sometimes it was all friendſhip, careſſes, and fond reſpect, with an unbounded effuſion of heart, and an endleſs ſwell of tender ſentiments: Sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce paſſion, and wild emotion; and ſoon after it ſunk into repentance, excuſes, tears, and humble entreaties of pardon and forgiveneſs.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently for Plato, which obliged Dionyſius to reſtore him his liberty, and ſend him home. At his departure, he would have laden him with preſents, but Plato refuſed them, contenting himſelf with his promiſe to recall Dion the following ſpring: He did not keep his word, and only ſent him his revenues, deſiring Plato in his letters to excuſe his breach of promiſe at the time prefixed, and to impute it only to the war. He aſſured him, as ſoon as peace ſhould be concluded, that Dion ſhould return; upon condition, however, that he ſhould continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to leſſen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato, in his return to Greece, went to ſee the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongſt ſtrangers of diſtinction. He eat and paſſed whole days with them, behaving himſelf in a plain and ſimple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the academy, or making himſelf known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The ſtrangers were overjoyed with having met with ſo kind and amiable a companion; but as he never talked of any thing out of common converſation, they had not the leaſt notion, that

(*l*) Ἡδονὴν τυραννικὴν ἔχοντα.

* In amore hæc omnia inſunt vitia; ſuſpiciones, inimicitiæ, injuriæ, induciæ, bellum, pax rurſum. *Terent. in Eunuch.*

In amore hæc ſunt mala, bellum, pax rurſum. *Horat.*

that he was the philoſopher whoſe reputation was ſo univerſal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They were ſcarce arrived there, when they deſired him to carry them to ſee the famous philoſopher of his name, who had been Socrates's diſciple. Plato told them ſmiling, that he was the man; upon which the ſtrangers, ſurprized at their having poſſeſſed ſo ineſtimable a treaſure without knowing it, were much diſpleaſed with, and ſecretly reproached themſelves for not having diſcerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of ſimplicity and modeſty he had thrown over it, whilſt they admired him the more upon that account.

(*m*) The time Dion paſſed at Athens was not loſt. He employed it chiefly in the ſtudy of philoſophy, for which he had a great taſte, and which was become his paſſion. * He knew however, which is not very eaſy, to confine it within its juſt bounds, and never gave himſelf up to it at the expence of any duty. It was at the ſame time Plato made him contract a particular friendſhip with his nephew Speuſippus, who, uniting the eaſy and inſinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philoſopher, knew how to aſſociate mirth and innocent pleaſure with the moſt ſerious affairs, and by that character, very rarely found amongſt men of learning, was the moſt proper of all men to ſoften what was too rough and auſtere in the humour of Dion.

Whilſt Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the publick games, and to have tragedies performed at the feaſt of Bacchus, which was uſually attended with great magnificence and expence, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into faſhion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who was ſtudious of all occaſions of producing him to the publick, was well pleaſed to reſign that honour to him, as

(*m*) Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

* Retinuitque, quod eſt difficillimum, ex ſapientia modum. *Tacit. in vit. Agric.* n. 4.

his magnificence might make him ſtill better beloved and eſteemed by the Athenians.

Dion viſited alſo the other cities of Greece, where he was preſent at all their feaſts and aſſemblies, and converſed with the moſt excellent wits, and the moſt profound ſtateſmen. He was not diſtinguiſhed in company by the loftineſs and pride too common in perſons of his rank, but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, ſimple, and modeſt air; and eſpecially by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wiſdom of his reflections. All cities paid him the higheſt honours, and the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the reſentment of Dionyſius, though he actually aſſiſted them at that time with a powerful ſupply in their war againſt the Thebans. So many marks of eſteem and diſtinction alarmed the tyrant's jealouſy. He put a ſtop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be received by his own officers.

(*n*) After Dionyſius had put an end to the war he was engaged in in Sicily, of which hiſtory relates no circumſtance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philoſophers againſt him, and make him paſs for their enemy. For this reaſon he invited the moſt learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent aſſemblies, in which, out of a fooliſh ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and profound knowledge; venting, without application, ſuch of Plato's diſcourſes as he retained. But as he had thoſe diſcourſes only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the ſource of his eloquence was ſoon exhauſted. He then perceived what he had loſt by not having made a better uſe of that treaſure of wiſdom once in his own poſſeſſion and under his own roof, and by not having heard, in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greateſt philoſopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular, Dionyſius was ſuddenly ſeized with an exceſſive deſire of

(*n*) Plat. Epiſt. vii. p. 338, 340. Plut. in Dion. p. 964, 966.

of ſeeing Plato again, and uſed all means for that purpoſe. He prevailed upon Architas, and the other Pythagorean philoſophers, to write to him, that he might return with all manner of ſecurity; and to be bound for the performance of all the promiſes which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemus to Plato, and Dionyſius ſent at the ſame time two gallies of three benches of rowers, with ſeveral of his friends on board, to intreat his compliance. He alſo wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be perſuaded to come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him; but if he came, that he might entirely diſpoſe of every thing in his power.

Dion received ſeveral letters at the ſame time from his wife and ſiſter, who preſſed him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and to ſatisfy the impatience of Dionyſius, that he might have no new pretexts againſt him upon that account. Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not reſiſt the warm ſollicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the third time, at ſeventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themſelves, that his wiſdom would at length overthrow the tyranny, and the joy of Dionyſius was inexpreſſible. He appointed the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the moſt honourable in the palace, and had ſo much confidence in him, that he ſuffered his acceſs to him at all hours, without being ſearched; a favour not granted to any of his beſt friends.

After the firſt careſſes were over, Plato was for entering into Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionyſius put it off at firſt; to which enſued complaints and murmurings, though not outwardly expreſſed for ſome time. The tyrant took great care to conceal his ſentiments upon that head, endeavouring by all manner of honours, and by all poſſible regard and complacency, to abate his friendſhip for Dion.

Plato diſſembled on his ſide, and though extremely ſhocked at ſo notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himſelf.

Whilſt they were upon theſe terms, and believed that no body penetrated their ſecret, Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there would be an eclipſe of the ſun; which happening according to his prediction exactly at the hour, Dionyſius was ſo much ſurprized and aſtoniſhed at it, (a proof that he was no great philoſopher,) that he made him a preſent of a* talent. Ariſtippus jeſting upon that occaſion, ſaid, that he had alſo ſomething very incredible and extraordinary to foretell. Upon being preſſed to explain himſelf, "I "prophesy," ſaid he, "that it will not be long be-"fore Dionyſius and Plato, who ſeem to agree ſo well "with each other, will be enemies."

Dionyſius verified this prediction; for being weary of the conſtraint he laid upon himſelf, he ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be ſold, and applied the money to his own uſe. At the ſame time he made Plato quit the apartments in the garden, and gave him another lodging without the caſtle in the midſt of his guards, who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity to kill him, becauſe he had adviſed Dionyſius to renounce the tyranny, to break them, and to live without any other guard but the love of his people. Plato was ſenſible, that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who reſtrained the fury of his guard.

Architas, the celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher, who was the principal perſon, and ſupreme magiſtrate of Tarentum, had no ſooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he ſent ambaſſadors with a galley of thirty oars to demand him from Dionyſius, and to remind him, that he came to Syracuſe only upon his promiſe, and that of all the Pythagorean philoſophers, who had engaged for his ſafety; that therefore he could not retain him againſt his will, nor ſuffer any

3 insult

* *A thousand crowns.*

insult to be done to his person, without a manifest breach of faith, and absolutely forfeiting the opinion of all honest men. These just remonstrances awakened a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at last permitted Plato to return into Greece.

(o) Philosophy and wisdom abandoned the palace with him. To the conversations, as agreeable as useful, to that taste and passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wise politician, idle tattle, frivolous amusements, and a stupid indolence, entirely averse to every thing serious or reasonable, were seen to succeed. Gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery, resumed their empire at the court, and transformed it from the school of virtue, which it had been under Plato, into the real stable of Circe.

SECT. III. DION *sets out to deliver Syracuse. Sudden and fortunate success of his enterprize. Horrid ingratitude of the Syracusans. Unparallelled goodness of* DION *to them and his most cruel enemies. His death.*

(p) WHEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionysius threw off all reserve, and married his sister Arete, Dion's wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends. So unworthy a treatment was, in a manner, the signal of the war. From that moment Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himself for all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his resolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the misfortunes he was about to occasion, and declared, that he must expect neither assistance nor relief from him; that as he had been the guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his palace, and joined in the same sacrifices with him, he should never forget the duties of hospitality; and at the same time, not to be wanting to his friendship for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to discharge the offices of a medi-

A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

(o) Plut. in Moral. p. 52. (p) Plut. in Dion. p. 966, 968.

mediator between them, though he ſhould oppoſe their deſigns, when they tended to the deſtruction of each other.

Whether prudence or gratitude, or the conviction that Dion could not juſtifiably undertake to dethrone Dionyſius; this was Plato's opinion. On the other hand, Speuſippus, and all the reſt of Dion's friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and reſtore the liberty of Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmoſt joy. This was indeed the diſpoſition of Syracuſe, which Speuſippus, during his reſidence there with Plato, had ſufficiently experienced. This was the univerſal cry; whilſt they importuned and conjured Dion to come thither, deſiring him not to be in pain for the want of ſhips or troops, but only to embark in the firſt merchant veſſel he met with, and lend his perſon and name to the Syracuſans againſt Dionyſius.

Dion did not heſitate any longer upon taking that reſolution, which in one reſpect coſt him not a little. From the time that Dionyſius had obliged him to quit Syracuſe and Sicily, he had led in his baniſhment the moſt agreeable life it was poſſible to imagine, for a perſon, who like him had contracted a taſte for the delights of ſtudy. He enjoyed in peace the converſation of the philoſophers, and was preſent at their diſputations; ſhining in a manner entirely peculiar to himſelf by the greatneſs of his genius, and the ſolidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece, to ſee and converſe with the moſt eminent for knowledge and capacity, and to correſpond with the ableſt politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and reſpected by all that knew him; and receiving, wherever he came, the higheſt honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from ſo happy a life that he withdrew himſelf to go to the relief of his country which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.

No

No enterprize perhaps was ever formed with ſo much boldneſs, or conducted with ſo much prudence. Dion began to raiſe foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his deſign. A great number of conſiderable perſons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But what is very ſurprizing, of all thoſe the tyrant had baniſhed, and who were not leſs than a thouſand, only twenty-five accompanied him in this expedition; ſo much had fear got poſſeſſion of them. The iſle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops aſſembled to the number of almoſt eight hundred; but all of them courage-proved on great occaſions, excellently diſciplined and robuſt, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found amongſt the moſt brave and warlike; and in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of ſetting them the example of fighting with all the valour ſo noble an enterprize required.

But when they were to ſet forwards, and it was known that this armament was intended againſt Sicily and Dionyſius, for till then it had not been declared, they were all in a conſternation, and repented their having engaged in the enterprize, which they could not but conceive as the effect of extreme raſhneſs and folly, that in the laſt deſpair was for putting every thing to the hazard. Dion had occaſion at this time for all his reſolution and eloquence to re-animate the troops, and remove their fears. But after he had ſpoke to them, and with an aſſured though modeſt tone, had made them underſtand, that he did not lead them in this expedition as ſoldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracuſans, and all the people of Sicily, who had been long prepared for a revolt, their dread and ſadneſs were changed into ſhouts of joy, and they deſired nothing ſo much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion having prepared a magnificent ſacrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himſelf at the head of his troops compleatly armed, and in that equipage marched

in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a great feast to the whole company, at the end of which, after the libations and solemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, re-assured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon that account. The next day they embarked on board two trading vessels, which were followed by a third not so large, and by two barks of thirty oars.

(r) Who could have imagined, says an historian, that a man with two merchant-vessels should ever dare to attack a prince, who had four * hundred ships of war, an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of arms, and corn in proportion, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them; who, besides all this, was in possession of one of the greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with ports, arsenals, and impregnable citadels, with the additional strength and support of a great number of potent allies? The event will shew, whether force and power are adamantine chains for retaining a state in subjection, as the elder Dionysius flattered himself; or if the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, and the love of subjects, are not infinitely stronger and more dissoluble ties.

(s) Dion having put to sea with his small body of troops, was twelve days under sail with little wind, and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus, a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuse. When they came up with that place, the pilot gave notice that they must land directly, that there was reason

(r) Diod. l. xvi. p. 413. Diod. l. xvi. p. 414, 417.

* It is not easy to comprehend, how the Dionysii were capable of entertaining so great a force by sea and land, their dominions being only a part of Sicily, and consequently of no great extent. It is true, that the city of Syracuse had been very much enriched by commerce; and that those two princes received great contributions both from the places of Sicily and Italy in their dependance: But it is still no easy matter to conceive how all this should suffice to the enormous expences of Dionysius the elder, in fitting out great fleets, raising and maintaining numerous armies, and erecting magnificent buildings. It were to be wished, that historians had given us some better lights upon this head.

(s) Plut. in Dion. p. 968, 972.

ſon to fear an hurricane, and therefore not proper to put to ſea. But Dion, who apprehended making his deſcent ſo near the enemy, and choſe to land further off, doubled the cape of Pacynus, which he had no ſooner paſſed, than a furious ſtorm aroſe, attended with rain, thunder, and lightening, which drove his ſhips to the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, where they were in great danger of daſhing to pieces againſt the rocks. Happily for them a ſouth wind riſing ſuddenly, contrary to expectation, they unfurled all their ſails, and after having made vows to the gods, they ſtood out to ſea for Sicily. They ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa, a ſmall town of Sicily under the Carthaginians; whoſe commander Synalus was Dion's particular friend and gueſt. They were perfectly well received, and would have ſtaid there ſome time to refreſh themſelves, after the rude fatigues they had ſuffered during the ſtorm, if they had not been informed that Dionyſius was abſent, having embarked ſome days before for the coaſt of Italy, attended by fourſcore veſſels. The ſoldiers demanded earneſtly to be led on againſt the enemy, and Dion, having deſired Synalus to ſend his baggage after him, when proper, marched directly to Syracuſe.

His troops increaſed conſiderably upon his rout, by the great number of thoſe who came to join him from all parts. The news of his arrival being ſoon known at Syracuſe, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the ſiſter of Dionyſius, to whom he had left the command of the city in his abſence, diſpatched a courier to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progreſs. But that courier, being almoſt at his journey's end, was ſo fatigued with having run the beſt part of the night, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſtopping to take a little ſleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the ſmell of a piece of meat, which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the fleſh and the bag, in which he had alſo put his diſpatches. Dionyſius was by this means prevented

for

for ſome time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and then received the news from other hands.

When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs about half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a ſacrifice upon the river ſide, addreſſing his prayers to the riſing ſun. All who were preſent, ſeeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the ſacrifice, crowned themſelves alſo in the ſame manner, as animated with one and the ſame ſpirit. He had been joined on his march by at leaſt five thouſand men, and advanced with them towards the city. The moſt conſiderable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the ſame time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the ſpies and informers, an accurſed race of wretches, * THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN, ſays Plutarch, who made it the buſineſs of their lives, to diſperſe themſelves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they ſaid or thought, and often what they neither ſaid nor thought. Theſe were the firſt victims to the fury of the people, and were knocked on the head with ſtaves immediately. Timocrates, not able to throw himſelf into the citadel, rode off on horſeback.

At that inſtant Dion appeared within ſight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one ſide, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. After him came an hundred of the foreign ſoldiers, fine troops, whom he had choſen for his guard. The reſt followed in order of battle, with their officers at the head of them. The Syracuſans beheld them with inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, and received them as a ſacred proceſſion, whom the gods themſelves regarded with pleaſure, and who reſtored them their liberty with the democracy, forty-eight years after they had been baniſhed from their city.

After

* Ἀιθάπτες ἀνοσίας καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρούς.

After Dion had made his entry, he ordered the trumpets to ſound, to appeaſe the noiſe and tumult; and ſilence being made, an herald proclaimed, that *Dion and Megacles were come to aboliſh the tyranny, and to free the Syracuſans and all the people of Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant.* And being deſirous to harangue the people in perſon, he went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called Achradina. Wherever he paſſed, the Syracuſans had ſet out, on both ſides of the ſtreets, tables and bowls, and had prepared victims, and as he came before their houſes, they threw all ſorts of flowers upon him, addreſſing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to thoſe who had done the people any great and ſignal ſervices. And can there be any ſervice, any gift, ſo valuable, as that of liberty! Not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapylæ, ſtood a ſun-dial upon an high pedeſtal, erected by Dionyſius. Dion placed himſelf upon it, and in a ſpeech to the people, exhorted them to employ their utmoſt efforts for the recovery and preſervation of their liberty. The Syracuſans, tranſported with what he ſaid, and to expreſs their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother captain-generals with ſupreme authority; and by their conſent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the moſt conſiderable citizens, half of whom were of the number of thoſe who had been baniſhed by Dionyſius, and returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the caſtle of Epipolis, he ſet the citizens who were priſoners in it at liberty, and fortified it with ſtrong works. Dionyſius arrived from Italy ſeven days after, and entered the citadel by ſea. The ſame day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had left with Synalus. Theſe he diſtributed amongſt the citizens who were unprovided. All the reſt armed and equipped themſelves as well as they could, expreſſing the greateſt ardour and ſatisfaction.

Dionyſius began by ſending ambaſſadors to Dion and the Syracuſans with propoſals, which ſeemed very advantageous. The anſwer was, that by way of preliminary, he muſt abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionyſius did not ſeem averſe. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardour of the Syracuſans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly having made the deputies, who were ſent to treat with him, priſoners, he ſuddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall, with which the Syracuſans had ſurrounded the citadel, and made ſeveral breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an aſſault, put Dion's ſoldiers into great confuſion, who immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to ſtop them, and believing example more prevalent than words, he threw himſelf fiercely into the midſt of the enemy, where he ſtood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a ſpear; his arms were ſcarce proof againſt the great number of darts thrown at him, and his ſhield being pierced through in many places with ſpears and javelins, he was at length beat down. His ſoldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them, and getting on horſeback, rode through the whole city, ſtopt the flight of the Syracuſans, and taking the foreign ſoldiers, whom he had left to guard the quarter called Achradina, he led them on freſh againſt Dionyſius's troops, who were already fatigued, and entirely diſcouraged by ſo vigorous and unexpected a reſiſtance. It was now no longer a battle; but a purſuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt eſcaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was ſignal and glorious. The Syracuſans, to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a conſiderable ſum of money; and thoſe ſoldiers, to honour Dion, preſented him with a crown of gold.

Soon

Soon after came heralds from Dionyſius, with ſeveral letters for Dion from the women of his family, and with one from Dionyſius himſelf. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full aſſembly. That of Dionyſius was couched in the form of a requeſt and juſtification, intermixed however with the moſt terrible menaces againſt the perſons who were deareſt to Dion; his ſiſter, wife, and ſon. It was wrote with an art and addreſs exceedingly proper to render Dion ſuſpected. Dionyſius puts him in mind of the ardour and zeal, he had formerly expreſſed, for the ſupport of the tyranny. He exhorts him at a diſtance, and with ſome obſcurity, though eaſy enough to be underſtood, not to aboliſh it entirely; but to preſerve it for himſelf. He adviſes him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from affecting him at heart; nor to abandon his own ſafety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconſtant multitude.

(*t*) The reading of this letter had the effect Dionyſius propoſed from it. The Syracuſans, without regard to Dion's goodneſs to them, and the greatneſs of his ſoul in forgetting his deareſt intereſts, and the ties of nature to reſtore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious ſuſpicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their ſentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the baniſhed perſons, a good ſoldier, and well known amongſt the troops, from having been in conſiderable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a ſecret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himſelf there had been ſome difference in Peloponneſus. He came to Syracuſe with ſeven gallies of three benches of oars, and three other veſſels, not to join Dion, but in the reſolution to march with his own forces againſt the tyrant, whom he found reduced to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. His firſt endeavour was to ingratiate himſelf with the people; for which an open and inſinuating

(*t*) Plut. in Dion. p. 972, 975. Diod. l. xvi. p. 419, 422.

nuating behaviour made him very fit, whilſt Dion's auſtere gravity was offenſive to the multitude; eſpecially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the laſt victory, and *expected to be treated like a popular ſtate, even before they could call themſelves a free people; that is to ſay, in the full ſenſe of the Greek terms, they were for being uſed with complaiſance, flattery, regard, and a deferency to all their capricious humours.

What gratitude could be expected from a people, that conſulted only their paſſions and blind prejudices? The Syracuſans formed an aſſembly immediately upon their own accord, and choſe Heraclides admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of ſuch a proceeding; as the charge conferred upon Heraclides, was an abridgment of his office; that he was no longer generaliſſimo, if another commanded at ſea. Thoſe remonſtrances obliged the Syracuſans, againſt their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had ſo lately conferred upon him. When the aſſembly broke up, Dion ſent for him, and after ſome gentle reprimands for his ſtrange conduct with regard to him in ſo delicate a conjuncture, wherein the leaſt diviſion amongſt them might ruin every thing, he ſummoned a new aſſembly himſelf, and, in the preſence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himſelf.

He thought by the force of kind offices to get the better of his rival's ill-will, who, in his expreſſions and outward behaviour, made his court to Dion, confeſſed his obligations to him, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality, which expreſſed an entire devotion to his ſervice, and a deſire of occaſions to do him pleaſure. But underhand, by his intrigues and cabals, he influenced the people againſt him, and oppoſed his deſigns in every thing. If Dion gave his conſent that Dionyſius ſhould quit the citadel by treaty, he was accuſed of favouring, and intending to ſave him: If, to ſatisfy them, he continued the ſiege

* Περὶ τοῦ δεσπόζειν, τὸ δημαγωγεῖσθαι θέλοντες.

ſiege without hearkening to any propoſals of accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the deſire of protracting the war, for the ſake of continuing in command, and to keep the citizens in awe and reſpect.

Philiſtus, who came to the tyrant's relief with ſeveral gallies, having been defeated and put to death, Dionyſius ſent to offer Dion the citadel with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted by a treaty to retire into Italy for the reſt of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuſe. The Syracuſans, who were in hopes of taking Dionyſius alive, rejected thoſe propoſals; and Dionyſius, deſpairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldeſt ſon Apollocrates, and taking the advantage of a favourable wind, embarked for Italy with his treaſures and effects of the greateſt value, and ſuch of his friends as were deareſt to him. A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

Heraclides, who commanded the gallies, was very much blamed for having ſuffered him to eſcape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he propoſed a new diſtribution of lands, inſinuating, that as liberty was founded in equality, ſo poverty was the principle of ſervitude. Upon Dion's oppoſing this motion, Heraclides perſuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thouſand men, to declare a new diviſion of land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themſelves in good time from Dion's inſupportable ſeverity. The Syracuſans agreed, and nominated twenty-five new officers, Heraclides being one of the number.

At the ſame time they ſent privately to ſollicit the foreign ſoldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with them, promiſing to give them a ſhare in the government as natives and citizens. Thoſe generous troops received the offer with diſdain; and then placing Dion in the center of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are few examples, they made their bodies and

and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city without doing the leaſt violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with ingratitude and perfidy. The Syracuſans, who contemned their ſmall number, and attributed their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they ſhould defeat, and put them all to the ſword, before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the neceſſity of either fighting the citizens, or periſhing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracuſans, imploring them in the moſt tender and affectionate manner to deſiſt, and pointing to the citadel full of enemies, who ſaw all that paſſed with the utmoſt joy. But finding them deaf and inſenſible to all his remonſtrances, he commanded his ſoldiers to march in cloſe order without attacking; which they obeyed, contenting themſelves with making a great noiſe with their arms, and raiſing great cries, as if they were going to fall upon the Syracuſans. The latter were diſmayed with thoſe appearances, and ran away in every ſtreet without being purſued. Dion haſtened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracuſans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were deſirous to retrieve their honour, and made their troops take arms, and return to the purſuit of Dion. They came up with him at the paſs of a river, and made their horſe advance to ſkirmiſh. But when they ſaw that Dion was reſolved in earneſt to repel their inſults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again ſeized with terror, and taking to their heels in a more ſhameful manner than before, made all the haſte they could to regain the city.

(y) The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and eſteem. They alſo made preſents to his ſoldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which they ſent ambaſſadors to demand juſtice for the ill treatment of thoſe troops to the Syracuſans,

(y) Plut. p. 975. 981. Diod. p. 422, 423.

cusans, who on their side sent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracuse was intoxicated with inconsiderate joy and insolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection and judgment.

Every thing conspired to swell and inflame their pride. The citadel was so much reduced by famine, that the soldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much, resolved at last to surrender it. They sent in the night to make that proposal, and were to perform conditions the next morning. But at day-break, whilst they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypsius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy with corn and money to the besieged, appeared with his gallies, and anchored near Arethusa. Plenty succeeding on a sudden to famine, Nypsius landed his troops, and summoned an assembly, wherein he made a speech to the soldiers suitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of surrendering, was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracusans at the same time hastened on board their gallies, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader or authority to command them or counsel, the officers as well as soldiers gave themselves up to rejoicing, feasting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loose excess. Nypsius knew well how to take advantage of this general infatuation. He attacked the wall that incloled the citadel, of which having made himself master, he demolished it in several places, and permitted his soldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmost confusion. Here, the citizens half asleep, had their throats cut; there, houses were plundered, whilst the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries and lamentations.

 There

There was but one man, who could remedy this misfortune, and preſerve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propoſe it; ſo much aſhamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increaſed every moment, and already approached the quarter Achradina, in the height of their extremity and deſpair, a voice was heard from the horſe and allies, which ſaid, *That it was abſolutely neceſſary to recall Dion and the Peloponneſian troops from the country of the Leontines.* As ſoon as any body had courage enough to utter thoſe words, they were the general cry of the Syracuſans, who with tears of joy and grief made prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of ſeeing him again, gave them new courage, and enabled them to make head againſt the enemy. The deputies ſet out immediately with full ſpeed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening.

As ſoon as they alighted, they threw themſelves at Dion's feet, bathed in their tears, and related the deplorable extremity to which the Syracuſans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and ſeveral of the Peloponneſian ſoldiers, who had ſeen them arrive, were already got round Dion, and conceived rightly, from their emotion and proſtrate behaviour, that ſomething very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no ſooner heard what they had to ſay, than he carried them with him to the aſſembly, which formed itſelf immediately; for the people ran thither with abundance of eagerneſs. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatneſs of their diſtreſs, and "implored the foreign troops to haſten to the "relief of the Syracuſans, and to forget the ill treat-"ment they had received; and the rather, becauſe "that unfortunate people had already paid a ſeverer "penalty for it, than the moſt injured amongſt them "would deſire to impoſe."

The deputies having finiſhed their diſcourſe, the whole theatre, where the aſſembly was held, continued

ſad

ſad and ſilent. Dion roſe; but as ſoon as he began to ſpeak, a torrent of tears ſuppreſſed his utterance. The foreign ſoldiers called out to him to take courage, and expreſſed a generous compaſſion for his grief. At length, having recovered himſelf a little, he ſpoke to them in theſe terms: "Men of Peloponneſus, and "you our allies, I have aſſembled you here, that you "might deliberate upon what regards yourſelves; as "for my part, I muſt not deliberate upon any thing "when Syracuſe is in danger. If I cannot preſerve "it, I go to periſh with it, and to bury myſelf in its "ruins. But for you, if you are reſolved to aſſiſt us "once more; us, who are the moſt imprudent and "moſt unfortunate of mankind; come and relieve "the city of Syracuſe, from henceforth the work of "your hands. If not, and the juſt ſubjects of com-"plaint, which you have againſt the Syracuſans, de-"termine you to abandon them in their preſent con-"dition, and to ſuffer them to periſh; may you re-"ceive from the immortal gods, the reward you "merit for the affection and fidelity which you have "hitherto expreſſed for me. For the reſt, I have "only to deſire, that you will keep Dion in your re-"membrance, who did not abandon you when un-"worthily treated by his country, nor his country, "when fallen into misfortunes."

He had no ſooner ceaſed ſpeaking, when the foreign ſoldiers roſe up with loud cries, and intreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuſe. The deputies, tranſported with joy, ſaluted and embraced them, praying the gods to beſtow upon Dion and them all kind of happineſs and proſperity. When the tumult was appeaſed, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and as ſoon as they had ſupped, to return with their arms to the ſame place, being determined to ſet out the ſame night, and fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time at Syracuſe, the officers of Dionyſius, after having done all the miſchief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loſs

of ſome of their ſoldiers. This ſhort reſpite gave the ſeditious orators new courage, who flattering themſelves that the enemy would lie ſtill after what they had done, exhorted the Syracuſans to think no further of Dion, not to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were inſtantly diſpatched from the general-officers to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends, to deſire him to haſten his march; which difference of ſentiments, and contrariety of advices, occaſioned his marching ſlowly, and by ſmall journies.

When the night was far ſpent, Dion's enemies ſeized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the ſame inſtant, Nypſius, well apprized of all that paſſed in Syracuſe, made a ſally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They demoliſhed the wall that incloſed them entirely, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but ſlaughter and blood was ſeen every where. Nor did they ſtop for the pillage, but ſeemed to have no other view, than to ruin and deſtroy all before them. One would have thought, the ſon of Dionyſius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to deſpair, and prompted by an exceſs of hatred for the Syracuſans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it, they had recourſe to fire, the ſwifteſt of deſtructions, burning, with torches and lighted ſtraw, all places within their power, and darting combuſtibles againſt the reſt. The Syracuſans, who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the ſtreets, and thoſe, who to ſhun the all-murdering ſword retired into the houſes, were driven out of them again by the encroaching fire; for there were abundance of houſes burning, and many that fell upon the people in the ſtreets.

Theſe very flames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates ſhut againſt him. Couriers after couriers were diſpatched

to

to haſten his march. Heraclides himſelf, his moſt declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmoſt ſpeed, there being no body beſides himſelf to make head againſt the enemy, he being wounded, and the city almoſt entirely ruined and reduced to aſhes.

Dion received this news, when he was about ſixty * ſtadia from the gates. His ſoldiers upon that occaſion marched with the utmoſt diligence, and with ſo good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He there detached his light-armed troops againſt the enemy, to re-animate the Syracuſans by the ſight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens who came running to join him on all ſides. He divided them into ſmall parties, of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in ſeveral places at once, and appear ſtronger and more formidable to the enemy.

After having made theſe diſpoſitions, and prayed to the gods, he marched acroſs the city againſt the enemy. In every ſtreet as he paſſed, he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and ſongs of victory, mingled with the prayers and bleſſings of all the Syracuſans; who called Dion their preſerver and their god, and his ſoldiers their brothers and fellow-citizens. At that inſtant, there was not a ſingle man in the city ſo fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's ſafety than his own, and not to fear much more for him than for all the reſt together, ſeeing him march foremoſt to ſo great a danger over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the ſtreets and publick places were univerſally covered.

On the other hand, the view of the enemy was no leſs terrible: For they were animated by rage and deſpair, and were poſted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were

* *Two or three leagues.*

under the neceſſity of defending the citadel, which was their ſafety and retreat, and durſt not remove from it, leſt their communication ſhould be cut off. But what was moſt capable of diſordering and diſcouraging Dion's ſoldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For wherever they turned themſelves, they marched by the light of the houſes in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midſt of fires; expoſing themſelves to being cruſhed in pieces by the fall of walls, beams and roofs of houſes, which tottered half conſumed by the flames, and under the neceſſity of keeping their ranks, whilſt they opened their way through frightful clouds of ſmoke, mingled with duſt.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very ſmall number on each ſide were capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the unevenneſs of the ground. But at length, Dion's ſoldiers, encouraged and ſupported by the cries and ardour of the Syracuſans, charged the enemy with ſuch redoubled vigour, that the troops of Nypſius gave way. The greateſt part of them eſcaped into the citadel, which was very near; and thoſe who remained without, being broke, were cut to pieces in the purſuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner ſo great an exploit deſerved; the Syracuſans being obliged to apply to the preſervation of their houſes, and to paſs the whole night in extinguiſhing the fire; which however they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the ſeditious orators durſt ſtay in the city, but all fled ſelf-condemned, to avoid the puniſhment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themſelves into his hands, confeſſing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill conduct: That it became Dion, ſuperior as he was in all other reſpects to the reſt of mankind, to ſhew himſelf as much ſo in that greatneſs of ſoul, which could conquer reſentment and revenge, and forgive the

the ungrateful, who owned themſelves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made theſe ſupplications, Dion's friends adviſed him not to ſpare men of their vile and malignant diſpoſition; but to abandon Heraclides to the ſoldiers, and in ſo doing, exterminate from the ſtate that ſpirit of ſedition and intrigue; a diſtemper that has really ſomething of madneſs in it, and is no leſs to be feared from its pernicious conſequences, than tyranny itſelf. But Dion, to appeaſe them, ſaid, "That other captains generally made the means of conquering their enemies "their ſole application; that for his part he had "paſſed much time in the academy, in learning to "ſubdue anger, envy, and all the jarring paſſions "of the mind: That the ſign of having conquered "them is not kindneſs and affability to friends and "perſons of merit; but treating thoſe with humanity "who have injured us, and in being always ready to "forgive them: That he did not deſire ſo much to "appear ſuperior to Heraclides in power and ability, "as in wiſdom and juſtice; for in that, true and eſ"ſential ſuperiority conſiſts. That if Heraclides be "wicked, invidious, and perfidious, muſt Dion con"taminate and diſhonour himſelf with low reſentment? "It is true, according to human laws, there ſeems to be "leſs injuſtice in revenging an injury, than commit"ting it; but if we conſult nature, we ſhall find both "the one and the other to have their riſe in the ſame "weakneſs of mind. Beſides, there is no diſpoſition "ſo obdurate and ſavage, but may be vanquiſhed by "the force of kind uſage and obligations." Dion upon theſe maxims pardoned Heraclides.

His next application was to incloſe the citadel with a new work, and he ordered each of the Syracuſans to go and cut a large ſtake. In the night, he ſet his ſoldiers to work, whilſt the Syracuſans took their reſt. He ſurrounded the citadel in this manner with a ſtrong paliſade, before it was perceived; ſo that in the morning, the greatneſs of the work, and the ſuddenneſs of

the execution, were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the enemy, as the citizens.

Having finiſhed this paliſade, he buried the dead; and diſmiſſing the priſoners taken from the enemy, he ſummoned an aſſembly. Heraclides propoſed in it, that Dion ſhould be elected generaliſſimo with ſupreme authority by ſea and land. All the people of worth, and the moſt conſiderable of the citizens, were pleaſed with the propoſal, and deſired that it might have the authority of the aſſembly. But the mariners and artiſans, who were ſorry that Heraclides ſhould loſe the office of admiral; and convinced, that although he were little eſtimable in all other reſpects, he would at leaſt be more for the people than Dion, they oppoſed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid diſturbance and confuſion, did not inſiſt upon that point, and acquieſced that Heraclides ſhould continue to command in chief at ſea. But his oppoſing the diſtribution of lands and houſes, which they were earneſt for having take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, embroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a diſpoſition ſo favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, and to ſhut the gates upon his rival: But it proved unſucceſsful. A Spartan, who had been ſent to the aid of Syracuſe, negotiated a new accommodation between Heraclides and Dion, under the ſtricteſt oaths, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of obedience on the ſide of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and probity.

The Syracuſans having diſmiſſed their ſea-forces who were become unneceſſary, applied ſolely to the ſiege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the beſieged, and bread began to fall ſhort with them, the ſoldiers grew mutinous, and would obſerve no diſcipline. The ſon of Dionyſius, finding himſelf without hope or reſource, capitulated with Dion to ſurrender the citadel, with all the

the arms and munitions of war. He carried his mother and ſiſters away with him, filled five gallies with his people and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to retire unmoleſted. It is eaſy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all were paſſionately fond of gratifying their eyes from the port with ſo agreeable a ſpectacle, and to ſolemnize the joyful day, on which, after ſo many years ſervitude, the ſun aroſe for the firſt time upon the Syracuſan liberty.

Apollocrates having ſet ſail, and Dion begun his march to enter the citadel, the princeſſes, who were there, did not ſtay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Ariſtomache led the ſon of Dion; after whom came Arete, his wife, with her eyes fixed upon the ground, and full of tears. Dion embraced his ſiſter firſt, and afterwards his ſon. Ariſtomache then preſenting Arete to him, ſpoke thus: "The tears you ſee her ſhed, the ſhame expreſſed in "her looks, at the time your preſence reſtores us life "and joy, her ſilence itſelf, and her confuſion ſufficiently denote the grief ſhe ſuffers at the ſight of an "huſband, to whom another has been ſubſtituted contrary to her will, but who alone has always poſſeſſed "her heart. Shall ſhe ſalute you as her uncle, ſhall "ſhe embrace you as her huſband?" Ariſtomache having ſpoke in this manner, Dion, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced his wife; to whom he gave his ſon, and ſent them home to his houſe; becauſe he thought proper to leave the citadel to the diſcretion of the Syracuſans, as an evidence of their liberty.

For himſelf, after having rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all thoſe who had contributed to his ſucceſs, according to their rank and merit, at the height of glory and happineſs, and the object not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece, who eſteemed him the wiſeſt and moſt fortunate captain that ever lived, he conſtantly retained his original ſimplicity; as modeſt and plain in his garb, equipage, and table, as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with

people

people bred in armies, with officers and ſoldiers, who often breathe nothing but pleaſures and magnificence. Accordingly, at the time Plato wrote to him, *That the eyes of all mankind were upon him alone*; little affected with that general admiration, his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that ſchool of wiſdom and virtue, where exploits and ſucceſſes were not judged from the external ſplendor and noiſe, with which they are attended, but from the wiſe and moderate uſe of them.

Dion deſigned to eſtabliſh a form of government in Syracuſe, compoſed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the Ariſtocratical was always to prevail, and to decide important affairs by the authority, which, according to his plan, was to be veſted in a council of elders. Heraclides again oppoſed him in this ſcheme, ſtill turbulent and ſeditious according to cuſtom, and ſolely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, careſſes, and other popular arts. One day, when Dion ſent for him to the council, he anſwered that he would not come; and that, being only a private perſon, he ſhould be in the aſſembly with the reſt of the citizens, whenever it was ſummoned. His view, in ſuch behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated inſults, permitted thoſe to kill him, he had formerly prevented. They accordingly went to his houſe and diſpatched him. We ſhall ſee preſently Dion's own ſenſe of this action.

The Syracuſans were highly affected for his death; but as Dion ſolemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in perſon at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occaſion, they were appeaſed, and forgave him the murder; convinced, that it was impoſſible for the city ever to be free from commotions and ſedition, whilſt Heraclides and Dion governed together.

(z) After that murder Dion never knew joy, or peace of mind. An hideous ſpectre, which he ſaw in the

(z) Plut. p. 981, 983. Diod. p. 432.

the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The phantom ſeemed a woman of enormous ſtature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, reſembled a fury ſweeping his houſe with violence. His ſon's death, who for ſome unknown grief had thrown himſelf from the roof of an houſe, paſſed for the accompliſhment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Callippus gave the laſt hand to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendſhip, whilſt he lodged in his houſe at Athens, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom and unbounded confidence. Callippus, having given himſelf up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, threw off all regard for the ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and contrived to get rid of Dion, who was the ſole obſtacle to his deſigns. Notwithſtanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ears of Dion's ſiſter and wife, who loſt no time, and ſpared no pains, to diſcover the truth by a very ſtrict enquiry. To prevent its effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconſolable, that any body ſhould ſuſpect him of ſuch a crime, or think him capable of ſo black a deſign. They inſiſted upon his taking the *great oath*, as it was called. The perſon who ſwore it, was wrapped in the purple mantle of the goddeſs Proſerpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the moſt dreadful execrations againſt himſelf it is poſſible to imagine.

The oath coſt him nothing, but did not convince the princeſſes. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from ſeveral hands, as did Dion himſelf, whoſe friends in general perſuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a juſt and ſudden puniſhment. But he never could reſolve upon it. The death of Heraclides, which he looked upon as an horrible blot in his reputation and virtue, was perpetually preſent to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual

terrors his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he profeſſed that he had rather die a thouſand deaths, and preſent his throat himſelf to whoever would kill him, than to live under the neceſſity of continual precautions, not only againſt his enemies, but the beſt of his friends.

Callippus ill deſerved that name. He haſtened the execution of his crime, and cauſed Dion to be aſſaſſinated in his own houſe by the Zacynthian ſoldiers, who were entirely devoted to his intereſt. The ſiſter and wife of that prince were put into priſon, where the latter was delivered of a ſon, which ſhe reſolved to nurſe there herſelf.

A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358. After this murder, Callippus was for ſome time in a ſplendid condition, having made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his ſervice in effect of the gifts he beſtowed upon them. The Pagans believed, that the divinity ought to puniſh great crimes in a ſudden and extraordinary manner in this life: And Plutarch obſerves, that the ſucceſs of Callippus occaſioned very great complaints againſt the gods, as ſuffering calmly, and without indignation, the vileſt of men, to raiſe himſelf to ſo exalted a fortune by ſo deteſtable and impious a method. But providence was not long without juſtifying itſelf, for Callippus ſoon ſuffered the puniſhment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catanea, Syracuſe revolted againſt him, and threw off ſo ſhameful a ſubjection. He afterwards attacked Meſſina, where he loſt abundance of men, and particularly the Zacynthian ſoldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him, but all deteſting him as the moſt execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for ſome time a miſerable life, he was killed by Leptinus and Polyperchon, and, it was ſaid, with the ſame dagger with which Dion had been aſſaſſinated.

Hiſtory has few examples of ſo diſtinct an attention of providence to puniſh great crimes, ſuch as murder, perfidy, treaſon, either in the authors of thoſe crimes them-

themſelves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices any way concerned in them. The divine juſtice evidences itſelf from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occaſion; but it does not always diſtinguiſh itſelf by remarkable chaſtiſements in this world, to intimate to mankind, that greater puniſhments are reſerved for guilt in the next.

As for Ariſtomache and Arete, as ſoon as they came out of priſon, Icetes of Syracuſe, one of Dion's friends, received them into his houſe, and treated them at firſt with an attention, fidelity, and generoſity of the moſt exemplary kind, had he perſevered: But complying at laſt with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and having put them on board, under the pretence of ſending them to Peloponneſus, he gave orders to thoſe who were to carry them, to kill them in the paſſage, and to throw them into the ſea. He was not long without receiving the chaſtiſement due to his black treachery; for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracuſans, fully to avenge Dion, killed alſo the two ſons of that traitor.

(*b*) The relations and friends of Dion, ſoon after his death, had wrote to Plato, to conſult him upon the manner in which they ſhould behave in the preſent troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuſe, and to know what ſort of government it was proper to eſtabliſh there. Plato, who knew the Syracuſans were equally incapable of entire liberty, or abſolute ſervitude, exhorted them ſtrenuouſly to pacify all things as ſoon as poſſible, and for that purpoſe, to change the tyranny, of which the very name was odious, into a lawful ſovereignty, which would make ſubjection eaſy and agreeable. He adviſed them (and according to him, it had been Dion's opinion) to create three kings; one to be Hipparinus, Dion's ſon; another Hipparinus, Dionyſius the younger's brother, who ſeemed to be well inclined towards the people; and Dionyſius himſelf,

(*b*) Plat. Ep. viii.

ſelf, if he would comply with ſuch conditions as ſhould be preſcribed him; their authority to be not unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the ſame ſcheme, thirty-five magiſtrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws ſhould be duly obſerved, to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to ſerve as a balance between the power of the kings, the ſenate, and the people.

It does not appear, that this advice was ever followed, which indeed had its great inconveniences. (*c*) It is only known, that Hipparinus, Dionyſius's brother, having landed at Syracuſe with a fleet, and conſiderable forces, expelled Callippus, and exerciſed the ſovereign power two years.

The hiſtory of Sicily, as related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionyſius the elder, who reigned thirty-eight of them, and continuing to the death of Dion. I ſhall return in the ſequel to the affairs of Sicily, and ſhall relate the end of Dionyſius the younger, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Syracuſan liberty by Timoleon.

SECT. IV. *Character of* DION.

IT is not eaſy to find ſo many excellent qualities in one and the ſame perſon as were united in Dion. I do not conſider in this place, his wonderful taſte for the ſciences, his art of aſſociating them with the greateſt employments of war and peace, of extracting from them the rules of conduct, and maxims of government, and of making them an equally uſeful and honourable entertainment of his leiſure: I confine myſelf to the ſtateſman and patriot, and in this view, how admirably does he appear! Greatneſs of ſoul, elevation of ſentiments, generoſity in beſtowing his wealth, heroick valour in battle, attended with a coolneſs of temper, and a prudence ſcarce to be parallelled, a mind vaſt and capable of the higheſt views, a conſtancy not to be ſhaken by the greateſt dangers, or the moſt unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his

(*c*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 436.

his country and of the publick good carried almoſt to exceſs: Theſe are part of Dion's virtues. The deſign he formed of delivering his country from the yoke of the tyranny, and his boldneſs and wiſdom in the execution of it, explain of what he was capable.

But what I conceive the greateſt beauty in Dion's character, the moſt worthy of admiration, and if I may ſay ſo, the moſt above human nature, is the greatneſs of ſoul, and unexampled patience, with which he ſuffered the ingratitude of his country. He had abandoned and ſacrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-eſtabliſhing them in the full poſſeſſion of their liberty: In return for ſuch great ſervices, they ſhamefully expel him the city, accompanied with an handful of foreign ſoldiers, whoſe fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add to their baſe perfidy, the moſt cruel outrages and indignity: To puniſh thoſe ungrateful traitors he had only a ſignal to give, and to leave the reſt to the indignation of his ſoldiers: Maſter of theirs, as well as his own temper, he ſtops their impetuoſity, and without diſarming their hands, reſtrains their juſt rage, ſuffering them, in the very height and ardour of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill, his enemies, becauſe he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There ſeems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having ſomething rigid and auſtere in his humour, that made him leſs acceſſible and ſociable than he ſhould have been, and kept even perſons of worth and his beſt friends at a kind of diſtance. Plato, and thoſe who had his glory ſincerely at heart, had often animadverted upon this turn of mind in him: But notwithſtanding the reproaches which were made him upon his too auſtere gravity, and the inflexible ſeverity, with which he treated the people, he ſtill piqued himſelf upon abating nothing of them: Whether his genius was entirely averſe to the arts of inſinuation and perſuaſion; or that from the

the view of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaisant discourses of their orators, he chose that rough and manly manner of behaving to them.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the * art of managing men's tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best suit his measures; which cannot be done by assuming the severe master, by commanding haughtily, and contenting oneself with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible vigour. There is in the right itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice when carried into extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules; but it is always laudable, and often necessary to soften, and make them more convertible; which is best effected by a kindness of manners, and an insinuating behaviour; not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its utmost rigour; overlooking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice, and observing upon those which are more considerable, with favour and goodness; in a word, in endeavouring by all possible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him, contrary to his natural disposition, as well as principles, cost him dear, and brought the trouble and anguish upon him, that lasted to the day of his death, and of which they were the principal cause.

* *Which art, an ancient poet called,* flexanima, atque omnium regina rerum oratio. *Cic. l. i. de Divin.* n. 80.

SECT.

SECT. V. DIONYSIUS *the younger re-ascends the throne. Syracuse implores aid of the Corinthians, who send* TIMOLEON. *That general enters Syracuse, notwithstanding all the endeavours of* NICETAS *to prevent him.* DIONYSIUS *surrenders himself to him, and retires to Corinth.*

(*d*) CALLIPPUS, who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, did not possess his power long. Thirteen months after, Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal sovereignty, which he held during two years. A. M. 3647. Ant. J. C. 357.

Syracuse and all Sicily, being harrassed by different factions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition. Dionysius, taking the advantage of those troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nypsæus, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he re-instated himself in the possession of his dominions. A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350.

(*e*) It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-establishment, and to express his gratitude to them, that he sent statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphos of very great value. The gallies which carried them were taken by Iphicrates, who was at that time near (*f*) Corcyra with a fleet. He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he should dispose of his sacred booty, and was answered, not to examine scrupulously for what it was designed, but to make use of it for the subsistence of his troops. Dionysius complained excessively of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote them, wherein he reproached with great warmth and justice their avarice and sacrilegious impiety.

(*g*) A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly and more religiously in regard to the Romans about

(*d*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 432---436. (*e*) Ibid. p. 453. (*f*) *Corfu.*
(*g*) Tit. Liv. Decad. i. l. v. c. 28. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307.

about fifty years before. After the taking of Veii, which had been ten years beſieged, they ſent a golden cup to Delphos. The deputies who carried that preſent were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that iſland. It was the * cuſtom to divide all the prizes they took as a common ſtock. The iſland at that time was under the government of a magiſtrate more like the Romans in his manners than thoſe he governed. He was called Timaſitheus †, and his behaviour agreed well with the ſignification of his name. Full of regard for the envoys, the ſacred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and more for the majeſty of the god for whom it was deſigned, he inſpired the multitude, that generally follow the example of thoſe who rule them, with the ſame ſentiments of reſpect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all the marks of diſtinction, and their expences borne by the publick. Timaſitheus convoyed them with a good ſquadron to Delphos, and brought them back in the ſame manner to Rome. It is eaſy to judge how ſenſibly the Romans were affected with ſo noble a proceeding. By a decree of the ſenate they rewarded Timaſitheus with great preſents, and granted him the right of hoſpitality. And fifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians, with the ſame gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themſelves obliged to do further honour to the family of their benefactor, and reſolved that all his deſcendants ſhould be for ever exempted from the tribute impoſed upon the other inhabitants of that iſland.

This was certainly great and noble on both ſides: But the contraſt does no honour to the Athenians.

To

* Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio, partem prædam dividere. Fortè eo anno in ſummo magiſtratu erat Timaſitheus quidam, Romanis vir ſimilior quam ſuis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, & deum cui mitteretur, & doni cauſam veritus ipſe, multitudinem quoque, quæ ſemper ferinè regenti eſt ſimilis, religionis juſtæ implevit; adductoſque in publicum hoſpitium legatos, cum præſidio etiam navium Delphos proſecutus, Romam inde ſoſpites reſtituit. Hoſpitium cum eo ſenatus conſulto eſt factum, donaque publicè data. *Tit. Liv.*

† *Timaſitheus ſignifies one who honours the gods.*

To return to Dionyſius, though he expreſſed ſome regard for the gods, his actions argued no humanity for his ſubjects. His paſt misfortunes, inſtead of correcting and ſoftening his diſpoſition, had only ſerved to inflame it, and to render him more ſavage and brutal than before.

(*i*) The moſt worthy and conſiderable of the citizens, not being able to ſupport ſo cruel a ſervitude, had recourſe to Icetas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themſelves to his conduct, elected him their general; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the moſt declared tyrants, but becauſe they had no other reſource.

During theſe tranſactions, the Carthaginians, who were almoſt always at war with the Syracuſans, arrived in Sicily with a great fleet, and having made a great progreſs there, the Sicilians and the people of Syracuſe reſolved to ſend an embaſſy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracuſans were deſcended, and who had always openly declared againſt tyrants in favour of liberty. Icetas, who propoſed no other end from his command, than to make himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, and had no thoughts of ſetting it free, treated ſecretly with the Carthaginians, though in publick he affected to praiſe the wiſe meaſures of the Syracuſans, and even ſent his deputies along with theirs.

Corinth received the ambaſſadors perfectly well, and immediately appointed Timoleon their general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in publick affairs, and was far from believing, that at his age, and in the circumſtances he then was, he ſhould be thought on upon ſuch an occaſion. A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

He was deſcended from one of the nobleſt families of Corinth, loved his country paſſionately, and diſcovered upon all occaſions a ſingular humanity of temper, except againſt tyrants, and bad men. He was an excellent captain, and as in his youth he had all the

(*i*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 459, & 464. Plut. in Timol. p. 236, & 243.

maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and courage of the moſt ardent youth.

He had an elder brother called Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonſtrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and ſaved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was ſtill dearer to him. That brother having made himſelf tyrant of it, ſo black a crime gave him the ſharpeſt affliction. He made uſe of all poſſible means to bring him back to his duty; kindneſs, friendſhip, affection, remonſtrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he cauſed his brother to be aſſaſſinated in his preſence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought, that upon ſuch an occaſion, the laws of nature ought to give place to thoſe of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by moſt of the philoſophers, who looked upon it as the moſt noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch ſeems to paſs the ſame judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion, and ſome people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon him. His mother eſpecially, in the exceſs of her grief, uttered the moſt dreadful curſes and imprecations againſt him; and when he came to conſole her, not being able to bear the ſight of her ſon's murderer, ſhe thruſt him away with indignation, and ſhut her doors againſt him.

He was then ſtruck with all the horror of the moſt guilty, and giving himſelf up to the cruelleſt remorſe, conſidered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and reſolved to put an end to his life, by abſtaining from all nouriſhment. It was with great difficulty his friends diſſuaded him from that fatal reſolution. Overcome by their prayers and inſtances, he was at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned himſelf to paſs the reſt of his days in ſolitude. From that moment he renounced all publick affairs; and

and for ſeveral years never came to the city, but wandered about in the moſt ſolitary and deſart places, abandoned to exceſs of grief and melancholy: So true it is, that neither the praiſes of flatterers, nor the falſe reaſonings of politicians, can ſuppreſs the cries of conſcience, which is at once the witneſs, judge, and executioner of thoſe who preſume to violate the moſt ſacred rights and ties of nature!

He paſſed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth at the latter part of that time, but lived there always private and retired, without concerning himſelf with the adminiſtration of the government. It was not without great repugnance that he accepted the employment of general, but he did not think it allowable to refuſe the ſervice of his country, and his duty prevailed againſt his inclination.

Whilſt Timoleon aſſembled his troops, and was preparing to ſail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetas, in which he told them, "that it was not ne-
"ceſſary for them to make any farther levies, or to
"exhauſt themſelves in great expences to come to
"Sicily, and expoſe themſelves to evident danger;
"that the Carthaginians, apprized of their deſign,
"were waiting to intercept their ſquadron in its paſ-
"ſage with a great fleet; and that their ſlowneſs in
"ſending their troops, had obliged him to call in the
"Carthaginians themſelves to his aid, and to make uſe
"of them againſt the tyrant." He had made a ſecret treaty with them, by which it was ſtipulated, that after the expulſion of Dionyſius from Syracuſe, he ſhould take poſſeſſion of it in his place.

The reading of theſe letters, far from cooling the zeal of the Corinthians, only incenſed them more than at firſt, and haſtened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked on board ten gallies, and arrived ſafe upon the coaſt of Italy, where the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and diſcouraged his troops. It brought an account, that Icetas had defeated Dionyſius, and having made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of Syracuſe, had obliged the tyrant

to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, and in that quarter called the *Iſle*, where he beſieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach, and to come on ſhore, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they ſhould have reduced that general to retire.

The Carthaginians in conſequence had ſent twenty gallies to Rhegium. The Corinthians, upon their arrival at that port, found ambaſſadors from Icetas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuſe, and would be well received there, provided he diſmiſſed his troops. The propoſal was entirely injurious, and at the ſame time more perplexing. It ſeemed impoſſible to beat the veſſels, which the Barbarians had cauſed to advance to intercept them in their paſſage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon all Sicily to extreme diſtreſs, which could not avoid being the reward of Icetas's treachery, and of the ſupport which the Carthaginians ſhould give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambaſſadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian ſquadron, in the preſence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he ſaid, to diſcharge himſelf, and for his own ſecurity, that his country might not accuſe him of having diſobeyed its orders, and betrayed its intereſts. The governor and magiſtrates of Rhegium were of intelligence with him. They deſired nothing more than to ſee the Corinthians in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and apprehended nothing ſo much as the neighbourhood of the Barbarians. They ſummoned therefore an aſſembly, and ſhut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order to their applying themſelves ſolely to the preſent affair.

The people being aſſembled, long ſpeeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the ſame ſubject, and repeating the ſame reaſons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to

gain time. Whilst this was doing, nine of the Corinthian gallies went off, and were suffered to pass by the Carthaginian vessels, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers, who were in the city, and that those nine gallies were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Icetas's army at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whisper, that his gallies were at sea, he slipt gently through the crowd, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the tribunal. He got to the sea-side, embarked directly, and having re-joined his gallies, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a city of Sicily, where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to re-instate the Sicilian liberties.

It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprized and ashamed of being so deceived: But, as somebody told them, being Phœnicians (who passed for the greatest cheats in the world) fraud and artifice ought not to give them so much astonishment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Icetas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian gallies advance. They had an hundred and fifty long ships, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred armed chariots. The Syracusans lost all hope when they saw the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Icetas master of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than by a nook of its coast, the small city of Tauromenium, with little hope and less force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thousand soldiers, and he had scarce provisions for their subsistence. Besides which, the cities placed no confidence in him. The ills they had suffered from the extortion and cruelty, that had been practised amongst them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Callippus and Pharax; who being both sent, the one from Athens, and

the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and desirable, so severe were the vexations with which they had oppressed them. They were afraid of experiencing the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a small city below mount Ætna, being divided amongst themselves, one party had called in Icetas and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timoleon. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with five thousand men, and the other with only twelve hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, Timoleon, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in disorder, and employed in taking up their quarters, and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without losing time to rest them, as the officers advised him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no sooner saw him, than they took to their heels. This occasioned their killing only three hundred, and taking twice as many prisoners; but the Carthaginians lost their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the time, and received Timoleon. Other cities sent their deputies to him soon after, and made their submission.

Dionysius himself, who renounced his vain hopes, and saw himself at the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for Icetas, who had suffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for Timoleon, sent ambassadors to the latter, to treat of surrendering himself and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking the advantage of so unexpected a good fortune, made Euclid and Telemachus, with four hundred soldiers, file off into the castle; not all at once, nor in the day-time, that being impossible, the Carthaginians being masters of the gate, but in platoons, and by stealth. Those troops, having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it with all the tyrant's moveables, and provisions of war. For he had a considerable number of horse, all sorts of

of engines and darts, besides seventy thousand suits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionysius had also two thousand regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to Timoleon. And for himself, taking with him his money, and some few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Icetas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon.

It was the first time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private person, and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had seen himself master of the most powerful kingdom that ever had been usurped by tyrants. He had possessed it ten years entire, before Dion took arms against him, and some years after, though always in the midst of wars and battles. He was sent to Corinth with only one galley without convoy, and with very little money. He served there for a sight, every body running to gaze at him; some with a secret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man, whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition, from which he had fallen, with the inextricable abyss of distress, into which they beheld him plunged.

A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

His manner of life at Corinth did not long excite any sentiments in regard to him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in perfumer's shops, in taverns, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them upon the rules of musick, and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought, that he behaved in such a manner out of policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, nor to discover any thought or desire of recovering his dominions. But such an opinion does him too much honour, and it seems more probable, that nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauchery, he only followed his inclination, and that he passed his life in the kind of slavery into which he was fallen, as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

Some

(*m*) Some writers ſay, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth obliged him to open a ſchool there, and to teach children to read; perhaps, ſays * Cicero, without doubt jeſtingly, to retain a ſpecies of empire, and not abſolutely to renounce the habit and pleaſure of commanding. (*n*) Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain that Dionyſius, who had ſeen himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, and of almoſt all Sicily, who had poſſeſſed immenſe riches, and had numerous fleets and great armies of horſe and foot under his command; that the ſame † Dionyſius, reduced now almoſt to beggary, and from a king become a ſchool-maſter, was a good leſſon for perſons of exalted ſtations not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their fortune. The Lacedæmonians ſome time after gave Philip this admonition. (*o*) That prince, having wrote to them in very haughty and menacing terms, they made him no other anſwer, but *Dionyſius at Corinth.*

An expreſſion of Dionyſius, which has been preſerved, ſeems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good uſe of his adverſity, and to turn his misfortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praiſe, but contrary to what has been related of him before. (*p*) Whilſt he lived a Corinth, a ſtranger rallied him unſeaſonably, and with an indecent groſſneſs, upon his commerce with the philoſophers during his moſt ſplendid fortune, and aſked him by way of inſult, Of what conſequence all the wiſdom of Plato had been to him? *Can you believe then*, replied he, *that I have received no benefit from Plato, and ſee me bear ill fortune as I do?*

(*m*) Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. iii. n. 27.
(*n*) Val. Max. l. vi.
(*o*) Demet. Phaler. de Eloq. 11. l. viii.
(*p*) Plut. in Timol. p. 243.

* Dionyſii Corinthi pueros decebat, uſque adeo imperio carere non poterat.

† Tanta mutatione majores natu, nequis nimis fortunæ crederet, magiſter ludi factus ex tyranno docuit.

SECT.

SECT. VI. TIMOLEON, *after several victories, restores liberty to Syracuse, where he institutes wise laws. He quits his authority, and passed the rest of his life in retirement. His death. Honours paid to his memory.*

(q) AFTER the retreat of Dionysius, Icetas pressed the siege of the citadel of Syracuse with the utmost vigour, and kept it so closely blocked up, that the convoys sent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, sent them frequently thither. To deprive them of this relief, Icetas and Mago set out together with design to besiege that place. During their absence, Leon the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the ramparts, that those who had been left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, he made a sudden furious sally upon them, whilst they were dispersed, killed part of them, put the rest to flight, and seized the quarter of the city called *Achradina*, which was the strongest part of it, and had been least injured by the enemy. Leon fortified it in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication. A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346.

This bad news caused Mago and Icetas to return immediately. At the same time a body of troops from Corinth landed safe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them. When they were landed, Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken possession of Messina, marched in battle array against Syracuse. His army consisted of only four thousand men. When he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries amongst the soldiers that bore arms for Icetas. They represented to them, that it was highly shameful for Greeks, as they were, to labour that Syracuse and all Sicily should be given up to the Carthaginians, the wickedest and most cruel of all Barbarians. That Icetas had only to join Timoleon,

(q) Plut. in Timol. p. 243---248. Diod. l. xvi. p. 465, & 474.

leon, and to act in concert with him against the common enemy. Those soldiers, having spread these insinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent suspicions of his being betrayed; besides which, he had already for some time sought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the intreaties and warm remonstrances of Icetas, he weighed anchor, and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with so much vigour and success, that Icetas's troops were universally overthrown and put to flight. Thus, by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was at that time one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not act like Dion in sparing the forts and publick edifices for their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of suspicion, which at first decried, though without foundation, and at length ruined, that great man, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all Syracusans who would come with their tools, might employ themselves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In consequence of which, the Syracusans considering that proclamation and day as the commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes to the citadel, which they not only demolished, but the palaces of the tyrant; breaking open their tombs at the same time, which they also threw down and destroyed.

The citadel being razed, and the ground made level, Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation of justice in the name of the people; that the same place from whence, under the tyrants, every day some bloody edict had issued, might become the asylum and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was master of the city; but it wanted people to inhabit it: For some having perished in the wars

wars and ſeditions, and others being fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuſe was become a deſart, and the graſs was grown ſo high in the ſtreets, that horſes grazed in them. All the cities of Sicily were almoſt in the ſame condition. Timoleon and the Syracuſans therefore found it neceſſary to write to Corinth, to deſire that people might be ſent from Greece to inhabit Syracuſe; that otherwiſe the country could never recover itſelf, and was beſides threatened with a new war. For they had received advice, that Mago having killed himſelf, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himſelf ſo ill of his charge, had hung up his body upon a croſs, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army than at the beginning of the year.

Thoſe letters being arrived with ambaſſadors from Syracuſe, who conjured the Corinthians to take compaſſion of their city, and to be a ſecond time the founders of it; the Corinthians did not conſider the calamity of that people as an occaſion of aggrandizing themſelves, and of making themſelves maſters of the city, according to the maxims of a baſe and infamous policy, but ſending to all the ſacred games of Greece, and to all publick aſſemblies, they cauſed proclamation to be made in them by heralds, that the Corinthians having aboliſhed the tyranny, and expelled the tyrants, they declared free and independent the Syracuſans, and all the people of Sicily, who ſhould return into their own country, and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and juſt diſtribution of the lands amongſt them. At the ſame time they diſpatched couriers into Aſia, and into all the iſles, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as ſoon as poſſible to Corinth, which would provide them veſſels, commanders, and a ſafe convoy to tranſport them into their country at its own expence.

Upon this publication Corinth received univerſal praiſes and bleſſings, as it juſtly deſerved. It was every where proclaimed, that Corinth had delivered

Syracuſe

Syracuſe from the tyrants, had preſerved it from falling into the hands of the Barbarians, and reſtored it to its citizens. It is not neceſſary to inſiſt here upon the grandeur of ſo noble and generous an action: The mere relation of it muſt make the impreſſion that always reſults from the great and noble; and every body owned, that never conqueſt or triumph equalled the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by ſo perfect and magnanimous a diſintereſtedneſs.

Thoſe who came to Corinth, not being ſufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece to augment this kind of colony. Having obtained their requeſt, and finding themſelves increaſed to ten thouſand, they embarked for Syracuſe, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had joined Timoleon. It was ſaid their number amounted to ſixty thouſand and upwards. Timoleon diſtributed the lands amongſt them *gratis*; but ſold them the houſes, with which he raiſed a very great ſum; leaving it to the diſcretion of the old inhabitants to redeem their own: And by this means he collected a conſiderable fund for ſuch of the people as were poor, and unable to ſupport either their own neceſſities or the charges of the war.

The ſtatues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily, were put up to ſale; but firſt they were cited, and ſentenced in the forms of law. One only eſcaped the rigour of this enquiry, and was preſerved; which was Gelon, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and governed the people with lenity and juſtice; for which his memory was ſtill cheriſhed and honoured. If the ſame ſcrutiny were made into all ſtatues, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

(*r*) Hiſtory has preſerved another ſentence paſſed alſo in regard to a ſtatue, but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excuſe a digreſſion. Nicon, a champion of * Thaſos, had been crowned fourteen

(*r*) Suidas in Νίκων Pauſan. l. vi. p. 364.

* *An iſland in the Ægean ſea.*

fourteen hundred times victor in the ſolemn games of Greece. A man of that merit could not fail of being envied. After his death, one of his competitors inſulted his ſtatue, and gave it ſeveral blows; to revenge perhaps thoſe he had formerly received from him it repreſented. But the ſtatue, as if ſenſible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the perſon that inſulted it, and killed him. The ſon of him who had been cruſhed to death, proceeded juridically againſt the ſtatue, as guilty of homicide, and puniſhable by the law of Draco. That famous legiſlator of Athens, to inſpire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained that even inanimate things ſhould be deſtroyed, which ſhould occaſion the death of a man by their fall. The Thaſians, conformable to this law, decreed that the ſtatue ſhould be thrown into the ſea. But ſome years after, being afflicted with great famine, and having conſulted the oracle of Delphos, they cauſed it to be taken out of the ſea, and rendered new honours to it.

Syracuſe being raiſed in a manner from the grave, and people flocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, deſirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and finally to extirpate tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Icetas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demoliſh his forts, and to live as a private perſon in the city of the Leontines. Leptinus, tyrant of Apollonia, and of ſeveral other cities and fortreſſes, ſeeing himſelf in danger of being taken by force, ſurrendered himſelf. Timoleon ſpared his life, and ſent him to Corinth. For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let Greece ſee the tyrants of Sicily in a ſtate of humiliation, and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuſe, to regulate the government, and to inſtitute ſuch laws as ſhould be moſt important and neceſſary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionyſius, two legiſlators ſent to him by the Corinthians: For he had not the weakneſs to deſire unlimited power, and ſole adminiſtration. But

on

on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get ſomething for themſelves, and to keep them in exerciſe at the ſame time, he ſent them, under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into all the places ſubject to the Carthaginians. Thoſe troops brought over ſeveral cities from the Barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with conſiderable ſums of money, which was of great ſervice in the ſupport of the war.

(*s*) About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, under Aſdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, two hundred ſhips of war, a thouſand tranſports laden with machines, armed chariots, horſes, ammunition, and proviſions. They propoſed no leſs than the entire expulſion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing, and though he could raiſe only ſix or ſeven thouſand men, ſo great was the people's terror, he marched with that ſmall body of troops againſt the formidable body of the enemy, and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimeſus; an account of which may be found in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians (*t*). Timoleon returned to Syracuſe amidſt ſhouts of joy and univerſal applauſes.

He had before effected the conqueſt and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical diſpoſition. They united together, and formed a powerful league againſt him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and ſoon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all ſuffer the juſt puniſhment their revolt deſerved. Icetas, amongſt others, with his ſon, were put to death as tyrants and traitors. His wife and daughters, having been ſent to Syracuſe and preſented to the people, were alſo ſentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, deſigned to avenge Dion their firſt deliverer by that decree. For it was the ſame Icetas, who had cauſed Arete, Dion's wife, his ſiſter Ariſto-

(*s*) Plut. in Timol. p. 248, & 250. (*t*) Vol. I.

Ariſtomache, and his ſon, an infant, to be thrown into the ſea.

Virtue is ſeldom or never without envy. Two accuſers ſummoned Timoleon to anſwer for his conduct before the judges, and having aſſigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded ſureties of him. The people expreſſed great indignation againſt ſuch a proceeding, and would have diſpenſed with ſo great a man's obſerving the uſual formalities; which he ſtrongly oppoſed, giving for his reaſon, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due courſe. He was accuſed of malverſation during his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himſelf the trouble to refute thoſe calumnies, only replied, "That he thanked the "gods, who had heard his prayers, and that he at "length ſaw the Syracuſans enjoy an entire liberty of "ſaying every thing; a liberty abſolutely unknown to "them under the tyrants, but which it was juſt to "confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuſe wiſe laws, had purged all Sicily of the tyrants which had ſo long infeſted it, had re-eſtabliſhed peace and ſecurity univerſally, and ſupplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of re-inſtating themſelves. After ſuch glorious actions, which had acquired him an unbounded credit, he quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracuſans had given him the beſt houſe in the city in gratitude for his great ſervices, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally reſided with his wife and children, whom he had ſent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuſe was become his country. He had the wiſdom in reſigning every thing to abſtract himſelf entirely alſo from envy, which never fails to attend exalted ſtations, and pays no reſpect to merit, however great and ſubſtantial. He ſhunned the rock, on which the greateſt men, through an inſatiate luſt of honours and power, are often ſhipwrecked; that is, by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and

 troubles,

troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by chuſing rather to ſink under, than to lay down, the weight of them *.

Timoleon, who knew all the value of † a noble and glorious leiſure, acted in a different manner. He paſſed the reſt of his life as a private perſon, enjoying the grateful ſatisfaction of ſeeing ſo many cities, and ſuch a numerous people indebted to him for their happineſs and tranquillity. But he was always reſpected and conſulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, inſtitution of law, diviſion of land, nor regulation of government, ſeemed well done, if Timoleon had not been conſulted, and put the laſt hand to it.

His age was tried with a very ſenſible affliction, which he ſupported with aſtoniſhing patience; it was the loſs of ſight. That accident, far from leſſening him in the conſideration and regard of the people, ſerved only to augment them. The Syracuſans did not content themſelves with paying him frequent viſits, they conducted all ſtrangers, both in town and country, to ſee their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the aſſembly of the people, they called him in to their aſſiſtance, who came thither in a chariot drawn by two horſes, which croſſed the publick place to the theatre; and in that manner he was introduced into the aſſembly amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of joy of the whole people. After he had given his opinion, which was always religiouſly obſerved, his domeſticks reconducted him croſs the theatre, followed by all the citizens beyond the gates with continual ſhouts of joy and clapping of hands.

He had ſtill greater honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting that could add to the magnificence of the proceſſion, which followed his bier, of which the tears that were ſhed, and the bleſſings uttered by every body in honour of his memory, were

* Malunt deficere, quam deſinere. *Quintil.*

† Otium cum dignitate. *Cic.*

were the nobleſt ornaments. Thoſe tears were neither the effect of cuſtom and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by a publick decree, but flowed from a native ſource, ſincere affection, lively gratitude, and inconſolable ſorrow. A law was alſo made, that annually for the future, upon the day of his death, the muſick and gymnaſtick games ſhould be celebrated with horſe-races in honour of him. But what was ſtill more honourable for the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracuſan people; that whenever Sicily ſhould be engaged in a war with foreigners, they ſhould ſend to Corinth for a general.

I do not know, that hiſtory has any thing more great and accompliſhed than what it ſays of Timoleon. I ſpeak not only of his military exploits and the happy ſucceſs of all his undertakings. Plutarch obſerves a characteriſtick in them, which diſtinguiſhes Timoleon from all the great men of his times, and makes uſe, upon that occaſion, of a very remarkable compariſon. There is, ſays he, in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themſelves, and which at the firſt view may be known to be the works of a maſter; but ſome of them denote their having coſt abundance of pains and application; whereas in others an eaſy and native grace is ſeen, which adds exceedingly to their value, and amongſt the latter, he places the poems of Homer. There is ſomething of this ſort occurs, when we compare the great actions of Epaminondas and Ageſilaus with thoſe of Timoleon. In the former, we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter, there is an eaſineſs and facility, which diſtinguiſh them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune ſeems to have taken pleaſure in ſeconding. It is Plutarch who ſtill ſpeaks.

But not to mention his military actions; what I admire moſt in Timoleon, is his warm and diſintereſted paſſion for the publick good, and his reſerving only for himſelf the pleaſure of ſeeing others happy by his ſervices, his extreme remoteneſs from ambition and

haughtineſs; his honourable retirement into the country; his modeſty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and what is ſtill more uncommon, his averſion for all flattery, and even juſt praiſes. When * ſomebody extolled, in his preſence, his wiſdom, valour, and glory, in having expelled the tyrants, he made no anſwer, but that he thought himſelf obliged to expreſs his gratitude to the gods, who having decreed to reſtore peace and liberty to Sicily, had vouchſafed to make choice of him in preference to all others for ſo honourable a miniſtration: For he was fully perſuaded, that all human events are guided and diſpoſed by the ſecret decrees of divine providence. What a treaſure, what a happineſs for a ſtate, is ſuch a miniſter!

For the better underſtanding his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracuſe under Timoleon, with its ſtate under the two Dionyſius's. It is the ſame city, inhabitants and people: But how different is it under the different governments we ſpeak of! The two tyrants had no thoughts but of making themſelves feared, and of depreſſing their ſubjects to render them more paſſive. They were terrible in effect, as they deſired to be, but at the ſame time deteſted and abhorred, and had more to fear from their ſubjects, than their ſubjects from them. Timoleon, on the contrary, who looked upon himſelf as the father of the Syracuſan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleaſure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children: And he was remembered amongſt them with bleſſings, becauſe they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind at the ſame time the wiſe legiſlator, to whom they were indebted for thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings.

* Cum ſuas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quam ſe in ea re maximas diis gratias agere & habere, quod, cum Siciliam recreare conſtituiſſent, tum ſe potiſſimum ducem eſſe voluiſſent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum ſine decorum numine agi putabat. *Cor. Nep. in Timol.* c. iv.

BOOK THE TWELFTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE Persians *and* Grecians.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. *State of Greece from the treaty of Antalcides. The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. They seize by fraud and violence upon the citadel of Thebes. Olynthus surrenders.*

(*a*) THE peace of Antalcides, of which mention has been made in the third chapter of the ninth book, had given the Grecian states great matter of discontent and division. In effect of that treaty, the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Bœotia, and let them enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garrison from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, saw their power extremely augmented by it, and were industrious to make farther additions to it. They compelled the Mantinæans, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.

A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 387.

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(*a*) Xenoph. hist. Græc. l. v. p. 550, 553.

(*b*) The two kings of Sparta, Agesipolis and Agesilaus, were of quite different characters, and as opposite in their opinions upon the present state of affairs. The first, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a strict observer of justice, was for having Sparta, already much exclaimed against for the treaty of Antalcides, suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity through an unjust desire of extending their dominions. The other, on the contrary, restless, active, and full of great views of ambition and conquest, breathed nothing but war.

A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

At the same time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very considerable cities of Macedonia, in respect to Olynthus a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally of Chalcis in Eubœa. (*c*) Athens, after the victories of Salamin and Marathon, had conquered many places on the side of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke, as soon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented, in the general assembly of the allies, that Olynthus, situate in their neighbourhood, daily improved in strength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conquests; that it obliged all the cities round about to submit to it, and to enter into its measures; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and the Thebans. The affair being taken into consideration, it was unanimously resolved, that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynthians. It was agreed, that the allied cities should furnish ten thousand troops, with liberty, to such as desired it, to substitute money, at the rate of three oboli (*d*) a day for each foot-soldier, and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedæmonians, to lose no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Eudamidas, who prevailed with

(*b*) Diod. l. xv. p. 341. (*c*) Ibid. p. 554, 556. (*d*) *Five pence.*

with the Ephori, that Phæbidas, his brother, might have the leading of thoſe which were to follow, and to join him ſoon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia, which is alſo called Thrace, he garriſoned ſuch places as applied to him for that purpoſe, ſeized upon Potidea, a city in alliance with the Olynthians, which ſurrendered without making any defence, and began the war againſt Olynthus, though ſlowly, as it was neceſſary for a general to act before his troops were all aſſembled.

(*f*) Phæbidas began his march ſoon after, and being arrived near Thebes, encamped without the walls near the Gymnaſium or publick place of exerciſe. Iſmenius and Leontides, both Polemarchs, that is, generals of the army, and ſupreme magiſtrates of Thebes, were at the head of two different factions. The firſt, who had engaged Pelopidas in his party, was no friend to the Lacedæmonians, nor they to him; becauſe he publickly declared for popular government and liberty. The other on the contrary favoured an oligarchy, and was ſupported by the Lacedæmonians with their whole intereſt. I am obliged to enter into this detail, becauſe the event I am going to relate, and which was a conſequence of it, occaſions the important war between the Thebans and Spartans.

A. M. 3622. Ant. J. C. 382.

This being the ſtate of affairs at Thebes, Leontides applied to Phæbidas, and propoſed to him to ſeize the citadel, called Cadmæa, to expel the adherents of Iſmenius, and to give the Lacedæmonians poſſeſſion of it. He repreſented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to make himſelf maſter of Thebes, whilſt his brother was endeavouring to reduce Olynthus; that he would thereby facilitate the ſucceſs of his brother's enterprize; and that the Thebans, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms againſt the Olynthians, would not fail, upon his making himſelf maſter of the citadel, to ſupply him with whatever number of horſe and foot he

(*f*) Xenoph. p. 556--558. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 608, 609. Id. in Pelop. p. 280. Diod. l. xv. p. 341, 342.

ſhould think proper, for the reinforcement of Eudamidas.

Phæbidas, who had much ambition and little conduct, and who had no other view than to ſignalize himſelf by ſome extraordinary action, without examining the conſequences, ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily perſuaded. Whilſt the Thebans, entirely ſecured under the treaty of peace lately concluded by the Grecian ſtates, celebrated the feaſts of Ceres, and expected nothing leſs than ſuch an act of hoſtility, Phæbidas, conducted by Leontides, took poſſeſſion of the citadel. The ſenate was then ſitting. Leontides went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the Lacedæmonians, who had entered the citadel; that they were only the enemies of thoſe, who were for diſturbing the publick tranquillity; that as for himſelf, by the power his office of Polemarch gave him, of confining whoever caballed againſt the ſtate, he ſhould put Iſmenius into a place of ſecurity, who factiouſly endeavoured to break the peace. He was ſeized accordingly, and carried to the citadel. The party of Iſmenius ſeeing their chief a priſoner, and apprehending the utmoſt violence for themſelves, quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to Athens, to the number of four hundred and upwards. They were ſoon after baniſhed by a publick decree. Pelopidas was of the number; but Epaminondas remained at Thebes unmoleſted; being diſregarded as a man entirely devoted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of ſtate; and alſo from his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new Polemarch was nominated in the room of Iſmenius, and Leontides went to Lacedæmon.

The news of Phæbidas's enterprize, who at a time of general peace had taken poſſeſſion of a citadel by force, upon which he had no claim or right, had occaſioned great murmurings and complaints. Such eſpecially as oppoſed Ageſilaus, who was ſuſpected of having ſhared in the ſcheme, demanded by whoſe orders Phæbidas had committed ſo ſtrange a breach of publick

publick faith. Agesilaus, who well knew that those warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying Phæbidas, and declared openly, and before all the world, " That the action ought to " be considered in itself, in order to understand whe- " ther it were useful or not; that whatever was expe- " dient for Sparta, he was not only permitted, but " commanded to act upon his own authority, and " without waiting the orders of any body." Strange principles to be advanced by a person, who upon other occasions had maintained, *That justice was the supreme of virtues, and that without it, valour itself, and every other great quality, were useless and unavailing.* It is the same man that made answer, when somebody in his presence magnified the king of Persia's grandeur; *He, whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than me, unless he be more just?* A truly noble and admirable maxim, THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER EXCELS AND IS GEEAT! But a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformable to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine, that a statesman ought always to have justice in his mouth, but never lose an occasion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the sentence, which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wisdom of its counsels and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the whole discussed at large, and the manner of it set in its full light, the assembly resolved, that Phæbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined an hundred thousand drachma's (*g*); but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a good garrison in it. What a strange contradiction was this, says Polybius (*h*)! what a disregard of all justice and reason! to punish the criminal, and approve the crime; and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by the publick

(*g*) *About* 2020 *pound sterling.* (*h*) Lib. iv. p. 196.

lick authority, and continue it in the name of the ſtate for the advantages ariſing from it! But this was not all; commiſſioners, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were diſpatched to the citadel of Thebes to try Iſmenius, upon whom they paſſed ſentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such flagrant injuſtice ſeldom remains unpuniſhed. To act in ſuch a manner, ſays Polybius again, is neither for one's country's intereſt, nor one's own.

(*i*) Teleutias, Ageſilaus's brother, had been ſubſtituted in the place of Phæbidas to command the reſt of the troops of the allies deſigned againſt Olynthus; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was ſtrong, and furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to a good defence. Several ſallies were made with great ſucceſs, in one of which Teleutias was killed. The next year king Ageſipolis had the command of the army. The campaign paſſed in ſkirmiſhing; without any thing deciſive. Ageſipolis died ſoon after of a diſeaſe, and was ſucceeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who reigned nine years. About that time began the hundredth Olympiad. Sparta made freſh efforts to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polybidas their general preſſed the ſiege with vigour. The place being in want of proviſions, was at laſt obliged to ſurrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

A. M. 3624. Ant. J. C. 380.

SECT. II. *Sparta's proſperity. Character of two illuſtrious Thebans,* EPAMINONDAS *and* PELOPIDAS. *The latter forms the deſign of reſtoring the liberty of his country. Conſpiracy againſt the tyrants wiſely conducted, and happily executed. The citadel is retaken.*

(*k*) THE fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with greater ſplendor, nor their power more ſtrongly eſtabliſhed. All Greece was ſubjected to them either by force or alliance. They were in poſſeſſion of Thebes, a moſt powerful city, and with that

(*i*) Xenoph. l. v. p. 559---565. Diod. l. xv. p. 342, 343. (*k*) Xenoph. p. 565. Diod. p. 334.

that of all Bœotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependance. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in every thing. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and reduced almoſt to their own ſtrength, were in no condition to make head againſt them. If any city, or people in their alliance, attempted to abſtract themſelves from their power, an immediate puniſhment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, maſters by ſea and land, all trembled before them; and the moſt formidable princes, as the king of Perſia and the tyrant of Sicily, ſeemed to emulate each other in courting their friendſhip and alliance.

A proſperity, founded in injuſtice, can be of no long duration. The greateſt blows that were given the Spartan power, came from the quarter where they had acted the higheſt injuries, and from whence they did not ſeem to have any thing to fear, that is to ſay, from Thebes. Two illuſtrious citizens of that ſtate will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reaſon deſerve our notice in this place.

(*m*) Theſe are Pelopidas and Epaminondas; both deſcended from the nobleſt families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greateſt affluence, and whilſt young, ſole heir of a very rich and flouriſhing family, employed his wealth from the firſt poſſeſſion of it in the relief of ſuch as had occaſion for it, and merited his favour; ſhewing in that wiſe uſe of his riches, that he was really their maſter, and not their ſlave. For according to Ariſtotle's remark repeated by Plutarch, * moſt men either make no uſe at all of their fortunes out of avarice, or abuſe them in bad or trifling expences. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almoſt ſay his joy and delight, conſiſted. He was born

(*m*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

* Τῶν πολλῶν, οἱ μὲν οὐ χρῶνται τῷ πλούτῳ διὰ μικρολογίαν, οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται δι' ἀσωτίαν.

born of poor parents, and conſequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and eaſy to him by his taſte for philoſophy. Pelopidas, who ſupported a great number of citizens, never being able to prevail on him to accept his offers, and to make uſe of his fortune, reſolved to ſhare in the poverty of his friend by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modeſty of his dreſs, and the frugality of his table.

(*n*) If Epaminondas was poor as to the goods of fortune, thoſe of the head and heart made him a moſt ample amends. Modeſt, prudent, grave, happy in improving occaſions, poſſeſſing in a ſupreme degree the ſcience of war, equally valiant and wiſe, eaſy and complaiſant in the commerce of the world, ſuffering with incredible patience the people's, and even his friends ill treatment, uniting with the ardour for military exerciſes, a wonderful taſte for ſtudy and the ſciences, piquing himſelf eſpecially ſo much upon truth and ſincerity, that he made a ſcruple of telling a lye even in jeſt, or for diverſion. *Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

(*o*) They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was beſt pleaſed with the exerciſes of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reaſon, they employed their leiſure, the one in the palæſtra and the chace, and the other in converſation and the ſtudy of philoſophy.

But what perſons of ſenſe and judgment muſt principally admire in them, and which is rarely found in their high rank, is the perfect union and friendſhip, that always ſubſiſted between them during the whole time they were employed together in the adminiſtration of the publick affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we ſhall find them full of trouble, diſſenſion, and debate. The two friends we ſpeak of held the firſt

(*n*) Cor. Nep. in Epam. c. iii. (*o*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

firſt offices in the ſtate; all great affairs paſſed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In ſuch delicate conjunctures what occaſions of pique and jealouſy generally ariſe? But neither difference of ſentiment, diverſity of intereſt, nor the leaſt emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good underſtanding. The reaſon of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon virtue; which in all their actions, ſays Plutarch, occaſioned their having neither glory nor riches, fatal ſources of ſtrife and diviſion, in view, but ſolely the publick good, and made them deſire not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flouriſhing. Such were the two illuſtrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events, in which they have a principal ſhare.

(*p*) Leontides, being apprized that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they had been well received by the people, and were in great eſteem with all people of worth and honour, ſent thither certain unknown perſons to aſſaſſinate the moſt conſiderable of them. Only Androclides was killed, all the reſt eſcaping the contrivances of Leontides. A. M. 3626. Ant. J. C. 378.

At the ſame time, the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or aſſiſting the exiles, and with orders to expel them their city, as they were declared common enemies by all the allies. The humanity and virtue, peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject ſo infamous a propoſal with horror. They were tranſported with the occaſion of expreſſing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the ſame nature. For the Thebans had contributed moſt to the re-eſtabliſhment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their favour by a publick decree, contrary to the pro-

(*p*) Xenoph. hiſt. Gr. l. v. p. 566---568. Plut. in Pelop. p. 280---284. Id. de Socrat. gen. p. 586---588, & 594---598. Diod. l. xv. p. 344---346. Cor. Nep. in Pelop. c. i.---iv.

prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes, Thrasybulus set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the most considerable. He represented to them, "That it was unworthy of honest men, to content "themselves with having saved their own lives, and "to look with indifference upon their country, en-"slaved and miserable: That whatever good-will the "people of Athens might express for them, it was "not fit that they should suffer their fate to depend "upon the decrees of a people, which their natural "inconstancy, and the malignity of orators that turned "them any way at will, might soon alter: That it "was necessary to hazard every thing, after the exam-"ple of Thrasybulus, and to set before them his in-"trepid valour and generous fortitude as a model: "That as he set out from Thebes to suppress and de-"stroy the tyrants of Athens, so they might go from "Athens to restore Thebes its ancient liberty."

This discourse made all the impression upon the exiles that could be expected. They sent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution, who extremely approved their design. Charon, one of the principal persons of the city, offered to receive the conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to get himself made secretary to Archidas and Philip, who were then Polemarchs, or supreme magistrates of the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for some time diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans by his discourse with a passionate desire to throw off the Spartan yoke. (q) He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected, but he believed, that he ought not to have any share in it, because, as he said, he could not resolve to imbrew his hands in the blood of his country; foreseeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprize, however lawful in itself, and that the tyrants would not perish alone: and convinced besides, that a citizen, who

(q) Plut. de gen. Socrat. p. 594.

who ſhould not appear to have taken either party, would have it in his power to influence the people with the better effect.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper, that Pherenicus, with all the conſpirators, ſhould ſtop at Thriaſium, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a ſmall number of the youngeſt of them ſhould venture into the city. Twelve perſons of the beſt families of Thebes, all united by a ſtrict and faithful friendſhip with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themſelves for this bold enterprize. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Charon, to give him notice of their coming, they ſet out dreſſed in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands for pitching of nets; that ſuch as they met on the way might have no ſuſpicion of them, and take them only for hunters, that had wandered after their game.

Their meſſenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon, that they were ſet out, the approach of danger did not alter his ſentiments, and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared his houſe for their reception.

One of the conſpirators, who was no bad man, loved his country, and would have ſerved the exiles with all his power, but had neither the reſolution nor conſtancy neceſſary for ſuch an enterprize, and could think of nothing but difficulties and obſtacles, that preſented themſelves in crowds to his imagination: Much diſordered with the proſpect of danger, this perſon retired into his houſe without ſaying any thing, and diſpatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to deſire them to defer their enterprize, and return to Athens till a more favourable opportunity. Happily that friend, not finding his horſe's bridle, and loſing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, diſguiſed like peaſants, and having ſeparated from each other, entered

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the city at different gates towards the close of day. It was then early in the winter, the north wind blew, and the snow fell; which contributed to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; besides which, it gave them an opportunity of covering their faces. Some, who were in the secret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where, of exiles and others, their whole number amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, secretary to the * Bœotarchs, who was in the plot, had some time before invited Archias and his companions to supper, promising them an exquisite repast, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they sat down to table. They had been free with the glass, and were almost drunk, when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without shewing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias however sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to set out, and had put on their armour and swords, when, on a sudden, they heard a knocking at the door. Somebody went to it, and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately, he ran to him half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded, that the conspiracy was discovered, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon should obey the order, and present himself with an air of assurance to the magistrates, as void of fear, and unconscious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers which threatened only himself; but at that time, terrified

* *The magistrates and generals, who were charged with the government of Thebes, were called Bœotarchs, that is to say, commanders or governors of Bœotia.*

rified for his friends, and apprehending alſo, that he ſhould be ſuſpected of ſome treachery, if ſo many brave citizens, whom he had received into his houſe, ſhould be deſtroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and fetched his only ſon of fifteen years old at moſt, who in beauty and ſtrength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, ſaying at the ſame time, "If you diſcover that I have "betrayed you, and have been guilty of treachery "upon this occaſion, revenge yourſelves on me in this "my only ſon, whom, as dear as he is to me, I aban-"don to you, and let him fall a victim without mercy "to his father's perfidy."

Theſe expreſſions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the moſt ſenſible pain, was his imagining there was any one amongſt them ſo mean and ungrateful to form to himſelf the leaſt ſuſpicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimouſly, not to leave his ſon with them, but to put him into ſome place of ſafety; that his friends and country might not want an avenger, if he ſhould be ſo fortunate to eſcape the tyrants. "No," replied the father, "he "ſhall ſtay with you, and ſhare your fate. If he muſt "periſh, what nobler end can he make, than with his "father and beſt friends? For you, my ſon, exert "yourſelf beyond your years, and ſhew a courage, "worthy of you and me. You ſee here the moſt ex-"cellent of the Thebans. Make under ſuch maſters "a noble eſſay of glory, and learn to fight; or if it "muſt be ſo, to die, like them, for liberty. For the "reſt, I am not without hopes, for I believe, that the "juſtice of our cauſe will draw down the favour and "protection of the gods upon us." He concluded with a prayer for them, and after embracing the conſpirators went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himſelf, and to compoſe his looks and voice, that he might not appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the houſe where the feaſt was kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and aſked the meaning of a

report, that disaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in some house. He seemed astonished, and finding by their answers to his questions, that they had no precise information of any thing, he assumed a bolder tone, and said, "It is very likely the "report you speak of is only a false alarm, intended "to interrupt your mirth: However, as it ought not "to be neglected, I'll go immediately and make the "strictest enquiry possible into it." Philidas praised his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, he plunged him again in the debauch, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promised them.

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all prepared, not to conquer or to save their lives, but to die gloriously, and to sell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and joy of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which, they had no thoughts but of the instant execution of a design, to which the least delay might occasion a thousand obstacles.

In effect, at that very instant, happened a second storm, far more violent than the first, and which seemed as if it could not possibly fail of making the enterprize miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haste with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as was afterwards discovered. That courier was brought first to Archias, who was far gone in wine, and breathed nothing but pleasure and the bottle. In giving him his dispatches, he said, "My lord, the person who "writes you these letters, conjures you to read them "immediately, being serious affairs." Archias replied laughing, * *Serious affairs to-morrow*, which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under † his pillow, and continued the conversation and debauch.

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* Οὐκῶν τὸ σήμερον, ἔφη, τὰ σπουδαῖα.

† *The Greeks eat lying on beds.*

The conſpirators were at that time in the ſtreets, divided into two parties; the one with Pelopidas at their head, marched againſt Leontides, who was not at the feaſt; the other againſt Archias, under the command of Charon. Theſe had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themſelves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment where the feaſt was kept, the gueſts made a great noiſe, and ſet up loud ſhouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in till the ſervants were all diſmiſſed, which was done immediately. They were ſent to neighbouring houſes, where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conſpirators, by this ſtratagem, having made themſelves maſters of the field of battle, entered ſword in hand, and ſhewing themſelves in their true colours, put all the gueſts to the ſword, and with them the magiſtrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themſelves. Pelopidas met with more reſiſtance. Leontides, who was aſleep in bed, awaked with the noiſe that was made, and riſing immediately, armed himſelf with his ſword, and laid ſome of the conſpirators at his feet, but was at laſt killed himſelf.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with ſo much diſpatch and ſucceſs, couriers were immediately diſpatched to Thriaſium. The doors of the priſons were broke open, and five hundred priſoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to reſume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met. The ſpoils affixed to the portico's were taken down, and the armourers and cutlers ſhops broke open for that purpoſe. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, with ſome old perſons of great eſtimation, whom they had got together.

The whole city was in great terror and confuſion; the houſes all illuminated with torches, and the ſtreets thronged with the multitude paſſing to and fro. The people, in a conſternation at what had happened, and

for want of ſufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their deſtiny. The Lacedæmonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error in not falling upon them during their diſorder; for the garriſon conſiſted of fifteen hundred men, beſides three thouſand, who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they ſaw in the houſes, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay ſtill, and contented themſelves with guarding the citadel, after having ſent couriers to Sparta with the news of what had happened, and to demand an immediate reinforcement.

The next day at ſun-riſe the exiles arrived with their arms, and the people were ſummoned to aſſemble. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas thither, ſurrounded with all their ſacrificers, carrying in their hands the ſacred bandages and fillets, and exhorting the citizens to aſſiſt their country, and to join with their gods. At this ſight, the whole aſſembly roſe up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conſpirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The ſame day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were elected Bœotarchs.

Soon after the exiles, arrived five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, ſent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. Thoſe troops, with others which joined them from all the cities of Bœotia, compoſed an army of twelve thouſand foot, and as many horſe, and without loſs of time beſieged the citadel, that it might be taken before relief could come from Sparta.

The beſieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a ſpeedy ſuccour, and ſeemed reſolved rather to die than ſurrender the place; at leaſt, the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion: But they were not the greateſt number of the garriſon. When proviſions began to fall ſhort, and famine to preſs them, the reſt of the troops obliged the Spartans to ſurrender. The garriſon had their lives granted them, and were permitted

to retire whither they thought fit. They were ſcarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition, might have ſaved the citadel. But this was not the firſt time the natural ſlowneſs of the Lacedæmonians had occaſioned the miſcarriage of their enterprizes. The three commanders who had capitulated were tried. Two of them were puniſhed with death, and the third had ſo great a fine laid upon him, that not being able to pay it, he baniſhed himſelf from Peloponneſus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the moſt memorable that ever was executed by ſurprize and ſtratagem. Plutarch, with reaſon, compares it to that of Thraſybulus. Both exiles, deſtitute in themſelves of all reſource, and reduced to implore a foreign ſupport, form the bold deſign of attacking a formidable power with an handful of men; and overcoming all obſtacles to their enterprize ſolely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of its affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thraſybulus for that ſudden and happy change, which freeing them from the oppreſſion they groaned under, not only reſtored their liberty, but with it their ancient ſplendor, and put them into a condition to humble, and make Sparta tremble in their turn. We ſhall ſee in like manner, that the war which reduced the pride of Sparta, and deprived it of the empire both by ſea and land, was the work of this ſingle night, in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortreſs, and entering only one of twelve into a private houſe, * unlooſe and broke the chains impoſed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other ſtates of Greece, though it appeared impracticable ever to produce ſuch an effect.

* Πελοπίδας, εἰ δεῖ μεταφορᾷ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἔλυσε καὶ διέκοψε τὰς δεσμὰς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμονίας, ἀλύτους καὶ ἀῤῥήκτους εἶναι δοκούσας.

SECT. III. SPHODRIAS *the Lacedæmonian forms a design against the Piræus without success. The Athenians declare for the Thebans. Skirmishes between the latter and the Lacedæmonians.*

A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377.

(r) THE Lacedæmonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprize of Pelopidas, did not continue quiet, but applied themselves in earnest to their revenge. Agesilaus, rightly judging an expedition of that kind, of which the end was to support tyrants, would not reflect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately succeeded king Agesipolis; under pretence that his great age dispensed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Bœotia with his army. The first campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing some ravages in the country; after which, the king retired, and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Thespiæ, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themselves in a condition to make head against the Lacedæmonians, and were afraid of the consequences, in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Those, who persisted to adhere to the Theban party, were some imprisoned, some put to death, others banished, and the rich severely fined. The Theban affairs seemed almost desperate; not having any alliance to support them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then at the head of them, and were studious of finding means to embroil the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians; and this was the stratagem they contrived.

Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Thespiæ with a body of troops, to receive and protect such of the Bœotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired some reputation amongst the soldiery, and wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was rash, super-

(r) Xenoph. l. v. p. 568--572. Plut. in Ages. p. 609, 610. Id. in Pelop. p. 284, 285.

ſuperficial, full of himſelf, and conſequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas ſent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him, with the offer, as from himſelf, of a conſiderable ſum of money, and with inſinuations more agreeable to him than money, as they flattered his vanity. "After "having repreſented to him, that one of his merit "and reputation ought to form ſome great enterprize "to immortalize his name; he propoſed to him the "ſeizing of the Piræus by ſurprize, when the Athe-"nians had no expectation of ſuch an attempt: He "added, that nothing could be more grateful to the "Lacedæmonians, than to ſee themſelves maſters of "Athens; and that the Thebans, enraged at the Athe-"nians, whom they conſidered as traitors and deſert-"ers, would lend them no aſſiſtance."

Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great name, and envying the glory of Phæbidas, who, in his ſenſe, had rendered himſelf renowned and illuſtrious by his unjuſt attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more ſhining and glorious exploit to ſeize the Piræus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at ſea, by an unforeſeen attack by land. He undertook the enterprize therefore with great joy; which was neither leſs unjuſt nor leſs horrid than that of the Cadmea, but not executed with the ſame boldneſs and ſucceſs. For having ſet out in the night from Theſpiæ, with the view of ſurprizing the Piræus before light, the day-break overtook him in the plain of Thriaſium near Eleuſis, and finding himſelf diſcovered, he returned ſhamefully to Theſpiæ with ſome booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately ſent ambaſſadors with their complaints to Sparta. Thoſe ambaſſadors found, that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuſe Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to anſwer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that ſummons, having juſt reaſon to apprehend the iſſue of a trial, and the reſentment of his country. He had a ſon, who had contracted a ſtrict and

tender friendſhip with the ſon of Ageſilaus. The latter ſollicited his father ſo earneſtly, or rather tormented him with ſuch extreme importunity and perſeverance, that he could not refuſe Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully abſolved. Ageſilaus was little delicate, as we have ſeen already, in point of juſtice, when the ſervice of his friends was in queſtion. He was beſides, of all mankind, the moſt tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little, he would play with them, and divert himſelf with riding upon a ſtick amongſt them; and that having been ſurprized by a friend in that action, he deſired him not to tell any body of it till himſelf was a father.

(*s*) The unjuſt ſentence paſſed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans, exceedingly incenſed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to aſſiſt them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, ſon of the illuſtrious Conon, whoſe reputation he well ſuſtained by his own valour and exploits. It was he, whom his enemies, in envy of the glory he had acquired by his great actions, painted ſleeping, with the goddeſs Fortune at his feet, taking towns in nets for him (*t*): But upon this occaſion he proved that he was not aſleep. After having ravaged the coaſt of Laconia, he attacked the iſle of Corcyra (*u*), which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their ſide made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy ſituation between Sicily and Greece rendered that iſland very important. They therefore engaged Dionyſius the tyrant in the expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they diſpatched their fleet under Mnaſippus. The Athenians ſent

(*s*) Xenoph. l. v. p. 584---589. Plut. in Ageſ. p. 610, 611. Id. in Pelop. p. 285---288. (*t*) Plut. in Syl. p. 454. (*u*) *Corfu.*

ſent ſixty ſail againſt them to the relief of Corcyra, under Timotheus at firſt; but ſoon after, upon his ſeeming to act too ſlowly, Iphicrates was ſubſtituted in his place. Mnaſippus having made himſelf odious to his troops by his haughtineſs, rigour and avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and loſt his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice, that the Syracuſan ſquadron of ten gallies approached, which he attacked ſo ſucceſsfully, that not one of them eſcaped. He demanded, that the orator Calliſtratus, and Chabrias, one of the moſt renowned captains of his time, ſhould be joined in commiſſion with him. Xenophon admires his wiſdom and greatneſs of ſoul upon that account, in being ſatisfied with appearing to have occaſion for counſel, and not apprehending to ſhare the glory of his victories with others.

Ageſilaus had been prevailed upon to take upon him the command of the troops againſt Thebes. He entered Bœotia, where he did abundance of damage to the Thebans, not without conſiderable loſs on his own ſide. The two armies came every day to blows, and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal battle, yet in ſkirmiſhes which ſerved to inſtruct the Thebans in the trade of war, and to inſpire them with valour, boldneſs, and experience. It is reported that the Spartan Antalcides told Ageſilaus very juſtly upon this head, when he was brought back from Bœotia much wounded, *My lord Ageſilaus, you have a fine reward for the leſſons you have given the Thebans in the art of war, which, before you taught it them, they neither would nor could learn.* It was to prevent this inconvenience, that Lycurgus, in one of the three laws which he calls *Rhetræ*, forbad the Lacedæmonians to make war often upon the ſame enemy, leſt they ſhould make them too good ſoldiers, by obliging them to the frequent defence of themſelves.

Several campaigns paſſed in this manner without any thing deciſive on either ſide. It was prudent in the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto,

and

and to give their ſoldiers time to inure and imbolden themſelves. When the occaſion was favourable, they let themſelves looſe like generous hounds, and after having given them a taſte of victory by way of reward, they called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their ſucceſs and this wiſe conduct was due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprize againſt Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedæmonians, at his return he found the enemy poſted to intercept him near Tegyra. As ſoon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, ſomebody run in all haſte to Pelopidas, and told him, *We are fallen into the enemy's hands. Ah!* replied he, *why ſhould we not rather ſay, that they are fallen into ours!* At the ſame time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear-guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was aſſured, that his foot, which were only three hundred, and were called the *ſacred battalion*, would break through the enemy, wherever they charged, though ſuperior in number, as they were by at leaſt two-thirds. The aſſault began where the generals of each party were poſted, and were very rude. The two generals of the Lacedæmonians, who had charged Pelopidas, were preſently killed; all that were with them being either ſlain or diſperſed. The reſt of the Lacedæmonian troops were ſo daunted, that they opened a paſſage for the Thebans, who might have marched on to ſave themſelves if they had thought fit: But Pelopidas, diſdaining to make uſe of that opening for his retreat, advanced againſt thoſe who were ſtill drawn up in battle, and made ſo great a ſlaughter of them, that they were all diſmayed, and fled in diſorder. The Thebans did not purſue them far, leſt they ſhould be ſurprized. They contented themſelves with having broken them, and with making a glorious retreat not inferior to a victory, becauſe through the enemy diſperſed and defeated.

This

This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the ſource of the great actions and events we are about to treat of. It had never happened till then in any war, either againſt the Barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been defeated with the ſuperiority of number on their ſide, nor even with equal forces in battle array. For which reaſon they were inſupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durſt ſhew themſelves in the field before them, unleſs ſuperior in number. They now loſt that glory, and the Thebans in their turn became the terror and dread even of thoſe, who had rendered themſelves ſo univerſally formidable.

The enterprize of Artaxerxes Mnemon againſt Egypt, and the death of Evagoras king of Cyprus, ſhould naturally come in here. But I ſhall defer thoſe articles, to avoid breaking in upon the Theban affairs. A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377.

SECT. IV. *New troubles in Greece. The Lacedæmonians declare war againſt Thebes. They are defeated and put to flight in the battle of Leuctra.* EPAMINONDAS *ravages Laconia, and marches to the gates of Sparta.*

(y) WHILST the Perſians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles aroſe in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Platæa (z), and afterwards Theſpiæ, entirely demoliſhed thoſe cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Platæans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmoſt favour, and adopted into the number of the citizens. A. M. 3633. Ant. J. C. 371.

(a) Artaxerxes, being informed of the ſtate of the Grecian affairs, ſent a new embaſſy thither to perſuade the ſeveral cities and republicks at war to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcides. By that peace, as has been obſerved in its place, it was concluded, that

(y) Diod. l. li. p. 361, 362. (z) *Platæa, a city of Bœotia. Theſpiæ of Achaia.* (a) Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. vi. p. 590---593. Dion. p. 365, 366.

that all the cities of Greece ſhould enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedæmonians preſſed the Thebans to reſtore their liberty to all the cities of Bœotia, to rebuild Platæa and Theſpiæ which they had demoliſhed, and to reſtore them with their dependances to their ancient inhabitants. The Thebans on their ſide inſiſted alſo, that the Lacedæmonians ſhould give liberty to all thoſe of Laconia, and that the city of Meſſene ſhould be reſtored to its ancient poſſeſſors. This was what equity required; but the Lacedæmonians, believing themſelves much ſuperior to the Thebans, were for impoſing a law upon them, which they would not ſubmit to themſelves.

All Greece being weary of a war, which had already laſted ſeveral campaigns, and had no other end than the aggrandizing of that ſtate, was ſeriouſly intent upon a general peace, and, with that view, had ſent deputies to Lacedæmon, to concert together the means of attaining ſo deſirable an effect. (*b*) Amongſt thoſe deputies Epaminondas was of the firſt rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philoſophy; but he had not yet given any very diſtinguiſhed proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies, and the adminiſtration of publick affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of reſpect for Ageſilaus, who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to differ from his opinion in any thing, a very common effect of too imperious a power on one ſide, and too ſervile a ſubmiſſion on the other; he was the only one that ſpoke with a wiſe and noble boldneſs, as became a ſtateſman who had no other view but the publick good. He made a ſpeech, not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power of Sparta, whilſt the reſt of Greece was reduced, and ruined by it. He inſiſted principally upon the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing the peace in equality and juſtice, becauſe no peace

(*b*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 611.

peace could be ſolid and of long duration, but that wherein all parties ſhould find an equal advantage.

A diſcourſe like this, founded evidently upon reaſon and juſtice, and pronounced with a grave and ſerious tone, never fails of making impreſſion. Ageſilaus plainly diſtinguiſhed, from the attention and ſilence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, *Whether he thought it juſt and reaſonable, that Bœotia ſhould be free and independent?* that is to ſay, whether he agreed, that the cities of Bœotia ſhould depend no longer upon Thebes. Epaminondas immediately aſked in his turn with great vivacity, *Whether he thought it juſt and reaſonable, that Laconia ſhould enjoy the ſame independance and liberty?* Upon which Ageſilaus riſing from his ſeat in great rage, inſiſted upon his declaring plainly, *Whether he would conſent that Bœotia ſhould be free?* Epaminondas retorted his queſtion again, and aſked, *Whether, on his ſide, he would conſent that Laconia ſhould be free?* Ageſilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, ſtruck them directly out of the treaty of alliance, which they were about to conclude. The reſt of the allies ſigned it, leſs out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedæmonians, whoſe power theydreaded.

(*c*) In conſequence of this treaty, all the troops in the field were to be diſbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then at Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori to know the republick's reſolutions. Prothous, one of the principal ſenators, repreſented, that there was no room for deliberations, for that Sparta, by the late agreement, has made the recall of the troops indiſpenſible. Ageſilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was abſolutely bent on the war for an opportunity of revenge, and the preſent ſeemed moſt favourable, when

(*c*) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 593---597. Diod. l. xv. p. 365---371. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 288, 289.

when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded the treaty of peace. The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, * who treated him as an honest, well-meaning dotard, that knew nothing of the matter; the Divinity, from thenceforth, as Xenophon observes, promoting their downfall. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march against the Thebans with his troops, and sent orders at the same time to all their allies to assemble their forces, who were averse to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contracting the Lacedæmonians, whom they did not yet dare to disobey. Though no happy consequences could be expected from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice, and from the sole motive of resentment and revenge; the Lacedæmonians however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.

A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

The Thebans were much alarmed at first. They saw themselves alone, without allies or support, whilst all Greece looked upon them as utterly lost; not knowing that in a single man they had more than armies. This was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had several colleagues joined in commission with him. He immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As several bad omens were told him to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is, † *There is but one good omen, to fight for one's country.* However, to re-assure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas

* Ἐκεῖνον μὲν φυλαξεῖν ἡγήσαλο· ἤδη γὰρ ὦ; ἔ.ιπε τὸ δαιμόνιον ἤγεν.

† Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριςος, ἀμυνέσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Iliad xii. v. 423.

Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded *the ſacred battalion.* When he left his houſe to go to the army, his wife, in taking her laſt adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears to take care of himſelf; *That,* ſaid he, *ſhould be recommended to young people; but for generals, they have no occaſion for ſuch advice; the care of others ſhould be recommended to them.*

Epaminondas had wiſely taken care to ſecure a paſs, by which Cleombrotus might have ſhortened his march conſiderably. The latter, after having taken a large compaſs, arrived at Leuctra, a ſmall town of Bœotia, between Platæa and Theſpiæ. Both parties conſulted whether they ſhould give battle; which Cleombrotus reſolved by the advice of all his officers, who repreſented to him, that if he declined fighting with ſuch a ſuperiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he ſecretly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an eſſential reaſon for haſtening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected. However, the ſix generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their ſentiments. The ſeventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time to join the three, that were for fighting, and his opinion carrying the queſtion, the battle was reſolved upon. This was in the ſecond year of the 102d Olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been ſaid, conſiſted of twenty-four thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe. The Thebans had only ſix thouſand foot and four hundred horſe; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience of the war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, compoſed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill diſciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as ſuperior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been ſaid, having engaged in the war with reluctance, becauſe they did not approve

prove the motive of it, and were besides dissatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals on either side supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his times. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of *the sacred battalion*, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, consisting of Lacedæmonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take the advantage, which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in the front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, Agesilaus's son, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. *The sacred battalion* was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right, to keep off his right wing as a kind of reserved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian Phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them after the enemy's example in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before

before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into ſome confuſion. Epaminondas following his horſe cloſe, marched ſwiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his Phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diverſion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to ſurround him. Pelopidas, upon the ſight of that movement, advanced with incredible ſpeed and boldneſs at the head of *the ſacred battalion* to prevent the enemy's deſign, and flanked Cleombrotus himſelf, who, by that ſudden and unexpected attack, was put into diſorder. The battle was very rude and obſtinate, and whilſt Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in ſuſpenſe, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to compleat the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the ſhame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great ſlaughter enſued on both ſides. The Spartans fought with ſo much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by ſo glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved ſucceſsful, had the allies ſeconded their ardour. But the left wing, ſeeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx had been broke, and believing all loſt, eſpecially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the reſt of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigorouſly, and killed a great number in the purſuit. The Thebans remained maſters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received ſuch a blow. The moſt bloody defeats till then had ſcarce ever coſt them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. They had been ſeen, however animated, or rather violently incenſed againſt Athens, to ranſom, by a truce of thirty-eight years, eight hundred of their citizens, who had ſuffered themſelves to be ſhut in the

little island of Sphacteria. Here they lost four thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmonians, and four hundred * Spartans, out of seven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were few of their citizens.

The city of Sparta celebrated at that time the gymnastick games, and was full of strangers, whom curiosity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any changes in the celebration of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations, who were killed, and stayed in the theatre to see that the dances and games were continued without interruption to the end.

The next day in the morning the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle, met in the publick place, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks; whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses, or if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect, which sensibly expressed their profound anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women. Grief, silence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons were seen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied, but such sentiments argue great courage and resolution: But I would not have them entirely extinguish natural tenderness, and should have been better pleased, had there been less of † ferocity in them.

Sparta

* *Those were properly called Spartans, who inhabited Sparta; the Lacedæmonians were settled in the country.*

† *Mr. Rollin seems to speak here* en Francois. *The sentiments of the Spartans have no exception, and are strictly consistent with true greatness of*

Sparta was under no ſmall difficulty to know how to act in regard to thoſe who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the moſt powerful families in the city, it was not ſafe to inflict upon them the puniſhments aſſigned by the laws, leſt their deſpair ſhould induce them to take ſome violent reſolution fatal to the ſtate. For ſuch as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a diſgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the ſtreets might buffet them, which they were obliged to ſuffer. They were beſides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours. And, laſtly, they were to ſhave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It was a great loſs to the Spartans to be deprived of ſo many of their ſoldiery, at a time they had ſuch preſſing occaſion for them. To remove this difficulty, they choſe Ageſilaus legiſlator, with abſolute power to make ſuch alterations in the laws as he ſhould think fit. Ageſilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to ſave the fugitives without prejudice to the ſtate. In a full aſſembly of the Lacedæmonians, he decreed, *That for the preſent day, the laws ſhould be ſuſpended, and of no effect; but ever after to remain in full force and authority.* By thoſe few words he preſerved the Spartan laws entire, and at the ſame time reſtored to the ſtate that great number of its members, in preventing their being for ever degraded, and conſequentially uſeleſs to the republick.

(*e*) After the battle of Leuctra the two parties were induſtriouſly employed, the one in retrieving, and the other in improving their victory.

(*f*) Ageſilaus, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia; but with a full reſolu-

 tion,

(*e*) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 598. Diod. l. xv. p. 375---378.
(*f*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 613---615. Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

of ſoul. None but ſlaves will deny, that the next glory and good fortune to defending their country againſt its enemies, when its ruin is at ſtake, is to die in its defence. Slaves have no country. That and themſelves are the tyrants.

tion, carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himſelf to attacking ſome ſmall towns of the Mantinæans, which he took, and laid the country waſte. This gave Sparta ſome joy, and they began to take courage from believing their condition not entirely deſperate.

The Thebans, ſoon after their victory, ſent an account of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the ſame time againſt the common enemy. The ſenate was then ſitting, which received the courier with great coldneſs, did not make him the uſual preſents, and diſmiſſed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the conſiderable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmonians, could not diſſemble the umbrage and diſſatisfaction which ſo ſudden and unexpected an increaſe of a neighbouring power gave them, which might ſoon render itſelf formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elected joint governors of Bœotia. Having aſſembled all the troops of the Bœotians and their allies, whoſe number daily increaſed, they entered Peloponneſus, and made abundance of places and people revolt from the Lacedæmonians; Elis, Argos, Arcadia, and the greateſt part of Laconia itſelf. It was then about the winter-ſolſtice, and towards the end of the laſt month of the year, ſo that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the firſt day of the next month being aſſigned by law, for their reſigning them to the perſons appointed to ſucceed them, upon pain of death, if they held them beyond that term. Their colleagues, apprehending the badneſs of the ſeaſon, and more, the dreadful conſequences of infringing that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes. Pelopidas was the firſt, who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take the advantage of the enemy's alarm, and to purſue their enterprize in neglect of a formality, from the obſervance of which they might juſtly believe themſelves diſpenſed by the ſtate itſelf,

as the ſervice of the ſtate, when founded in juſtice, is the ſovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of ſeventy thouſand good ſoldiers, of which the twelfth part were not Thebans. The great reputation of the two generals was the cauſe, that all the allies, even without order or publick decree, obeyed them with reſpectful ſilence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was ſix hundred years ſince the Dorians had eſtabliſhed themſelves at Lacedæmon, and in all that time, they had never ſeen an enemy upon their lands; none daring till then to ſet foot in them, and much leſs to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and ſword, deſtroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any oppoſition whatſoever.

Parties had been poſted to defend ſome important paſſes. Iſcholas the Spartan, who commanded one of theſe detachments, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a peculiar manner. Finding it impoſſible, with his ſmall body of troops, to ſupport the enemy's attack, and thinking it below a Spartan to abandon his poſt, he ſent back the young men, who were of age and condition to ſerve their country effectually, and kept none with him but ſuch as were advanced in years. With theſe devoting himſelf, after the example of Leonidas, to the publick good, they ſold their lives dear; and after having defended themſelves a long time, and made great ſlaughter of their enemies, they all periſhed to a man.

Ageſilaus acted upon this occaſion with great addreſs and wiſdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain, but dangerous to oppoſe, whoſe rapid courſe would be but of ſhort duration, and after ſome ravages ſubſide of itſelf. He contented himſelf with diſtributing his beſt troops into the middle, and all the moſt important parts of the city, ſtrongly ſecuring all

the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle, and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, and called upon him to come out and defend his country, who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, in kindling the war.

But far greater afflictions to Agesilaus were the commotions and disorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men in the highest affliction and despair from being witnesses of what they saw, as well as of the women, who seemed quite distracted with hearing the threatening cries of the enemy, and seeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilst the flames and smoke, which drove almost upon them, seemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. Whatever courage Agesilaus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being sensibly affected with so mournful an object, to which was added, the grief of losing his reputation; who, having found the city in a most flourishing and potent condition, when he came to the government, now saw it fallen to such a degree, and all its ancient glory lost under him! He was, besides, secretly mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made, *That no woman of Sparta had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's camp.*

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither, and as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad design, he said to them, *Comrades, it is not there I sent you.* At the same time he pointed to different posts to divide them; to which they went, believing their enterprize had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, argues a great presence of mind in Agesilaus, and shews, that in times of trouble it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought

thought it more adviſeable to ſuppoſe that ſmall troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous enquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much ſwoln by the melting of the ſnows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in paſſing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldneſs of the water, as its rapidity. As Epaminondas paſſed at the head of his infantry, ſome of the Spartans ſhewed him to Ageſilaus; who, after having attentively conſidered and followed him with his eyes a long time, ſaid only, * *Wonderful man!* in admiration of the valour that could undertake ſuch great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta, and to have erected a trophy in the midſt of it. He did not however think proper to attempt the forcing of the city, and not being able to induce Ageſilaus to quit it, choſe to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have defended itſelf long againſt a victorious army. But the wiſe captain, who commanded it, apprehended, that he ſhould draw upon his hands the whole force of Peloponneſus, and ſtill more, that he ſhould excite the jealouſy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his deſtroying ſo potent a republick, and *pulling out*, as Leptinus ſays, *one of the eyes of Greece*, as a proof of his ſkill (*g*). He confined himſelf therefore to the glory of having humbled the proud, whoſe Laconick language added new haughtineſs to their commands, and of having reduced them to the neceſſity, as he boaſted himſelf, of enlarging their ſtile, and lengthening their † monoſyllables. At his return he again waſted the country.

(*h*) In this expedition the Thebans re-inſtated Arcadia

(*g*) Ariſt. Rhet. l. iii. c. 10.

(*h*) Pauſ. l. iv. p. 267, 268.

* Ω τῆ μεγαλοτεράγμονι ἀνθρώπε. *The Greek expreſſion is not eaſy to be tranſlated. It ſignifies,* Oh the actor of great deeds!

† *The Lacedæmonians ſometimes anſwered the moſt important diſpatches by a ſingle monoſyllable. Philip having wrote to them,* If I enter your country, I ſhall put all to fire and ſword, *they replied,* If; *to ſignify they ſhould take all poſſible care to put it out of his power.*

cadia into one body, and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had been in possession of it * very long, after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country, natural to all men, and almost as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which the length of time had only increased. They built themselves a city, which, from the ancient name, was called Messene. Amongst the bad events of this war, none gave the Lacedæmonians more sensible displeasure, or rather more lively grief; because from immemorial time an irreconcileable enmity had subsisted between Sparta and Messene, which seemed incapable of being extinguished but by the final ruin of the one or the other.

(*i*) Polybius reflects upon an ancient error in the conduct of the Messenians with regard to Sparta, which was the cause of all their misfortunes. This was their too great sollicitude for the present tranquillity, and through an excessive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it sure and lasting. Two of the most powerful states of Greece were their neighbours, the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. The latter, from their first settlement in the country, had declared open war against them: The others, on the contrary, always joined with them, and entered into all their interests. But the Messenians had neither the courage to oppose their violent and irreconcileable enemies with valour and constancy, nor the prudence to treat with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. When the two states were either at war with each other, or carried their arms elsewhere, the Messenians, little provident for the future, and regarding only their present repose, made it a rule with them never to engage in the quarrel on either side, and to observe

(*i*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 299, 300.

* *The Messenians had been driven out of their country two hundred and eighty-seven years.*

obſerve an exact neutrality. On ſuch conjunctures they congratulated themſelves upon their wiſdom and ſucceſs in preſerving their tranquillity, whilſt their neighbours all around them were involved in trouble and confuſion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedæmonians, having ſubdued their enemies, fell upon them with all their forces; and finding them unſupported by allies, and incapable of defending themſelves, they reduced them to ſubmit, either to the yoke of a rigid ſlavery, or to baniſh themſelves from their country. And this was ſeveral times their caſe. They ought to have reflected, ſays Polybius,* that as there is nothing more deſirable or advantageous than peace, when founded in juſtice and honour; ſo there is nothing more ſhameful, and at the ſame time more pernicious, when attained by bad meaſures, and purchaſed at the price of liberty.

SECT. V. *The two Theban generals, at their return, are accuſed, and abſolved. Sparta implores aid of the Athenians. The Greeks ſend ambaſſadors to* ARTAXERXES. *Credit of* PELOPIDAS *at the court of Perſia.*

IT might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on their return to their country after ſuch memorable actions, ſhould have been received with the general applauſe, and all the honours that could be conferred upon them. Inſtead of which, they were both ſummoned to anſwer as criminals againſt the ſtate; in having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to reſign their command to new officers, retained it four months beyond the appointed term; during which they had executed in Meſſenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all thoſe great things we have related.

A behaviour of this kind is ſurprizing, and the relation of it cannot be read without a ſecret indignation: But ſuch a conduct had a very plauſible foundation.

* Εἰρήνη γὰρ, μετὰ μὲν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ σωφρόνος, κάλλιστόν ἐστι κτῆμα καὶ λυσιτελέστατον· μετὰ δὲ κακίας καὶ ἀβελτερίας ἐπονειδίστου, πάντων αἰσχιστον καὶ βλαβερώτατον.

dation. The zealous aſſertors of a liberty lately regained, were apprehenſive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorizing ſome future magiſtrate to maintain himſelf in command beyond the eſtabliſhed term, and in conſequence to turn his arms againſt his country. It is not to be doubted, but the Romans would have acted in the ſame manner; and if they were ſo ſevere, to put an officer to death, though victorious, for giving battle without his general's orders, how would they have behaved to a general, who ſhould have continued four months in the ſupreme command, contrary to the laws, and upon his own authority?

(*k*) Pelopidas was the firſt cited before the tribunal. He defended himſelf with leſs force and greatneſs of mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, haughty, and intrepid in fight, forſook him before the judges. His air and diſcourſe, which had ſomething timid and creeping in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the leaſt incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him not without difficulty. Epaminondas appeared, and ſpoke with a quite different air and tone. He ſeemed, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, to charge danger in front without emotion. Inſtead of juſtifying himſelf, he made a panegyrick upon his actions, and repeated in a lofty ſtile, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-eſtabliſhed Meſſenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with ſaying, that he ſhould die with pleaſure, if the Thebans would renounce the ſole glory of thoſe actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he uſed to return from battle, with glory and univerſal applauſe. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner ſeizes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature deſigned for great actions, and every thing he did had an air of grandeur in it. (*l*) His

(*k*) Plut. de ſui laude, p. 540. (*l*) Plut. de præcept. reip. ger. p. 811.

His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected *Telearch*; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He however thought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that * *the office did not only shew the man, but the man the office.* He accordingly raised that employment to very great dignity, which before consisted in only taking care, that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common-sewers in good order.

(*m*) The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy, whom the late successes had rendered still more haughty and enterprizing than ever, and seeing themselves exposed every moment to a new irruption, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spoke, began with describing in the most pathetick terms the deplorable condition, and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the insolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the empire of all Greece. He insinuated what Athens in particular had to fear, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times, in which the strict union betwixt Athens and Sparta had preserved Greece to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with saying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its ancient friend and ally, which more than once had generously sacrificed itself for the common interest and safety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his discourse, but at the same time they had not forgot the bad treatment, which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the defeat of Sicily. However, their compassion of the present misfortunes of Sparta carried

(*m*) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 609---613.

* Οὐ μόνον ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἄνηρ.

carried it against the sense of the former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedæmonians with all their forces. (*n*) Some time after, the deputies of several states being assembled at Athens, a league and confederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcides, and the intention of the king of Persia, who continually made instances for its execution.

(*o*) A slight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies, raised them from the dejection of spirit in which they had hitherto remained, as it generally happens, when in a mortal distemper the least glimpse of a recovery enlivens hope and recalls joy. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, having received aid from Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called *the battle without tears* (*p*), because he did not lose a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been so much accustomed to conquer, that they became insensible to the pleasure of victory: But when the news of this battle arrived, and they saw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderness. He was followed by the great officers and magistrates. The crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to see those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had rose so high.

(*q*) Philiscus, who had been sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived at Delphos, whither he summoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all consulted in the affair discussed in that assembly. The Spartans demanded, that

(*n*) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 613---616. 615. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619, 620.
(*o*) Plut. in Agesil. p. 614.
(*p*) Diod. l. xv. p. 383.
(*q*) Xenoph. p. 619. Diod. p. 381.

that Meſſene and its inhabitants ſhould return to their obedience to them. Upon the Thebans refuſal to comply with that demand, the aſſembly broke up, and Philiſcus retired, after having left conſiderable ſums of money with the Lacedæmonians for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its loſſes, was no longer the object of the Perſians fear or jealouſy; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them juſt cauſe of inquietude.

(*r*) To form a league againſt Thebes with greater certainty, the allies had ſent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their ſide deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wiſe choice, from the great reputation of the ambaſſador, which is no indifferent circumſtance in reſpect to the ſucceſs of a negociation. The battle of Leuctra had ſpread its fame into the remoteſt provinces of Aſia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongſt the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him, *This is he, who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire by ſea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itſelf between the Eurotas and Taygetus, that not long ſince, under its king Ageſilaus, threatened no leſs than to invade us in Suſa and Ecbatana.*

Artaxerxes, extremely pleaſed with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himſelf upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in eſteem indeed of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and ſelf-love, and to inſinuate to his ſubjects, that the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious perſons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his diſcourſe, in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian ambaſſadors, and more ſimple than that of the Lacedæmonians, which was ſaying a great deal, he eſteemed him more than ever; and as it is * common with kings, who are but little accuſtomed to conſtraint, he did not diſſemble his extreme regard for him, and his pre-

(*r*) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 620---622. Plut. in Pelop. p. 294.

* πάθος βασιλικὸν παθών.

preference of him to all the reſt of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprized the king, how important it was to the intereſt of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never borne arms againſt the Perſians, and which, in forming a kind of balance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make an uſeful diverſion againſt thoſe republicks, the perpetual and irreconcileable enemies of Perſia, that had lately coſt it ſo many loſſes and inquietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the beſt received after him; becauſe being paſſionately deſirous of humbling Sparta, and at the ſame time of pleaſing the king, he did not appear averſe to the views of Pelopidas.

The king having preſſed Pelopidas, to explain what favours he had to aſk of him, he demanded, "That Meſſene ſhould continue free and exempt "from the yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian gal-"lies, which were ſailed to infeſt the coaſt of Bœotia, "ſhould be recalled, or that war ſhould be declared "againſt Athens; that thoſe who would not come "into the league, or march againſt ſuch as ſhould "oppoſe it, ſhould be attacked firſt." All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the king. Leon, Timagoras's colleague, ſaid loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, *Athens has nothing now to do but to find ſome other ally.*

Pelopidas, having obtained all he deſired, left the court, without accepting any more of the king's many preſents, than what was neceſſary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made againſt the other Grecian ambaſſadors, who were not ſo reſerved and delicate in point of intereſt. One of thoſe from the Arcadians ſaid on his return home, that he had ſeen many ſlaves at the king's court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain oſtentation, and that the ſo-much-boaſted * Plantain

* *It was a tree of gold, of exquiſite workmanſhip, and great value, which people went to ſee out of curioſity.*

tain of gold, which was valued at ſo high a price, had not ſhade enough under it for a graſs-hopper.

Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the moſt preſents. He did not only accept of gold and ſilver, but of a magnificent bed, and ſlaves to make it, the Greeks not ſeeming to him expert enough in that office; which ſhews that ſloth and luxury were little in faſhion at Athens. He received alſo twenty-four cows, with ſlaves to take care of them; as having occaſion to drink milk for ſome indiſpoſition. Laſtly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the ſea-ſide at the king's expence, who gave four talents (*s*) for that ſervice. His colleague Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accuſed him of not having communicated any thing to him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a trial in conſequence, and condemned to ſuffer death.

It does not appear that the acceptance of preſents incenſed the Athenians moſt againſt Timagoras. For Epicrates, a ſimple porter, who had been at the Perſian court, and had alſo received preſents, having ſaid, in a full aſſembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to paſs, by which, inſtead of the nine Archons annually elected, nine ambaſſadors ſhould be choſen out of the pooreſt of the people to be ſent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage; the aſſembly only laughed, and made a jeſt of it. But what offended them more, was the Thebans having obtained all they demanded. In which, ſays Plutarch, they did not duly conſider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend how much ſtronger and more efficacious that was in perſuading, than all the harangues and the rhetorical flouriſhes of the other ambaſſadors; eſpecially with a prince, accuſtomed to careſs, and comply with, the ſtrongeſt, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who beſides was not ſorry to humble Sparta and Athens, the ancient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The eſteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas

(*s*) *Four thouſand crowns.*

das were not a little augmented by the good ſucceſs of this embaſſy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-eſtabliſhment of Meſſene; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Theſſalia was the theatre, where the valour of Pelopidas made the greateſt figure, in the expedition of the Thebans againſt Alexander tyrant of Pheræ. I ſhall relate it entire, and unite in one point of view all which relates to that great event, without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appeaſe the troubles of that court.

SECT. VI. PELOPIDAS *marches againſt* ALEXANDER *tyrant of Pheræ, and reduces him to reaſon. He goes to Macedonia, to appeaſe the troubles of that court, and brings* PHILIP *to Thebes as an hoſtage. He returns into Theſſaly, is ſeized by treachery, and made a priſoner.* EPAMINONDAS *delivers him.* PELOPIDAS *gains a victory againſt the tyrant, and is killed in the battle. Extraordinary honours paid to his memory. Tragical end of* ALEXANDER.

A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

(*t*) THE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens, which for many years had lorded it over all Greece, either in conjunction or ſeparately, had inſpired ſome of their neighbours with the deſire of ſupplanting thoſe cities, and given birth to the hope of ſucceeding them in the pre-eminence. A power had roſe up in Theſſaly, which began to grow formidable. Jaſon, tyrant of Pheræ, had been declared generaliſſimo of the Theſſalians by the conſent of the people of that province; and it was to his merit, univerſally known, he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above eight thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light-armed ſoldiers, and might have undertaken any thing with ſuch a body of diſciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct

(*t*) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 579---583, & 598---601. Diod. l. xv. p. 371---373.

conduct of their general. But death prevented his designs. He was assassinated by persons who had conspired his destruction.

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were substituted in his place, the latter of whom killed the other for the sake of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ, who seized the tyranny, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. Against him Pelopidas was sent. A. M. 3635. Ant. J. C. 369.

As the tyrant made open war against several people of Thessaly, and was secretly intriguing to subject them all, the citizens sent ambassadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himself the charge of this expedition. He set out for Thessaly with an army, made himself master of Larissa, and obliged Alexander to make his submission to him. He there endeavoured by mild usage and friendship to change his disposition, and from a tyrant, to make him become a just and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing new complaints every day of his cruelty, debauched life, and insatiable avarice, he began to treat him with warm reproofs and menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at such usage, withdrew secretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in security from any attempts of his, and in good understanding with each other, set out for Macedonia, where his presence had been desired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left issue three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural son, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was succeeded by * Perdiccas, with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to be

* *Plutarch makes this quarrel between Alexander and Ptolemy, which cannot agree with Æschines's account* (de Fals. Legat. p. 400.) *of the affairs of Perdiccas after Alexander's death, which I shall relate in the history of Philip. As Æschines was their cotemporary, I thought it proper to substitute Perdiccas to Alexander.*

be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should see the most right.

Pelopidas was no sooner arrived, than he put an end to all disputes, and recalled those who had been banished by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the noblest families of Macedonia for hostages, he carried them to Thebes; to shew the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms, and an entire confidence in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip, who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war against the Greeks, to subject them to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia some years after, occasioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being desirous to arrive before Ptolemy had time to execute his projects, who made new efforts to establish himself upon the throne; and not having an army, he raised some mercenary troops in haste, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt those mercenary soldiers by presents of money, and to bring them over to his side. At the same time, awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his superior and master, had recourse to caresses and entreaties, and promised in the most solemn manner to hold the crown only as guardian to the son of the deceased, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were so to the Thebans; and in security of his engagements, he gave his son Philoxenus and fifty other children, who were educated with him, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary soldiers ran very much in his thoughts. He was informed, that they had sent the greatest part of their effects, with their wives and children, into the city * Pharsalus, and conceived that a fair opportunity for being revenged of them

* *A city of Thessaly.*

them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together ſome Theſſalian troops, and marched to Pharſalus, where he was ſcarce arrived before Alexander the tyrant came againſt him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambaſſador to him, believing that he came to juſtify himſelf, and to anſwer the complaints of the Thebans, went to him with only Iſmenias in his company, without any precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious wretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that reſpect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing againſt his perſon. He was miſtaken; for the tyrant, ſeeing them alone and unarmed, made them both priſoners, and ſeized Pharſalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occaſion (*x*). There is in the commerce of ſociety, ſays he, certain aſſurances, and as it were ties, of mutual faith, upon which one may reaſonably rely: Such are the ſanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hoſtages, and above all, the conſiſtency of the paſt conduct of thoſe with whom one treats: When, notwithſtanding theſe motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a misfortune, but not a fault: But to truſt one's ſelf to a known traitor, a reputed villain, is certainly an unpardonable inſtance of error and temerity.

(*y*) So black a perfidy filled Alexander's ſubjects with terror and diſtruſt, who very much ſuſpected, that after ſo flagrant an injuſtice, and ſo daring a crime, the tyrant would ſpare no body, and would look upon himſelf upon all occaſions, and with all ſorts of people, as a man in deſpair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans, incenſed at ſo vile an inſult, immediately ſent an army into Theſſaly; and as they were diſpleaſed with Epaminondas, upon the groundleſs ſuſpicion of his having

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(*x*) Lib. viii. p. 512. l. xv. p. 382, 383. (*y*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 292, 293. Diod.

been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain occaſion, they nominated other generals; ſo that he ſerved in this expedition only as a private man. The love of his country and of the publick good extinguiſhed all reſentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its ſervice through any pique of honour, or perſonal diſcontent.

The tyrant however carried Pelopidas to Pheræ, and made a ſhew of him to all the world at firſt, imagining that ſuch a treatment would humble his pride and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, ſeeing the inhabitants of Pheræ in great conſternation, perpetually conſoled them, adviſing them not to deſpair, and aſſuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be puniſhed. He cauſed them to be told, that it was as imprudent as unjuſt to torture and put to death every day ſo many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, and to ſpare his life, who, he knew, would no ſooner be out of his hands, than he would puniſh him as his crimes deſerved. The tyrant, aſtoniſhed at his greatneſs of ſoul, ſent to aſk him why he took ſo much pains for death? *It is*, returned the illuſtrious priſoner, *that thou mayeſt periſh the ſooner by being ſtill more deteſtable to the gods and men.*

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody ſhould ſee or ſpeak to him. But Thebé his wife, the daughter of Jaſon, who had alſo been tyrant of Pheræ, having heard of the conſtancy and courage of Pelopidas from thoſe who guarded him, had a curioſity to ſee and converſe with him; and Alexander could not refuſe her his permiſſion (z). He loved her tenderly, (if a tyrant may be ſaid to love any body:) But notwithſtanding that tenderneſs, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual diſtruſt even of her. He never went to her apartment without a ſlave before him with a naked ſword in his hand, and ſending ſome of his guard to ſearch every coffer for concealed poniards.

(z) Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 25.

niards. Wretched prince, cries Cicero, who could confide more in a ſlave and a Barbarian, than in his own wife!

Thebé therefore deſiring to ſee Pelopidas, found him in a melancholy condition, dreſſed in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might conſole him in his diſtreſs. Not being able to refrain from tears at ſuch a ſight, *Ah unfortunate Pelopidas*, ſaid ſhe, *how I lament your poor wife! No, Thebé*, replied he, *it is yourſelf you ſhould lament, who can ſuffer ſuch a monſter as Alexander without being his priſoner.* Thoſe words touched Thebé to the quick; for it was with extreme reluctance ſhe bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous way of living. Hence going often to ſee Pelopidas, and frequently bewailing before him the injuries ſhe ſuffered, ſhe daily conceived new abhorrence for her huſband, whilſt hatred and the deſire of revenge grew ſtrong in her heart.

The Theban generals, who had entered Theſſaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by their incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant purſued them in their retreat, harraſſed them ſhamefully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole army had been defeated, if the ſoldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who ſerved as a private man amongſt them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry and light-armed foot, poſted himſelf in the rear; where, ſometimes ſuſtaining the enemy's attacks, and ſometimes charging them in his turn, he compleated the retreat with ſucceſs, and preſerved the Bœotians. The generals upon their return were each of them fined ten thouſand drachmas *, and Epaminondas ſubſtituted in their place. As the publick good was his ſole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment and kind of affront which he had received, and had a full amends in the glory that attended ſo generous and diſintereſted a conduct.

* *About* 225 l. *ſterling.*

Some days after, he marched at the head of the army into Theſſaly; whither his reputation had preceded him. It had ſpread already both terror and joy through the whole country; terror amongſt the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas diſmayed, and joy amongſt the people, from the aſſurance of being ſpeedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant puniſhed for all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the ſafety of Pelopidas to his own glory, inſtead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might have done, choſe rather to protract it; from the apprehenſion, that the tyrant, if reduced to deſpair, like a wild beaſt, would turn his whole rage upon his priſoner. For he knew the violence and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reaſon nor juſtice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that ſome he covered with the ſkins of bears and wild boars, that his dogs might tear them in pieces, or he ſhot them to death with arrows. Theſe were his frequent ſports and diverſions. In the cities of Melibœa and Scotuſa *, which were in alliance with him, he called an aſſembly of the citizens, and cauſing them to be ſurrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their young to be cut in his preſence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the Troades of Euripides, he ſuddenly went out of the theatre, and ſent to the actor to tell him, not to be under any apprehenſion upon that account; for that his leaving the place was not from any diſcontent in regard to him, but becauſe he was aſhamed to let the citizens ſee him weep the misfortunes of Hercules and Andromache, who had cut ſo many of their throats without any compaſſion.

Though he was little ſuſceptible of pity, he was much ſo of fear at this time. Amazed at the ſudden arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majeſty that ſurrounded him, he made haſte to diſpatch perſons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas

* *Cities of Magneſia.*

nondas could not ſuffer that the Thebans ſhould make either peace or alliance with ſo wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days, and after having got Pelopidas and Iſmenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

(*a*) Fear is not a maſter whoſe leſſons make any deep and laſting impreſſion upon the mind of man. The tyrant of Pheræ ſoon returned to his natural diſpoſition. He ruined ſeveral cities of Theſſaly, and put garriſons into thoſe of Phthia, Achæa, and Magneſia. Thoſe cities ſent deputies to Thebes to demand a ſuccour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of ſetting out, when there happened a ſudden eclipſe of the ſun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at noon-day. The dread and conſternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well that this accident had nothing more than natural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expoſe ſeven thouſand Thebans againſt their will, nor to compel them to march in the terror and apprehenſion with which he perceived they were ſeized. He therefore gave himſelf to the Theſſalians alone, and taking with him three hundred horſe of ſuch Thebans and ſtrangers as would follow him, he departed contrary to the prohibition of the ſoothſayers, and the opinion of the moſt wiſe and judicious.

He was perſonally incenſed againſt Alexander, in reſentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebé his wife had ſaid, and he himſelf knew, of the general diſcontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great diviſions in his court, and an univerſal diſpoſition to revolt. But his ſtrongeſt motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in itſelf. For his ſole deſire and ambition was to ſhew all Greece, that at the ſame time the Lacedæmonians ſent generals and officers to Dionyſius the tyrant, and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a ſtatue of braſs,

(*a*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 295---298. Xenoph. l. vi. p. 601.

as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people that declared war against tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from amongst the Greeks all unjust and violent government.

After having assembled his army at Pharsalus, he marched against the tyrant; who, being apprized that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own infantry was twice as strong as that of the Thessalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by somebody, that Alexander approached with a great army: *So much the better*, replied he, *we shall beat the greater number.*

Near a place called Cynocephalus, there were very high and steep hills, which lay in the midst of the plain. Both armies were in motion to seize that post with their foot, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's, and whilst they pursued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the top of the hills, having outstript the Thessalians; and charging rudely such as endeavoured to force those heights and retrenchments, he killed the foremost, and repulsed the others, whom their wounds obliged to give way. Pelopidas, seeing this, recalled his horse, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his buckler, and ran to those who fought upon the hills.

He presently made way through his infantry, and passed in a moment from the rear to the front, revived his soldiers vigour and courage in such a manner, as made the enemies believe themselves attacked by fresh troops. They supported two or three charges with great resolution: But finding Pelopidas's infantry continually gaining ground, and that his cavalry were returned from the pursuit to support them, they began to give way, and retired slowly, still making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, seeing the whole army of the enemy from the top of the hills, which, though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in

great

great diſorder, he ſtopt for ſome time, looking about every where for Alexander.

As ſoon as he perceived him upon his right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenary ſoldiers, he could contain himſelf no longer, but fired with that view, and abandoning to his ſole reſentment the care of his life, and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and run forwards with all his force, calling upon and defying Alexander. The tyrant made no anſwer to his defiance, and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himſelf amongſt his guards. The battalion ſtanding firm for ſome time, Pelopidas broke the firſt ranks, and killed the greateſt part of the guards upon the ſpot. The reſt continuing the fight at a diſtance, pierced his arms and breaſt at length with their javelins. The Theſſalians, alarmed at the danger in which they ſaw him, made all the haſte they could from the tops of the hills to his aſſiſtance; but he was fallen dead when they arrived. The infantry and the Theban horſe, returning to the fight againſt the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and purſued them a great way. The plain was covered with the dead; for more than three thouſand of the tyrant's troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effect of a conſummate valour, is inexcuſable, and has been generally condemned, becauſe there is no true valour without wiſdom and prudence. The greateſt courage is cool and ſedate. It ſpares itſelf where it ought, and expoſes itſelf when occaſion makes it neceſſary. A general ought to ſee every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a condition to apply the proper remedy on all occaſions, he muſt not precipitate himſelf to the danger of being cut off, and of cauſing the loſs of his army by his death.

(*b*) Euripides, after having ſaid in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the victory by taking care of his own life, adds,

(*b*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 317.

adds, *that if it be necessary for him to die, it must be when he resigns his life into the hands of virtue*; to signify, that only virtue, not passion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first duty of valour is to preserve him who preserves others.

(c) It is in this sense the saying of Timotheus is so just and amiable. When Chares shewed the Athenians the wounds he had received whilst he was their general, and his shield pierced through with a pike: *And for me*, said Timotheus, *when I besieged Samos, I was much ashamed to see a dart fall very near me, as having exposed myself like a young man without necessity, and more than was consistent for the general of so great an army.* Hannibal certainly cannot be suspected of fear, and yet it has been observed, that in the great number of battles which he fought, he never received any wound, except only at the siege of Saguntum.

It is therefore not without reason, that Pelopidas is reproached with having sacrificed all his other virtues to his valour, by such a prodigality of his life, and with having died rather for himself than his country.

Never was captain more lamented than him. His death changed the victory so lately gained into mourning. A profound silence and universal affliction reigned throughout the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated. When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city by which it passed, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests, came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it, carrying crowns, trophies, and armour of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the same time highly afflicted for his death, and equally sensible of their obligations to him, made it their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate at their sole expence the obsequies of a general, who had devoted himself for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be refused to their grateful zeal.

His

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

His funeral was magnificent, eſpecially in the ſincere affliction of the Thebans and Theſſalians. For, ſays Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and thoſe marks of ſorrow, which may be impoſed by the publick authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real ſentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as publick, the regret expreſſed equally by great and ſmall, the praiſes given by the general and unanimous voice to a perſon who is no more, and from whom nothing farther is expected, are an evidence not to be queſtioned, and an homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obſequies of Pelopidas, and, in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but reſolved to avenge him. A ſmall army of ſeven thouſand foot and ſeven hundred horſe were immediately ſent againſt Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terror of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himſelf. He was obliged to reſtore to the Theſſalians the cities he had taken from them, and to give the Magneſians, Phthians, and Achæans, their liberty, to withdraw his garriſons from their country, and to ſwear that he would always obey the Thebans, and march at their orders againſt all their enemies.

Such a puniſhment was very gentle. Nor, ſays Plutarch, did it appear ſufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes: They had reſerved one for him worthy of a tyrant. Thebé his wife, who ſaw with horror and deteſtation the cruelty and perfidy of her huſband, and had not forgot the leſſons and advice which Pelopidas had given her, whilſt in priſon, entered into a conſpiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's whole palace was full of guards, who kept watch in the night; but he placed little confidence in them, as his life was in ſome ſort in their hands, he feared them the moſt of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he aſcended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this

this chamber a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding fierce, and knew nobody but his maſter, Thebé, and the ſlave who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebé ſhut up her brothers during the day-time, in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered it at night, as he was full of meat and wine, he fell into a deep ſleep immediately. Thebé went out preſently after, and ordered the ſlave to take away the dog, that he might not diſturb her huſband's repoſe; and leſt the ladder ſhould make a noiſe when her brothers came up by it, ſhe covered the ſteps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, ſhe made her brothers aſcend, armed with daggers; who, when they came to the door, were ſeized with terror, and would go no further. Thebé, quite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did not proceed immediately, and to diſcover the plot to him. Their ſhame and fear re-animated them: She made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herſelf, whilſt they killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately ſpread through the city. His dead body was expoſed to all ſort of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given for a prey to the dogs and vultures; a juſt reward for his violent oppreſſions and deteſtable cruelties.

SECT. VII. EPAMINONDAS *is choſen general of the Thebans. His ſecond attempt againſt Sparta. His celebrated victory at Mantinea. His death and character.*

A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363.

(*d*) THE extraordinary proſperity of Thebes was no ſmall ſubject of alarm to the neighbouring ſtates. Every thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had ſprung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occaſioned another between the Arcadians themſelves. The people of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid, and

3

(*d*) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 642---644. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 615. Diod. p. 391, 392.


Plate X.
ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION:
Drawn for ROLLIN'S ANTIENT HISTORY,
By Mr. D'Anville the French King's Geographer.
THE EUXINE SEA
THE CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
SCYTHIA
MASSAGETÆ
THRACIA
BITHYNIA
PHRYGIA
CAPADOCIA
ARMENIA
ALBANIA
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
ARABIA
CILICIA
CYPRUS
MEDIA
Desert
ARIA
PARTHIA
MARGIANA
BACTRIANA
SOGDIANA
SACÆ
DAHÆ
DERBICES
BARCANII
CHORASMIA
HYRCANIA
PAROPAMISUS
ARACHOSIA
ZARANGÆ
IRANGÆ
GEDROSIA
ORITÆ
INDIA
PERSIA
CARMANIA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN GULF
BABYLONIA
CHALDEA
SUSIANA
LYBIA
EGYPT
ARABIA Elana
Stades to measure Alexanders March
Lieugues or 3000 Paces or 2500 Toise
Longitude from Ferro

and thoſe of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were beſides ſeveral other allies on each ſide. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops, who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with deſign to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes to attach themſelves to Sparta.

Being informed that Ageſilaus had begun his march with his army, and advanced towards Mantinea, he formed an enterprize, which, he believed, would immortalize his name, and entirely reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different rout from that of Ageſilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by ſurprize, as it had neither walls, defence, nor troops: But happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all poſſible haſte to apprize Ageſilaus of his deſign, he immediately diſpatched one of his horſe to adviſe the city of the danger that threatened it, and arrived there ſoon after in perſon.

He had ſcarce entered the town, when the Thebans were ſeen paſſing the Eurotas, and coming on againſt the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his deſign was diſcovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without ſome attempt. (*e*) He therefore made his troops advance, and making uſe of valour inſtead of ſtratagem, he attacked the city at ſeveral quarters, penetrated as far as the publick place, and ſeized that part of Sparta which lay upon the ſide of the river. Ageſilaus made head every where, and defended himſelf with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He ſaw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to ſpare himſelf, and to act only upon the defenſive; but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of deſpair; means which he had never uſed, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great ſucceſs in the preſent dangerous emergency. For by this

(*e*) Polyb. l. ix. p. 547.

this happy deſpair and prudent audacity, he in a manner ſnatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His ſon Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greateſt, and with his ſmall troop ſtopt the enemy, and made head againſt them on all ſides.

A young Spartan, named Iſadas, diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly in this action. He was very handſome in the face, perfectly well ſhaped, of an advantageous ſtature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor cloaths upon his body, which ſhone with oil, and held a ſpear in one hand, and a ſword in the other. In this condition he quitted his houſe with the utmoſt eagerneſs, and breaking through the preſs of the Spartans that fought, he threw himſelf upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who oppoſed him, without receiving any hurt himſelf. Whether the enemy were diſmayed at ſo aſtoniſhing a ſight, or, ſays Plutarch, the gods took pleaſure in preſerving him upon account of his extraordinary valour, it is ſaid, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him a thouſand drachmas (*f*) for having expoſed himſelf to ſo great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas having failed of his aim, foreſeeing that the Arcadians would certainly haſten to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedæmonian forces upon his hands at the ſame time, he returned with expedition to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him cloſe in the rear.

(*g*) That general, conſidering his command was upon the point of expiring, that if he did not fight, his reputation might ſuffer extremely, and that immediately after his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, he gave orders to his troops to hold themſelves in readineſs for battle.

The

(*f*) *Five hundred livres.* (*g*) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 645---647.

The Greeks had never fought amongſt themſelves with more numerous armies. The Lacedæmonians, conſiſted of more than twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; the Thebans of thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians, were poſted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakeſt of their troops, had the center, and the Athenians alone compoſed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the center. The cavalry on each ſide were diſpoſed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the ſame order of battle, in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to loſe, in the diſpoſition of his army, a time which cannot be too much ſaved in great enterprizes.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills with his left wing foremoſt, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over-againſt them at a quarter of a league's diſtance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if he deſigned to encamp there. The enemy in effect were deceived by that ſtand, and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, diſperſed themſelves about the camp, and ſuffered that ardour to extinguiſh, which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the ſoldiers.

Epaminondas however, by ſuddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expreſly poſted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its ſtrength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the center and right wing of his army to move very ſlow, and to halt before they came

up

up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops, of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops, which he commanded in person, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy in a point like a galley, says Xenophon. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of their army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon the rising ground in readiness to flank the Athenians; as well to cover his right, as to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprized when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thessalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bowmen, slingers and dartmen, in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins, upon them. The other army had neglected to take the same precaution, and had made another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the

squadrons,

ſquadrons, as if they had been a phalanx. By this means, their horſe were incapable of ſupporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made ſeveral ineffectual attacks with great loſs, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time, Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both ſides with incredible ardour; both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being reſolved to periſh rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began by fighting with the ſpear, and thoſe firſt arms being ſoon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other ſword in hand. The reſiſtance was equally obſtinate, and the ſlaughter very great on both ſides. The troops deſpiſing danger, and deſiring only to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the greatneſs of their actions, choſe rather to die in their ranks, than to loſe a ſtep of their ground.

The furious ſlaughter on both ſides having continued a great while without the victory's inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in perſon, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed therefore a troop of the braveſt and moſt determinate about him, and putting himſelf at the head of them, he made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was moſt warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the firſt javelin he threw. His troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all that ſtood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, diſmayed by the preſence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The groſs of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and ſucceſs, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great ſlaughter of them. But ſome troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himſelf too much to his ardour, ſuddenly rallied, and returning to the fight, charged him with a

ſhower of javelins. Whilſt he kept off part of thoſe darts, ſhunned ſome of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the moſt heroick valour, to aſſure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breaſt acroſs his cuiraſs. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was inſupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury, the one ſide uſing their utmoſt endeavours to take him alive, and the other to ſave him. The Thebans gained their point at laſt, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not purſue them far, and returning immediately, contented themſelves with remaining maſters of the field and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing farther, as if they ſtayed for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, diſmayed by the accident of Epaminondas, whom they believed to be dead, and ſeeming rather vanquiſhed than victorious, neglected to purſue their ſucceſs in the ſame manner, and returned to their former poſt.

Whilſt this paſſed on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horſe attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, beſides the ſuperiority of number, had the advantage of being ſeconded by the light infantry poſted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their darts, they were broke and obliged to fly. After having diſperſed and repulſed them in this manner, inſtead of purſuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms againſt the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into diſorder, and puſhed with great vigour. Juſt as they were ready to turn tail, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of reſerve, ſeeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the ſpur to its relief, charged the Theban horſe, who expected nothing ſo little, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the ſame time,

time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at firſt, finding they were not purſued, rallied themſelves, and inſtead of going to the aſſiſtance of their foot, which was roughly handled, they attacked the detachment poſted by the Thebans upon the heights without the line, and put it to the ſword.

After theſe different movements, and this alternative of loſſes and advantages, the troops on both ſides ſtood ſtill and reſted upon their arms, and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by conſent, ſounded the retreat at the ſame time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, becauſe they had defeated the right wing, and remained maſters of the field of battle; the Athenians, becauſe they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both ſides refuſed at firſt to aſk leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confeſſing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians however ſent firſt to demand that permiſſion; after which, the reſt had no thoughts but of paying the laſt duties to the ſlain.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, recommends the diſpoſition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle, to the reader's attention, which he deſcribes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And Monſieur Follard, who juſtly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greateſt generals Greece ever produced, in his deſcription of the ſame battle, ventures to call it the maſter-piece of that great captain.

Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The ſurgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as ſoon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Thoſe words gave all that were preſent the utmoſt ſorrow and affliction, who were inconſolable on ſeeing ſo great a man about to die, and to die without iſſue. For him, the only concern he expreſſed, was about his arms, and the ſucceſs of the battle. When they ſhewed him his

ſhield, and aſſured him that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards his friends with a calm and ſerene air; "Do not regard," ſaid he, "this "day as the end of my life, but as the beginning of "my happineſs, and the completion of my glory. I "leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, "and Greece delivered from the yoke of ſervitude. "For the reſt, I do not reckon that I die without "iſſue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illuſtrious "daughters, that will not fail to keep my name alive, "and to tranſmit it to poſterity." Having ſpoke to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound, and expired.

It may truly be ſaid, that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom Cicero * ſeems to rank above all the illuſtrious men Greece ever produced. † Juſtin is of the ſame opinion, when he ſays, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted; ſo Thebes, after having loſt its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power ſeemed to have loſt its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that city was not diſtinguiſhed by any memorable action, and afterwards, it was not famous for its virtues but misfortunes, till it ſunk into its original obſcurity; ſo that it ſaw its glory take birth, and expire with this great man.

It has been ‡ doubted whether he was a more excellent captain or good man. He ſought not power for himſelf but for his country; and was ſo perfectly void

* Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. i. n. 4.

† Nam ſicuti telo, ſi primam aciem præfregeris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi ſuſtuleris; ſic illo velut mucrone teli ablato duce Thebanorum, rei quoque publicæ vires hebetatæ ſunt: ut non tam illum amiſiſſe, quam cum illo omnes interiiſſe viderentur. Nam neque hunc ante ducem ullum memorabile bellum geſſere, nec poſtea virtutibus, ſed cladibus, inſignes fuere: ut manifeſtum ſit, patriæ gloriam & natam & extinctam cum eo fuiſſe. *Juſtin.* l. vi. c. 8.

‡ Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux eſſet. Nam imperium non ſibi ſemper ſed patriæ quæſivit; & pecuniæ adeo parcus fuit, ut ſumptus funeri deſuerit. Gloriæ quoque non cupidior, quam pecuniæ: quippe recuſanti omnia imperia ingeſta ſunt, honoreſque ita geſſit, ut ornamentum non accipere, ſed dare ipſi dignitati videretur. *Juſtin.*

void of ſelf-intereſt, that at his death, he was not worth the expences of his funeral. Truly a philoſopher, and poor out of taſte, he deſpiſed riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and if Juſtin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always againſt his will that commands were conferred upon him, and he behaved himſelf in them in ſuch a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities to him.

Though poor himſelf, and without any eſtate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the eſteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great neceſſity, Epaminondas ſent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to aſk him for a thouſand crowns (*h*) in name. That rich man coming to his houſe, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon ſuch an errand; (*i*) *Why*, replied Epaminondas, *it is becauſe this honeſt man is in want, and you are rich* *.

He had † cultivated thoſe generous and noble ſentiments in himſelf by the ſtudy of polite learning and philoſophy, which he had made his uſual employment and ſole delight from his earlieſt infancy; ſo that it was ſurprizing, and a queſtion frequently aſked, how, and at what time, it was poſſible for a man, always buſy amongſt books, to attain, or rather ſeize, the knowledge of the art military in ſo great a degree of perfection. Fond of leiſure, which he devoted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, his darling paſſion, he ſhunned publick employments, and made no intereſts but to exclude himſelf from them. His moderation concealed him ſo well, that he lived obſcure and almoſt unknown. His merit however diſcovered him. He was taken from his ſolitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonſtrated that philo-

 ſophy,

(*h*) *A talent.*

(*i*) Plut. de præcept. reipub. ger. p. 809.

* Ὅτι χρηστὸς, εἶπεν, ἔτος ἂν πένῃ· σὺ δὲ πλουτεῖς.

† Jam literarum ſtudium, jam philoſophiæ doctrina tanta, ut mirabile videretur, unde tam inſignis militiæ ſcientia homini inter literas nato. *Juſtin.*

ſophy, though generally in contempt with thoſe who aſpire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully uſeful in forming heroes. For beſides its being a great advance towards conquering the enemy, to know how to conquer one's ſelf, in this ſchool * anciently were taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a due diſcharge of them, what we owe our country, the right uſe of authority, wherein true courage conſiſts; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, ſtateſman, and great captain.

He poſſeſſed all the ornaments of the mind: He had the talent of ſpeaking in perfection, and was well verſed in the moſt ſublime ſciences. But a modeſt reſerve threw a veil over all thoſe excellent qualities, which ſtill augmented their value, and of which, he knew not what it was to be oſtentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, ſaid, (*k*) *that he never had met with a man, who knew more, and ſpoke leſs.*

It may be ſaid therefore of Epaminondas, that he falſified the proverb, which treated the Bœotians as groſs and ſtupid. This was their common † characteriſtick, and was imputed to the groſs air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taſte was attributed to the ſubtlety of the air they breathed. Horace ſays, that to judge of Alexander from his bad taſte of poetry, one would ſwear him a true Bœotian.

Bœotum in craſſo jurares aere natum. Epiſt. i. l. 2.
In thick Bœotian air you'd ſwear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little inclination to muſick, he thought fit to make this excuſe; *It is for Thebans* ‡ *to ſing as they do, who know not how to ſpeak.* Pindar and Plutarch, who had very little of the ſoil in them, and who are proofs that genius

(*k*) Plut. de audit. p. 39.

* *The works of Plato, Xenophon, and Ariſtotle are proofs of this.*

† Inter locorum naturas quantum interſit, videmus---Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici; craſſum Thebis, itaque pinques Thebani. *Cic. de Fato,* n. 7.

‡ *They were great muſicians.*

genius is of all nations, do themſelves condemn the ſtupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatneſs of his military exploits, but by that ſort of merit, which reſults from elevation of genius, and the ſtudy of ſcience.

I ſhall conclude his portrait and character with a circumſtance, that gives place in nothing to all his other excellencies, and which may in ſome ſenſe be preferred to them, as it expreſſes a good heart, and a tender and ſenſible ſpirit; qualities very rare amongſt the great, but infinitely more eſtimable than all thoſe ſplendid attributes, which the vulgar of mankind commonly gaze at with admiration, and ſeem almoſt the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring people upon Epaminondas, who looked upon him as the ſupport and reſtorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece; in a word, as the greateſt man, and the moſt excellent captain that ever was in the world. In the midſt of this univerſal applauſe, ſo capable of making the general of an army forget the man for the victor. Epaminondas, little ſenſible to ſo affecting and ſo deſerved a glory, (*l*) *My joy*, ſaid he, *ariſes from my ſenſe of That, which the news of my victory will give my father and my mother.*

Nothing in hiſtory ſeems ſo valuable to me as ſuch ſentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart, which neither falſe glory nor falſe greatneſs have corrupted. I confeſs it is with grief I ſee theſe noble ſentiments daily expire amongſt us, eſpecially in perſons whoſe birth and rank raiſe them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good ſons, good huſbands, nor good friends, and who would think it a diſgrace to them to expreſs for a father and mother the tender regard, of which we have here ſo fine an example from a pagan.

Until Epaminondas's time, two cities had exerciſed

(*l*) Plut. in Coriol. p. 215.

alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The juſtice and moderation of Sparta had at firſt acquired it a diſtinguiſhed preheminence, which the pride and haughtineſs of its generals, and eſpecially of Pauſanias, ſoon loſt it. The Athenians, until the Peloponneſian war, held the firſt rank, but in a manner ſcarce diſcernable in any other reſpect, than their care in acquitting themſelves worthily, and in giving their inferiors juſt reaſon to believe themſelves their equals. They judged at that time, and very juſtly, that the true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evidence their ſuperiority only by ſervices and benefactions. Thoſe times, ſo glorious for Athens, were of about forty-five years continuance, and they retained a part of that preheminence during the twenty-ſeven years of the Peloponneſian war, which make in all the ſeventy-two, or ſeventy-three years, which Demoſthenes gives to the duration of their empire (*m*): But for this latter ſpace of time, the Greeks, diſguſted by the haughtineſs of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedæmonians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued ſo from the time Lyſander made himſelf maſter of Athens, until the firſt war undertaken by the Athenians, after their re-eſtabliſhment by Conon, to withdraw themſelves and the reſt of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more inſolent than ever. At length, Thebes diſputed the ſupremacy, and, by the exalted merit of a ſingle man, ſaw itſelf at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance, and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already obſerved, plunged it again into the obſcurity in which he found it.

Demoſthenes remarks, in the paſſage above cited, that the preheminence granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a preheminence of honour, not of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preſerve a kind of equality and independance in the

5 other

(*m*) Demoſt. Philip. iii. p. 89.

other cities. Hence, ſays he, when the governing city attempted to aſcribe to itſelf what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of juſtice, and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, all the Greeks thought themſelves obliged to have recourſe to arms, and without any motive of perſonal diſcontent, to eſpouſe with ardour the cauſe of the injured.

I ſhall add here another very judicious reflection from Polybius (*n*). He attributes the wiſe conduct of the Athenians, in the times I ſpeak of, to the ability of the generals, who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes uſe of a compariſon, which explains, not unhappily, the character of that people. A veſſel without a maſter, ſays he, is expoſed to great dangers, when every one inſiſts upon its being ſteered according to his opinion, and will comply with no other meaſures. If then a rude ſtorm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them; they abandon themſelves to the pilot's ſkill, and all the rowers doing their duty, the ſhip is ſaved, and in a ſtate of ſecurity. But if the tempeſt ceaſes, and when the weather grows calm again, the diſcord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and ſome are for continuing their voyage, whilſt others reſolve to ſtop in the midſt of the courſe; if on one ſide they looſe their ſails, and furl them on the other; it often happens, that after having eſcaped the moſt violent ſtorms, they are ſhipwrecked even in the port. This, ſays Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republick. As long as it ſuffered itſelf to be guided by the wiſe counſels of an Ariſtides, a Themiſtocles, a Pericles, it came off victorious from the greateſt dangers. But proſperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but caprice, and being become too inſolent to be adviſed or governed, it plunged itſelf into the greateſt miſfortunes.

(*n*) Polyb. l. vii. p. 488.

SECT.

SECT. VIII. *Death of* EVAGORAS *king of Salamin.* NICOCLES *his son succeeds him. Admirable character of that prince.*

A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374.

(*o*) THE third year of the 101st Olympiad, soon after the Thebans had destroyed Platæa and Thespiæ, as has been observed before, Evagoras, king of Salamin in the isle of Cyprus, of whom much has been said in the preceding volume, was assassinated by one of his eunuchs. His son Nicocles succeeded him. He had a fine model before him in the person of his father; and he seemed to make it his duty to be entirely intent upon treading in his steps (*p*). When he took possession of the throne, he found the publick treasures entirely exhausted, by the great expences his father had been obliged to be at in the long war between him and the king of Persia. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occasions, thought every means just for the re-establishment of their affairs; but for him, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscation of estates. The publick felicity was his sole object, and justice his favourite virtue. He discharged the debts of the state gradually, not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expences, and by using a wise œconomy in the administration of his revenue. (*q*) "I am assured," said he, "that no citizen "can complain that I have done him the least wrong, "and I have the satisfaction to know, that I have en-"riched many with an unspairing hand." He believed this kind of vanity, if it be vanity, might be permitted in a prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to make his subjects such a defiance.

(*r*) He piqued himself also in particular upon another virtue, which is the more admirable in princes, as very uncommon in their fortune; I mean temperance,

(*o*) Diod. l. xv. p. 363. (*p*) Isocrat. in Nicoc. p. 64.
(*q*) Ibid. p. 65, 66. (*r*) Ibid. p. 64.

rance. It is moſt amiable, but very difficult, in an age and a fortune, to which every thing is lawful, and wherein pleaſure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambuſh for a young prince, and preventing his deſires, to make a long reſiſtance againſt the violence and inſinuation of her ſoft aſſaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman beſides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts of civil ſociety ſhould be treated with due regard, whilſt that of marriage, the moſt ſacred and inviolable of obligations, was broke through with impunity; and that men ſhould not bluſh to commit an infidelity in reſpect to their wives, of which ſhould their wives be guilty, it would throw them into the utmoſt anguiſh and deſpair.

What I have ſaid of the juſtice and temperance of Nicocles, Iſocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he ſhould make him ſpeak in ſuch a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with ſuch ſentiments. It is in a diſcourſe, ſuppoſed to be addreſſed by that king to his people, wherein he deſcribes to them the duties of ſubjects to their princes; love, reſpect, obedience, fidelity, and devotion to their ſervice; and to engage them more effectually to the diſcharge of thoſe duties, he does not diſdain to give them an account of his own conduct and ſentiments.

(s) In another diſcourſe, which precedes this, Iſocrates explains to Nicocles all the duties of the ſovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that ſubject, of which I can repeat here only a very ſmall part. He begins by telling him that the virtue of private perſons is much better ſupported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment and cares inſeparable from it, by the misfortunes to which they are frequently expoſed, by their diſtance from pleaſures and luxury, and particularly, by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas the generality of princes have

(s) Iſocrat. ad Nicoc.

none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and unactive life, should set apart a proper time for business and the publick affairs, should form his council of the most able and experienced persons in his kingdom, should endeavour to make himself as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom, as he is by his dignity, and especially acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. "Persist," said he, "in the religion you have received from your fore-fathers, but "be assured that the most grateful adoration and sacrifice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that of the "heart, in rendering yourself good and just. Shew, "upon all occasions, so high a regard for truth, that "a single word from you may be more confided in "than the oath of others. Be a warrior, by your "ability in military affairs, and by such a warlike provision as may intimidate your enemies; but let "your inclinations be pacifick, and be rigidly exact "in never pretending to, or undertaking any thing "unjustly. The only certain proof that you have "reigned well, will be the power of bearing this "testimony to yourself; that your people are become "both more happy, and more wise, under your government."

What seems to me most remarkable in this discourse, is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and more for the prince's than the writer's praise. Nicocles, far from being offended at these counsels, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to say, twenty thousand crowns (*t*).

(*t*) Plut. in vit. Isoc. p. 838.

SECT.

SECT. IX. ARTAXERXES MNEMON *undertakes the reduction of Egypt.* IPHICRATES *the Athenian is appointed general of the Athenian troops. The enterprize miscarries by the ill conduct of* PHARNABASUS *the Persian general.*

(*u*) ARTAXERXES, after having given his people a relaxation of several years, had formed the design of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks, and other auxiliary soldiers, of whom Chabrias had the command (*x*). He had accepted that office without the authority of the republick. A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377.

Pharnabasus, having been charged with this war, sent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republick with the king's resentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the king's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. (*y*) Achoris king of Egypt died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nephretitus was the next, and four months after Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.

Ar-

(*u*) Diod. l. xv. p. 328, & 347. (*x*) Cor. Nep. in Chab. & in Iphic. (*y*) Euseb. in Chron.

A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374.

(z) Artaxerxes, to draw more troops out of Greece, sent ambassadors thither, to declare to the several states, that the king's intent was they should all live in peace with each other conformably to the treaty of Antalcides, that all garrisons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleasure except the Thebans, who refused to conform to it.

(a) At length, every thing being in a readiness for the invasion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Acæ, since called Ptolemais, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabasus, and twenty thousand Greeks under Iphicrates. The forces at sea were in proportion to those at land; their fleet consisting of three hundred gallies, besides two hundred vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the fleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated from each other as little as possible. The war was to open with the siege of Pelusium; but so much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, sailed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile called Mendesium. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, of which only two * remain at this day; and at each of those mouths there was a fort with a good garrison to defend the entrance. The Mendesium not being so well fortified as that of Pelusium, where the enemy was expected to land, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried sword in hand, and no quarter given to those who were found in it.

After

(z) Diod. l. xv. p. 355. (a) Ibid. p. 358, 359.

* *Damietta and Rosetta.*

After this ſignal action, Iphicrates thought it advisable to re-imbark upon the Nile without loſs of time, and to attack Memphis the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had recovered the panick, into which ſo formidable an invaſion, and the blow already received, had thrown them, they had found the capital without any defence, it had inevitably fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been re-conquered. But the groſs of the army not being arrived, Pharnabaſus believed it neceſſary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-aſſembled all his troops; under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obſtacle capable of withſtanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that in affairs of war eſpecially, there are certain favourable and deciſive moments, which it is abſolutely proper to ſeize, judged quite differently, and in deſpair to ſee an opportunity ſuffered to eſcape, that might never be retrieved, he made preſſing inſtances for permiſſion to go at leaſt with the twenty thouſand men under his command. Pharnabaſus refuſed to comply with that demand, out of abject jealouſy; apprehending, that if the enterprize ſucceeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garriſon into Memphis, and with the reſt of their army kept the field, and harraſſed the Perſians in ſuch a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Perſians were obliged to return into Phœnicia, having firſt loſt ineffectually the beſt part of their troops.

Thus this expedition, which had coſt immenſe ſums, and for which the preparations alone had given ſo much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miſcarried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcileable enmity between the two generals, who

had

had the command of it. Pharnabasus, to excuse himself, accused Iphicrates of having prevented its success; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, laid all the fault upon Pharnabasus. But well assured that the Persian lord would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, to avoid the fate of that illustrious Athenian, he chose to retire secretly to Athens in a small vessel which he hired. Pharnabasus caused him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition against Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made answer, that if he could be convicted of that crime, he should be punished as he deserved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any disquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in question about it; and some time after, the Athenians declared him sole admiral of their fleet.

(*b*) Most of the projects of the Persian court miscarried by their slowness in putting them in execution. Their generals hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their discretion. They had a plan of conduct in their instructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreseen and provided for, they must wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived, the opportunity was entirely lost. Iphicrates, having observed that Pharnabasus took his resolutions with all the presence of mind and penetration that could be desired in an accomplished general (*c*), asked him one day, how it happened that he was so quick in his views, and so slow in his actions? *It is*, replied Pharnabasus, *because my views depend only upon me, but their execution upon my master.*

(*b*) Diod. l. xv. p. 358. (*c*) Ibid. p. 375.

SECT.

SECT. X. *The Lacedæmonians send* AGESILAUS *to the aid of* TACHOS, *who had revolted from the Persians. The king of Sparta's actions in Egypt. His death. The greatest part of the provinces revolt against* ARTAXERXES.

(*d*) AFTER the battle of Mantinea, both parties, equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the king of Persia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was secured to each city, and the Messenians included in it, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who resolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time. That resolution, of which Agesilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, insatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republick again in inevitable misfortunes, from the necessity to which the want of money exposed them of borrowing great sums and of levying great imposts, instead of taking the favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and of putting an end to all their evils.

(*e*) Whilst this passed in Greece, Tachos, who had ascended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himself against the king of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his past endeavours to reduce that kingdom. A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363.

For this purpose, Tachos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians, with Agesilaus to command them, whom he promised to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacedæmonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, from his

 having

(*d*) Plut. in Agesil. p. 616---618. Diod. l. xv. p. 397---401.
(*e*) Xenoph. de reg. Agesil. p. 663. Cor. Nep. in Agesil. c. viii.

having forced them to include the Meſſenians in the late peace, and were fond of taking this occaſion to expreſs their reſentment. Chabrias went alſo into the ſervice of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republick's participation.

This commiſſion did Ageſilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was than more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to ſerve a Barbarian, who had revolted againſt his maſter.

When he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals, and the great officers of his houſe, came to his ſhip to receive, and make their court to him. The reſt of the Egyptians were as ſollicitous to ſee him, from the great expectation which the name and renown of Ageſilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the ſhore for that purpoſe. But when inſtead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea his exploits had given them of him, they ſaw nothing ſplendid or majeſtick either in his perſon or equipage, and ſaw only an old man of a mean aſpect and ſmall body, without any appearance, and dreſt in a bad robe of a very coarſe ſtuff, they were ſeized with an immoderate diſpoſition to laugh, and applied the fable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with thoſe of Egypt, he was very much ſurprized at not being appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the ſea-forces, and that Tachos retained the command in chief to himſelf, which was not the only mortification he had experienced.

Tachos came to a reſolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more adviſeable to make that country the ſeat of the war, than to expect the enemy in Egypt. Ageſilaus, who knew better, repreſented to him in vain, that his affairs were not ſufficiently

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would do much better to remain in them, and content himſelf with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos deſpiſed this wiſe counſel, and expreſſed no leſs diſregard for him on all other occaſions. Ageſilaus was ſo much incenſed at ſuch conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms againſt him during his abſence, and had placed Nectanebis his * couſin upon the throne. Ageſilaus, abandoning the king, to whoſe aid he had been ſent, and joining the rebel, who had dethroned him, alledged in juſtification of himſelf, that he was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Egyptians; and that they, having taken up arms againſt Tachos, he was not at liberty to ſerve againſt them without new orders from Sparta. He diſpatched expreſſes thither, and the inſtructions he received, were to act as he ſhould judge moſt advantageous for his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebis. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Perſia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but added to his clemency the command of his troops againſt the rebels.

Ageſilaus covered ſo criminal a conduct with the veil of the publick utility. But, ſays Plutarch, remove that deluſive blind, the moſt juſt and only true name, which can be given the action, is that of perfidy and treaſon. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, making the Glorious and the Good conſiſt principally in the ſervice of that country, which they idolized, knew no other juſtice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am ſurprized ſo judicious an author as Xenophon ſhould endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by ſaying only, that Ageſilaus attached himſelf to that of the two kings, who ſeemed the beſt affected to Greece.

At the ſame time, a third prince of the city of Mendes ſet up for himſelf, to diſpute the crown with

* *Diodorus calls him his ſon; Plutarch, his couſin.*

Nectanebis. This new competitor had an army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave his advice to attack them, before they were exercised and disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it had been easy to have defeated a body of people, raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebis imagined, that Agesilaus only gave him this advice to betray him in consequence, as he had done Tachos. He therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops, who soon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agesilaus was obliged to follow him thither; where the Mendesian prince besieged them. Nectanebis would then have attacked the enemy before his works which were begun were advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refused his compliance at first, which extremely augmented the suspicions conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line, as the troops within the city might occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebis, that it was time to attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent their surrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in such a manner, as they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to Agesilaus's expectation; the besiegers were beaten, and from henceforth Agesilaus conducted all the operations of the war with so much success, that the enemy prince was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361. The following winter, after having well established Nectanebis, he embarked to return to Lacedæmon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place called the port of Menelaus, where he fell sick and died, at the age of fourscore and four years. He had reigned forty-one of them at Sparta, and of those forty-one, he had passed thirty with the reputation of the greatest, and most powerful of all the

the Greeks, and had been looked upon as the leader and king of almoſt all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely ſupport the reputation he had acquired; and Xenophon, in his eulogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much.

The body of Ageſilaus was carried to Sparta. Thoſe who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan cuſtom to cover the bodies they would embalm, made uſe of wax in its ſtead. His ſon Archidamus ſucceeded to the throne, which continued in his houſe down to Agis, who was the fifth king of the line of Ageſilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greateſt part of the provinces, in ſubjection to Perſia, revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occaſion of this defection. That prince, of himſelf, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people, and was beloved by them. He had abundance of mildneſs, and ſweetneſs of temper in his character; but that eaſineſs degenerated into ſloth and luxury, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he diſcovered a diſlike for all buſineſs and application, from whence the good qualities, which he otherwiſe poſſeſſed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became uſeleſs, and without effect. The nobility and governors of provinces, abuſing his favour and the infirmities of his great age, oppreſſed the people, treated them with inſolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes, and did every thing in their power to render the Perſian yoke inſupportable.

The diſcontent became general, and broke out, after long ſuffering, almoſt at the ſame time on all ſides. Aſia minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces, declared themſelves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conſpiracy were Ariobarzanes, prince of Phrygia, Mauſolus, king of Caria, Orontes, governor of Myſia, and Autophra-

dates, governor of Lydia. Datames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was alſo engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a ſudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder did not ſuffice for the expences of a war againſt the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance; and thoſe, who had been the firſt, and moſt zealous in ſhaking off the yoke, were alſo the foremoſt in reſuming it, and in betraying the intereſts of the others, to make their peace with the king.

The provinces of Aſia minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had choſen Orontes, governor of Myſia, for their general. They had alſo reſolved to add twenty thouſand foreign troops to thoſe of the country, and had charged the ſame Orontes with the care of raiſing them. But when he had got the money for that ſervice into his hands, with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himſelf, and delivered to the king the perſons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Reomithras, another of the chiefs of Aſia minor, being ſent into * Egypt to negotiate ſuccours, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country five hundred talents and fifty ſhips of war, he aſſembled the principal revolters at Leucas, a city of Aſia minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiation, ſeized them all, delivered them to the king to make his peace, and kept the money he had received in Egypt for the confederacy. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the Perſian empire to the very brink of ruin, diſſolved of itſelf, or, to ſpeak more properly, was ſuſpended for ſome time.

* *Diodorus ſays he was ſent to Tachos, but it is more likely that it was to Nectanebis.*

SECT.

SECT. XI. *Troubles at the court of* ARTAXERXES *concerning his successor. Death of that prince.*

(g) THE end of Artaxerxes's reign abounded with cabals. The whole court were divided into factions in favour of one or other of his sons, who pretended to the succession. He had an hundred and fifty by his concubines, who were in number three hundred and sixty, and three by his lawful wife Atossa; Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practices, he declared Darius, the eldest, his successor. And to remove all cause of disputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to assume from thenceforth the title of king, and to wear the royal * tiara. But the young prince was for having something more real. Besides which, the refusal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incensed him, and he formed a conspiracy against his father's life, wherein he engaged fifty of his brothers.

It was Tiribasus, of whom mention has been made several times in the preceding volume, who contributed the most to his taking so unnatural a resolution, from a like subject of discontent against the king; who, having promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke his word both times, and married them himself: Such abominable incests being permitted at that time in Persia, the religion of the nation not prohibiting them.

The number of the conspirators were already very great, and the day fixed for the execution, when an eunuch, well informed of the whole plot, discovered it to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise so

(g) Plut. in Artax. p. 1024---1027. Diod. l. xv. p. 400. Justin. l. x. c. 1 & 2.

* *This tiara was a turbant, or kind of head-dress, with the plume of feathers standing upright upon it. The seven counsellors had also plumes of feathers, which they wore astant, and before. All others wore them astant, and behind.*

great a danger, by neglecting a ſtrict enquiry into it; but that it would be much more ſo, to give credit to it without certain and unqueſtionable proof. He aſſured himſelf of it with his own eyes. The conſpirators were ſuffered to enter the king's apartment, and then ſeized. Darius and all his accomplices were puniſhed as they deſerved.

After the death of Darius, the cabals began again. Three of his brothers were competitors, Ariaſpes, Ochus, and Arſames. The two firſt pretended to the throne in right of birth, being the ſons of the queen. The third had the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the ſon of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his reſtleſs ambition, ſtudied perpetually the means to rid himſelf of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his craft and artifice againſt Ariaſpes, and his cruelty againſt Arſames. Knowing the former to be extremely ſimple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he had found means to corrupt, threaten him ſo terribly in the name of the king his father, that expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poiſoned himſelf to avoid it. After this, there remained only Arſames to give him umbrage, becauſe his father, and all the world, conſidered that prince as moſt worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. Him he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated by Harpates, ſon of Tiribaſus.

This loſs, which followed cloſe upon the other, and the exceeding wickedneſs with which both were attended, gave the old king a grief that proved mortal: Nor is it ſurprizing, that at his age he ſhould not have ſtrength enough to ſupport ſo great an afflicſion. He ſunk under it into his tomb, after a reign of forty-three years, which might have been called happy, if not interrupted by many revolts. That of his ſucceſſor will be no leſs diſturbed with them.

A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

SECT.

SECT. XII. *Causes of the frequent insurrections and revolts in the Persian empire.*

I HAVE taken care in relating the seditions that happened in the Persian empire, to observe from time to time the abuses which occasioned them. But as these revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more so, especially in the succeeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here, under the same point of view, the different causes of such insurrections, which foretell the approaching decline of the Persian empire.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Persia abandoned themselves more and more to the charms of voluptuousness and luxury, and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces amongst women, and a crowd of flatterers, they contented themselves with enjoying, in soft effeminate ease and idleness, the pleasure of universal command, and made their grandeur consist in the splendid glare of riches, and an expensive magnificence.

II. They were besides princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of small capacity to govern, and void of taste for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor ability to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of publick business, the fatigues of commanding armies, and the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprizes; confining their ambition to bearing alone the lofty title of the great king, and the king of kings.

III. The great officers of the crown, the government of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either service or merit. It was the credit of the favourites, the secret intrigues of the court, the sollicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons, who were to fill the most important posts of the empire; and appropriated the rewards due to

the officers who had done the ſtate real ſervice to their own creatures.

IV. Theſe courtiers, often out of a baſe, mean jealouſy of the merit that gave them umbrage, and reproached their ſmall abilities, removed their rivals from publick employments, and rendered their talents uſeleſs to the ſtate. * Sometimes they would even cauſe their fidelity to be ſuſpected by falſe informations, bring them to trial, as criminals againſt the ſtate, and force the king's moſt faithful ſervants, for their defence againſt their calumniators, to ſeek their ſafety in revolting, and in turning thoſe arms againſt their prince, which they had ſo often made triumph for his glory, and the ſervice of the empire.

V. The miniſters, to hold the generals in dependance, reſtrained them under ſuch limited orders, as obliged them to let ſlip the occaſions of conquering, and prevented them, by attending new orders, from puſhing their advantages. They alſo often made them reſponſible for their bad ſucceſs, after having let them want every thing neceſſary to the ſervice.

VI. The kings of Perſia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus, and the ancient Perſians, who contented themſelves with creſſes and ſallads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been infected with the contagion of this example. In retaining the ſingle meal of their anceſtors, they made it laſt during the greateſt part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night by drinking to exceſs; and far from being aſhamed of drunkenneſs, they made it their glory, as we have ſeen in the example of young Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteneſs of the provinces, which extended from the Caſpian and Euxine, to the Red-ſea and Æthiopia, and from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Ægean-ſea, was a great obſtacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the ſatisfaction to enjoy the preſence of their maſters; who knew them only by the weight of their taxa-

* *Pharnabaſus, Tiribaſus, Datames, &c.*

taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their *Satraps* or governors; and who, in transporting themselves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find access to princes, who believed it contributed to the majesty of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia did not compose an uniform empire, nor the regular body of a state, whose members were united by the common ties of interests, manners, language and religion, and animated with the same spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. It was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultuous, and even forced assemblage of different nations, formerly free and independent, of whom some, who were torn from their native countries and the sepulchres of their forefathers, saw themselves with pain transported into unknown regions, or amongst enemies, where they persevered to retain their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. These different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation amongst them, but with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, desired nothing so ardently as their liberty, and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people therefore were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire, which was the sole obstacle to their so warm and just desires, and could not affect a government, that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the viceroys of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raise and pay armies; to impose tribute; to adjudge the differences of cities, provinces, and vassal kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without colleagues

or

or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accuſtomed them to the pleaſure of commanding abſolutely, and of reigning. In conſequence of which, it was with great repugnance they ſubmitted to be removed from their governments, and often endeavoured to ſupport themſelves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and miniſters, thought it for their honour to imitate in their equipages, tables, moveables, and habits, the pomp and ſplendor of the court in which they had been educated. To ſupport ſo deſtructive a pride, and to furniſh out expences ſo much above the fortunes of private perſons, they were reduced to oppreſs the ſubjects under their juriſdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions, and the ſhameful traffick of a publick venality, that ſet thoſe offices to ſale for money, which ought to have been granted only to merit. All that vanity laviſhed, or luxury exhauſted, was made good by mean hearts, and the violent rapaciouſneſs of an inſatiable avarice.

Theſe groſs irregularities, and abundance of others, which remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented by impunity, tired the people's patience, and occaſioned a general diſcontent amongſt them, the uſual forerunner of the ruined ſtates. Their juſt complaints, long time deſpiſed, were followed by an open rebellion of ſeveral nations, who endeavoured to do themſelves that juſtice by force, which was refuſed to their remonſtrances. In ſuch a conduct, they failed in the ſubmiſſion and fidelity which ſubjects owe to their ſovereigns; but Paganiſm did not carry its lights ſo far, and was not capable of ſo ſublime a perfection, which was reſerved for a religion that teaches that no pretext, no injuſtice, no vexation, can ever authorize the rebellion of a people againſt their prince.

BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE Persians *and* Grecians.

SECT. I. OCHUS *ascends the throne of Persia. His cruelties. Revolt of several nations.*

THE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced, that in succeeding to him, he should not find the same favourable dispositions in the people and nobility, of whom he had made himself the horror by the murder of his two brothers. (*i*) To prevent that aversion from occasioning his exclusion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's person, to conceal his death from the publick. He began by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and sealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of those decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, always by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this manner almost ten months, believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and ascended the throne, taking upon himself the name of Artaxerxes. Authors however most frequently

A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

(*i*) Polyæn. Stratag. vii.

quently give him that of Ochus, by which name I ſhall generally call him in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Ochus was the moſt cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions ſoon explained. In a very ſhort time the palace and the whole empire were filled with his murders. (*l*) To remove from the revolted provinces all means of ſetting ſome other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid himſelf at once of all trouble, that the princes and princeſſes of the blood might occaſion him, he put them all to death, without regard to ſex, age, or proximity of blood. He cauſed his own ſiſter Ocha, whoſe daughter he had married, to be buried alive; (*m*) and having ſhut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his ſons and grandſons, in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be ſhot to death with arrows, only becauſe thoſe princes were much eſteemed by the Perſians for their probity and valour. That uncle is apparently the father of Siſygambis, the mother of Darius Codomannus: (*n*) For Quintus Curtius tells us, that Ochus had cauſed fourſcore of her brothers with their father to be maſſacred in one day. He treated with the ſame barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all thoſe who gave him any umbrage, ſparing none of the nobility, whom he ſuſpected of the leaſt diſcontent whatſoever.

A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

(*o*) The cruelties, exerciſed by Ochus, did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabaſus, governor of one of the Aſiatick provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in thoſe parts, to aſſiſt him, and with his aid defeated an army of ſeventy thouſand men ſent by the king to reduce him. Artabaſus, in reward of ſo great a ſervice, made Chares a preſent of money to defray the whole expences of his armament. The king of Perſia reſented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians in regard to him. They were at that time employed in the war of the allies. The king's menace to

(*l*) Juſtin. l. x. c. 3. (*m*) Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. (*n*) Quint. Curt. l. x. c. 5. (*o*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 433, 434.

to join their enemies with a numerous army obliged them to recall Chares.

Artabasus, being abandoned by them, had recourse to the Thebans, of whom he obtained five thousand men that he took into his pay, with Pammenes to command them. This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two other victories over the king's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops, and their commander, great honour. Thebes must have been extremely incensed against the king of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republick was engaged in a war with the Phocæans. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. (*q*) It is certain, that soon after, they made their peace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents, that is to say, three hundred thousand crowns. Artabasus, destitute of all support, was overcome at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon. A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

Ochus being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts on the side of Egypt, that had revolted long before. About the same time, several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no relation with the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here, after which I shall return to the reign of Ochus, not to interrupt the series of his history.

Sect. II. *War of the allies against the Athenians.*

SOME few years after the revolt of Asia minor, of which I have been speaking, in the third year of the hundred and fiftieth Olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against Athens, upon which till then they had depended. To reduce them, they employed both great forces and great captains, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. * They were A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

(*q*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 438.

* Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Athenienſium, Iphicratis, Chabriæ, Timothei; neque poſt illorum obitum quiſquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria. *Cor. Nep. in Timot.* c. iv.

were the laſt of the Athenian generals, who did honour to their country; no one after them being diſtinguiſhed by merit or reputation.

(*s*) CHABRIAS had already acquired a great name, when having been ſent againſt the Spartans to the aid of the Thebans, and ſeeing himſelf abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken flight, he ſuſtained alone the charge of the enemy; his ſoldiers, by his order, having cloſed their files with one knee upon the ground covered with their bucklers, and preſented their pikes in front, in ſuch a manner, that they could not be broke, and Ageſilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a ſtatue to Chabrias in the attitude he had fought.

IPHICRATES was of a very mean extraction, his father having been a ſhoemaker. But in a free city like Athens, merit was the ſole nobility. This perſon may be truly ſaid to be the ſon of his actions. Having ſignalized himſelf in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private ſoldier, he was ſoon after employed with diſtinction, and honoured with a command. In a proſecution carried on againſt him before the judges, his accuſer, who was one of the deſcendants of Harmodius, and made very great uſe of his anceſtor's name, having reproached him with the baſeneſs of his birth; *Yes*, replied he, *The nobility of my family begins in me: That of yours ends in you.* He married the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace.

(*t*) He is * ranked with the greateſt men of Greece, eſpecially in what regards the knowledge of war and military diſcipline. He made ſeveral uſeful alterations in the ſoldiers armour. Before him, the bucklers were very long and heavy, and, for that reaſon, were too great a burden, and extremely troubleſome: He had them made ſhorter and lighter, ſo that, without expoſing

(*s*) Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. i.

(*t*) Diod. l. xv. p. 360. Cor. Nep. in Iphic. c. i.

* Iphicrates Athenienſis, non tam magnitudine rerum geſtarum, quam diſciplina militari nobilitatus eſt. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non ſolum ætatis ſuæ cum primis compararetur, ſed ne de majoribus natu quidem quiſquam anteponeretur. *Cor. Nep.*

expoſing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the contrary, he lengthened the pikes and ſwords, to make them capable of reaching the enemy at a greater diſtance. He alſo changed the cuiraſſes, and inſtead of iron and braſs, of which they were made before, he cauſed them to be made of flax. It is not eaſy to conceive how ſuch armour could defend the ſoldiers, or be any ſecurity againſt wounds. But that flax being ſoaked in vinegar, mingled with ſalt, was prepared in ſuch a manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable either to ſword or fire. The uſe of it was common amongſt ſeveral nations.

No troops were ever better exerciſed or diſciplined than thoſe of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action, and in times of peace and tranquillity, made them perform all the neceſſary evolutions, either in attacking the enemy, or defending themſelves; in laying ambuſcades, or avoiding them; in keeping their ranks even in the purſuit of the enemy, without abandoning themſelves to an ardour which often becomes pernicious, or to rally with ſucceſs, after having begun to break and give way. So that when the battle was to be given, all was in motion with admirable promptitude and order. The officers and ſoldiers drew themſelves up without any trouble, and even in the heat of action performed their parts, as the moſt able general would have directed them. A merit very rare, as I have been informed, but very eſtimable; as it contributes more than can be imagined to the gaining of a battle, and implies a very uncommon ſuperiority of genius in the general.

Timotheus was the ſon of Conon, ſo much celebrated for his great actions, and the important ſervices he had rendered his country. * He did not degenerate from his father's reputation, either for his merit in

* Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim diſertus, impiger, laborioſus, rei militaris peritis, neque minus civitatis regendæ. *Cor. Nep.* c. i.

Timotheus Cononis filius, cum belli laude non inferior fuiſſet quam pater, ad eam laudem doctrinæ & ingenii gloriam adjecit. *Cic.* l. i. *de Offic.* n. 116.

in the field, or his ability in the government of the ſtate; but he added to thoſe excellencies, the glory which reſults from the talents of the mind, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly by the gift of eloquence, and a taſte of the ſciences.

(*u*) No captain at firſt ever experienced leſs than himſelf the inconſtancy of the fortune of war. He had only to undertake an enterprize, to accompliſh it. Succeſs perpetually attended his views and deſires. Such uncommon proſperity did not fail to excite jealouſy. Thoſe who envied him, as I have already obſerved, cauſed him to be painted aſleep, with Fortune by him taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coldly, *If I take places in my ſleep, what ſhall I do when I am awake?* He took the thing afterwards more ſeriouſly, and angry with thoſe who pretended to leſſen the glory of his actions, declared in publick, that he did not owe his ſucceſs to fortune, but to himſelf. That goddeſs, ſays Plutarch, offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was never ſucceſsful afterwards. Such were the chiefs employed in the war of the allies.

(*x*) The war and the campaign opened with the ſiege of Chio. Chares commanded the land, and Chabrias the ſea, forces. All the allies exerted themſelves in ſending aid to that iſland. Chabrias, having forced the paſſage, entered the port, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the enemy. The other gallies were afraid to follow, and abandoned him. He was immediately ſurrounded on all ſides, and his veſſel exceedingly damaged by the aſſaults of the enemy. He might have ſaved himſelf by ſwimming to the Athenian fleet, as his ſoldiers did; but from a miſtaken principle of glory, he thought it inconſiſtent with the duty of a general to abandon his veſſel in ſuch a manner, and preferred a death, glorious in his ſenſe, to a ſhameful flight.

This firſt attempt having miſcarried, both ſides applied

(*u*) Plut. Sylla. p. 454. (*x*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 412. Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. iv.

plied themſelves vigorouſly to making new preparations. The Athenians fitted out a fleet of ſixty gallies, and appointed Chares to command it, and armed ſixty more under Iphicrates and Timotheus. The fleet of the allies conſiſted of an hundred ſail. After having ravaged ſeveral iſlands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great booty, they ſat down before Samos. The Athenians on their ſide, having united all their forces, beſieged Byzantium. The allies made all poſſible haſte to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other, prepared to fight, when ſuddenly a violent ſtorm aroſe, notwithſtanding which, Chares reſolved to advance againſt the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than him, thought it improper to hazard a battle in ſuch a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at their not following his advice, called the ſoldiers to witneſs, that it was not his fault they did not fight the enemy. He was naturally vain, oſtentatious, and full of himſelf; one who exaggerated his own ſervices, depreciated thoſe of others, and arrogated to himſelf the whole glory of ſucceſſes. He wrote to Athens againſt his two colleagues, and accuſed them of cowardice and treaſon. Upon his complaint, the people, * capricious, warm, ſuſpicious, and naturally jealous of ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled thoſe two generals, and brought them to a trial.

The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared againſt Timotheus, he was ſentenced to pay a fine of an hundred talents †; a worthy reward for the noble diſintereſtedneſs he had ſhewn upon another occaſion, in bringing home to his country twelve hundred talents ‡ of booty taken from the enemy, without the leaſt deduction for himſelf. He could bear no longer the ſight of an ungrateful city, and being too poor to pay ſo great a fine, retired

* Populus acer, ſuſpicax, mobilis adverſarius, invidus etiam potentiæ, domum revocat. *Cor. Nep.*

† *An hundred thouſand crowns.*

‡ *Twelve hundred thouſand crowns.*

tired to Chalcis. After his death, the people, touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his ſon Conon pay, to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by an event ſufficiently odd, thoſe very walls, which his grandfather had rebuilt with the ſpoils of the enemy, the grandſon, to the ſhame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expence.

(*y*) Iphicrates was alſo obliged to anſwer for himſelf before the judges. It was upon this occaſion, that Ariſtophon, another Athenian captain, accuſed him of having betrayed and ſold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with the confidence an eſtabliſhed reputation inſpires, aſked him, *Would you have committed a treaſon of this nature? No*, replied Ariſtophon, *I am a man of too much honour for ſuch an action! How!* replied Iphicrates, *could Iphicrates do what Ariſtophon would not do?*

(*z*) He did not only employ the force of arguments in his defence, he called in alſo the aſſiſtance of arms. Inſtructed by his colleague's ill ſucceſs, he ſaw plainly that it was more neceſſary to intimidate than convince his judges. He poſted round the place where they aſſembled a number of young perſons, armed with poniards, which they took care to ſhew from time to time. They could not reſiſt ſo forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and diſmiſſed him acquitted of the charge. When he was afterwards reproached with ſo violent a proceeding; *I had been a fool, indeed*, ſaid he, *if having made war ſucceſsfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing ſo for myſelf.*

Chares, by the recall of his two colleagues, was left ſole general of the whole army, and was in a condition to have advanced the Athenian affairs very much in the Helleſpont, if he had known how to reſiſt the magnificent offers of Artabaſus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Aſia minor againſt the king of Perſia his maſter, beſieged by an army of ſeventy thouſand men, and juſt upon the point of being ruined from the

(*y*) Ariſt. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23. (*z*) Polyæn. Stratag. l. iii.

the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no thoughts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the assistance of Artabasus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward suitable to the service. The action of Chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the service of the republick for a foreign war, but offended the king of Persia, who threatened by his ambassadors to equip three hundred sail of ships in favour of the islanders allied against Athens. The credit of Chares saved him again upon this, as it had done several times before on like occasions. The Athenians, intimidated by the king's menaces, applied themselves seriously to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this treaty to them in a fine discourse (*a*), which is still extant, wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demosthenes in almost all his orations, of abandoning himself blindly to the insinuations of orators, who flatter their passions, whilst they treat those with contempt, who give them the most salutary counsels. He applied himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power, and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the source of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their rememberance those happy days; so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, out of a noble and generous disinterestedness, sacrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty, and the preservation of Greece, and compares them with the present sad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had successively plunged both states into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not consist in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injus-

(*a*) De pace, seu socialis.

tice; but in the wise government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. "A state," says he, "cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its neighbours, when it knows how to unite in all its measures the two great qualities, justice and power, which mutually support each other, and ought to be inseparable. For as power, not regulated by the motives of reason and justice, has recourse to the most violent methods to crush and subvert whatever opposes it; so justice, when unarmed and without power, is exposed to injury, and neither in a condition to defend itself, nor protect others." The conclusion drawn by Isocrates from this reasoning, is, That Athens, if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lording it over all other states; but should conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themselves irreconcileable enemies of those who should presume to disturb that peace, or contravene such measures.

A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. The peace was concluded accordingly under such conditions, and it was stipulated, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chio, and Cos, should enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner after having continued three years.

SECT. III. DEMOSTHENES *encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of* ARTAXERXES *for war. He harangues them in favour of the Megalopolitans, and afterwards of the Rhodians. Death of* MAUSOLUS. *Extraordinary grief of* ARTEMISA *his wife.*

A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355. THIS peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the king of Persia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage, and they were afraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that

that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which the king covered his real design.

Athens took the alarm upon this rumour. The orators increased the fears of the people by their discourses, and exhorted them to have an immediate recourse to their arms, to prevent the king of Persia by a previous declaration of war, and to make a league with all the people of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in publick at this time, and mounted the tribunal for harangues to give his opinion. He was twenty-eight years of age. I shall speak more extensively of him by and by. Upon the present occasion, more wise than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the importance to the republick of the aid of the Persians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner their advice, lest he should render himself suspected; but, admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the king of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented that it was not consistent with prudence, in an affair of such great consequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper, by a resolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a too early declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was necessary at present, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred sail, (in what manner he proposed a * scheme,) and to hold the troops in a readiness and condition to make an effectual and vigorous defence, in case of being attacked; that by so doing, all the people of Greece, without farther invitation, would be sufficiently apprized of the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of such an armament would be enough to induce the king of Persia to change his measures, admitting he should have formed any designs against Greece.

* *I reserve this scheme for the seventh section, being very proper to explain in what manner the Athenians fitted out, and subsisted their fleets.*

For the reſt, he was not of opinion, that it was neceſſary to levy any immediate tax upon the eſtates of private perſons for the expence of this war, which would not amount to a great ſum, nor ſuffice for the occaſion. "It is better," ſaid he, "to rely upon "the zeal and generoſity of the citizens. Our city "may be ſaid to be almoſt as rich as all the other "cities of Greece together." (He had before obſerved, that the eſtimate of the lands of Attica amounted to ſix thouſand talents, about eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling.) "When "we ſhall ſee the reality and approach of the danger, "every body will be ready to contribute to the ex-"pences of the war; as nobody can be ſo void of "reaſon, as to prefer the hazard of loſing their whole "eſtate with their liberty, to ſacrificing a ſmall part "of it to their own, and their country's preſervation.

"And we ought not to fear, as ſome people would "inſinuate, that the great riches of the king of Per-"ſia enabled him to raiſe a great body of auxiliaries, "and render his army formidable againſt us. Our "Greeks, when they are to march againſt Egypt, or "Orontes and the other Barbarians, ſerve willingly "under the Perſians; but not one of them, I dare "be aſſured, not a ſingle man of them, will ever re-"ſolve to bear arms againſt Greece."

This diſcourſe had all its effect. The refined and delicate addreſs of the orator in adviſing the impoſition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully explaining, at the ſame time, that it would fall only upon the rich, was highly proper to render abortive an affair, which had no other foundation than in the overheated imagination of ſome orators, who were perhaps intereſted in the war they adviſed.

A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 1353.

(*f*) Two years after, an enterprize of the Lacedæmonians againſt Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demoſthenes another opportunity to ſignalize his zeal, and diſplay his eloquence. That city, which had been lately eſtabliſhed by the Arcadians, who had ſettled

(*f*) Diod. l. xv. p. 401.

ſettled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might ſerve as a fortreſs and bulwark againſt Sparta, gave the Lacedæmonians great uneaſineſs, and alarmed them extremely. They reſolved therefore to attack and make themſelves maſters of it. The Megalopolitans, who, without doubt, had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourſe to Athens, and implored its protection: The other people concerned ſent alſo their deputies thither, and the affair was debated before the people.

(*g*) Demoſthenes founded his diſcourſe from the beginning of it upon this principle; that it was of the laſt importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give law to the reſt of Greece. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedæmonians, they will ſoon make themſelves maſters of Meſſene alſo, two ſtrong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we ſhall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the certain means to preſerve ſo neceſſary a balance between Sparta and Thebes; becauſe whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilſt the Arcadians are our allies, whoſe forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be ſuperior to thoſe of either of them.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demoſthenes, was the alliance actually ſubſiſting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, ſaid the orators who oppoſed Demoſthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change in ſuch a manner with the times, or is it conſiſtent with juſtice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought," (replied Demoſthenes, whoſe very words I ſhall repeat in this place) "we * ought indeed always to have juſtice "in view, and to make it the rule of our conduct; "but, at the ſame time, our conformity to it ſhould

 "con-

(*g*) Demoſt. Orat. pro Megalop.

* Δεῖ σκοπεῖν μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ πράττειν τὰ δίκαια· συμπαραλήψεσθαι δὲ, ὅπως ἅμα καὶ συμφέροντα ἔσται ταῦτα.

" confist with the publick good and the interest of " the state It has been a perpetual maxim with us " to assist the oppressed." (He cites the Lacedæmonians themselves, the Thebans and Eubœans as examples.) " We have never varied from this principle. The re- " proach of changing therefore ought not to fall upon " us, but upon those, whose injustice and usurpation " oblige us to declare against them."

I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reason and the strictest justice that determine them; but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. Their discourse is an effect of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the mind of man, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are few who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also few, who observe it with fidelity and constancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of, nor were they ever less regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in states, is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

(*h*) The Athenians, moved by the eloquent discourse of Demosthenes, sent three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of * Pammenes. Megalopolis was re-instated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were obliged to return.

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus, king of Caria, who assisted them in throwing off the Athe-

3 nian

(*h*) Diod. l. xv. p. 402.

* *This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.*

nian yoke, impoſed his own upon them. Having publickly declared himſelf for the rich and powerful, he enſlaved the people, and made them ſuffer exceedingly. He died the ſecond year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty-four years. (*i*) Artemiſa his wife ſucceeded him, and as ſhe was ſupported with all the influence of the king of Perſia, ſhe retained her power in the iſles lately ſubjected. A. M. 3650. Ant. J. C. 354.

In ſpeaking here of Artemiſa, it is proper to obſerve, that ſhe muſt not be confounded with another Artemiſa, who lived above an hundred years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who diſtinguiſhed her reſolution and prudence ſo much in the naval battle of Salamin. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error, through inadvertency.

(*k*) This princeſs immortalized herſelf by the honours ſhe rendered to the memory of Mauſolus her huſband. She cauſed a magnificent monument to be erected for him in Halicarnaſſus, which was called the *Mauſolæum*, and for its beauty was eſteemed one of the wonders of the world, and gave the name of *Mauſolæum* to all future great and magnificent ſtructures of the ſame kind.

(*l*) She endeavoured alſo to eternize the name of Mauſolus by other monuments, which ſhe believed more durable than thoſe of braſs or marble, but are often no better proof againſt the injuries of time; I mean works of wit. She cauſed excellent panegyricks to be made in honour of her huſband, and propoſed a prize of great value for the perſon whoſe performance ſhould be the beſt. Amongſt many others, the celebrated Iſocrates, and Theopompus, his diſciple, were competitors for it.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakneſs and vanity to boaſt in publick of having gained the prize againſt his maſter; preferring, as is too common, the fame of fine parts to the glory of a good heart. He had repreſented Mauſolus in his hiſtory

(*i*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 435. (*k*) Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5. (*l*) Aul. Gel. l. x. c. 18. Plut. in Iſocrat. p. 838.

hiſtory as a prince moſt ſordidly avaritious, to whom all means of amaſſing treaſure were good and eligible. He painted him, without doubt, in very different colours in his panegyrick, or elſe he would never have pleaſed the princeſs.

(*m*) That illuſtrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mauſolus, than that I have been ſpeaking of. Having gathered his aſhes, and had the bones beaten in a mortar, ſhe mingled ſome of the powder every day in her drink, till ſhe had drank it all off; deſiring by that means to make her own body the ſepulchre of her huſband. She ſurvived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Inſtead of tears, in which moſt writers plunge Artemiſa during her widowhood, there are ſome who ſay ſhe made very conſiderable conqueſts. (*n*) It appears by one of Demoſthenes's orations, that ſhe was not conſidered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have ſomething more deciſive upon this head. (*o*) Vitruvius tells us, that after the death of Mauſolus, the Rhodians, offended that a woman ſhould reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpoſe with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnaſſus. The queen being informed of their deſign, had given the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and when the enemy ſhould arrive, to expreſs by ſhouts and clapping of hands a readineſs to ſurrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ſhips, and went in all haſte to the publick place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemiſa came out with her gallies from the little port through a ſmall canal, which ſhe had cauſed to be cut on purpoſe, entered the great port, ſeized the enemy's fleet without reſiſtance, and having put her ſoldiers and mariners on board of it, ſhe ſet ſail. The Rhodians, having no means

(*m*) Cic. Tuſc. Queſt. l. iii. n. 75. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6.
(*n*) Demoſt. de Libertat. Rhod. p. 145.
(*o*) Vitruv. de Architect. l. ii. c. 8.

means of eſcaping, were all put to the ſword. The queen all the while advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants ſaw their veſſels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raiſed great ſhouts, and received their victorious and triumphant fleet with extraordinary marks of joy. It was ſo in effect, but in another ſenſe than they imagined. Artemiſa, having met with no reſiſtance, took poſſeſſion of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She had cauſed a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and ſet up two ſtatues of braſs; one of which repreſented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemiſa, branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians dared never demoliſh that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they ſurrounded it with a building which prevented it entirely from being ſeen.

All this, as Monſieur Bayle obſerves in his Dictionary, does not expreſs a forlorn and inconſolable widow, that paſſed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reaſonable to ſuſpect, that whatever is reported of exceſſive in the mourning of Artemiſa, has no other foundation, but its being advanced at a venture by ſome writer, and afterwards copied by all the reſt.

I ſhould be better pleaſed, for the honour of Artemiſa, if it had been ſaid, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatneſs of mind, of which her ſex has many examples, ſhe had known how to unite the ſevere affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen, and made the affairs of her government ſerve her inſtead of conſolation. (*p*) *Negotia pro ſolatiis accipiens.*

(*q*) The Rhodians being treated by Artemiſa in the manner we have related, and unable to ſupport any longer ſo ſevere and ſhameful a ſervitude, they had recourſe to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themſelves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demoſthenes took upon him to ſpeak to the people in their behalf. He began with

A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351.

(*p*) Tacit. (*q*) Demoſt. de Libert. Rhod.

with setting forth their crime in its full light; he enlarged upon their injustice and perfidy; he seemed to enter into the people's just sentiments of resentment and indignation, and it might have been thought was going to declare himself in the strongest terms against the Rhodians: But all this was only the art of the orator, to insinuate himself into his auditors opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary sentiments of goodness and compassion for a people, who acknowledge their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who nevertheless were come to implore the republick's protection. He sets before them the great maxims, which in all ages had constituted the glory of Athens; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexes those of interest; in shewing the importance of declaring for a city, that favoured the democratick form of government, and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes: Which is the substance of Demosthenes's discourse, intitled, *For the liberty of the Rhodians.*

(*r*) The death of Artemisa, which happened the same year, it is very likely, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idriæus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had done Artemisa. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their sisters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed their husbands in the throne in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

SECT. IV. *Successful expedition of* OCHUS *against Phœnicia and Cyprus, and afterwards against Egypt.*

A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351.

OCHUS meditated in earnest the reduction of Egypt to his obedience, which had long pretended to maintain itself in independance. Whilst he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phœnicia.

(*r*) Strab. l. xiv. p. 656.

nicia. (s) That people oppressed by the Persian governors, resolved to throw off so heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebis king of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other passage for that invasion but through Phœnicia, this revolt was very seasonable for Nectanebis, who therefore sent Mento the Rhodian to support the rebels, with four thousand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phœnicia his barrier, and to stop the Persians there. The Phœnicians took the field with that reinforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cilicia, that had been sent against them, and drove the Persians entirely out of Phœnicia.

(t) The Cyprians, who were not better treated than the Phœnicians, seeing the good success which had attended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus sent orders to Idriæus king of Caria, to make war against them; who soon after fitted out a fleet, and sent eight thousand Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras, who was believed to have been the son of Nicocles. It is probable that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleasure this opportunity of re-ascending the throne. His knowledge of the country, and the party he had there, made the king of Persia chuse him very wisely to command in this expedition. They made a descent in the island, where their army encreased to double its number by the reinforcements which came from Syria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, that was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the siege of Salamin by sea and land. The island of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, considerable enough to have each of them a petty king. But all those kings were however subjects of Persia. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independent.

Ochus,

(s) Diod. l. xvi. p. 439. (t) Ibid. p. 440, 441.

Ochus, having obſerved that the Egyptian war was always unſucceſsful from the ill conduct of the generals ſent thither, he reſolved to take the care of it upon himſelf. But before he ſet out, he ſignified his deſire to the ſtates of Greece, that they would put an end to their diviſions, and ceaſe to make war upon one another.

It is a juſt matter of ſurprize, that the court of Perſia ſhould inſiſt ſo earneſtly and ſo often, that the people of Greece ſhould live in tranquillity with each other, and obſerve inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcides, the principal end of which was the eſtabliſhment of a laſting union amongſt them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy.

From the miſcarriage of the enterprize againſt Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and ſilver a more proper means for ſubjecting it than that of the ſword, the Perſians did not attack it with open force, but by the method of ſecret intrigues. They conveyed conſiderable ſums into it privately, to corrupt the perſons of credit and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occaſions to arm them againſt each other, and to deprive them of the leiſure and means to invade themſelves. They were particularly careful to declare ſometimes for one, ſometimes for another, in order to ſupport a kind of balance amongſt them, which put it out of the power of any of thoſe republicks to aggrandize itſelf too much, and by that means to become formidable to Perſia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to obſerve an univerſal peace, upon pain of incurring their diſpleaſure and arms, to ſuch as ſhould diſobey. Perſia, without doubt, did not take that reſolution at a venture, and had its reaſons to behave in ſuch a manner with regard to Greece.

Its deſign might be to ſoften their ſpirit by degrees, in diſarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour, which ſpurred them on perpetually by noble emu-

emulation; to extinguiſh in them their paſſion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inertion and forced eaſe, the activity natural to them; and, in fine, to bring them into the number of thoſe people, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who loſe in ſloth and peace that martial ardour, which combats and even dangers are apt to inſpire.

The king of Perſia who then reigned had a perſonal intereſt, as well as his predeceſſor, in impoſing theſe terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the yoke, and given the empire juſt cauſe of inquietude. Ochus had reſolved to go in perſon to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its ſucceſs. The famous retreat of the ten thouſand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Perſia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a ſmall body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Perſians, as numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the inteſtine diviſions of Greece would render the cities incapable of ſupplying the number of ſoldiers he had occaſion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him, Ionia eſpecially, and its neighbouring provinces. Now, the moſt certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourſe in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprizes (*u*).

When Ochus had taken all his meaſures, and made the neceſſary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phœnicia, where he had an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and thirty thouſand horſe, and put himſelf at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of ſo great an army ſtaggered him, and he ſent ſecretly to Ochus, to make him offers not only of ſurrendering Sidon to

(*u*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 441---443.

him, but to ſerve him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very uſeful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the propoſal, upon which he engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the ſame treaſon, and they ſurrendered the place in concert to Ochus.

The Sidonians had ſet fire to their ſhips upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the neceſſity of making a good defence, by removing all hope of any other ſecurity. When they ſaw themſelves betrayed, that the enemy were maſters of the city, and that there was no poſſibility of eſcaping either by ſea or land, in the deſpair of their condition, they ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, and ſet them on fire. Forty thouſand men, without reckoning women and children, periſhed in this manner. The fate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, ſeeing himſelf maſter of Sidon, and having no farther occaſion for him, cauſed him to be put to death; a juſt reward of his treaſon, and an evident proof, that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immenſely rich. The fire having melted the gold and ſilver, Ochus ſold the cynders for a conſiderable ſum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city caſt ſo great a terror into the reſt of Phœnicia, that it ſubmitted, and obtained conditions reaſonable enough from the king; Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, becauſe he would not loſe the time there, he had ſo much occaſion for in the execution of his projects againſt Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter it, he was joined by a body of ten thouſand Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops in Greece. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians had excuſed themſelves from furniſhing him any at that time; it being impoſſible for them to do it, whatever deſire they might have, as they ſaid, to cultivate a good correſpondence with the king. The Thebans

ſent

ſent him a thouſand men under the command of Lachares: The Argives three thouſand under Nicoſtratus. The reſt came from the cities of Aſia. All theſe troops joined him immediately after the taking of Sidon.

(*x*) The Jews muſt have had ſome ſhare in this war of the Phœnicians againſt Perſia. For Sidon was no ſooner taken, than Ochus entered Judæa, and beſieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Beſides which, it appears that he carried a great number of Jewiſh captives into Egypt, and ſent many others into Hyrcania, where he ſettled them along the coaſt of the Caſpian ſea.

(*y*) Ochus alſo put an end to the war with Cyprus at the ſame time. That of Egypt ſo entirely engroſſed his attention, that in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was ſatisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who ſubmitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little ſtates. Evagoras demanded to be re-inſtated in the kingdom of Salamin. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the moſt flagrant oppreſſions during his reign, and that he had not been unjuſtly dethroned. Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamin, and the king gave Evagoras a remote government. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamin, and was ſeized, and put to death. Surprizing difference between Nicocles and his ſon Evagoras!

(*z*) After the reduction of the iſle of Cyprus, and the province of Phœnicia, Ochus advanced at length towards Egypt.

Upon his arrival, he encamped before Peluſium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Perſian with equal authority. The firſt was under Dachares the Theban, and Roſaces governor of Lydia and

(*x*) Solin. c. xxxv. Euſeb. in Chron. &c. (*y*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 443. (*z*) Ibid. p. 444, & 450.

Ionia. The ſecond was given to Nicoſtratus the Argive, and Ariſtazanes one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of Ochus's eunuchs, at the head of it. Each detachment had its particular orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at firſt, to wait events, and to be ready to ſupport thoſe troops in caſe of ill ſucceſs, or to improve the advantages they might have.

Nectanebis had long expected this invaſion, the preparations for which had made ſo much noiſe. He had an hundred thouſand men on foot, twenty thouſand of whom were Greeks, twenty thouſand Lybians, and the reſt of Egyptian troops. Part of them he beſtowed in the places upon the frontiers, and poſted himſelf with the reſt in the paſſes, to diſpute the enemy's enterance into Egypt. Ochus's firſt detachment was ſent againſt Peluſium, where there was a garriſon of five thouſand Greeks. Lachares beſieged the place. That under Nicoſtratus, on board of four-and-twenty ſhips of the Perſian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the ſame time, and ſailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themſelves well in a camp, of which the ſituation was very advantageous. All the Egyptian troops in theſe parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the iſle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action enſued, in which Clinias with five thouſand of his troops were killed, and the reſt entirely broke and diſperſed.

This action decided the ſucceſs of the war. Nectanebis, apprehending that Nicoſtratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the haſte he could to defend it, and abandoned the paſſes, which it was of the laſt importance to ſecure, to prevent the enterance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Peluſium, were apprized of this precipitate retreat, they believed all loſt, and capitulated

with

with Lachares, upon condition of being ſent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without ſuffering any injury in their perſons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the paſſes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himſelf maſter of it without any oppoſition. For, after having cauſed a report to be ſpread throughout his camp, that Ochus had ordered all thoſe who would ſubmit, to be treated with favour, and that ſuch as made reſiſtance ſhould be deſtroyed, as the Sidonians had been; he let all his priſoners eſcape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Thoſe poor people reported in their towns and villages what they had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus ſeemed to confirm it, and the terror was ſo great, that the garriſons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, ſtrove which ſhould be the foremoſt in making their ſubmiſſion.

Nectanebis, having loſt all hope of being able to defend himſelf, eſcaped with his treaſures and beſt effects into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the laſt king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, ſince whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prediction of Ezekiel (*b*). A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350.

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, diſmantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with ſpoils, and eſpecially with gold and ſilver, of which he carried away immenſe ſums. He left the government of it to Pherendates, a Perſian of the firſt quality.

(*c*) Here Manethon finiſhes his commentaries, or hiſtory of Egypt. He was a prieſt of Heliopolis in that country, and had wrote the hiſtory of its different dynaſties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His book is often cited by Joſephus, Euſebius, Plutarch, Porphry, and ſeveral others. This hiſtorian lived in the reign of Ptolemæus Philadelphus king of Egypt, to whom he dedi-

(*b*) Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.

(*c*) Syncel. p. 256. Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. l. i. c. 14.

dedicates his work, of which * Syncellus has preſerved us the abridgment.

Nectanebis loſt the crown by his too good opinion of himſelf. He had been placed upon the throne by Ageſilaus, and afterwards ſupported in it by the valour and counſels of Diophantes the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedæmonian, who, whilſt they had the command of his troops, and the direction of the war, had rendered his arms victorious over the Perſians in all the enterprizes they had formed againſt him. It is a pity we have no account of them, and that Diodorus is ſilent upon this head. That prince, vain from ſo many ſucceſſes, imagined, in conſequence, that he was become ſufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs in perſon, and diſmiſſed them to whom he was indebted for all thoſe advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to diſcover that the power does not confer the merit of a king.

A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

Ochus rewarded very liberally the ſervice which Mentor the Rhodian had rendered him in the reduction of Phœnicia, and the conqueſt of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he diſmiſſed the other Greeks laden with his preſents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole ſucceſs of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a preſent of an hundred † talents in money, beſides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coaſt of Aſia, with the direction of the war againſt ſome provinces, which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generaliſſimo of all his armies on that ſide.

Mentor made uſe of his intereſt to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabaſus, who had married their ſiſter. Both of them had been in arms againſt Ochus. We have already related the revolt of Artabaſus, and the victories he obtained over the king's troops. He was however overpower-

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* *George, a monk of Conſtantinople, ſo called from his being* Syncellus, *or vicar to the patriarch Tarafus, towards the end of the ninth century.*

† *An hundred thouſand crowns.*

ed at laſt, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had alſo a ſhare in his baniſhment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his ſucceſſors ſignal ſervices; eſpecially Memnon, who was one of the moſt valiant men of his times, and no leſs excellent in the art of war. Neither did Mentor want his great merits, nor deceive the king in the confidence he had repoſed in him. For he had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of his government, when he re-eſtabliſhed every where the king's authority, and reduced thoſe who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience; ſome he brought over by his addreſs and ſtratagems, and others by force of arms. In a word, he knew ſo well how to take his advantages, that at length he ſubjected them all to the yoke, and reinſtated the king's affairs in thoſe provinces.

In the firſt year of the 108th Olympiad died Plato, the famous Athenian philoſopher. I ſhall defer ſpeaking of him at preſent, that I may not interrupt the chain of the hiſtory. A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348.

SECT. V. *Death of* OCHUS. ARSES *ſucceeds him, and is ſucceeded by* DARIUS CODOMANUS.

(g) OCHUS, after the conqueſt of Egypt, and reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himſelf to pleaſure and luxurious eaſe during the reſt of his life, and left the care of affairs entirely to his miniſters. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas, and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them, ſo that the firſt had all the provinces of the upper, and the latter all thoſe of the lower Aſia under him.

After having reigned twenty-three years, Ochus died of poiſon given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his maſter conquered it, he flattered himſelf, that it would have been in his power to have ſoftened the A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C 338.

(g) Diod. l. xvi. p. 490.

destiny of the one, and protected the other from insult. But he could not restrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thousand things in regard to both, which the eunuch saw with extreme sorrow, and always violently resented in his heart.

Ochus, not contented with having dismantled the cities, and pillaged the houses and temples, as has been said, had besides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were deposited, and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians, and in (*h*) derision of their worship, he had caused the god Apis to be killed, that is, the sacred bull which they adored under that name. What gave occasion for this last action was, (*i*) that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities, had given him the shocking surname of the stupid animal, they found he resembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus said that he would make them sensible he was not an ass but a lion, and that the ass, whom they despised so much, should eat their ox. Accordingly he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and sacrificed to an ass. After which he made his cooks dress, and serve him up to the officers of his houshold. This piece of wit incensed Bagoas. As for the archives, he redeemed them afterwards, and sent them back to the places where it was the custom to keep them: But the affront, which had been done to his religion, was irreparable; and it is believed, that was the real occasion of his master's death.

(*k*) His revenge did not stop there, he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's, and to avenge his having made the officers of the house eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces; and for his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable, that some new cause had awakened in the heart

(*h*) Ælian. l. iv. c. 8.
(*i*) Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 363.
(*k*) Ælian. l. vi. c. 8.

heart of this monſter his ancient reſentment; without which, it is not to be conceived, that he could carry his barbarity ſo far in regard to his maſter and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whoſe hands all power was at that time, placed Arſes upon the throne, the youngeſt of all the late king's ſons, and put the reſt to death, in order to poſſeſs with better ſecurity, and without a rival, the authority he had uſurped. He gave Arſes only the name of king, whilſt he reſerved to himſelf the whole power of the ſovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to diſcover his wickedneſs, and took meaſures to puniſh it, he prevented him by having him aſſaſſinated, and deſtroyed his whole family with him.

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arſes, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Perſia. His true name was Codomanus, of whom much will be ſaid hereafter.

We ſee here in a full light the ſad effect of the ill policy of the kings of Perſia, who, to eaſe themſelves of the weight of publick buſineſs, abandoned their whole authority to an eunuch. Bagoas might have more addreſs and underſtanding than the reſt, and thereby merit ſome diſtinction. It is the duty of a wiſe prince to diſtinguiſh merit; but it is as conſiſtent for him to continue always the entire maſter, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince, like Ochus, that had made the greateſt crimes his ſteps for aſcending the throne, and who had ſupported himſelf in it by the ſame meaſures, deſerved to have ſuch a miniſter as Bagoas, who vied with his maſter in perfidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their firſt effects. Had he deſired to have nothing to fear from him, he ſhould not have been ſo imprudent to render him formidable, by giving him an unlimited power.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *Abridgment of the life of* DEMOSTHENES *to his appearance with honour and applauſe in the publick aſſemblies againſt* PHILIP *of Macedon.*

AS Demoſthenes will have a great part in the hiſtory of Philip and Alexander, which will be the ſubject of the enſuing volume, it is neceſſary to give the reader ſome previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried his talent of eloquence; which made him more awful to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater ſervices to his country, than the higheſt military virtue could have done.

A. M. 3623. Ant. J. C. 381.

(*l*) That orator, born * two years before Philip, and two hundred and fourſcore before Cicero, was not the ſon of a dirty ſmoaky blackſmith as † Juvenal would ſeem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who got conſiderably by forges. Not that the birth of Demoſthenes could derogate in the leaſt from his reputation, whoſe works are an higher title of nobility than the moſt ſplendid the world affords. (*m*) Demoſthenes tells us himſelf, that his father employed thirty ſlaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns; two excepted, who were without doubt the moſt expert in the buſineſs, and directed the work, and thoſe were each of them worth an hundred crowns. It is well known that part of the wealth of the ancients conſiſted in ſlaves. Thoſe forges, all charges paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, fifteen hundred crowns. To this firſt manufactory, appropriated to the forging of ſwords and ſuch kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought

(*l*) Plut. in Demoſt. p. 847---849. (*m*) In Orat. i. cont. Aphob. p. 896.

* *The fourth year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad.*

† Quem pater ardentis maſſæ fuligine lippus,
A carbone & forcipibus, gladioſque parente
Incude, & luteo Vulcano ad rhetora miſit.
Juv. l. iv. *Sat.* 10.

brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty ſlaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ, or an hundred livres (*n*).

Demoſthenes's father died poſſeſſed of an eſtate of fourteen talents (*o*). He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of ſordid and avaritious guardians, who had no views but of making the moſt out of his fortune. They carried that baſe ſpirit ſo far as to refuſe their pupil's maſters the reward due to them: So that he was not educated with the care, which ſo excellent a genius as his required; beſides which, the weakneſs of his conſtitution, and the delicacy of his health, with the exceſſive fondneſs of a mother that doated upon him, prevented his maſters from obliging him to apply much to his ſtudies.

The ſchool of Iſocrates *, in which ſo many great men had been educated, was at that time the moſt famous at Athens. But whether the avarice of Demoſthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a maſter, whoſe price was very high (*p*), or that the ſoft and peaceful eloquence of Iſocrates was not to his taſte, at that time he ſtudied under Iſæus, whoſe character was ſtrength and vehemence. He found means however to get the principles of rhetorick taught by the former: But † Plato in reality contributed the moſt in forming Demoſthenes; he read his works with great application, and received leſſons from him alſo; and it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh in the writings of the diſciple, the noble and ſublime air of the maſter.

(*q*) But he ſoon quitted the ſchools of Iſæus and Plato for another, under a different kind of direction; I mean, to frequent the bar, of which this was the

(*n*) *About* 4*l.* 10*s.* (*o*) *Fourteen hundred crowns.* (*p*) *About* 22*l.* 10*s.* (*q*) Aul. Gel. l. iii. c. 13.

* Iſocrates —— cujus è ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. *De Orat. n.* 94.

† Lectitaviſſe Platonem ſtudioſè, audiviſſe etiam, Demoſthenes dicitur: idque apparet ex genere & granditate ſermonis. *Cic. in Brut. n.* 121.

Illud jusjurandum, per cæſos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores Reip. ſatis manifeſtò docet, præceptorem ejus Platonem fuiſſe. *Quint.* l. xii. c. 10.

the occaſion. The orator Calliſtratus was appointed to plead the cauſe of the city Oropus, ſituated between Bœotia and Attica. Chabrias, having diſpoſed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great diſtreſs, they haſtened thither, and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans, forgetting ſo great a ſervice, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. (*r*) Chabrias was ſuſpected, and charged with treaſon upon this occaſion. Calliſtratus was choſen to plead againſt him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cauſe, excited curioſity, and made a great noiſe in the city. Demoſthenes, who was then ſixteen years of age, earneſtly entreated his maſters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be preſent at ſo famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention, and having had extraordinary ſucceſs, was attended home by a crowd of illuſtrious citizens, who ſeemed to vie with each other in praiſing and admiring him. The young man was extremely affected with the honours, which he ſaw paid to the orator, and ſtill more with the ſupreme power of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it exerciſes a kind of abſolute power. He was himſelf ſenſible of its effects, and not being able to reſiſt its charms, he gave himſelf wholly up to it, from thenceforth renounced all other ſtudies and pleaſures, and during the continuance of Calliſtratus at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.

A. M. 3639. Ant. J. C. 365.

The firſt eſſay of his eloquence was againſt his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he ventured to ſpeak before the people, but with very ill ſucceſs. He had a weak voice, a thick way of ſpeaking, and a very ſhort breath; notwithſtanding which, his periods were ſo long, that he was often obliged to ſtop in the midſt of them for reſpiration. This occaſioned his being hiſſed by the whole audience; from whence he retired

(*r*) Demoſt. in Midi. p. 613.

retired entirely diſcouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himſelf incapable. One of his auditors, who had obſerved an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new ſpirit from the grateful idea of ſo glorious a reſemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a ſecond time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head, and in the utmoſt confuſion, Satyrus, one of the moſt excellent actors of thoſe times, who was his friend, met him, and having learnt from himſelf the cauſe of his being ſo much dejected, he aſſured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the caſe was not ſo deſperate as he imagined. He deſired him only to repeat ſome of Sophocles or Euripides's verſes to him, which he accordingly did. Satyrus ſpoke them after him, and gave them ſuch graces by the tone, geſture, and ſpirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demoſthenes himſelf found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of ſpeaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himſelf to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himſelf in pronunciation, of which his friend had made him underſtand the value, ſeemed almoſt incredible, and prove, that an induſtrious perſeverance can ſurmount all things. (*t*) He ſtammered to ſuch a degree, that he could not pronounce ſome letters, amongſt others, that with which the name of the art * he ſtudied begins; and he was ſo ſhort-breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without ſtopping. He overcame theſe obſtacles at length by putting ſmall pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing ſeveral verſes in that manner without interruption; and that walking, and going up ſteep and difficult places, ſo that, at laſt, no letter made him heſitate,

(*t*) Cic. l. 1. de Orat. n. 260, 261. * Rhetorick.

hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods. (*u*) He went also to the sea-side, and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of publick assemblies.

(*x*) Demosthenes took no less care of his action than of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in his house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in publick. To correct a fault, which he had contracted by an ill habit of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or rostrum, over which hung a halbert in such a manner, that if in the heat of action that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.

His pains were well bestowed; for it was by this means, that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it was capable; whence, it is plain, he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times, which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he gave no other answer than *Pronunciation*; insinuating, by making that reply * three times successively, that qualification to be the only one, of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other defects; that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it, the most excellent could not hope the least success. He must have had a very high opinion of it, as to attain a perfection in it, and for the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then in being, he devoted so

(*u*) Quintil. l. x. c. 3.

(*x*) Ibid. l. xi. c. 3.

* Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hac instructus summos sæpe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundas, huic tertias. *Cic. de Orat.* l. iii. n. 213.

ſo conſiderable a ſum as ten thouſand drachmas (*y*), though he was not very rich.

His application to ſtudy was no leſs ſurprizing. To be the more removed from noiſe, and leſs ſubject to diſtraction, he cauſed a ſmall chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he ſometimes ſhut himſelf up for whole months, ſhaving on purpoſe half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a ſmall lamp, he compoſed the admirable orations, which were ſaid by thoſe, who envied him, to ſmell of the oil; to imply that they were too elaborate. "It is plain," replied he, "yours did not coſt you ſo much trouble." * He roſe very early in the morning, and uſed to ſay, that he was ſorry when any workman was at his buſineſs before him. (*z*) We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind, from the pains he took in copying Thucydides's hiſtory eight times with his own hand, in order to render the ſtile of that great man familiar to him.

Demoſthenes, after having exerciſed his talent of eloquence in ſeveral private cauſes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat there upon the publick affairs; with what ſucceſs we ſhall ſee hereafter. Cicero † tells us that ſucceſs was ſo great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demoſthenes ſpeak; and he adds, that merit, ſo great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine in this place into the character of his eloquence (*a*); I have enlarged ſufficiently upon that elſewhere; I only conſider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip upon this head, of which he is certainly an evidence of unqueſtionable authority,

(*y*) *About* 240 *l. ſterling.*

(*a*) *Art of ſtudying the* Belles Lettres, Vol. II.

(*z*) Lucian. Adverſ. Indoct. p. 639.

* Cui non ſunt auditæ Demoſthenes vigiliæ? qui dolere ſe aiebat, ſi quando opificum antelucana vigilus eſſet induſtria. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. iv. n. 44.

† Ne illud quidem intelligunt, non modo ita memoriæ proditum eſſe, ſed ita neceſſe fuiſſe, cum Demoſthenes dicturus eſſet, ut concurſus, audiendi cauſa, ex tota Græcia fierent. *In Brut.* n. 239.

rity, (*b*) the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did him more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athenians. His harangues, he said, were like machines of war, and batteries raised at a distance against him; by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprizes, without its being possible to prevent their effect. "For I myself," says Philip of him, "had I been "present, and heard that vehement orator declaim, "should have concluded the first, that it was indispen- "sably necessary to declare war against me." No city seemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it: But he confessed, that to his sorrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him inaccessible to his presents. After the battle of Chæronea, Philip, though victor, was struck with extreme dread at the prospect of the great danger, to which that orator, by the powerful league he had been the sole cause of forming against him, exposed himself and his kingdom.

(*c*) Antipater spoke to the same effect of him. "I "value not," said he, "the Piræus, the gallies, and "armies of the Athenians: For what have we to fear "from a people continually employed in games, "feasts, and Bacchanals? Demosthenes alone gives "me pain. Without him the Athenians differ in no- "thing from the meanest people of Greece. He "alone excites and animates them. It is he that "rouzes them from their lethargy and stupefaction, "and puts their arms and oars into their hands almost "against their will: Incessantly representing to them "the famous battles of Marathon and Salamin, he "transforms them into new men by the ardour of his "discourses, and inspires them with incredible valour "and fortitude. Nothing escapes his penetrating "eyes, nor his consummate prudence. He foresees "all our designs, he countermines all our projects, "and disconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens "entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his ad- "vice,

(*b*) Lucian. in Encom. Demost. p. 940, 941. (*c*) Ibid. p. 934···935.

"vice, we were undone without remedy. Nothing "can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his coun- "try. All the gold of Philip finds no more access to "him, than that of Persia did formerly to Aristides."

He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself in his just defence against Æschines, his accuser and declared enemy. "Whilst "all the orators have suffered themselves to be cor- "rupted by the presents of Philip and Alexander, "it is well known," says he, "that neither delicate "conjunctures, engaging expressions, magnificent "promises, hope, fear, favour, any thing in the "world, have ever been able to induce me to give up "the least right or interest of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most; he, in all the counsels he had given, had solely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold. The sequel will shew how well he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal of harangues, or rather the statesman, to enter upon the administration of the publick affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the great enterprizes of Athens against Philip of Macedon.

SECT. VII. *Digression upon the manner of fitting out fleets by the Athenians, and the exemptions and other marks of honour granted by that city to such as had rendered it great services.*

THE subject of this digression ought properly to have had place in that part of the preceding volume, where I have treated of the government and maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time, I had not the orations of Demosthenes which speak of them in my thoughts. It is a deviation from the chain

of the hiſtory which the reader may eaſily turn over, if he thinks fit.

The word *Trierarchs* (*d*) ſignifies no more in itſelf than *commanders of gallies*. But thoſe cities were alſo called *Trierarchs*, who were appointed to fit out the gallies in time of war, and to furniſh them with all things neceſſary, or at leaſt with part of them.

They were choſen out of the richeſt of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, ſometimes three, and even ten Trierarchs were appointed to equip one veſſel.

(*e*) At length the number of Trierarchs was eſtabliſhed at twelve hundred in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. An hundred and twenty of the richeſt citizens of each tribe were nominated to furniſh the expences of theſe armaments; and thus each tribe furniſhing ſix ſcore, the number of the Trierarchs amounted to twelve hundred.

Thoſe twelve hundred men were again divided into two parts, of ſix hundred each; and thoſe ſix hundred ſubdivided into two more, each of three hundred. The firſt three hundred were choſen from amongſt ſuch as were richeſt. Upon preſſing occaſions they advanced the neceſſary expences, and were reimburſed by the other three hundred, who paid their proportion, as the ſtate of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby thoſe twelve hundred were divided into different companies, each conſiſting of ſixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and equally unjuſt at bottom; as it decreed that this number of ſixteen ſhould be choſen by their age, and not their eſtates. It ordained that all citizens, from twenty-five to forty, ſhould be included in one of theſe companies, and contribute one ſixteenth; ſo that by this law the poorer citizens were to contribute as much as the moſt opulent, and often found it impoſſible to ſupply an expence ſo much above

(*d*) Τριήραρχοι. (*e*) Ulpian. in Olynth. ii. p. 33.

above their power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time, or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens loſt the moſt favourable opportunities for action.

(*f*) Demoſthenes, always intent upon the publick good, to remedy theſe inconveniencies, propoſed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the Trierarchs were to be choſen, not by the number of their years, but by the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whoſe eſtate amounted to ten talents *, was obliged to fit out one galley, and if to twenty talents, two; and ſo on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were neceſſary to compleat that ſum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wiſer than this law of Demoſthenes, which reformed all the abuſes of the other. By theſe means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things neceſſary; the poor were conſiderably relieved, and none but the rich diſpleaſed with it. For inſtead of contributing only a ſixteenth, as by the firſt law, they were ſometimes obliged by the ſecond to equip a galley, and ſometimes two or more, according to the amount of their eſtates.

The rich were in conſequence very much offended at Demoſthenes upon this regulation; and it was, without doubt, an inſtance of no ſmall courage in him to diſregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himſelf as many enemies, as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himſelf. "(*g*) Seeing," ſays he, ſpeaking to the Athenians, "your maritime "affairs are in the greateſt decline, the rich poſſeſſed "of an immunity purchaſed at a very low rate, the "citizens of middle or ſmall fortunes eat up with "taxes, and the republick itſelf, in conſequence of theſe "inconveniencies, never attempting any thing till too "late for its ſervice; I had the courage to eſtabliſh a "law, whereby the rich are reſtrained to their duty,

 "the

(*f*) Demoſt. in Orat. de Claſſib. p. 419.

(*g*) Demoſt. pro Cteſip.

* *Ten thouſand crowns.*

" the poor relieved from oppreſſion, and, what was of " the higheſt importance, the republick enabled to " make the neceſſary preparations of war in due time." He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the propoſing of this law, or at leaſt to have ſuſpended its execution: But he did not ſuffer himſelf to be ſwayed either by their threats or promiſes, and continued firm to the publick good.

Not having been able to make him change his reſolution, they contrived a ſtratagem to render it ineffectual. For it was without doubt at their inſtigation, that a certain perſon, named Patroclus, cited Demoſthenes before the judges, and proſecuted him juridically as an infringer of the laws of his country. The accuſer having only the fifth part of the voices on his ſide, was according to cuſtom fined five hundred drachmas *, and Demoſthenes acquitted of the charge; who relates this circumſtance himſelf.

It is doubtful, whether at Rome, eſpecially in the latter times, the affair would have taken this turn. For we ſee, that whatever attempts were made by the tribunes of the people, and to whatever extremity the quarrel aroſe, it never was poſſible to induce the rich, who were far more powerful and enterprizing than thoſe of Athens, to renounce the poſſeſſion of the lands, which they had uſurped in manifeſt contravention of the inſtitutions of the ſtate. The law of Demoſthenes was approved and confirmed by the ſenate and people.

We find, from what has been ſaid, that the Trierarchs fitted out the gallies and their equipage at their own expence. The ſtate paid the mariners and ſoldiers, generally at the rate of three *Oboli*, or fivepence a day, as has been obſerved elſewhere. The officers had greater pay.

The Trierarchs commanded the veſſel, and gave all orders on board. When there were two of them to a ſhip, each commanded ſix months.

When

* 12 *l.* 5 *s.*

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their adminiſtration, and delivered a ſtate of the veſſel's equipage to their ſucceſſor, or the republick. The ſucceſſor was obliged to go immediately and fill up the vacant place; and if he failed to be at his poſt by a time aſſigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

As the charge of Trierarch was very expenſive, thoſe who were nominated to it, were admitted to point out ſome other perſon richer than themſelves, and to demand that they ſhould be put into their place; provided they were ready to change eſtates with ſuch perſon, and to act in the function of Trierarch after ſuch exchange. This law was inſtituted by Solon, and was called *the law of exchanges.*

Beſides the equipment of gallies, which muſt have amounted to very great ſums, the rich had another charge to ſupport in the time of war; that was the extraordinary taxes and impoſts laid on their eſtates; upon which, ſometimes the hundredth, ſometimes a fiftieth, and even a twelfth were levied, according to the different occaſions of the ſtate.

(*b*) Nobody at Athens, upon any pretence whatſoever, could be exempted from theſe two charges, except the *Novemviri*, or nine Archontes, who were not obliged to fit out gallies. So that we ſee, without ſhips or money, the republick was not in a condition, either to ſupport wars, or defend itſelf.

There were other immunities and exemptions, which were granted to ſuch as had rendered great ſervices to the republick, and ſometimes even to all their deſcendants: For as maintaining publick places of exerciſe with all things neceſſary for ſuch as frequented them; inſtituting a publick feaſt for one of the ten tribes; and defraying the expences of games and ſhews; all which amounted to great ſums.

Theſe immunities, as has already been ſaid, were marks of honour and rewards of ſervices rendered the ſtate; as well as ſtatues which were erected to

(*b*) Demoſt. ad verſ. Lept. p. 545.

great men, the freedom of the city, and the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum at the publick expence. The view of Athens in these honourable distinctions was to express their high sense of gratitude, and to kindle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendants were for ever exempted from all publick employments, and enjoyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

(*i*) As Aristides died without any estate, and left his son Lysimachus no other patrimony but his glory and poverty, the republick gave him an hundred acres of wood, and as much arable land in Eubœa, besides an hundred minæ * at one payment, and four drachmas, or forty pence a day.

(*k*) Athens, in these services which were done it, regarded more the good-will than the action itself. A certain person of Cyrene, named Epicerdus, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he saw ready to expire for want of food, distributed an hundred minæ amongst them, that is, about two hundred and forty pounds. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after, in the war against the thirty tyrants, the same Epicerdus gave the city a talent †. These were but small matters on either occasion with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were infinitely affected with the good heart of a stranger, who without any view of interest, in a time of publick calamity, exhausted himself in some measure for the relief of those, with whom he had no affinity, and from whom he had nothing to expect.

The

(*i*) Demosth. in Orat. ad Lep. p. 558. (*k*) Ibid. p. 757.
* *Twenty-two pounds ten shillings.* † *A thousand crowns.*

(*l*) The ſame freedom of the city of Athens granted an exemption from cuſtoms to Leucon, who reigned in the Boſphorus, and his children, becauſe they yearly imported from the lands of that prince a conſiderable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, ſubſiſting almoſt entirely upon what came from other parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be outdone in generoſity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of ſupplying themſelves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a conſiderable ſum. For they brought only from thence two millions of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almoſt ſeventy thouſand.

The children of Conon and Chabrias were alſo granted an immunity from publick offices. The names only of thoſe illuſtrious generals ſufficiently juſtify that liberality of the Athenian people. A perſon however, called Leptinus, out of a miſtaken zeal for the publick good, propoſed the abrogation by a new law of all the grants of that kind, which had been made from immemorial time; except thoſe which regarded the poſterity of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton; and to enact, that for the future the people ſhould not be capable of granting ſuch privileges.

Demoſthenes ſtrongly oppoſed this law, though with great complacency to the perſon who propoſed it; praiſing his good intentions, and not ſpeaking of him but with eſteem; a much more efficacious manner of refuting, than thoſe violent invectives, and that eager and paſſionate ſtyle, which ſerve only to alienate the people, and to render an orator ſuſpected, who decries his cauſe himſelf, and ſhews its weak ſide, by ſubſtituting injurious terms for reaſons, which are alone capable of convincing.

After having ſhewn, that ſo odious a reduction would prove of little or no advantage to the repub-

(*l*) Demoſth. in Orat. ad Lep. p. 545, 546.

lick, from the inconſiderable number of the exempted perſons; he goes on to explain its conveniences, and ſet them in a full light.

"It is firſt," ſays he, "doing injury to the memory of thoſe great men, whoſe merit the ſtate intended to acknowledge and reward by ſuch immunities; it is in ſome manner calling in queſtion the ſervices they have done their country; it is throwing a ſuſpicion upon their great actions, injurious to, if not deſtructive of, their glory. And were they now alive and preſent in this aſſembly, which of us all would preſume to offer them ſuch an affront? Should not the reſpect we owe their memories make us conſider them as always alive and preſent?

"But if we are little affected with what concerns them, can we be inſenſible to our own intereſt? Beſides, that cancelling ſo ancient a law is to condemn the conduct of our anceſtors, what ſhame ſhall we bring upon ourſelves, and what an injury ſhall we do our reputation? The glory of Athens, and of every well-governed ſtate, is to value itſelf upon its gratitude, to keep its word religiouſly, and to be true to all its engagements. A private perſon that fails in theſe reſpects, is hated and abhorred; and who is not afraid of being reproached with ingratitude? And ſhall the commonwealth, in cancelling a law that has received the ſanction of publick authority, and being in a manner conſecrated by the uſage of many ages, be guilty of ſo notorious a prevarication? We prohibit lying in the very markets under heavy penalties, and require truth and faith to be obſerved in them; and ſhall we renounce them ourſelves by the revocation of grants, paſſed in all their forms, and upon which every private man has a right to inſiſt.

"To act in ſuch a manner, would be to extinguiſh in the hearts of our citizens all emulation for glory, all deſire to diſtinguiſh themſelves by great exploits, all zeal for the honour and welfare of their coun-

"try;

" try; which are the great ſources and principles of
" almoſt all the actions of life. And it is to no purpoſe
" to object the example of Sparta and Thebes, which
" grant no ſuch exemptions: Do we repent our not
" reſembling them in many things; and is there any
" wiſdom in propoſing their defects, and not their
" virtues for our imitation?"

Demoſthenes concludes with demanding the law of exemptions to be retained in all its extent, with this exception, that all perſons ſhould be deprived of the benefits of it, but thoſe who had a juſt title to them; and that a ſtrict enquiry ſhould be made for that purpoſe.

It is plain that I have only made a very ſlight extract in this place of an exceeding long diſcourſe, and that I deſigned to expreſs only the ſpirit and ſenſe, without confining myſelf to the method and expreſſions of it.

There was a meanneſs of ſpirit in Leptinus's deſiring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republick, by retrenching the moderate expences that were an honour to it, and no charge to himſelf, whilſt there were other abuſes of far greater importance to reform.

Such marks of publick gratitude perpetuated in a family, perpetuate alſo in a ſtate an ardent zeal for its happineſs, and a warm deſire to diſtinguiſh that paſſion by glorious actions. It is not without pain I find amongſt ourſelves, that part of the privileges, granted to the family of the Maid of Orleans, have been retrenched. (*m*) Charles VII. had ennobled her, her father, three brothers, and all their deſcendants, even by the female line. In 1614, at the requeſt of the attorney-general, the article of nobility by the women was retrenched.

(*m*) Mezerai.

BOOK

BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

SECT. I. *The birth and infancy of* PHILIP. *Beginning of his reign. His first conquests. The birth of* ALEXANDER.

MACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, situated in ancient Thrace, and bounded on the south by the mountains of Thessaly; on the east by Bœotia and Pieria; on the west by the Lyncestes; and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatick sea to the river Strymon. Edessa was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are going to write, was the son of Amyntas II. who is reckoned the sixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about four hundred and thirty years before; that is, *Anno Mundi* 3212, and *before Christ* 794. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.

The kings of Macedon pretended to deſcend from Hercules by Caranus, and conſequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithſtanding this, Demoſthenes often ſtiles them Barbarians, eſpecially in his invectives againſt Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. (*a*) Alexander, king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, upon pretence of his being a Barbarian, from the Olympick games; and was not admitted to ſhare in them, till after having proved his being deſcended originally from Argos. (*b*) The above-mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Perſian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter, that Mardonius was determined to charge them by ſurprize at day-break, juſtified his perfidy by his ancient deſcent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath themſelves to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it ſuited their intereſt. Of this we have ſeveral inſtances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were diſſatisfied, became their tributary; which continued from their ſettling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon the ſon of Nicias, about forty-eight years before the Peloponneſian war, till Braſidas, the Lacedæmonian general, about the fifth or ſixth year of that war, raiſed that whole province againſt them, and drove them from the frontiers of Macedon.

We ſhall ſoon ſee this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the arbiter of Greece; and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Aſia.

Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-ſixth Olympiad. Having, the very year after, been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and diſpoſſeſſed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it ſcarce poſſible for him ever to A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398.

(*a*) Herod. l. v. c. 22. (*b*) Idem, l. ix. c. 44.

to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olynthians; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable track of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argæus, who was of the blood-royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years. (*c*) Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks and the Athenians in particular sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and impending ruin. (*d*) It was then that Amyntas, in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them to enable the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last-mentioned people. This strong alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.

A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the same year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. This Philip was father of Alexander the Great; for we cannot distinguish him better, than by calling him the father of such a son, as * Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375.

(*e*) Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, *viz.* Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolemy.

Alexander succeeded his father as eldest son. In the

(*c*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 307, 341.

(*d*) Æschin. de Falf. Legat. p. 400.

(*e*) Diod. p. 373. Justin. l. vii. c. 4.

* M. Cato sententiam dixit hujus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim cæteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lumen illud progenuit, ex filio est nominandus. *De Offic.* l. iii. n. 66.

the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a ſharp war againſt the Illyrians, neighbours to, and perpetual enemies of, Macedonia. Concluding afterwards a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother, an infant, into their hands, by way of hoſtage, who was ſoon ſent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

(*f*) The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, who was become eldeſt by his death; but Pauſanias, a prince of the blood-royal, who had been exiled, diſputed it with him, and was ſupported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by ſeizing ſome fortreſſes. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whither the Athenians had ſent him with a ſmall fleet; not to beſiege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the neceſſary preparations for beſieging it. Eurydice hearing of his arrival, deſired to ſee him, intending to requeſt his aſſiſtance againſt Pauſanias. When he was come into the palace, and had ſeated himſelf, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compaſſion, takes her two children, Perdiccas and * Philip, and ſets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; ſhe then ſpoke thus to him: "Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father "of theſe unhappy orphans, had always a love for "your country, and adopted you for his ſon. This "double tie lays you under a double obligation. The "amity which that king entertained for Athens, re-"quires that you ſhould acknowledge us publickly "for your friends; and the tenderneſs which that "father had for your perſon, claims from you the "heart of a brother to theſe children." Iphicrates, moved with this ſight and diſcourſe, expelled the uſurper, and reſtored the lawful ſovereign.

A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374.

(*g*) Perdiccas † did not long continue in tranquillity.

(*f*) Æſch. de Falſ. Legat. p. 399, 400. (*g*) Plutarch. in Pelop. p. 292.

* *Philip was not then leſs than nine years old.*

† *Plutarch ſuppoſes, that it was with Alexander that Ptolemy diſputed.*

lity. A new enemy, more formidable than the firſt, ſoon invaded his repoſe: This was Ptolemy his brother, natural ſon of Amyntas, as was before obſerved. He might poſſibly be the eldeſt ſon, and claim the crown as ſuch. The two brothers referred the deciſion of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it neceſſary to take pledges on both ſides, in order to oblige the two competitors to obſerve the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hoſtages, he carried Philip with him to * Thebes, where he reſided ſeveral years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-loved ſon, earneſtly beſought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hoſtage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher in his houſe for the education of his ſon. Philip improved greatly by the inſtructions of his preceptor, and much more by thoſe of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made ſome campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not poſſibly have had a more excellent maſter, whether for war or the conduct of life; for this illuſtrious Theban was at the ſame time a great philoſopher, that is to ſay, a wiſe and virtuous man, and a great commander as well as a great ſtateſman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and propoſed him as a model to himſelf; moſt happy, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occaſions, which however formed but a very inconſiderable part of the merit of this illuſtrious perſonage: But with regard to his temperance, his

puted the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of Æſchines, who being his contemporary, is more worthy of credit. I therefore thought proper to ſubſtitute Perdiccas inſtead of Alexander.

* Thebis triennio obſes habitus, prima pueritiæ rudimenta in urbe ſeveritatis antiquæ, & in domo Epaminondæ ſummi & philoſophi & imperatoris, depoſuit. *Juſtin.* l. vii. c. 5. *Philip lived in Thebes not only three, but nine or ten years.*

his juſtice, his diſintereſtedneſs, his ſincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, theſe were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the moſt dangerous enemy of Greece. (*h*) After Philip had ſpent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him reſolve to leave Thebes clandeſtinely. Accordingly he ſteals away, makes the utmoſt expedition, and finds the Macedonians greatly ſurprized at having loſt their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians, but much more ſo, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Peonians infeſted it with perpetual incurſions: The Thracians were determined to place Pauſanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretenſions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias their general was ordered to ſupport with a ſtrong fleet and a conſiderable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child, Amyntas, the ſon of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for ſome time, by the title of guardian to the prince; but the ſubjects, juſtly alarmed, depoſed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and inſtead of the heir, whom nature had given them, ſet him upon the throne whom the preſent conjuncture of affairs required; perſuaded that the laws of neceſſity are ſuperior to all others. (*i*) Accordingly Philip, at twenty-four years of age, aſcended the throne the firſt year of the 105th Olympiad. A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

The new king, with great coolneſs and preſence of mind, uſed all his endeavours to anſwer the expectations of the people: Accordingly, he provides for, and remedies every thing, revives the deſponding cou-

(*h*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 407. Juſtin. l. vii. c. 5. (*i*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 404---413.

courage of the Macedonians, and re-inſtates and diſciplines the army. (*k*) He was inflexibly rigid in the laſt point, well knowing that the ſucceſs of his enterprizes depended on it. A ſoldier, who was very thirſty, went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip puniſhed with great ſeverity. Another ſoldier, who ought to have ſtood to his arms, laid them down: Him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time he eſtabliſhed the Macedonian phalanx, which afterward became ſo famous, and was the choiceſt and the beſt diſciplined body of an army the world had ever ſeen, and might diſpute precedency in thoſe reſpects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamis. He drew up the plan, or at leaſt improved it from the idea ſuggeſted by (*l*) Homer. That poet deſcribes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the ſoldiers of which, by the aſſemblage or conjunction of their ſhields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the leſſons of Epaminondas, and the ſacred battalion of the Thebans. He treated thoſe choſen foot-ſoldiers with peculiar diſtinction, honoured them with the title of his * *comrades* or *companions*; and by ſuch marks of honour and confidence induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardeſt fatigues, and to confront the greateſt dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as theſe coſt a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I ſhall inſert, at the end of this ſection, a more particular deſcription of the phalanx, and the uſe made of it in battles. I ſhall borrow from Polybius this deſcription, the length of which would too much interrupt the ſeries of our hiſtory; yet being placed ſeparately, may probably pleaſe, eſpecially by the judicious reflexions of a man ſo well ſkilled in the art of war as that hiſtorian.

One of the firſt things Philip took care of, was, the

4 nego-

(*k*) Ælian. l. xiv. c. 49. (*l*) Iliad. N. v. 130.

* πεζεταιρος *ſignifies*, verbatim, *a foot-ſoldier, comrade, companion.*

negotiating a captious peace with the Athenians, whoſe power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill eſtabliſhed. He therefore ſends ambaſſadors to Athens, ſpares neither promiſes nor proteſtations of amity, and at laſt was ſo happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had propoſed to himſelf.

Immediately after this, he does not ſeem ſo much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician profoundly verſed in the art of diſſimulation; and who, without the aſſiſtance of experience, was already ſenſible, that to know when to loſe at a proper ſeaſon is to gain. (*m*) He had ſeized upon Amphipolis, a city ſituated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which conſequently ſtood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much, not to mention that the Athenians, whoſe friendſhip it was his intereſt to preſerve, would have been exaſperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other ſide, he was determined not to give up to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the reſolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themſelves as a republick, and in this manner to ſet them at variance with their ancient maſters. At the ſame time he diſarmed the Peonians by dint of promiſes and preſents; reſolving to attack them, after he had diſunited his enemies, and weakened them by that diſunion.

This addreſs and ſubtlety eſtabliſhed him more firmly on the throne, and he ſoon found himſelf without competitors. Having barred the enterance of his kingdom to Pauſanias, he marches againſt Argæus, comes up with him in the road from Ægæ to Methone, defeats him, kills a great number of his ſoldiers, and takes a multitude priſoners; attacks the Peonians, and ſubjects them to his power: He afterwards turns his arms againſt the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and

(*m*) Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17.

obliges them to restore to him all the places possessed by them in Macedonia.

A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greatest generosity in regard to the inhabitants of Eubœa. That island, which is separated from Bœotia by the Euripus, was so called from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now called Negropont. (*n*) It had been subject to the Athenians, who had settled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates, that in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Eubœans dismayed the Athenians very much, because they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Eubœa became a prey to factions; and at the time of which we are now speaking, one of these factions implored the assistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and easily made the faction they espoused triumphant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Eubœans, who had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless, sensibly affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private resentments, they immediately gave them such powerful succour both by sea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being absolute masters of the island, they restore the inhabitants their cities and liberty, persuaded, says * Æschines, in relating this circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the party offending repose their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having restored Eubœa to its former tranquillity, retired, without desiring any other benefit for all their services, than the glory of having appeased the troubles of that island.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard

(*n*) Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 4. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 613. Demosth. pro Ctesiph. p. 489. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 441.

* Οὐ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν τοῖς πεπεισθεῖσι.

regard to other ſtates; and it was this gave riſe to *the war of the allies*, of which I have ſpoken elſewhere. A. M. 3646.

Hitherto Philip, that is, during the firſt years of his reign, had employed his endeavours to triumph over his competitors for the throne; to pacify domeſtick diviſions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to diſable them, by his frequent victories, from troubling him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long diſputed the empire of Greece, had weakened themſelves by their reciprocal diviſions. This circumſtance had given Thebes an opportunity of regaining its former grandeur; but Thebes having weakened itſelf by the wars in which it had been engaged againſt Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occaſion of aſpiring alſo in his turn to the ſovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, he reſolves how he may beſt extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken thoſe whom he was not able to conquer at preſent; how he may introduce himſelf into the affairs of Greece, ſhare in its inteſtine feuds, make himſelf its arbiter, join with one ſide to deſtroy the other; in a word, to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great deſign, he ſpared neither artifices, open force, preſents, or promiſes. He employs for this purpoſe negotiations, treaties and alliances, and each of them ſingly in ſuch a manner as he judges moſt conducive to the ſucceſs of his deſign; advantage ſolely determining him in the choice of meaſures.

We ſhall always ſee him acting under this ſecond character, in all the ſteps he takes henceforth, till he aſſumes a third and laſt character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Perſia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by ſubverting an empire which before had attempted to ſubject it, and which had always continued its irreconcilable enemy, either by open invaſions or ſecret intrigues.

We have ſeen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had ſeized upon Amphipolis, becauſe well ſituated for his views; but that to avoid reſtoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under ſuch great apprehenſion from the Athenians, he reſumed his former deſign of ſeizing Amphipolis. (*o*) The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a ſpeedy ſiege, ſent ambaſſadors to the Athenians, offering to put themſelves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beſeeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republick rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. (*p*) However, this monarch was not ſo delicate in this point; for he beſieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the ſtrongeſt barriers of his kingdom. Demoſthenes, in his Orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occaſion, by repreſenting to them, that had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have ſaved a confederate city, and ſpared themſelves a multitude of misfortunes.

A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

(*q*) Philip had promiſed the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promiſe had made them ſupine and inactive; but he did not value himſelf upon keeping his word, and ſincerity was in no manner the virtue he profeſſed. So far from ſurrendering this city, he alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of * Pydna and of † Potidæa. The Athenians kept a garriſon in the latter; theſe he diſmiſſed without doing them the leaſt injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them in his intereſt.

(*r*) From whence he proceeded to ſeize Crenides, which the Thaſians had built two years before, and which

(*o*) Demoſth. Olynth. i. p. 2. (*p*) Diod. p. 412. (*q*) Ibid. (*r*) Diod. p. 413.

* *Pydna, a city of Macedon, ſituated on the gulf anciently called* Sinus Thermaicus, *and now* Golfo di Salonichi.

† *Potidæa, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but ſixty ſtadia, or three leagues from Olynthus.*

which he called Philippi from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous from the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thouſand talents, that is, about an hundred and forty-four thouſand pounds ſterling; a prodigious ſum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip firſt cauſed the golden ſpecies to be coined there, which outlived * monarchy. Superiority of finances is of endleſs advantage to a ſtate; and no prince underſtood them better than Philip, or neglected them leſs. By this fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in moſt of the cities of Greece.

(*s*) Demoſthenes ſays, that when Greece was in its moſt flouriſhing condition, *gold and ſilver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms.* But Philip thought, ſpoke and acted in a quite different manner. (*t*) It is ſaid, that conſulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following anſwer:

Ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχῃ καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις.

Make coin thy weapons, and thou'lt conquer all.

The advice of the prieſteſs became his rule, and he applied it with great ſucceſs. He owned, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate, till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and that he did not think any

S 3 fortreſs

(*s*) Philip. iii. p. 92. (*t*) Suidas.

* Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Chœrilus, incultis qui verſibus & male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos.
Horat. l. ii. *Ep. ad Auguſt.*

Cherilus the Pelian youth approv'd,
Him he rewarded well, and him he lov'd;
His dull, uneven verſe, by great good fate,
Got him his favours, and a fair eſtate. Creech's Hor.

Hic ſunt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Philippi. *Plaut. in Pœn.*

fortreſs impregnable, into which a mule laden with ſilver could find enterance. * It has been ſaid, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which ſubdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had penſioners in all the commonwealths of Greece, and retained thoſe in his pay who had the greateſt ſhare in the publick affairs. And, indeed, he was leſs proud of the ſucceſs of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his ſoldiers could ſhare in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus. The latter was ſon of Alcetas, king of Moloſſus or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, ſurnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the firſt year of the 106th Olympiad. (*u*) Philip, who at that time was abſent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable † advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympick games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a ſon. This prince, terrified at ſo ſignal a happineſs, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of ſome mournful cataſtrophe, cried out, *Great Jupiter, in return for ſo many bleſſings, ſend me as ſoon as poſſible ſome ſlight misfortune.* (*x*) We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by

A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

(*u*) Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 16. Plut. in Apophth. p. 187. (*x*) Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.

* Callidus emptor Olynthi. *Juv. Sat.* xii. 47.
Philippus majore ex parte mercator Græciæ, quàm victor. *Val. Max. lib.* vii. *c.* 2.

——————Diffidit hoſtium
Portas vir Macedo, & ſubruit æmulos
Reges muneribus. *Horat. lib.* iii. *Od.* 16.

When engines, and when arts do fail,
The golden wedge can cleave the wall;
Gold Philip's rival kings o'erthrew. Creech's Hor.

† *Plutarch ſuppoſes, that this news was brought him immediately after the taking of Potidæa, but this city had been taken two years before.*

by the letter he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle, to acquaint him so early, that he had made choice of him for his son's preceptor. *I am to inform you*, said he, *that I have a son born. I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as to have given him me in the time that Aristotle lived. I may justly promise myself, that you will make him a successor worthy of us both, and a king of Macedonia.* What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make such reflections on it as he shall think proper; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good master, and the extraordinary care they should take to find such an one; * for every son is an Alexander to his father. It appears that Philip † put his son very early under Aristotle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the foundation first laid; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they ought to be inculcated.

A description of the Macedonian phalanx.

(*y*) This ‡ was a body of infantry, consisting of sixteen thousand heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the center of the battle. Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and a pike or spear, called by the Greeks ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ, (*sarissa.*)

(*y*) Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764---767. Id. l. xii. p. 664. Ælian. de Instruend. Acieb.

* Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, impositum gremio, dignum tanta cura infantem: (quanquam suus cuique dignus est.) *Quintil.* l. i. c. 1.

† An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia à perfectissimo quoque optimè tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset? *Quintil.* ibid.

‡ Decem & sex millia peditum more Macedonum armati fuere, qui phalangitæ appellabantur. Hæc media acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes divisa. *Tit. Liv.* l. xxxvii. n. 40.

This pike was fourteen cubits long; that is, twenty-one French feet, for the cubit consists of a foot and a half.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps or battalions, each of which was composed of sixteen hundred men, an hundred feet in rank, and sixteen in file. Sometimes the file of sixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided according to occasion; so that the phalanx was sometimes but eight, and at other times thirty-two deep: But its usual and regular depth was of sixteen.

The space between each soldier upon a march was six feet, or, which is the same, four cubits; and the ranks were also about six feet asunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three feet distance between each soldier, and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who composed it drew still closer, each soldier occuping only the space of a foot and a half.

This evidently shews the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole to consist of sixteen thousand men, at sixteen deep, and consequently always a thousand men in front. This space or distance in the first case was six thousand feet, or one thousand fathoms, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the second case it was but half so much, and took up five furlongs, or five hundred fathoms *. And, in the third case, it was again diminished another half, and extended to the distance of only two furlongs and a half, or two hundred and fifty fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it marched to attack the enemy. There then was three feet in breadth and depth between each soldier. We observed above, that their pikes were fourteen cubits long. The space between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four; and consequently the pike

* *Five stadia.*

pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the ſoldier who carried it. This being ſuppoſed, the pikes of the ſoldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and ſo of the reſt, projected two cubits beyond the firſt rank; the pikes of the fourths four, thoſe of the thirds ſix, thoſe of the ſeconds eight cubits; in fine, the pikes of the ſoldiers, who formed the firſt rank, advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will eaſily conceive, that when the ſoldiers who compoſed the phalanx, this great and unwieldy machine, every part of which briſtled with pikes, as we have ſeen, moved all at once, preſenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they muſt charge with great force. The ſoldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raiſed, but reclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of a roof, which (not to mention their ſhields) ſecured them from the darts diſcharged at a diſtance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The ſoldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage againſt the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great aſſiſtance in battle to thoſe in the front of them. For by ſupporting them behind with the utmoſt ſtrength, and propping them with their backs, they increaſed in a prodigious manner the ſtrength and impetuoſity of the onſet; they gave their comrades ſuch a force as rendered them immoveable in attacks, and at the ſame time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; ſo that they were under the neceſſity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the ſoldiers of the phalanx preſerved their diſpoſition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the cloſe order we have deſcribed, it was impoſſible for an enemy either to ſuſtain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonſtrates to us in a plain and ſenſible manner. The Roman ſoldiers (for it is thoſe he compares to the Greeks in the place in queſtion) ſays he, take up, in fight, three feet each.

And

And as they muſt neceſſarily move about very much, either to ſhift their bucklers to the right and left in defending themſelves, or to thruſt with the point, or ſtrike with the edge, we muſt be obliged to ſuppoſe the diſtance of three feet between every ſoldier. In this every Roman ſoldier takes up ſix feet, that is, twice as much diſtance as one of the * phalanx, and conſequently oppoſes ſingly two ſoldiers of the firſt rank; and for the ſame reaſon, is obliged to make head againſt ten pikes, as we have before obſerved. Now it is impoſſible for a ſingle ſoldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.

(z) This Livy ſhews evidently in a few words, where he deſcribes in what manner the Romans were repulſed by the Macedonians at the ſiege of a city. † The conſul, ſays he, made his cohorts to advance, in order, if poſſible, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very cloſe together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having diſcharged ineffectually their javelins againſt the Macedonians, whom their ſhields (preſſed very cloſe together) covered like a roof and a *tortoiſe*; the Romans, I ſay, drew their ſwords. But it was not poſſible for them either to come to a cloſe engagement, or cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike ſerved as a point; ſo that this range of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, ſtill exiſted.

(a) Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perſeus,

(z) Liv. l. xxxii. n. 17.

* *It was before ſaid, that each ſoldier of the phalanx took up three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half ſo much when he waited his coming up. In this laſt caſe, each Roman ſoldier was obliged to make head againſt twenty pikes.*

† Cohortes invicem ſub ſignis, quæ cuneum Macedonum, (phalangem ipſi vocant) ſi poſſent, vi perrumperent, emittebat——Ubi conferti haſtas ingentis longitudinis præ ſe Macedones objeciſſent, velut in conſtructam denſitate clypeorum teſtudinem, Romani pilis nequicquam emiſſis, cum ſtrinxiſſent gladios; neque congredi propiùs neque præcedere haſtas poterant; &, ſi quam incidiſſent aut præfregiſſent, haſtile fragmento ipſo acuto, inter ſpicula integrarum haſtarum, velut vallum explebat.

(a) Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedon, this rampart of braſs, and foreſt of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and aſtoniſhment. He did not remember, he ſaid, any thing ſo formidable as this phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful ſpectacle had made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon him, as almoſt made him deſpair of the victory.

From what has been ſaid above, it follows, that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible; nevertheleſs, we find by hiſtory, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquiſhed and ſubdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replied Polybius, ſo long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being ſo, it required a flat even ſpot of ground of large extent, without either tree, buſh, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill, or river. Now we ſeldom find a ſpot of ground, of fifteen, twenty or more furlongs * in extent; for ſo large a ſpace is neceſſary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

But let us ſuppoſe (it is Polybius who ſtill ſpeaks) that a track of ground, ſuch as could be wiſhed, were found; yet of what uſe could a body of troops drawn up in the form of a phalanx be, ſhould the enemy, inſtead of advancing forward and offering battle, ſend out detachments to lay waſte the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? That in caſe the enemy ſhould come to a battle, the general need only command part of his front (the center for inſtance) to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of purſuing them. In this caſe, it is manifeſt the phalanx would be broke, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the ſame time that thoſe ſoldiers, who are purſuing the enemy, may be attacked in the ſame manner.

This reaſoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the ſame time gives us a very juſt idea of the manner in which the ancients fought; which certainly

* *Three quarters of a league, or a league. or perhaps more.*

certainly ought to have its place in hiſtory, as it is an eſſential part of it.

Hence appears, as (*b*) Mr. Boſſuet obſerves after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian * phalanx formed of one large body, very thick on all ſides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army divided into ſmall bodies, which for that reaſon were nimbler, and conſequently more aptly diſpoſed for motions of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preſerve its natural property, (theſe are Polybius's words) that is to ſay, its ſolidity and thickneſs, becauſe it requires its peculiar ſpots of ground, and thoſe, as it were, made purpoſely for it; and that for want of ſuch tracks, it encumbers, or rather breaks itſelf by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broke, the ſoldiers who compoſe it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its diviſion into ſmall bodies, takes advantage of all places and ſituations, and ſuits itſelf to them. It is united or ſeparated at pleaſure. It files off, or draws together, without the leaſt difficulty. It can very eaſily detach, rally, and form every kind of evolution, either in the whole or in part, as occaſion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and conſequently more activity and ſtrength than the phalanx.

(*c*) This enabled Paulus † Æmilius to gain his cele-

(*b*) *Diſcourſe on Univerſal Hiſtory.* Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. xliv. n. 41.

(*c*) Plutarch. in Paul.

* Statarius uterque miles, ordines ſervans; ſed illa phalanx immobilis, & unius generis: Romana acies diſtinctior, ex pluribus partibus conſtans; facilis partienti quacumque opus eſſet, facilis jungenti. *Tit. Liv.* l. ix. n. 19.

Erant pleraque ſylveſtria circa, incommoda phalangi, maxime Macedonum, quæ, niſi ubi prælongis haſtis velut vallum ante clypeos objecit (quod ut fiat, libero campo opus eſt) nullius admodum uſus eſt. *Id.* l. xxxi. n. 39.

† Secunda legio immiſſa diſſipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior cauſa victoriæ fuit, quàm quòd multa paſſim prælia erant, quæ fluctuantem turbarunt primò, deinde disjecerunt phalangem; cujus confertæ, & intentis horrentis haſtis, intolerabiles vires ſunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine & gravitate haſtam cogas, confuſa ſtrue implicantur: ſi vero ab latere, aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinæ modo turbantur. Sicut tum adverſus catervatim irruentes Romanos, & interrupta multifariam

celebrated victory over Perseus. He first attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians (keeping very close together) holding their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broke or forced in any manner, and so made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of the ground, and the great extent of the front in battle, not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of shields and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed, that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this, he attacked them at these openings, not as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detached bodies, and in different parts, at one and the same time. By this means the phalanx was broke in an instant, and its whole force, which consisted merely in its union, and the impression it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

(*d*) The same Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, describes in few words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front, and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, supposing the distance of one fathom or six feet for each horseman; a space he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or eight thousand horse, occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten furlongs, or a thousand fathoms, which makes about half a league.

From what has been said the reader may judge how much ground an army took up according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it consisted.

(*d*) Lib. xii. p. 663.

tifariam acie, obviam ire cogebantur: & Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insinuabant ordines suos. Qui si universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem concurrissent—induissent se hastis, nec confertam aciem sustinuissent. *Tit. Liv.*

SECT.

SECT. II. *The sacred war. Sequel of the history of* PHILIP. *He endeavours in vain to possess himself of the pass of Thermopylæ.*

A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355.

(*e*) DISCORD, which fomented perpetually in the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. Those people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were sacred to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them, as guilty of sacrilege, some from a spirit of sincerity, and others in order to cover their private revenge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occasion was called the *sacred war*, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were summoned to appear before the Amphyctions, or states-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared sacrilegious, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man, and of great authority, having proved by some verses in (*f*) Homer, that the sovereignty of Delphos belonged anciently to the Phocæans, inflames them against this decree, determines with them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta, to engage the Lacedæmonians in his interest. They were very much disgusted at the sentence which the Amphyctions had pronounced against them, at the sollicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been also condemned to pay a fine, for having seized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. This monarch, however, did not dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans, but promised to assist him

3 with

(*e*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 425---433. (*f*) Iliad. l. ii. v. 516.

with money, and to furnish him secretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raises soldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak resistance. The * Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms against him, but were defeated in several rencounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprize with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphyctions against the Phocæans, publishes all over the country, that he has no design to seize the riches of the temple, and that his sole view is to restore the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a sanction from the god who presided at Delphos, and to receive such an answer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The priestess at first refused to co-operate on this occasion; but, being terrified by his menaces, she answered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper; a circumstance he took care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become a serious one. The Amphyctions meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt; and being enabled, by this fresh supply,

* *Or* Locri.

ply, to double the pay of his ſoldiers, he raiſed a very conſiderable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the ſucceſs for ſome time ſeemed doubtful on both ſides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths which a falſe zeal, when veiled with ſo venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken ſeveral priſoners, condemned them all to die as ſacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the ſame by way of repriſal. Theſe had at firſt gained ſeveral advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being cloſely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himſelf for a long time with invincible bravery, which however not availing, he threw himſelf headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he muſt unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his ſucceſſor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. This new general had ſoon levied a freſh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him ſoldiers from all ſides. He alſo by dint of money brought over ſeveral chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to do little or nothing, by which he gained great advantages.

Philip thought it moſt conſiſtent with his intereſt to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans. It was conſiſtent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the intereſt of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the leaſt benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and puſh his conqueſts without any apprehenſion of oppoſition. He was alſo well pleaſed to ſee both parties weaken and conſume each other, as he ſhould thereby

thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater advantage.

(*g*) Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of, and razed it. (*h*) He lost one of his eyes before Methone, by a very singular accident. After of Amphipolis had offered his service to Philip, as so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer, *Well, I will take you into my service when I make war upon starlings*; which answer stung the cross-bowman to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it, and it is not a small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written, *To Philip's right eye*, and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in his right eye. Philip sent him back the same arrow, with this inscription, *If Philip takes the city, he will hang up Aster*; and accordingly he was as good as his word.

A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 352.

(*i*) A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish. (*k*) But nevertheless this monarch was so weak, as to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word *Cyclops*, or even the word *eye*, in his presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when, to console her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, *Now, son, every step you take will put you in mind of your valour.*

 After

(*g*) Diod. p. 434. (*h*) Suidas in Καρανος. (*i*) Plin. l. vii. c. 37. (*k*) Demet. Phaler. de Elocut. c. iii.

(*l*) After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever ſtudious either to weaken his enemies by new conqueſts, or gain new friends by doing them ſome important ſervice, marched into Theſſaly, which had implored his aſſiſtance againſt the tyrants. The liberty of that country ſeemed now ſecure, ſince Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheleſs, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebé, had murdered him, grown weary of having ſome time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppreſſed the Theſſalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldeſt of the three brothers who ſucceeded Alexander, had ſtrengthened himſelf by the protection of the Phocæans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at firſt gained a conſiderable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a ſecond time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were purſued to the ſeaſhore. Upwards of ſix thouſand men were killed on the ſpot, among whom was Onomarchus, whoſe body was hung upon a gallows; and three thouſand, who were taken priſoners, were thrown into the ſea by Philip's order, as ſo many ſacrilegious wretches, the profeſſed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and reſtored Theſſaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy ſucceſs of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Theſſalians, whoſe excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards ſo great a ſhare in his victories and thoſe of his ſon.

Phayllus, who ſucceeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the ſame advantages he had done, from the immenſe riches he found in the temple, raiſed a numerous army; and, ſupported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and the other allies, whom he paid very largely, he went into Bœotia and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory ſhifted ſides; but at laſt, Phayllus being attacked with a ſudden and violent diſtemper, after ſuffering the moſt cruel

(*l*) Diod. p. 432---435.

cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and ſacrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the ſon of Onomarchus, was placed in his room; and Mnaſeas, a man of great experience, and ſtrongly attached to his family, was appointed his counſellor.

The new leader treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At laſt the Phoceans opened their eyes, and appointed commiſſioners to call all thoſe to account who had any concern in the publick monies. Upon this Phalecus was depoſed; and, after an exact enquiry, it was found, that from the beginning of the war there had been taken out of the temple upwards of ten thouſand talents, that is, about one million, five hundred thouſand pounds.

Philip, after having freed the Theſſalians, reſolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This is his firſt attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a ſhare in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis in order to puniſh the ſacrilegious Phocæans, he marches towards Thermopylæ, to poſſeſs himſelf of a paſs, which gave him a free paſſage into Greece, and eſpecially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the moſt fatal conſequence to them, haſted to Thermopylæ, and poſſeſſed themſelves very ſeaſonably of this important paſs, which Philip did not dare attempt to force; ſo that he was obliged to return back into Macedonia.

A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

SECT. III. DEMOSTHENES, *upon* PHILIP'*s attempting Thermopylæ, harangues the Athenians, and animates them against that prince. Little regard is paid to his oration. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by* PHILIP, *addresses the Athenians for succour.* DEMOSTHENES *endeavours by his orations to rouze them out of their lethargy. They send but a very weak succour, and* PHILIP *at length takes Olynthus.*

AS we shall soon see Philip engaged against the Athenians, and as they, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs; it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now speaking of, from that of their ancestors, in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whose virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the same men, and had no longer the same maxims, and the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the publick good, the same application to the affairs of the state, the same courage to support fatigues of war by sea and land; the same care of the revenues, the same willingness to bear salutary advice; the same discernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magistrates to whom they intrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, succeeded a fondness for repose, and an indolence with regard to publick affairs; an aversion for military fatigues, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the publick treasures in games and shows; a love for the flattery which their orators lavished upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring publick offices by intrigue and cabal; all which usually precede the approaching ruin of states. Such

was

was the ſituation of Athens, at the time the king of Macedon began to turn his arms againſt Greece.

We have ſeen that Philip, after various conqueſts, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; becauſe the Athenians, juſtly alarmed at the impending danger, had ſtopped him at the paſs of Thermopylæ. (*m*) Demoſthenes taking advantage of ſo favourable a diſpoſition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to ſet before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were expoſed by the boundleſs ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the abſolute neceſſity they were under, from hence, to apply the moſt ſpeedy remedies. Now, as the ſucceſs of his arms, and the rapidity of his progreſs, ſpread throughout Athens a kind of terror bordering very near deſpair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice, firſt endeavours to revive their courage, and aſcribes their calamities to their ſloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themſelves of their duty, and that in ſpight of their activity and their utmoſt efforts, Philip had prevailed over them, they then, indeed, would not have the leaſt reſource or hope left. But in this oration, and all thoſe which follow, Demoſthenes inſiſts ſtrongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the ſupineneſs of the Athenians; and that it is this ſupineneſs which makes him bold, daring, and ſwells him with ſuch a ſpirit of haughtineſs, as even inſults the Athenians.

A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

"See," ſays Demoſthenes to them, ſpeaking of Philip, "to what a height the arrogance of that man "riſes, who will not ſuffer you to chuſe either action "or repoſe; but employs menaces, and, as fame "ſays, ſpeaks in the moſt inſolent terms; and not "contented with his firſt conqueſts, but incapable of "ſatiating his luſt of dominion, engages every day "in ſome new enterprize. Poſſibly, you wait till ne-"ceſſity reduces you to act; can any one be greater "to freeborn men than ſhame and infamy? Will you "then for ever walk the publick place with this

(*m*) Demoſth. 1 Philip.

" queſtion in your mouths, *What news is there?* Can " there be greater news, than that a Macedonian has " vanquiſhed the Athenians, and made himſelf the " ſupreme arbiter of Greece? *Philip is dead*, ſays one; " *he is only ſick*, replies another." (His being wounded at Methone had occaſioned all theſe reports.) " But whether he be ſick or dead is nothing to the " purpoſe, O Athens! For the moment after heaven " had delivered you from him, (ſhould you ſtill be- " have as you now do) you would raiſe up another " Philip againſt yourſelves; ſince the man in queſtion " owes his grandeur infinitely more to your indolence, " than to his own ſtrength."

But Demoſthenes, not ſatisfied with bare remonſtrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, propoſed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attempts of Philip. In the firſt place, he adviſes the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty gallies, and to reſolve firmly to mann them themſelves. He requires them to reinforce theſe with ten gallies lightly armed, which may ſerve as a convoy to the fleet and tranſports. With regard to the land-forces, as in his time the general, elected by the moſt powerful faction, formed the army only of a confuſed aſſemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little ſervice; Demoſthenes requires them to levy no more than two thouſand choſen troops, five hundred of which ſhall be Athenians, and the reſt raiſed from among the allies; with two hundred horſe, fifty of which ſhall alſo be Athenians.

The expence of this little army, with regard only to proviſions and other matters independent from their pay, was to amount to little more *per* month than ninety * talents, (ninety thouſand crowns) *viz.* forty talents for ten convoy gallies, at the rate of twenty minæ (a thouſand livres) *per* month for each galley; forty talents for the two thouſand infantry, and ten drachmas (five livres) *per* month for each foot-ſoldier; which

* *Each talent was worth a thouſand crowns.*

which five livres *per* month make a little more than three-pence farthing French money *per diem*. Finally, twelve talents for the two hundred horſe, at thirty drachmas (fifteen livres) *per* month for each horſeman; which fifteen livres *per* month make ten ſols *per diem*. The reaſon of my relating this ſo particularly, is to give the reader an idea of the expences of an army in thoſe times. Demoſthenes adds, if any one imagines, that the preparation of proviſions is not a conſiderable ſtep, he is very much miſtaken; for he is perſuaded, that provided the forces do not want proviſions, the war will furniſh them with every thing beſides; and that without doing the leaſt wrong to the Greeks or allies, they will not fail of ſufficient acquiſitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be ſurprized at Demoſthenes's requiring ſo ſmall a body of forces, he gives this reaſon for it, *viz.* that at preſent the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppoſe Philip with a ſufficient force in the field; and that it would be their buſineſs to make excurſions only. Thus his deſign was, that this little army ſhould be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, obſerve, harraſs, and keep cloſe to the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing ſuch enterprizes with eaſe, as they might think fit to attempt.

What the ſucceſs of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked perſonally, they, according to the ſupineneſs natural to them, were very indolent with regard to the progreſs of Philip's arms. The diviſions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmonia on one ſide employed themſelves wholly in reducing the ſtrength of Thebes their rival; whilſt, on the other ſide, the Theſſalians, in order to free themſelves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to maintain the ſuperiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra

and Mantinea, devoted themſelves in the moſt reſolute manner to Philip; and aſſiſted him (undeſignedly) in making chains for themſelves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all theſe diſſenſions. This king, in order to ſecure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could ſcarce attempt but at the expence of the Athenians, who ſince the defeat of Xerxes had many colonies (beſides ſeveral ſtates who were either their allies or tributaries) in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace in the peninſula of Pallene, was one of theſe colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas father of Philip, and had even very much oppoſed the latter, upon his acceſſion to the crown. However, being not firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, he at firſt employed diſſimulation, and requeſted the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, ſome time after, he gave up Potidæa, an important fortreſs, which he had conquered, in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himſelf able to execute his project, he took proper meaſures in order to beſiege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who ſaw the ſtorm gathering at a diſtance, had recourſe to the Athenians, of whom they requeſted immediate aid. The affair was debated in an aſſembly of the people, and as it was of the utmoſt importance, a great number of orators met in the aſſembly. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demoſthenes, who was then but four-and-thirty, did not ſpeak till after his ſeniors had diſcuſſed the matter a long time.

(*n*) In this * diſcourſe, the orator, the better to ſucceed

(*n*) Olynth. ii.

* *The oration which Demoſthenes pronounced at that time, is generally looked upon as the ſecond of the three Olynthiacks, which relate to this ſubject. But M de Tourreil, chiefly on the authority of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, which ought to be of great weight on this occaſion, changes the order generally obſerved in Demoſthenes's orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthiacks. Though I am of his opinion, I ſhall cite the orations in the order they are printed.*

ſucceed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For this purpoſe, he repreſents Philip in two very different lights. On one ſide, he is a man, whoſe unbounded ambition the empire of the world would not ſatiate, an haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies as ſo many ſubjects or ſlaves; and who, for that reaſon, is no leſs incenſed by too ſlow a ſubmiſſion, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent to take advantage of the overſights and errors of others, ſeizes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who ſupports perpetually the moſt ſevere toils, without allowing himſelf a moment's repoſe, or having the leaſt regard to the difference of ſeaſons; an intrepid hero, who ruſhes through obſtacles, and plunges into the midſt of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purſe trafficks, buys, and employs gold no leſs than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune laviſhes her favours, and for whom ſhe ſeems to have forgot her inconſtancy: But, on the other ſide, this ſame Philip is an imprudent man, who meaſures his vaſt projects, not by his ſtrength, but merely by his ambition; a raſh man, who, by his attempts, digs himſelf the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a ſmall effort would throw him; a knave, whoſe power is raiſed on the moſt ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith, and villany; an uſurper, hated univerſally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, deteſted even in the heart of his dominions, in which, by the infamy of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his ſoldiers, and of all his ſubjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of deſtroying by any hand that will adminiſter to their wrath, and ſecond their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Tourreil draws, by uniting the ſeveral detached lineaments

ments in the preſent oration of Demoſthenes. In it is ſhewn the great freedom with which the Athenians ſpoke of ſo powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having repreſented Philip one moment as formidable, the next very eaſy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing ſuch an enemy, would be to reform the new abuſes, to revive the ancient order and regulations, to appeaſe domeſtick diſſenſions, and to ſuppreſs the cabals which are inceſſantly forming; and all this in ſuch a manner, that every thing may unite in the ſole point of the publick ſervice; and that, at a common expence, every man, according to his abilities, may concur to the deſtruction of the common enemy.

Demades *, bribed by Philip's gold, oppoſed very ſtrenuouſly the advice of Demoſthenes, but in vain; for the Athenians ſent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty gallies and two thouſand men to ſuccour the Olynthians, who, in this urgent neceſſity, which ſo nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could obtain aſſiſtance only from the Athenians.

However, this ſuccour did not prevent the deſigns of Philip, or the progreſs of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes ſeveral places of ſtrength, the fortreſs of Gira, and ſpreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invaſion, and menaced with deſtruction, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to Athens, to ſollicit a new reinforcement. Demoſthenes argues very ſtrongly in favour of their requeſt, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and intereſt to have regard to it. This is the ſubject of the Olynthiack generally taken as the third.

The orator, always animated with a ſtrong and lively zeal for the ſafety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by ſetting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a moſt dreadful proſpect of the future, if they do not rouze from their lethargy: For that,

* Suidas in voce Δημάδης.

that, in caſe Philip ſeizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greateſt difficulty was the means of raiſing ſufficient ſums for defraying the expences requiſite for the ſuccour of the Olynthians, becauſe the military funds were otherwiſe employed, *viz.* for the celebration of the publick games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a thirty years peace with the Lacedæmonians, they reſolved to put into their treaſury, by way of reſerve, a thouſand talents every year; at the ſame time prohibiting any perſon, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulſing an enemy who ſhould invade Attica. This was at firſt obſerved with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new inſtitutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, propoſed to diſtribute among them, in times of peace *, the thouſand talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the publick ſhows, upon condition, however, that they might reſume this fund in time of war. The propoſal was approved, and the reſtriction alſo. But, as all conceſſions of this kind degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athenians were ſo highly pleaſed with this diſtribution (called by Demades *a glue by which the Athenians would be catched)* that they abſolutely would not ſuffer it to be retrenched upon any account. The abuſe was carried to ſuch a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction which oppoſed Demoſthenes, prohibited any perſon, upon pain of death, ſo much as to propoſe the reſtoring, for the ſervice of the war, thoſe funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and publick ſhows. Apollodorus was even puniſhed, for declaring himſelf of a contrary opinion, and for inſiſting upon it.

This abſurd profuſion had very ſtrange effects. It was impoſſible to ſupply it but by impoſing taxes, the

* *Theſe games, beſides the two obeli which were diſtributed to each of the perſons preſent, occaſioned a great number of other expences.*

the inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated ſtrong feuds, and made the military preparations ſo very ſlow, as quite defeated the deſign of them, without leſſening the expence. As the artificers and ſea-faring people, who compoſed above two-thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their ſubſtance, and only gave their perſons, the whole weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. Theſe murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with the publick monies being ſquandered upon feſtivals, comedies, and the like ſuperfluities. But the people, being ſenſible of their ſuperiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to ſubtract from their diverſions, merely to eaſe people who poſſeſſed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Beſides, any perſon who ſhould dare to propoſe this to the people ſeriouſly and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demoſthenes preſumed to introduce this ſubject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmoſt art and circumſpection. After ſhewing that the Athenians were indiſpenſably obliged to raiſe an army, in order to ſtop the enterprizes of Philip, he hints (but in a diſtant way) that thoſe funds which were expended in theatrick repreſentations, ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commiſſioners might be nominated, not to enact new laws, (there being already but too many eſtabliſhed) but to examine and aboliſh ſuch as ſhould be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital puniſhment, as enacted by thoſe laws; becauſe he did not require that they ſhould be actually aboliſhed, but only that commiſſioners might be nominated to inſpect them. He only hinted, how highly neceſſary it was to aboliſh a law, which grieved the moſt zealous citizens, and reduced them to this ſad neceſſity, either to ruin themſelves, in caſe they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to deſtroy their

country, in caſe they obſerved a fearful, prevaricating ſilence.

Theſe remonſtrances do not ſeem to have the ſucceſs they deſerved, ſince in the following Olynthiack, (which is commonly placed as the firſt) the orator was obliged to inveigh once more againſt the miſapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorouſly attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill ſerved by the venal ſuccours of Athens, required, by a third embaſſy, a body of troops, which ſhould not conſiſt of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inſpired with a ſincere ardour for the intereſt both of their own glory, and the common cauſe. The Athenians, at the earneſt ſollicitation of Demoſthenes, ſent Chares a ſecond time, with a reinforcement of ſeventeen gallies, of two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requeſted.

(*o*) The following year Philip poſſeſſed himſelf of Olynthus. Neither the ſuccours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domeſtick enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Laſthenes, two of its moſt eminent citizens, in actual employment at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and ſells the reſt for ſlaves; and diſtinguiſhes thoſe who had betrayed their city, no otherwiſe than by the ſupreme contempt he expreſſed for them. This king, like his ſon Alexander, loved the treaſon, but abhorred the traitor. And, indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? (*p*) Every one, even the common ſoldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Laſthenes for the perfidy, who complaining to Philip upon that account, he only made this ironical anſwer, infinitely more ſevere than the reproach itſelf: *Do not mind*

A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348.

(*o*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 450---452. (*p*) Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

mind what a pack of vulgar fellows ſay, who call every thing by its real name.

The king was overjoyed at his being poſſeſſed of this city, which was of the utmoſt importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conqueſts. (*q*) Some years before, the Olynthians had long reſiſted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little reſiſtance, at leaſt had not loſt many men in the ſiege.

He now cauſed ſhows and publick games to be exhibited with the utmoſt magnificence; to theſe he added feaſts, in which he made himſelf very popular, beſtowing on all the gueſts conſiderable gifts, and treating them with the utmoſt marks of his friendſhip.

SECT. IV. PHILIP *declares in favour of Thebes againſt the Phocæans, and thereby engages in the ſacred war. He lulls the Athenians, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of* DEMOSTHENES, *into ſecurity, by a pretended peace and falſe promiſes. He ſeizes on Thermopylæ, ſubjects the Phocæans, and puts an end to the ſacred war. He is admitted into the council of the Amphyctions.*

A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

THE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, which they had ſo long carried on againſt the Phocæans, addreſſed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had obſerved a kind of neutrality with reſpect to the ſacred war; and he ſeemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himſelf, that is, till both parties ſhould have weakened themſelves by a long war, which equally exhauſted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtineſs, and thoſe ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inſpired them. The inſtant therefore that they requeſted the alliance of Philip, he reſolved to eſpouſe the intereſt of that republick, in oppoſition to the Phocæans. He had not loſt ſight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an enterance into Greece, in order to make

(*q*) Diod. l. xv. p. 341.

make himſelf maſter of it. To give ſucceſs to his deſign, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not ſo void of ſenſe as to imagine, that the latter party would aſſiſt his deſign of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themſelves voluntarily to him, and who ſtood in need of Philip's power to ſupport themſelves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a ſpecious colour to his arms, beſides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he alſo pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the violated god; and was very glad to paſs for a religious prince, who warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means the eſteem and friendſhip of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to ſkreen the moſt unjuſt attempts with the veil of probity, and ſometimes even of religion; though they very frequently have no manner of regard for either.

(*r*) There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to poſſeſs himſelf of Thermopylæ, as it opened him a paſſage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the ſacred war to himſelf, as if he had been principal in that affair, and to preſide in the Pythian games. He was deſirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to poſſeſs himſelf of Phocis: But then, in order to put this double deſign in execution, it was neceſſary for him to keep it ſecret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war againſt Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocæans. His buſineſs therefore was to make them change their meaſures, by placing other objects in their view;

(*r*) Demoſth. Orat. de falſa Legatione.

view; and on this occaſion the politicks of Philip ſucceeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthenſome, and of little benefit to them, had commiſſioned Cteſiphon and Phrynon to ſound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he ſtood diſpoſed with regard to peace. Theſe related that Philip did not appear averſe to it, and that he even expreſſed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians reſolved to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy, to enquire more ſtrictly into the truth of things, and to procure the laſt explanations, previouſly neceſſary to ſo important a negotiation. Æſchines and Demoſthenes were among the ten ambaſſadors, who brought back three from Philip, *viz.* Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commiſſion very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately ſent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then Demoſthenes, who in his firſt embaſſy had met ſome Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promiſed to return and ranſom them at his own expence, endeavours to enable himſelf to keep his word; and, in the mean time, adviſes his colleagues to embark with the utmoſt expedition, as the republick had commanded; and to wait as ſoon as poſſible upon Philip, in what place ſoever he might be. However, theſe, inſtead of making a ſpeedy diſpatch, as they were deſired, go an ambaſſador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, ſtay three months in that country, and give Philip time to poſſeſs himſelf of ſeveral other ſtrong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At laſt, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace; but having lulled them aſleep with the ſpecious pretence of a treaty, he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambaſſadors one after another by preſents, Demoſthenes excepted, who being but one, oppoſed his colleagues to no manner of purpoſe.

In

In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pheræ in Theſſaly, he at laſt ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuſes to include the Phocæans in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had ſigned the treaty, it occaſioned very great joy in that city, eſpecially to thoſe who were averſe to the war, and dreaded the conſequences of it. Among theſe was (*s*) Iſocrates. He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whoſe proſperity he had very much at heart. The weakneſs of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in publick, and from mounting like others the tribunal of harangues. He had opened a ſchool in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and ſucceſs. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of publick affairs; and as others ſerved their country *viva voce*, in the publick aſſemblies, Iſocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and theſe being ſoon made publick, were very eagerly ſought after.

On the preſent occaſion, he writ a piece of conſiderable length, which he addreſſed to Philip, with whom he held a correſpondence, but in ſuch terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at leaſt fourſcore and eight. The ſcope of this diſcourſe was to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had juſt before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms againſt the king of Perſia. The buſineſs was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the reſt depended, *viz.* Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confeſſes, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful as formerly, he ſhould have been far from making ſuch a propoſal, which he was ſenſible they would never approve; and which the pride of thoſe two republicks, whilſt ſuſtained and augmented by ſucceſs, would reject with diſdain. But that now, as the moſt powerful cities

(*s*) Iſocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reverses of fortune, have equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had began to set them; the present is the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the several cities of Greece.

In case he (Philip) should be so happy as to succeed in such a project; so glorious and beneficial a success would raise him above whatever had appeared most august in Greece. But this project in itself, though it should not have so happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conquests he might hope to obtain.

Some persons indeed, who were prejudiced against Philip, represent and exclaim against him as a crafty prince, who gives a specious pretext to his march, but, at the same time, has in reality no other object in view but the enslaving of Greece. Isocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing Philip into his views, supposes, that rumours so injurious as these, have no manner of foundation; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being descended from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, should think of invading and possessing himself of it. But these very reports, which are so capable of blackening his name, and of sullying all his glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the falsity of them in the presence of all Greece by the least suspicions of proofs, in leaving and maintaining each city in the full possession of its laws and liberties; in removing with the utmost care all suspicions of partiality; in not espousing the interest of one people against another; in winning the confidence of all men by a noble disinterestedness and an invariable love of justice: In fine, by aspiring to no other title than that of the reconciler of the divisions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It

It is in the king of Perſia's dominions he ought to merit thoſe laſt titles. The conqueſt of it is open and ſure to him, in caſe he could ſucceed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He ſhould call to mind that Ageſilaus, with no other forces than thoſe of Sparta, ſhook the Perſian throne, and would infallibly have ſubverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece, by the inteſtine diviſions which then broke out. The ſignal victory of the ten thouſand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the ſight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip againſt a prince inferior in every reſpect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Iſocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip ſo long a train of ſucceſſes, with no other view but that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious enterprize, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counſel he gave to three heads: That this prince ſhould govern his own empire with wiſdom and juſtice; ſhould heal the diviſions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without deſiring to poſſeſs any part of it himſelf; and this being done, that he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt a country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their deſtruction. It muſt be confeſſed, that this is a moſt noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Iſocrates had a very falſe idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not poſſeſs the equity, moderation or diſintereſtedneſs, which ſuch a project required. He really intended to attack Perſia, but was perſuaded, that it was his buſineſs to ſecure himſelf firſt of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by ſervices but by force. He did not endeavour either to win over or perſuade nations, but to ſubject and reduce them. As on his ſide he had no manner of regard for alliances and

treaties, he judged of others by himſelf, and was for aſſuring himſelf of them by much ſtronger ties than thoſe of friendſhip, gratitude, and ſincerity.

As Demoſthenes was better acquainted with the ſtate of affairs than Iſocrates, ſo he formed a truer judgment of Philip's deſigns. Upon his return from his embaſſy, he declares expreſsly, that he does not approve either of the diſcourſe or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æſchines, who had been bribed, aſſures the Athenians, that he had diſcovered the greateſt candor and ſincerity in the promiſes and proceedings of this king. He had engaged that Theſpiæ and Plataea ſhould be repeopled, in ſpight of the oppoſition of the Thebans; that in caſe he ſhould proceed ſo far as to ſubject the Phocæans, he would preſerve them, and not do them the leaſt injury; that he would reſtore Thebes to the good order which had before been obſerved in it; that Oropus ſhould be given up abſolutely to the Athenians; and, that in lieu of Amphipolis, they ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Eubœa. It was to no purpoſe that Demoſthenes remonſtrated to his fellow-citizens, that Philip, notwithſtanding all theſe glorious promiſes, endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf, in an abſolute manner, of Phocis; and that by abandoning it to him they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not heard, and the oration of Æſchines, who engaged that Philip would make good his ſeveral promiſes, prevailed over that of Demoſthenes.

A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346.

(*t*) Theſe deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of Thermopylæ, and to enter Phocis. Hitherto there had been no poſſibility of reducing the Phocæans; but Philip needed but appear, for the bare ſound of his name filled them with terror. Upon the ſuppoſition that he was marching againſt a herd of ſacrilegious wretches, not againſt common enemies, he ordered all his ſoldiers to wear crowns of laurel,

(*t*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 455.

laurel, and led them to battle as under the conduct of the god himself whose honour they revenged. The instant they appeared, the Phocæans believed themselves overcome. Accordingly they sue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire into Peloponnesus, with the eight thousand men in his service. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, engrossed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. * This victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the topick of all conversations in that country. He was considered as the avenger of sacrilege and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their majesty with so much courage and success.

Philip, that he might not seem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, assembles the council of the Amphyctions, and appoints them, for form sake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocæans had rendered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of these judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis shall be destroyed, that they shall all be reduced to small towns of sixty houses each, and that those towns shall be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches who have committed sacrilege, shall be absolutely proscribed; and that the rest shall not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which shall continue to be levied till such time as the whole sums taken out of the temple of Delphos shall be repaid. Philip did not forget himself on this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their seat in the council of the Amphyctions, which they had been

 declared

* Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit. Illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem religionum. Itaque Diis proximus habetur, per quem Deorum majestas vindicata sit. *Justin.* l. viii. c. 2.

declared to have forfeited, ſhould be transferred to him. The Amphyctions, the inſtrument of whoſe vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refuſing him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumſtance of the higheſt importance to him, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, and of very dangerous conſequence to all the reſt of Greece. They alſo gave him the ſuperintendance of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Bœotians and Theſſalians; becauſe the Corinthians, who poſſeſſed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themſelves unworthy of it, by ſharing in the ſacrilege of the Phocæans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocæans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong ſtep they had taken in refuſing to comply with the counſels of Demoſthenes; and in abandoning themſelves blindly to the vain and idle promiſes of a traitor, who had ſold his country. Beſides the ſhame and grief with which they were ſeized, for having failed in the obligations of the * confederacy, they found that they had betrayed their own intereſts in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by poſſeſſing himſelf of Phocis, was become maſter of Thermopylæ, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. (*u*) The Athenians, therefore, being alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children ſhould be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls ſhould be repaired, and the Piræus fortified, in order to put themſelves into a ſtate of defence in caſe of an invaſion.

The Athenians had no ſhare in the decree, by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphyctions. They perhaps had abſented themſelves purpoſely, that they might not authorize it by their preſence; or, which was more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obſtacles, and avoid the remoras he might meet with in the execution of his deſign, aſſembled ſuch of the Amphyctions only as were entirely at his devotion.

5 In

(*u*) Demoſt. de falſ. Legat. p. 312.

* *With the Phocæans.*

In ſhort, he conducted his intrigue ſo very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be diſputed as clandeſtine and irregular; and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but in an aſſembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, ſeveral were of opinion, that no notice ſhould be taken of it. Demoſthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their intereſt to infringe it in the preſent juncture; ſince that could not be done without ſtirring up againſt the Athenians, both the new Amphyction, and thoſe who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they ſhould not expoſe themſelves unſeaſonably to the dangerous conſequences which might enſue, in caſe of their determinate refuſal, to conſent to the almoſt unanimous decree of the Amphyctions; and proteſted, that it was their intereſt to ſubmit, for fear of worſe, to the preſent condition of the times; that is, to comply with what was not in their power to prevent. This is the ſubject of Demoſthenes's diſcourſe, entitled, *Oration on the peace.* We may reaſonably believe that his advice was followed.

SECT. V. PHILIP, *being returned to Macedonia, extends his conquests into Illyria and Thrace. He projects a league with the Thebans, the Messenians, and the Argives, to invade Peloponnesus in concert with them. Athens declaring in favour of the Lacedæmonians, this league is dissolved. He again attempts Eubœa, but* PHOCION *drives him out of it. Character of that celebrated Athenian.* PHILIP *besieges Perinthus and Byzantium. The Athenians, animated by the orations of* DEMOSTHENES, *send succours to those two cities, under the command of* PHOCION, *who forces him to raise the siege of those places.*

A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344.

AFTER Philip had settled every thing relating to the worship of the god, and the security of the temple of Delphos, he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. (*x*) Diodorus observes, that all those, who had shared in profaning and plundering the temple, perished miserably, and came to a tragical end.

(*y*) Philip, satisfied that he had opened himself a passage into Greece by his seizure of Thermopylæ; that he had subjected Phocis; had established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphyction; and that he had gained the esteem and applause of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the deity; judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to stop his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, in case they should discover too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order therefore to remove all suspicion, and to sooth the disquietudes which arose on that occasion, he turned his arms against Illyria, purposely to extend his frontiers on that side, and to keep always his troops in exercise by some new expedition.

The same motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he

(*x*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 456. (*y*) Ibid. p. 463.

he had dispossessed the Athenians of several strong places in that country. Philip still carried on his conquests there. * Suidas observes, that before he took Olynthus, he had made himself master of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Chersonesus also was situated very commodiously for him. This was a very rich peninsula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themselves under the protection of Lacedæmonia, after Lysander had destroyed Athens; but submitted again to their first masters, after Conon, the son of Timotheus, had reinstated that country. Cotys, king of Thrace, then dispossessed the Athenians of Chersonesus; (z) but it was afterwards restored to them by Chersobleptus, son of Cotys, who finding himself unable to defend it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; reserving however to himself Cardia, which was the most considerable city of the peninsula, and formed, as it were, the gate and enterance of it. (a) After Philip had deprived Chersobleptus of his kingdom, which happened the second year of the 109th Olympiad, the inhabitants of Cardia being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city, which formerly belonged to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection. A. M. 3669. Ant. J. C. 335.

(b) Diopithes, principal of the colony which the Athenians had sent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully persuaded that it would not be disavowed, marches suddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, whilst he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plunders them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged safe A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

(z) Diod. l. xvi. p. 434. (a) Ibid. p. 464. (b) Liban. in Demosth. p. 75. * *In* Καρα.

ſafe in Cherſoneſus. Philip, not being able to revenge himſelf in the manner he could have wiſhed, contented himſelf with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters upon that account. Such as received penſions from him in Athens, ſerved him but too effectually. Theſe venal wretches loudly exclaimed againſt a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at leaſt excuſable. They declaim againſt Diopithes; impeach him of involving the ſtate in war; accuſe him of extortion and piracy; inſiſt upon his being recalled, and purſue his condemnation with the utmoſt heat and violence.

Demoſthenes, ſeeing at this juncture that the publick warfare was inſeparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the ſubject of his oration *on Cherſoneſus*. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comick poet, whom Terence has copied ſo faithfully.

Diopithes was accuſed of oppreſſing the allies by his unjuſt exactions. However, Demoſthenes lays the leaſt ſtreſs on this, becauſe it was perſonal; he nevertheleſs pleads his apology (tranſiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the iſlands and cities of Aſia minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchaſed ſecurity to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them againſt the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exerciſe oppreſſions, and ranſom allies very unſeaſonably. But in this caſe, a bare * decree, an accuſation in due form, a galley appointed to bring whom the general recalled; all this is ſufficient to put a ſtop to abuſes. But it is otherwiſe with regard to Philip's enterprizes. Theſe cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but raiſing troops, and fitting out gallies.

"Your orators," ſays he, "cry out eternally to "you, that we muſt make choice either of peace or "war; but Philip does not leave this at our option, "he who is daily meditating ſome new enterprize a-"gainſt

* *It was called* πάραλος.

"gainſt us. And can we doubt but it was he who "broke the peace, unleſs it is pretended, that we have "no reaſon to complain of him, as long as he ſhall "forbear making any attempts on Attica and the Pi-"ræus? But it will then be too late for us to oppoſe "him; and it is now we muſt prepare ſtrong barriers "againſt his ambitious deſigns. You ought to lay it "down as a certain maxim, O Athenians, that it is "you he aims at; that he conſiders you as his moſt "dangerous enemies; that your ruin only can eſta-"bliſh his tranquillity, and ſecure his conqueſts; and "that whatever he is now projecting, is merely with "the view of falling upon you, and of reducing A-"thens to a ſtate of ſubjection. And indeed, can any "of you be ſo vaſtly ſimple, as to imagine that Phi-"lip is ſo greedy of a few paltry * towns, (for what "other name can we beſtow on thoſe he now attacks?) "that he ſubmits to fatigues, ſeaſons and dangers, "merely for the ſake of gaining them; but that as "for the harbours, the arſenals, the gallies, the ſilver-"mines, and the immenſe revenues of the Athenians; "that he, I ſay, conſiders theſe with indifference, "does not covet them in the leaſt, but will ſuffer you "to remain in quiet poſſeſſion of them?

"What concluſion are we to draw from all that has "been ſaid? Why, that ſo far from caſhiering the "army we have in Thrace, it muſt be conſiderably "reinforced and ſtrengthened by new levies, in or-"der, that as Philip has always one in readineſs to "oppreſs and enſlave the Greeks, we, on our ſide, "may always have one on foot, to defend and pre-"ſerve them." There is reaſon to believe, that Demoſthenes's advice was followed.

(*c*) The ſame year that this oration was ſpoke, Arymbas, king of Moloſſus or Epirus, died. He was ſon of Acletas, and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whoſe daughter Olympias was married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the credit and authority of his ſon-in-law, was raiſed ſo high as to ſhare the

(*c*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 465. * *In Thrace.*

the regal power with his elder brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This firſt unjuſt action was followed by a greater. For after the death of * Arymbas, Philip played his part ſo well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Moloſſians expelled Æacidas, ſon and lawful ſucceſſor to Arymbas, and eſtabliſhed Alexander, ſon of Neoptolemus, ſole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but ſon-in-law to Philip, whoſe daughter Cleopatra he had married, as will be obſerved in the ſequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas re-aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, reigned alone in Epirus, and tranſmitted the crown to his ſon, the famous Pyrrhus, (ſo famous in the Roman hiſtory) and ſecond couſin to Alexander the Great, Acletas being grandfather to both thoſe monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponneſus. (*d*) Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedæmonia aſſumed the ſovereignty of it, with no other right than of being the ſtrongeſt. Argos and Meſſene being oppreſſed, had recourſe to Philip. He had juſt before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators that had been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However, ſo far from that, after having ſubdued Phocis, he divided the conqueſt with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which preſented itſelf, of opening him a gate through which he might paſs into Peloponneſus, in which country, the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta, made them foment diviſions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore ſollicited Philip to join with them, the Meſſenians and Argives, in order to humble in concert the power of Lacedæmonia.

This prince readily came into an alliance which ſuit-

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(*d*) Demoſth. in Philipp. ii. Liban. in Demoſth.

* *Juſtin*, book viii. ch. 6. *curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds his ſucceſſion.*

ed with his views. He propoſed to the Amphyctions, or rather dictated to them, the decree which ordained that Lacedæmonia ſhould permit Argos and Meſſene to enjoy an entire independance, purſuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not expoſing the authority of the ſtates-general of Greece, he ordered at the ſame time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedæmonia, being juſtly alarmed, requeſted the Athenians to ſuccour them; and by an embaſſy preſſed earneſtly for the concluding of ſuch an alliance as their common ſafety might require. The ſeveral powers, whoſe intereſt it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to gain their ends. Philip repreſented, by his ambaſſadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war againſt him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing ſo was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broke his word in this particular, he muſt firſt have given it; and that the treaties themſelves proved manifeſtly, that he had not made any promiſe to that purpoſe. Philip indeed ſaid true, with regard to the written articles and the publick ſtipulations; but Æſchines had made this promiſe by word of mouth in his name. On the other ſide, the ambaſſadors of Thebes, of Argos and Meſſene, were alſo very urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already ſecretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the profeſſed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponneſus.

(*e*) But Demoſthenes, inſenſible to all theſe ſollicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real intereſt of his country, aſcended the tribunal, in order to inforce the negotiation of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his uſual cuſtom, with ſupineneſs and indolence. He expoſes the ambitious deſigns of Philip, which he ſtill purſues; and declares that they aim at no leſs than the conqueſt of all Greece. "You excell," ſays he to them, "both you and he, in "that

(*e*) Philipp. ii.

" that circumſtance which is the object of your appli-
" cation and your cares. You ſpeak in a better man-
" ner than him, and he acts better than you. The
" experience of the paſt, ought at leaſt to open your
" eyes; and make you more ſuſpicious and circum-
" ſpect with regard to him: But this ſerves to no
" other purpoſe than to lull you aſleep. At this time
" his troops are marching towards Peloponneſus; he
" is ſending money to it, and his arrival in perſon, at
" the head of a powerful army, is expected every
" moment. Do you think that you will be ſecure,
" after he ſhall have poſſeſſed himſelf of the territo-
" ries round you? Art has invented, for the ſecurity
" of cities, various methods of defence, as ramparts;
" walls, ditches, and the like works; but nature ſur-
" rounds the wiſe with a common bulwark, which
" covers them on all ſides, and provides for the ſe-
" curity of ſtates. What is this bulwark? It is dif-
" fidence." He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouze from their lethargy; to ſend immediate ſuccour to the Lacedæmonians; and, above all, to puniſh directly all ſuch domeſtick traitors as have deceived the people, and brought their preſent calamities upon them, by ſpreading falſe reports, and employing captious aſſurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invaſion of Peloponneſus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the ſame time. However, he did not ſit ſtill, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time conſidered Eubœa as proper, from its ſituation, to favour the deſigns he meditated againſt Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of it. He indeed ſet every engine to work at that time, in order to ſeize upon that iſland, which he called the *Shackles of Greece.* But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other ſide, not to ſuffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy; eſpecially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge.

bridge. However, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent whilst Philip pursued his conquests. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and by dint of presents bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. (*f*) At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he sent some troops privately thither; possessed himself of several strong places; dismantled Porthmos, a very importaut fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings over the country. He also seized upon Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Eubœa, of which it possessed the fourth part; and established five tyrants over it, who exercised an absolute authority there in his name.

(*g*) Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria sent a deputation to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians, upon this, sent some troops under the command of Phocion. (*h*) That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have, in the sequel, a great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestick. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that school had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh, weep, or go to the publick baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked * barefoot, and without a cloak, unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say laughing, *See! Phocion has got his cloak on; it is a sign of a hard winter.*

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great designs he may undertake during his administration.

(*f*) Demost. Philipp. iii. p. 93. (*g*) Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 746, 747. (*h*) Ibid. p. 743, 745.

* *Socrates used often to walk in that manner.*

tion. He therefore applied himſelf particularly to the attainment of it, and with great ſucceſs. Perſuaded, that it is with words as with coins, of which the moſt eſteemed are thoſe that with leſs weight have moſt intrinſick value; Phocion had formed himſelf to a lively, cloſe, conciſe ſtile, which expreſſed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day abſent in an aſſembly, where he was preparing to ſpeak, he was aſked the reaſon of it: *I am conſidering*, ſays he, *whether it is not poſſible for me to retrench any part of the diſcourſe I am to make.* He was a ſtrong reaſoner, and by that means carried every thing againſt the moſt ſublime eloquence; which made Demoſthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the publick, ſay, *There is the ax which cuts away the effects of my words.* One would imagine, that this kind of eloquence is abſolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the ſame things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not ſo with the Athenians: Lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden ſenſe, they valued themſelves upon underſtanding an orator at half a word, and really underſtood him. Phocion adapted himſelf to their taſte, and in this point ſurpaſſed even Demoſthenes; which is ſaying a great deal.

Phocion obſerving that thoſe perſons, who at this time were concerned in the adminiſtration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Ariſtophon, Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themſelves merely to haranguing the people, and propoſing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leoſthenes, and Chares, advanced themſelves by military employments; he choſe rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Ariſtides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, the arts of government with military valour. Whilſt he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wiſe government; and yet commanded in more expeditions, not only than all

the generals of his time, but even than all his predeceſſors. He was honoured with the ſupreme command five-and-forty times, without having once aſked or made intereſt for it; and was always appointed to command the armies in his abſence. The world was aſtoniſhed, that, being of ſo ſevere a turn of mind, and ſo great an enemy to flattery of every kind, how it was poſſible for him, in a manner to fix in his own favour the natural levity and inconſtancy of the Athenians, though he frequently uſed to oppoſe very ſtrenuouſly their will and caprice, without regard to their captiouſneſs and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themſelves of his probity and zeal for the publick good, extinguiſhed every other opinion of him; and that, according to Plutarch, generally made his eloquence ſo efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it neceſſary to give the reader this idea of Phocion's character, becauſe frequent mention will be made of him in the ſequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they ſent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude, ſet up the ſtandard againſt them, and endeavoured openly to repulſe the very army he had requeſted. However, Phocion was not at a loſs how to act upon this unforeſeen perfidy; for he purſued his enterprize, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

After this great ſucceſs, Phocion returned to Athens; but he was no ſooner gone, than all the allies regretted the abſence of his goodneſs and juſtice. Though the profeſſed enemy of every kind of oppreſſion and extortion, he knew how to inſinuate himſelf into the minds of men with art; and at the ſame time he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him ſtill more. He one day made Chabrias a fine anſwer, who appointed him to go with ten light veſſels to raiſe the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. *To what purpoſe*, ſays he, *is ſuch a ſquadron? Too ſtrong, if I am only to viſit allies; but too weak, if I am to fight enemies.*

mies. The Athenians knew very well, by the conſequences, the ſignal ſervice which Phocion's great capacity, valour and experience, had done them, in the expedition of Eubœa. For Moloſſus, who ſucceeded him, and who took upon himſelf the command of the troops after that general, was ſo unſucceſsful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

A. M. 3664. Ant. J. C. 340.

(*i*) Philip, who did not lay aſide the deſign he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and ſought for an opportunity of diſtreſſing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenneſs of Attica, ſtood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. To diſpoſe at diſcretion of their tranſports, and by that means ſtarve Athens, he marches towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greateſt part of its proviſions, with an intention to beſiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his abſence, he left his ſon Alexander in it, with ſovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, ſome proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring ſtates, ſubject to Macedonia, who had conſidered the king's abſence as a very proper time for executing the deſign they had formed of revolting. This happy ſucceſs of Alexander's firſt expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the ſame time an earneſt of what might be expected from him. But fearing leſt, allured by this dangerous bait, he ſhould abandon himſelf inconſiderately to his vivacity and fire, he ſent for him, in order to become his maſter, and form him in perſon for the trade of war.

Demoſthenes ſtill continued his invectives againſt the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouze from their lethargy; and alſo againſt the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amuſed the people upon the ſpecious pretence of a peace he had ſworn to, and however violated openly every day, by the enterprizes he formed againſt the commonwealth.

(*i*) Demoſth. pro Cteſ. p. 486, 487.

wealth. This is the ſubject of his orations, called the Philippicks.

(*k*) " Whence comes it," ſays he, " that all the " Greeks formerly panted ſo ſtrongly after liberty, " and now run ſo eagerly into ſervitude? The reaſon " is, becauſe there prevailed at that time among the " people, what prevails no longer among us; that " which triumphed over the riches of the Perſians; " which maintained the freedom of Greece; which " never acted inconſiſtently on any occaſion either by " ſea or by land; but which, being now extinguiſhed " in every heart, has entirely ruined our affairs, and " ſubverted the conſtitution of Greece. It is that " common hatred, that general deteſtation, in which " they held every perſon who had a ſoul abject enough " to ſell himſelf to any man who deſired either to en- " ſlave, or even corrupt Greece. In thoſe times, to " accept of a preſent was a capital crime, which " never failed of being puniſhed with death. Neither " their orators nor their generals exerciſed the ſcanda- " lous traffick, now become ſo common in Athens, " where a price is ſet upon every thing, and where all " things are ſold to the higheſt bidder.

(*l*) " In thoſe happy times, the Greeks lived in a " perfect union, founded on the love of the publick " good, and the deſire of preſerving and defending " the common liberty. But in this age, the ſtates " abandon one another, and give themſelves up to " reciprocal diſtruſts and jealouſies. All of them, " without exception, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, " Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and ourſelves no leſs " than others; all, all, I ſay, form a ſeparate intereſt; " and this it is that renders the common enemy ſo " powerful.

(*m*) " The ſafety of Greece conſiſts therefore in " our uniting together againſt this common enemy, " if that be poſſible. But at leaſt, as to what con- " cerns each of us in particular, this inconteſtable " maxim it is abſolutely neceſſary to hold, that Philip

(*k*) Philipp. iii. p. 90. (*l*) Ibid. iv. p. 102. (*m*) Ibid. iii. p. 97.

"attacks you actually at this time; that he has in-
"fringed the peace; that by seizing upon all the for-
"tresses around you, he opens and prepares the way
"for attacking you yourselves; and that he considers
"us as his mortal enemies, because he knows that we
"only are able to oppose the ambitious designs he
"entertains of grasping universal power.

(*n*) "These consequently we must oppose with all
"imaginable vigour; and for that purpose must ship
"off, without loss of time, the necessary aids for
"Chersonesus and Byzantium; you must provide in-
"stantly whatever necessaries your generals may re-
"quire; in fine, you must concert together on such
"means as are most proper to save Greece, which is
"now threatened with the utmost danger. (*o*) Though
"all the rest of the Greeks, O Athenians, should bow
"their necks to the yoke, yet you ought to persist in
"fighting always for the cause of liberty. After
"such preparations, made in presence of all Greece,
"let us excite all other states to second us; let us ac-
"quaint every people with our resolutions, and send
"ambassadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes, Chio, and
"especially to the king of Persia; for it is his interest,
"as well as ours, to check the career of that man."

The sequel will shew, that Demosthenes's advice was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace. (*p*) The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to succour that place, the orators prevailed so far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was universally despised, for his manners, oppressions, and mean capacity; but interest and credit supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed against the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The success answered the rashness of the

5 choice

(*n*) Philipp. iii. p. 88. (*o*) Ibid. p. 94, 95. (*p*) Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 747.

choice which had been made: (q) But what could be expected from a general, whose abilities were as small as his voluptuousness was great; who took along with him, in his military expeditions, a band of musicians, both vocal and instrumental, who were in his pay, which was levied out of the monies appointed for the service of the fleet! In short, the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours; so that his fidelity being universally suspected, he was obliged to sail from coast to coast, buying the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

(r) In the mean time, Philip was carrying on the siege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty thousand chosen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raised towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one side he shook the foundations of them by subterraneous mines; and on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering-rams: Nor did the besieged make a less vigorous resistance; for as soon as one breach was made, Philip was surprized to see another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium sent them all the succours necessary. The Asiatick satrapæ, or governors, by the king of Persia's order, whose assistance we observed the Athenians had requested, likewise threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours the Byzantines gave them, went in person to form the siege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was desirous to appear (in outward shew) very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse with fine words. At the times we now speak of, Philip, by way of precaution against their disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he en-

(q) Athen. l. xii. p. 530. (r) Diod. l. xvi. p. 466---468.

deavours to take off the edge of their reſentments, by reproaching them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, for their infraction of the ſeveral treaties, which he boaſts he had obſerved very religiouſly; this piece he interſperſed very artfully (for he was a great maſter of eloquence) with ſuch complaints and menaces, as are beſt calculated to reſtrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or ſhame. This letter is a maſter-piece in the original. A majeſtick and perſuaſive vivacity ſhines in every part of it; a ſtrength and juſtneſs of reaſoning ſuſtained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural conſequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and conciſe ſtile ſo proper for crowned heads. We might here very juſtly apply to Philip, what was ſaid of Cæſar, * *That he handled the pen as well as he did the ſword.*

This letter is ſo long, and beſides is filled with ſo great a number of private facts (though each of theſe are important) that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I ſhall therefore cite but one paſſage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the reſt.

"At the time of our moſt open ruptures," ſays Philip to the Athenians, "you went no farther than "to fit out privateers againſt me; to ſeize and ſell "the merchants that came to trade in my dominions; "to favour any party that oppoſed my meaſures; and "to infeſt the places ſubject to me by your hoſtilities: "But now you carry hatred and injuſtice to ſuch pro-"digious lengths, as even to ſend ambaſſadors to the "Perſian, in order to excite him to declare war againſt "me. This muſt appear a moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance; for before he had made himſelf maſter of "Egypt and Phœnicia, you had reſolved, in the moſt "ſolemn manner, that in caſe he ſhould attempt any "new enterprize, you then would invite me, in com-"mon with the reſt of the Greeks, to unite our forces "againſt him. And, nevertheleſs, at this time you "carry

* Eodem animo dixit, quo bellavit, *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1.

" carry your hatred to ſuch a height, as to negotiate
" an alliance with him againſt me. I have been told,
" that formerly your fathers imputed to Piſiſtratus,
" as an unpardonable crime, his having requeſted the
" ſuccour of the Perſian againſt the Greeks; and yet
" you do not bluſh to commit a thing which you were
" perpetually condemning in the perſon of your ty-
" rants."

Philip's letter did him as much ſervice as a good manifeſto, and gave his penſioners in Athens a fine opportunity of juſtifying him to people, who were very deſirous of eaſing themſelves of political inquietudes; and greater enemies to expence and labour, than to uſurpation and tyranny. The boundleſs ambition of Philip, and the eloquent zeal of Demoſthenes, were perpetually claſhing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very induſtriouſly, with a ſpecious pretence, his enterprizes and infractions of treaty; and the other endeavoured as ſtrongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people, whoſe reſolutions had a great influence with reſpect to the fate of Greece. On this occaſion, Demoſthenes was ſenſible how vaſtly neceſſary it was to eraze, as ſoon as poſſible, the firſt impreſſions which the peruſal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately aſcends the tribunal. He at firſt ſpeaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and ſometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an expreſs declaration of war; then to animate his fellow-citizens, to fill them with confidence in the reſolution with which he inſpires them, he aſſures them, that all things portend the ruin of Philip; Gods, Greeks, Perſians, Macedonians, and even Philip himſelf. Demoſthenes does not obſerve, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoids conteſting facts, which might have been diſadvantageous, ſo happily had Philip diſpoſed them,

and ſo well had he ſupported them by proofs that ſeemed unanſwerable.

(s) The concluſion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this: "Convinced by theſe truths, "O Athenians, and ſtrongly perſuaded, that we can "no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace, "(for Philip has now declared war againſt us by his "letter, and has long done the ſame by his conduct) "you ought not to ſpare either the publick treaſure, "or the poſſeſſions of private perſons; but when oc-"caſion ſhall require, haſte to your reſpective ſtandards, "and ſet abler generals at your head than thoſe you "have hitherto employed. For no one among you "ought to imagine, that the ſame men, who have "ruined your affairs, will have abilities to reſtore "them to their former happy ſituation. Think how "infamous it is, that a man from Macedon ſhould "contemn dangers to ſuch a degree, that merely to "aggrandize his empire, he ſhould ruſh into the midſt "of combats, and return from battle covered with "wounds; and that Athenians, whoſe hereditary right "it is to obey no man, but to impoſe law on others "ſword in hand; that Athenians, I ſay, merely through "dejection of ſpirit and indolence, ſhould degenerate "from the glory of their anceſtors, and abandon the "intereſt of their country."

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the ſhameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raiſed a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their having ſent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then roſe up and told the people, "That they ought not to be exaſperated at "the diffidence of the allies, but at the conduct of "the generals who had occaſioned it. For it is theſe, "continued he, who render you odious, and formi-"dable even to thoſe who cannot ſave themſelves from "deſtruction without your aſſiſtance." And indeed Chares, as we have already obſerved, was a general without

(s) Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.

without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit consisted in having gained a great ascendant over the people by the haughty and bold air he assumed. His presumption concealed his incapacity from himself; and a sordid principle of avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterprizes.

The people, struck with this discourse, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the allies upon the Hellespont. This choice contributed chiefly to the preservation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but much more for his probity and disinterestedness. The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve. (*t*) Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned, and having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

A. M. 3665. Ant. J. C. 339.

(*u*) The Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here. "Under

(*t*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 468. (*u*) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 487, 488.

" Under Bosphoricus the pontiff, * Damagetus, after " having desired leave of the senate to speak, said, in " a full assembly: Inasmuch as in times past the con- " tinual benevolence of the people of Athens towards " the Byzantines and Perinthians, united by alliance " and their common origin, has never failed upon any " occasion; that this benevolence, so often signalized, " has lately displayed itself, when Philip of Macedon " (who had taken up arms to destroy Byzantium and " Perinthus) battered our walls, burnt our country, " cut down our forests; that in a season of so great " calamity, this beneficent people succoured us with " a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, furnished " with provisions, arms and forces; that they saved " us from the greatest danger; in fine, that they " restored us to the quiet possession of our govern- " ment, our laws, and our tombs: The Byzantines " and Perinthians grant, by decree, the Athenians to " settle in the countries belonging to Perinthus and " Byzantium; to marry in them, to purchase lands, " and to enjoy all the prerogatives of citizens; they " also grant them a distinguished place at publick " shows, and the right of sitting both in the se- " nate and the assembly of the people, next to the " pontiffs: And further, that every Athenian, who " shall think proper to settle in either of the two cities " above-mentioned, shall be exempted from taxes of " any kind: That in the harbours, three statues of " sixteen cubits each shall be set up, which statues " shall represent the people of Athens crowned by " those of Byzantium and Perinthus: And besides, " that presents shall be sent to the four solemn games " of Greece, and that the crown we have decreed to " the Athenians, shall there be proclaimed; so that the " same ceremony may acquaint all the Greeks, both " with the magnanimity of the Athenians, and the " gratitude of the Perinthians and Byzantines."

The inhabitants of Chersonesus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: " Among the nations " inha-

* *He probably was the chief magistrate.*

" inhabiting the Cherſoneſus, the people of Seſtos, of " Ælia, of Madytis, and of Alopeconneſus, decree to " the people and ſenate of Athens, a crown of gold of " ſixty talents *; and erect two altars, the one to the " goddeſs of gratitude, and the other to the Atheni- " ans, for their having, by the moſt glorious of all " benefactions, freed from the yoke of Philip the " people of Cherſoneſus, and reſtored them to the " poſſeſſion of their country, their laws, their liberty, " and their temples: An act of beneficence, which " they ſhall fix eternally in their memories, and never " ceaſe to acknowledge to the utmoſt of their power. " All which they have reſolved in full ſenate."

(x) Philip, after having been forced to raiſe the ſiege of Byzantium, marched againſt Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received ſome perſonal cauſe of diſcontent, and took his ſon with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which conſiſted not in gold or ſilver, the uſe and value of which the Scythians were not as yet ſo unhappy as to know; but in cattle, in horſes, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Mœſia, diſputed the paſs with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each ſide were killed on the ſpot. The king himſelf was wounded in the thigh, and with the ſame thruſt had his horſe killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and, covering him with his ſhield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

(x) Juſtin. l. ix. c. 2, 3. * *Sixty thouſand French crowns.*

SECT.

SECT. VI. PHILIP, *by his intrigues, gets himself appointed generalissimo of the Greeks, in the council of the Amphyctions. He possesses himself of Elatæa. The Athenians and Thebans, alarmed at the conquest of this city, unite against* PHILIP. *He makes overtures of peace, which, upon the remonstrances of* DEMOSTHENES, *are rejected. A battle is fought at Cheronæa, where* PHILIP *gains a signal victory.* DEMOSTHENES *is accused and brought to a trial by* ÆSCHINES. *The latter is banished and goes to Rhodes.*

THE Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. (*y*) The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments. Phocion, little suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacifick proposals.

A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338.

(*z*) It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war, which gave him great cause of disquiet, and particularly distressed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who infested the sea bordering upon his dominions. They intirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries; or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandize it wanted. Philip was sensible that it would be impossible for him to put an end to this war, and free himself from the inconveniencies attending it, but by exciting the

(*y*) Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 748.

(*z*) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 497, 498.

the Theſſalians and Thebans to break with Athens. He could not yet attack that city, with any advantage, either by ſea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to thoſe of that republick; and the paſſage by land to Attica would be ſhut againſt him, as long as the Theſſalians ſhould refuſe to join him, and the Thebans ſhould oppoſe his paſſage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war againſt Athens, he ſhould aſcribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very ſenſible that it would have no effect with either of the ſtates: But that in caſe he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief, (upon the ſpecious pretence of eſpouſing their common cauſe) he then hoped it would be eaſier for him to make them acquieſce with his deſires, either by perſuaſion or deceit.

This was his aim, the ſmalleſt traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the leaſt opportunity for any one to ſuſpect the deſign he meditated. In every city he retained penſioners, who ſent him notice of whatever paſſed, and by that means were of great uſe to him; and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations, he raiſed diviſions among the Ozolæ of Locris, otherwiſe called the *Locrians of Amphiſſa*, from their capital city: Their country was ſituated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accuſed of having prophaned a ſpot of ſacred ground, by ploughing up the Cirrhean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphos. The reader has ſeen that a like cauſe of complaint occaſioned the firſt ſacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphyctions. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or ſuſpicious agent, he plainly ſaw that the Thebans and the Theſſalians would infallibly ſuſpect his deſign, in which caſe, all parties would not fail to ſtand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his deſigns by perſons in the dark, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the aſſiduity of his penſioners in Athens, he had cauſed Æſchines, who was entirely

entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the *Pylagori*, by which name thoſe were called, who were ſent by the ſeveral Greek cities to the aſſembly of the Amphyctions. The inſtant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly againſt this prince, was leſs ſuſpected. Upon his remonſtrances, a deſcent was appointed, in order to viſit the ſpot of ground, of which the Amphiſſians had hitherto been conſidered as the lawful poſſeſſors; but which they now were accuſed of uſurping, by a moſt ſacrilegious act.

Whilſt the Amphyctions were viſiting the ſpot of ground in queſtion, the Locrians fall upon them unawares, pour in a ſhower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage drew reſentment and war upon theſe Locrians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphyctions, took the field with the army intended to puniſh the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following aſſembly of the Amphyctions, the affair was debated very ſeriouſly. It was there Æſchines exerted all his eloquence, and, by a ſtudied oration, proved to the deputies, or repreſentatives, either that they muſt aſſeſs themſelves to ſupport foreign ſoldiers and puniſh the rebels, or elſe elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to ſave their commonwealth the expence, and ſecure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, reſolved the latter. Upon which, by a publick decree, *ambaſſadors were ſent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name of Apollo and the Amphyctions, implore his aſſiſtance; beſeech him not to neglect the cauſe of that god, which the impious Amphiſſians make their ſport; and notify to him, that for this purpoſe all the Greeks, of the council of the Amphyctions, elect him for their general, with full power to act as he ſhall think proper.*

This was the honour to which Philip had long aſpired, the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had ſet at work till that time. He therefore did not loſe a moment, but immediately aſſembles his forces, and marches (by a feint) towards the Cirrhean

field, forgetting now both the Cirrheans and Locrians, who had only ſerved as a ſpecious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had not the leaſt regard; he poſſeſſed himſelf of Elatæa, the greateſt city in Phocis, ſtanding on the river Cephiſſus; and the moſt happily ſituated for the deſign he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

(*a*) This news being brought to Athens in the evening, ſpread a terror through every part of it. The next morning an aſſembly was ſummoned, when the herald, as was the uſual cuſtom, cries with a loud voice, *Who among you will aſcend the tribunal?* (*b*) However, no perſon appears for that purpoſe; upon which he repeated the invitation ſeveral times, but ſtill no one roſe up, though all the generals and orators were preſent; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured ſomebody to propoſe a ſalutary counſel: For, ſays Demoſthenes, from whom theſe particulars are taken, whenever the voice of the herald ſpeaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be conſidered as the voice of the country. During this general ſilence, occaſioned by the univerſal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were ſeized, Demoſthenes, animated at the ſight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, aſcends the tribunal for harangues, and endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians, and inſpire them with ſentiments ſuitable to the preſent conjuncture, and the neceſſities of the ſtate. Excelling equally in politicks and eloquence, by the extent of his ſuperior genius, he immediately forms a counſel, which includes all that was neceſſary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by ſea.

The people of Athens were under a double error, with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to ſhew. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from intereſt and inclination, to

(*a*) Demoſth. pro Cteſ. p. 501---504. (*b*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 474---477.

to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch; and that the conquest of Elatæa has apprized them of what they are to expect from him. On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most ancient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to afford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high, that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable fine, for having * applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians, that their own interest lies at stake; and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards discovers to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his "design, and wherefore did he possess himself of "Elatæa? He is desirous, on one side, to encourage "those of his faction in Thebes, and to inspire them "with greater boldness, by appearing at the head of "his army, and advancing his power and forces a-"round that city. On the other side, he would strike "unexpectedly the opposite faction, and stun them in "such a manner, as may enable him to get the better "of it either by terror or force. Philip, *says he*, "prescribes the manner in which you ought to act, "by the example he himself sets you. Assemble, "under Eleusis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit "for service; and support these by your cavalry. "By this step you will shew all Greece, that you are "ready armed to defend yourselves; and inspire your "partisans

* *He had called Athens a flourishing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece.* Λίμναι τ' Ἀσίδιμαι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι. *But the Athenians not only indemnified the poet, and sent him money to pay his fine, but even erected a statue in honour of him.*

" partiſans in Thebes with ſuch reſolution, as may " enable them both to ſupport their reaſons, and to " make head againſt the oppoſite party, when they " ſhall perceive, that as thoſe who ſell their country " to Philip, have forces in Elatæa ready to aſſiſt them " upon occaſion; in like manner thoſe, who are wil- " ling to fight for the preſervation of their own liber- " ties, have you at their gates ready to defend them " in caſe of an invaſion." Demoſthenes added, that it would be proper for them to ſend ambaſſadors immediately to the different ſtates of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league againſt Philip.

This prudent and ſalutary counſel was followed in every particular; and in conſequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the ſeveral enterprizes by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: " For this reaſon the ſenate and " people of Athens, calling to mind the magna- " mity of their anceſtors, who preferred the liberty of " Greece to the ſafety of their own country, have re- " ſolved, that after offering up prayers and ſacrifices, " to call down the aſſiſtance of the tutelar gods and " demi-gods of Athens and Attica, two hundred ſail " of ſhips ſhall be put to ſea. That the admiral of " their fleet ſhall go, as ſoon as poſſible, and cruize " on the other ſide of the paſs of Thermopylæ; at " the ſame time that the land-generals, at the head " of a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, ſhall " march and encamp in the neighbourhood of Eleuſis. " That ambaſſadors ſhall likewiſe be ſent to the other " Greeks; but firſt to the Thebans, as theſe are moſt " threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted not " to dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain " courageouſly their particular independence, and the " common liberty of all Greece. And let it be de- " clared to them, that though formerly ſome motives " of diſcontent might have cooled the reciprocal " friendſhip between them and us, the Athenians " however, obliterating the remembrance of paſt

" tranſactions, will now aſſiſt them with men, money,
" darts, and all kind of military weapons; perſuaded,
" that ſuch as are natives of Greece may, very ho-
" nourably, diſpute with one another for pre-emi-
" nence; but that they can never, without ſullying
" the glory of the Greeks, and derogating from the
" virtue of their anceſtors, ſuffer a foreigner to de-
" ſpoil them of that pre-eminence, nor conſent to ſo
" ignominious a ſlavery."

(*c*) Demoſthenes, who was at the head of this embaſſy, immediately ſet out for Thebes; and indeed, he had no time to loſe, ſince Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince alſo ſent ambaſſadors to Thebes. Among theſe * Python was the chief, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly by his lively perſuaſive eloquence, which it was ſcarce poſſible to withſtand; ſo that the reſt of the deputies were mere novices in compariſon to him: However, he here met with a ſuperior. (*d*) And, indeed, Demoſthenes, in an oration, where he relates the ſervices he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very ſtrongly on this, and places the happy ſucceſs of ſo important a negotiation at the head of his political exploits.

(*e*) It was of the utmoſt importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well diſciplined, and had been conſidered, from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, among the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, as thoſe who held the firſt rank for valour and ability of war. To effect this was no eaſy matter; not only becauſe of the great ſervice Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewiſe becauſe of the ancient inveterate antipathy of Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies ſpoke firſt. Theſe diſplayed, in the ſtrongeſt light, the kindneſſes with which Philip had

(*c*) Plut. in Demoſth. p. 853, 854. (*d*) Demoſth. in Orat. pro Coron. p. 509. (*e*) Ibid.

* *This Python was of Byzantium. The Athenians had preſented him with the freedom of their city; after which he went over to Philip.* Demoſth. p. 193, 745.

had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented to the utmost advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the flocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Bœotia would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians; or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes: But the sight of an orator, who seemed to dispute with him the superiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and heightened his vivacity still more. To the captious arguments of Python he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatæa, which evidently discovered his designs. He represented him as a restless, enterprizing, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the design of enslaving all Greece; but who, to succeed the better in his schemes, was determined to attack the different states of it singly: A prince, whose pretended beneficence was only a snare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to disarm those whose zeal for the publick liberty might be an obstacle to his enterprizes. He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica, so far from satiating the immeasurable avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes, and the rest of the cities of Greece. That therefore the interests of the two commonwealths being henceforward inseparable, they ought to eraze entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

(*f*) The Thebans were not long in determining. The ſtrong eloquence of Demoſthenes, ſays an hiſtorian, blowing into their ſouls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there ſo warm a zeal for their country, and ſo mighty a paſſion for liberty, that baniſhing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence or gratitude, his diſcourſe tranſported and raviſhed them like a fit of enthuſiaſm, and inflamed them ſolely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty aſcendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, eſpecially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the publick good. One ſingle man ſwayed all things at his will in the aſſemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, reſpected and feared.

Philip, quite diſconcerted by the union of theſe two nations, ſent ambaſſadors to the Athenians, to requeſt them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too juſtly alarmed and exaſperated, to liſten to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whoſe whole aim was to deceive. In conſequence, preparations for war were made with the utmoſt diligence, and the ſoldiery diſcovered incredible ardour. However, many evil-diſpoſed perſons endeavoured to extinguiſh or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the prieſteſs of Delphos was ſaid to have uttered: But Demoſthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who deſired only to march againſt the enemy, would not ſuffer them to be amuſed with theſe oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occaſion he ſaid, that the prieſteſs *Philippized*, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inſpired the prieſteſs, opened her mouth, and made the god ſpeak whatever ſhe thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who conſidered theſe oracles and predictions as idle

(*f*) Theopom. apud Plut. in vit. Demoſth. p. 854.

idle ſcare-crows, and conſulted only their reaſon. The Athenian army ſet out immediately, and marched to Eleuſis; and the Thebans, ſurprized at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other ſide, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, aſſembles all his forces, and enters Bœotia. This army conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: That of his enemy was not quite ſo numerous. The valour of the troops might have been ſaid to have been equal on both ſides; but the merit of the chiefs was not ſo. And, indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his ſuperiors. Phocion, indeed, might have oppoſed him; but not to mention that this war had been undertaken againſt his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals Chares, univerſally deſpiſed, and Lyſicles, diſtinguiſhed for nothing but his raſh and daring audacity. It is the choice of ſuch leaders as theſe, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of ſtates.

The two armies encamped near Chæronea, a city of Bœotia. Philip gave the command of his left-wing to his ſon Alexander, who was then but ſixteen or ſeventeen years old, having poſted his ableſt officers near him; and took the command of the right-wing upon himſelf. In the oppoſite army, the Thebans formed the right-wing, and the Athenians the left.

At ſun-riſe, the ſignal was given on both ſides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both ſides exerting themſelves with aſtoniſhing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to ſignalize himſelf, in order to anſwer the confidence his father repoſed in him, under whoſe eye

he fought, in quality of a commander (the firſt time) diſcovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, the *ſacred battalion* of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The reſt of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his ſon, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they ſoon reſumed their courage, and recovered their firſt poſt. (*g*) Lyſicles, one of the two generals, having broke into ſome troops which formed the center of the Macedonians, imagined himſelf already victorious, and in that raſh confidence cried out, *Come on, my lads, let us purſue them into Macedonia.* Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, inſtead of ſeizing the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, purſued his troops too vigorouſly, cried out with a calm tone of voice, *The Athenians do not know how to conquer.* Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians, in diſorder, were wholly intent on purſuing thoſe they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demoſthenes, who was a greater ſtateſman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholeſome counſel in his harangues, than of ſupporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms and fled with the reſt. (*h*) It is even ſaid, that in his flight his robe being catched by a bramble, he imagined that ſome of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, *Spare my life.* More than a thouſand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thouſand taken priſoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The loſs was as great on the Theban ſide.

Philip,

(*g*) Polyæn. Stratag. lib. iv. (*h*) Plut. in vit. decem Orat. p. 845.

Philip, after having ſet up a trophy, and offered to the gods a ſacrifice of thankſgiving for his victory, diſtributed rewards to the officers and ſoldiers, each according to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory ſhews, that it is much eaſier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's ſelf, and triumph over one's own paſſions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally tranſported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the ſpot where the battle had been fought, and there, inſulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a ſong the beginning of the decree which Demoſthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war; and ſung thus (himſelf beating time) *Demoſthenes the Peanian, ſon of Demoſthenes, has ſaid.* Every body was ſhocked to ſee the king diſhonour himſelf by this behaviour, and ſully his glory by an action ſo unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whoſe ſoul was free though his body was a priſoner, was the only perſon who ventured to make him ſenſible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him, *Ah, Sir, ſince fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not aſhamed to act that of Therſites?* Theſe words, ſpoke with ſo generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward: And, ſo far from being diſpleaſed with Demades, he eſteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmoſt reſpect and friendſhip, and conferred all poſſible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip ſeemed quite changed, both in his diſpoſition and behaviour, as if, ſays * an hiſtorian, the converſation of Demades had ſoftened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attick graces. He diſmiſſed all the Athenian captives without any ranſom, and gave the greateſt part of them cloaths; with the view of acquiring the confidence of ſo powerful a common-

* Ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημάδου καθομιληθέντας ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς χάρισι. *Did.*

wealth as Athens by that kind of treatment: In which, ſays Polybius (*i*), he gained a ſecond triumph, more glorious for himſelf, and even more advantageous than the firſt; for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but thoſe who were preſent in it; but on this occaſion, his kindneſs and clemency acquired him a whole city, and ſubjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendſhip and alliance, and granted the Bœotians a peace, after having left a ſtrong garriſon in Thebes.

(*k*) We are told that Iſocrates, the moſt celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmoſt tenderneſs, could not ſurvive the loſs and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loſs of the battle of Chæronea. The inſtant he received the news of it, being uncertain what uſe Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he haſtened his end by abſtaining from food. He was fourſcore and eighteen years of age. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere of his ſtile and of his works.

Demoſthenes ſeemed to have been the principal cauſe of the terrible ſhock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power ſuch a wound, as it never recovered. (*l*) But at the very inſtant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected ſo great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, ſeized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, againſt the man whom they might have conſidered in ſome meaſure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very inſtant, I ſay, the people ſubmitted entirely to the counſels of Demoſthenes. The precautions that were taken to poſt guards, to raiſe the walls, and to repair the foſſés, were all in conſequence of his advice. He himſelf was appointed to ſupply the city with proviſions, and to repair the walls, which latter commiſſion he executed with ſo much generoſity, that it acquired him the greateſt honour;

(*i*) Polyb. l. v. p. 359. (*k*) Plut. in Iſocr. p. 887. (*l*) Demoſth. pro Ctef. p. 514. Plut. in Demoſth. p. 855.

nour; and for which, at the requeſt of Cteſiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having preſented the commonwealth with a ſum of money out of his own eſtate, ſufficient to defray what was wanting of the ſums for repairing the walls.

On the preſent occaſion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, ſuch orators as oppoſed Demoſthenes, having all roſe up in concert againſt him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the ſeveral accuſations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; ſo ſtrongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians, (a fickle wavering people, and apt to puniſh their own errors and omiſſions in the perſon of thoſe whoſe projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reaſon but becauſe they had executed them too ſlowly) in thus crowning Demoſthenes, in the midſt of a publick calamity which he alone ſeemed to have brought upon them, pay the moſt glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wiſe and brave conduct, they ſeem in ſome meaſure to confeſs their own error, in not having followed his counſel neither fully nor early enough; and to confeſs themſelves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

(*m*) But the people did not ſtop here. The bones of ſuch as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demoſthenes to compoſe the eulogium of thoſe brave men; a manifeſt proof that they did not aſcribe to him the ill ſucceſs of the battle, but to Providence only, who diſpoſes of human events at pleaſure; a circumſtance which was expreſly mentioned in the inſcription engraved on the monument of thoſe illuſtrious deceaſed warriors.

(*m*) Plut. in Demoſth. p. 855. Demoſt. pro Cteſ. p. 519, 520.

This

This earth entombs those victims to the state.
Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.
Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant chains,
Did, by their deaths alone, escape the yoke.
This Jupiter decreed: No effort, mortals,
Can save you from the mighty will of fate.
To gods alone belong the attribute
Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.

(*n*) Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this solid answer: "Censure me (says he) for the counsels I give; but "do not calumniate me for the ill success of them. "For it is the Supreme Being who conducts and ter- "minates all things; whereas it is from the nature "of the counsel itself that we are to judge of the in- "tention of him who offers it. If therefore the event "has declared in favour of Philip, impute it not to "me as a crime, since it is God, and not myself, who "disposed of the victory. But if you can prove that "I did not exert myself with probity, vigilance, and "an activity indefatigable, and superior to my "strength: If with these I did not seek, I did not "employ every method which human prudence could "suggest; and did not inspire the most necessary and "noble resolutions, such as were truly worthy of "Athenians; shew me this, and then give what scope "you please to your accusations."

(*o*) He afterwards uses the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful "passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus (*p*). Demosthenes endeavours to justify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner the example of the great men who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before

(*n*) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 505. (*o*) Ibid. p. 508. (*p*) Longin. de sublim. c. xiv.

fore Platææ: No, he makes a quite different uſe of them, ſays this rhetorician; and, on a ſudden, as if inſpired by ſome god, and poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of Apollo himſelf, cries out, ſwearing by thoſe brave defenders of Greece: *No, Athenians! you have not erred. I ſwear by thoſe illuſtrious men who fought on land at Marathon and Platææ; at ſea before Salamis and Artemiſium; and all thoſe who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the ſolemn rites of burial; and not thoſe only who have been crowned with ſucceſs, and came off victorious.* Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetick manner of affirming by oaths of ſo extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in ſome meaſure, thoſe ancient citizens; and makes all who die in the ſame glorious manner ſo many gods, by whoſe names it is proper to ſwear?

I have already obſerved in another place, how naturally apt theſe * orations (ſpoke in a moſt ſolemn manner, to the glory of thoſe who loſt their lives in fighting for the cauſe of liberty) were to inſpire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm deſire to ſignalize themſelves in battle.

(*q*) Another ceremony obſerved with regard to the children of thoſe whoſe fathers died in the bed of honour, was no leſs efficacious to inſpire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated feſtival, in which ſhows were exhibited to the whole people, an herald came upon the ſtage, and producing the young orphans dreſt in complete armour, he ſaid with a loud voice: "Theſe young orphans, whom an untimely "death in the midſt of dangers has deprived of "their illuſtrious fathers, have found in the people a "parent, who has taken care of them till no longer "in a ſtate of infancy. And now they ſend them "back, armed cap-a-pee, to follow, under the moſt "happy

(*q*) Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 452.

* *Demoſthenes, in his oration againſt Leptines, p. 562. obſerves, that the Athenians were the only people who cauſed funeral orations to be ſpoke in honour of ſuch perſons, as had loſt their lives in the defence of their country.*

" happy auſpices, their own affairs; and invite each " of them to emulate each other in deſerving the " chief employments of the ſtate." By ſuch methods martial bravery, the love of one's country, and a taſte for virtue and ſolid glory, are perpetuated in a ſtate.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæronea, and two years before the death of Philip, that Æſchines drew up an accuſation againſt Cteſiphon, or rather againſt Demoſthenes: But the cauſe was not pleaded till ſeven or eight years after, about the fifth or ſixth year of the reign of Alexander. I ſhall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the hiſtory of the life and actions of that prince.

No cauſe ever excited ſo much curioſity, nor was pleaded with ſo much pomp. * People flocked to it from all parts (ſays Cicero) and they had great reaſon for ſo doing; for what ſight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual diſſenſions, and an implacable animoſity againſt each other?

Theſe two orations have always been conſidered as the maſter-pieces of antiquity, eſpecially that of Demoſthenes. (*r*) Cicero had tranſlated the latter, a ſtrong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which ſuffices to make us very much regret the loſs of the reſt.

Amidſt the numberleſs beauties which are conſpicuous in every part of theſe two orations, methinks there appears, if I may be allowed to cenſure the writings of ſuch great men, a conſiderable error, that very much leſſens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of ſolid juſt eloquence; and that is, the groſs injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The ſame

(*r*) De opt. gen. orat.

* Ad quod judicium concurſus dicitur è tota Græcia factus eſſe. Quid enim aut tam viſendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quàm ſummorum oratorum, in graviſſima cauſa, accurata & inimicitiis incenſa contentio? *Cicer. de opt. gen. orat.* n. 22.

ſame objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations againſt Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of groſs, opprobrious expreſſions, were the very reverſe of ſolid eloquence; and indeed every ſpeech, which is dictated by paſſion and revenge, never fails of being ſuſpected by thoſe who judge of it; whereas an oration that is ſtrong and invincible from reaſon and argument, and which at the ſame time is conducted with reſerve and moderation, wins the heart, whilſt it informs the underſtanding; and perſuades no leſs by the eſteem it inſpires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture ſeemed to favour Æſchines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, eſpecially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheleſs, Æſchines loſt his cauſe, and was juſtly ſentenced to baniſhment for his raſh accuſation. He thereupon went and ſettled himſelf in Rhodes, where he opened a ſchool of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occaſioned his baniſhment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æſchines; but when they heard that of Demoſthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: And it was then he ſpoke theſe words, ſo greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival; *But what applauſes would you not have beſtowed, had you heard Demoſthenes ſpeak it himſelf!*

To conclude, the victor made a good uſe of his conqueſt: For the inſtant Æſchines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demoſthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purſe of money; which muſt have obliged him ſo much the more, as he had leſs room to expect ſuch an offer. On this occaſion Æſchines cried out: * *How will it be poſſible for*

* *Some authors aſcribe theſe words to Demoſthenes, when, three years after, he met with the ſame fate as Æſchines, and was alſo baniſhed from Athens.*

for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world!

SECT. VII. PHILIP, *in the assembly of the Amphyctions, is declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that expedition. Domestick troubles in his houshold. He divorces* OLYMPIAS, *and marries another lady. He solemnizes the marriage of* CLEOPATRA *his daughter with* ALEXANDER *king of Epirus, and is killed at the nuptials.*

A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

THE battle of Chæronea may be said to have enslaved Greece. Macedon at that time, with no more than thirty thousand soldiers, gained a point, which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Platææ, at Salamis, and at Marathon. Philip, in the first years of his reign, had repulsed, divided, and disarmed his enemies. In the succeeding ones, he had subjected, by artifice or force, the most powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but now he prepares to revenge the injuries which Greece had received from the Barbarians, and meditates no less a design, than the destruction of their empire. (*s*) The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory (and this was the object he long had in view, and never lost sight of) was to get himself appointed, in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the Persians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Atalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia minor.

(*t*) But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at home; division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, cholerick and vindictive, raised dissensions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out

(*s*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 479. (*t*) Plut. in Alex. p. 669.

out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he himſelf had defiled the marriage-bed, it is ſaid, that his conſort had repaid his infidelity in kind. But whether he had a juſt ſubject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded ſo far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been diſguſted upon ſeveral other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whoſe beauty was ſo exquiſite, that he could not reſiſt its charms. In the midſt of their rejoicings upon occaſion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's ſide, took it into his head to ſay, that the Macedonians ought to beſeech the gods to give them a lawful ſucceſſor to their king. Upon this Alexander, who was naturally cholerick, exaſperated at theſe injurious words, cried out, *Wretch that thou art, doſt thou then take me for a baſtard?* and at the ſame time flung the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment, upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who ſat at another table, was very much offended to ſee the feaſt interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his ſword, and ran directly at his ſon. Happily the father fell, ſo that the gueſts had an opportunity of ſtepping in between them. The greateſt difficulty was, to keep Alexander from ruſhing upon his ruin. Exaſperated at a ſucceſſion of ſuch heinous affronts, in ſpite of all the gueſts could ſay, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his ſovereign, he vented his reſentments in the bitter words following: *The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vaſtly able to croſs from Europe into Aſia; he, who cannot ſtep from one table to another without running the hazard of breaking his neck!* After theſe words, he left the hall, and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been ſo highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himſelf went over to the Illyrians.

In

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the firſt civilities and careſſes were over, Philip aſked him whether the Greeks were in amity? *It indeed becomes you, Sir*, replied Demaratus, *to be concerned about Greece, who have filled your own houſe with feuds and diſſenſions.* The prince, ſenſibly affected with this reproach, came to himſelf, acknowledged his error, and ſent Demaratus to Alexander, to perſuade him to return home.

A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 338.

Philip did not loſe ſight of the conqueſt of Aſia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he conſults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The prieſteſs replied, *The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will ſoon be ſacrificed.* Philip hearing this, did not heſitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at leaſt to have kept him in ſome ſuſpence. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition againſt the Perſians, and devote himſelf ſolely to the conqueſt of Aſia, he diſpatches with all poſſible diligence his domeſtick affairs. After this, he offers up a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate, with incredible magnificence, in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the moſt conſiderable perſons of Greece; and heaped upon them friendſhips and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generaliſſimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by ſending him gold crowns; and Athens diſtinguiſhed its zeal above all the reſt. Neoptolemus the poet had written, purpoſely, for that feſtival, a tragedy, * entitled *Cinyras*, in

* *Suetonius, among the preſages of Caligula's death, who died in much the ſame manner as Philip, obſerves, that Mneſter, the Pantomime, exhibited the ſame piece which Neoptolemus had repreſented the very day Philip was murdered.*

in which, under borrowed names, he repreſented this prince as already victor over Darius, and maſter of Aſia. Philip liſtened to theſe happy preſages with joy; and, comparing them with the anſwer of the oracle, aſſured himſelf of conqueſt. The day after the nuptials, games and ſhows were ſolemnized. As theſe formed part of the religious worſhip, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve ſtatues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that ſurpaſſed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which repreſented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majeſty, in the midſt of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a conſiderable ſpace between themſelves and him, to give the ſpectators a better opportunity of ſurveying him; and alſo to ſhew that he conſidered the affections which the Grecians bore him, as his ſafeſt guard.

But all the feſtivity and pomp of theſe nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refuſal to do an act of juſtice, that occaſioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had inſulted, in the moſt ſhocking manner, Pauſanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's juſtice. But Philip, unwilling to diſguſt Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before obſerved, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his firſt queen, would never liſten to Pauſanias's complaints. However, to conſole him in ſome meaſure, and to expreſs the high eſteem he had for, and the great confidence he repoſed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whoſe anger

now ſwelling to fury againſt his judge, he forms the deſign of wiping out his ſhame, by imbruing his hands in a moſt horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vaſtly ſtrong and formidable. Pauſanias, the better to put his bloody deſign in execution, choſe the inſtant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtleſs to make his vengeance more conſpicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king reſponſible, as he had long ſolicited that prince in vain for the ſatisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great ſpace which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, ſtabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus obſerves, that he was aſſaſſinated the very inſtant his ſtatue entered the theatre. The aſſaſſin had prepared horſes ready for his eſcape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which ſtopped him, and gave the purſuers time to overtake him. Pauſanias was immediately tore to pieces upon the ſpot. (*u*) Thus died Philip, at forty-ſeven years of age, after having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Perſia, died alſo the ſame year.

A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

Demoſthenes had private notice ſent him of Philip's death, and in order to prepare the Athenians to reſume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and ſaid, That the night before he had a dream, which promiſed ſome great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occaſion the people abandoned themſelves to the tranſports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demoſthenes had particularly inſpired them with theſe ſentiments; for he himſelf appeared in publick, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dreſſed with the utmoſt magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but ſeven days. He alſo engaged the

(*u*) Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 440.

Athenians to offer ſacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pauſanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occaſion Demoſthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can ſcarce conceive, how it came to paſs that, in ſo deteſtable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at leaſt, did not induce them to diſſemble ſuch ſentiments as reflected diſhonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which ſhewed, that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

SECT. VIII. *Memorable actions and ſayings of* PHILIP. *Good and bad qualities of that prince.*

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expreſſions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their moſt ſhining actions; becauſe in the latter they generally ſtudy their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propoſe themſelves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they ſpeak and act from nature, they exhibit themſelves ſuch as they really are, without art and diſguiſe. M. de Tourreil has collected with ſufficient induſtry moſt of the memorable actions and ſayings of Philip, and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connexion, in the recital of theſe detached actions and ſayings.

Though Philip loved flattery, ſo far as to reward the adulation of Thraſideus with the title of king in Theſſaly, he however at ſome intervals loved truth. He permitted (*x*) Ariſtotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his ſervice to tell him every day, before he gave audience, *Philip, remember thou art mortal.*

(*x*) Ariſt. Epiſt. Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian. lib. viii. c. 15.

(*y*) He * discovered great moderation, even when he was spoken to in shocking and injurious terms; and also, which is no less worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality (says Seneca) in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. At the close of an audience, which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service? "The greatest "service thou could do us," said Demochares, "would "be to hang thyself." Philip, though he perceived all the persons present were highly offended at these words, however made the following answer, with the utmost calmness of temper: "Go, tell your superiors, "that those who dare make use of such insolent "language, are more haughty, and less peaceably "inclined, than they who can forgive them."

(*z*) Being present, in an indecent posture, at the sale of some captives, one of them going up to him, whispered in his ear, *Let down the lappet of your robe*; upon which Philip replied, *Set the man at liberty*; *I did not know till now that he was one of my friends.*

(*a*) The whole court solliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him publickly in the Olympick games; *What won't they attempt* (replied Philip) *should I do them any injury, since they laugh at me, after having received so many favours at my hand?*

(*b*) His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spake ill of him; *Yes, indeed,* (says he) *and so he'll go and speak injuriously of me every where.* Another time, that they advised him to dismiss a man of probity, who had reproached him: *Let us first take care* (says he) *that we have not given him any reason to do so.* Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful

(*y*) Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 23. (*z*) Plut. (*a*) Ibid. (*b*) Plut. in Apophth.

* Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit et contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni.

tiful to him; on which occaſion his reproaches were changed into applauſes, that occaſioned another fine ſaying of this prince's: *It is in the power of kings to make themſelves beloved or hated.*

(*c*) Being urged to aſſiſt, with the credit and authority he had with the judges, a perſon whoſe reputation would be quite loſt, by the ſentence which was going to be pronounced againſt him; *I had rather* (ſays he) *he ſhould loſe his reputation, than I mine.*

(*d*) Philip riſing from an entertainment, at which he had ſat ſeveral hours, was addreſſed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cauſe, and to hear ſeveral reaſons ſhe had to alledge which were not pleaſing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave ſentence againſt her; upon which ſhe replied very calmly, *I appeal. How!* (ſays Philip) *from your king? To whom then? To Philip when faſting* (replied the woman.) The manner in which he received this anſwer, would do honour to the moſt ſober prince. He afterwards gave the cauſe a ſecond hearing; found the injuſtice of his ſentence, and condemned himſelf to make it good.

(*e*) A poor woman uſed to appear often before him, to ſue for audience, and to beſeech him to put an end to her law-ſuit; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exaſperated at theſe refuſals, which had been ſo often repeated, ſhe replied one day with emotion; *If you have not time to do me juſtice, be no longer king.* Philip was ſtrongly affected with this rebuke, which a juſt indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and ſo far from being offended at it, he ſatisfied her that inſtant, and afterwards became more exact in giving audience. He indeed was ſenſible, that a king and a judge are the ſame thing; that the throne is a tribunal; that the ſovereign authority is a ſupreme power, and at the ſame time an indiſpenſable obligation to do juſtice; that to diſtribute it to his ſubjects, and to grant them

 the

(*c*) Plut. (*d*) Ibid. (*e*) Ibid.

the time neceſſary for that purpoſe, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that he ought to appoint perſons to aſſiſt him in this function, but not to diſcharge himſelf abſolutely from it; and that he was no leſs obliged to be a judge than a king. All theſe circumſtances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very wiſe expreſſion; * *Be no longer king*; and Philip comprehended all its force.

(*f*) He underſtood raillery, was very fond of ſmart ſayings, and very happy at them himſelf. Having received a wound near the throat, and his ſurgeon importuning him daily with ſome new requeſt: *Take what thou wilt*, ſays he, *for thou haſt me by the throat*.

(*g*) It is alſo related, that after hearing two villains, who accuſed each other of various crimes, he baniſhed the one, and ſentenced the other to follow him.

(*h*) Menecrates, the phyſician, who was ſo mad as to fancy himſelf Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows: *Menecrates Jupiter, to Philip greeting.* Philip anſwered; *Philip to Menecrates, health and reaſon* †. But this king did not ſtop here; for he hit upon a pleaſant remedy for his viſionary correſpendent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a ſeparate table at it, where nothing was ſerved up to him but incenſe and perfume, whilſt all the other gueſts fed upon the moſt exquiſite dainties. The firſt tranſports of joy with which he was ſeized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man; but, hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being ſo, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

(*i*) Philip made an anſwer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime miniſter. That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to ſleep; *I indeed ſleep*, ſays he, *but Antipater wakes.*

Parmenio,

(*f*) Plut. (*g*) Ibid. (*h*) Ælian. lib. xii. cap. 51. (*i*) Plutarch.

* Καὶ μὴ βασίλευε. † *The Greek word* ὑγιαίνειν *ſignifies both thoſe things.*

(*k*) Parmenio, hearing the ambaſſadors of all Greece murmuring one day becauſe Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: *Do not wonder*, ſays he, *if he ſleeps whilſt you wake; for he waked whilſt you ſlept.* By this he wittily reproached them for their ſupineneſs in neglecting their intereſts, whilſt Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demoſthenes was perpetually obſerving to them with his uſual freedom.

(*l*) Every one of the ten tribes of Athens uſed to elect a new general every year. Theſe did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generaliſſimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and ſaid, *In my whole life I could never find but one general*, (Parmenio) *whereas the Athenians can find ten every year at the very inſtant they want them.*

The letter which Philip wrote to Ariſtotle on the birth of his ſon, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men; and at the ſame time, the taſte he himſelf had for the polite arts and ſciences. The other letters of his, which are ſtill extant, do him no leſs honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to conſider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that M. de Tourreil is the author of moſt of the ſubſequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were more conſpicuous as a warrior or a ſtateſman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies, he employed artifice and force alternately to defeat them. He uſes his endeavours with ſucceſs to divide his opponents: To ſtrike the ſurer, he eludes and diverts the blows which were aimed at himſelf; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuſe victory; as ready to purſue or wait for it, he

(*k*) Plutarch. (*l*) Ibid. in Apoph. p. 177.

either haſtens his pace or ſlackens it, as neceſſity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wiſdom; in fine, he is ever immoveable, ever fixed in the juſt bounds which divide boldneſs from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king who commands his allies as much as his own ſubjects, and is as formidable in treaties as in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own ſuperintendant, his own prime miniſter and generaliſſimo. We ſee him fired with an inſatiable thirſt of glory, ſearching for it where it is ſold at the deareſt price; making fatigue and danger his deareſt delights; forming inceſſantly that juſt, that ſpeedy harmony of reflection and action which military expeditions require; and with all theſe advantages turning the fury of his arms againſt commonwealths, exhauſted by long wars, torn by inteſtine diviſions, ſold by their own citizens, ſerved by a body of mercenary, or undiſciplined troops; obſtinately deaf to good advice, and ſeemingly determined on their ruin.

He united in himſelf two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, *viz.* a ſteadineſs and calmneſs of ſoul that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to ſeize the favourable moment without being diſconcerted by diſappointments; this calmneſs, I ſay, was united with a reſtleſs activity, ardour and vivacity, which were regardleſs of the difference of ſeaſons, or the greateſt of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in fight. Demoſthenes, who cannot be ſuſpected to have flattered him, gives a glorious teſtimony of him on this head; for which reaſon I will cite his own words. (*m*) *I ſaw*, ſays this orator, *this very Philip, with whom we diſputed for ſovereignty and empire; I ſaw him, though covered with wounds, his eye ſtruck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in his hands and feet; ſtill reſolutely ruſh into the midſt of dangers, and ready to deliver*

(*m*) Demoſth. pro Cteſ. p. 483.

liver up to fortune, any other part of his body ſhe might deſire, provided he might live honourably and glorioufly with the reſt of it.

Philip was not only brave himſelf, but inſpired his whole army with the ſame valour. Inſtructed by able maſters in the ſcience of war, as the reader has ſeen, he had brought his troops to the moſt exact regular diſcipline; and trained up men capable of ſeconding him in his great enterprizes. He had the art, without leſſening his own authority, to familiarize himſelf with his ſoldiers; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever conſiſtent with diſcipline: And indeed, from his affability, which merited ſo much the greater ſubmiſſion and reſpect, as he required leſs, and ſeemed to diſpenſe with it, his ſoldiers were always ready to follow him to the greateſt dangers, and paid him the moſt implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater uſe of military ſtratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been expoſed in his youth, had taught him the neceſſity of precautions, and the art of reſources. A wiſe diffidence, which is of ſervice, as it ſhews danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irreſolute, but cautious and prudent. What reaſon ſoever he might have to flatter himſelf with the hope of ſucceſs, he never depended upon it; and thought himſelf ſuperior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever juſt in his projects, and inexhauſtible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his deſigns; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner no leſs admirable. Impenetrable as to his ſecrets, even to his beſt friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have obſerved, that he ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to lull the Athenians aſleep, by a ſpecious outſide of peace; and to lay ſilently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous ſecurity and blind indolence.

But

But these exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his excess in eating and carousing, to which he abandoned himself with the utmost intemperance; he also has been reproached with the most dissolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequented his palace. A set of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worse than these, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crouds round the great and powerful; such were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these frailties; for this might be suspected in an enemy; but Theopompus, (*n*) a famous historian, who had writ the history of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character of him. "Philip," says (*o*) he, "despised modesty and regularity of life. He lavished his esteem and liberality on men abandoned to debauch and the last excesses of licentiousness. He was pleased to see the companions of his pleasures excel no less in the abominable arts of injustice and malignity, than in the science of debauchery. Alas! what species of infamy, what sort of crimes did they not commit?" *&c.*

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politicks. He is considered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived: And, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce seated on his throne,

(*n*) Diod. Sicul. l. xvi. p. 408. (*o*) Theopom. apud Athen. l. vi. p. 206.

throne, and ſurrounded on every ſide with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at leaſt that he could execute, ſuch a project as this? However, he did not once loſe ſight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in ſhort, all things terminated there. He was very laviſh of his gold and ſilver, merely to engage creatures in his ſervice. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the aſſiſtance of penſioners, on whom he had ſettled very large ſtipends, he was informed very exactly of all the reſolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled aſleep the vigilance of ſtates, who till then had been looked upon as the moſt active, the wiſeſt and moſt penetrating of all Greece. In treading in theſe ſteps for twenty years together, we ſee him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and ſubterraneous paſſages, the outlets of which only diſcover the deſign.

(*p*) Polyænus ſhews us evidently the methods whereby he ſubjected Theſſaly, which was of great advantage to the compleating of his other deſigns. "He did not (ſays he) carry on an open war againſt "the Theſſalians; but took advantage of the diſ-"cord that divided the cities and the whole country "into different factions. He ſuccoured thoſe who "ſued for his aſſiſtance; and whenever he had con-"quered, he did not entirely ruin the vanquiſhed, "he did not diſarm them, nor raze their walls; on "the contrary, he protected the weakeſt, and en-"deavoured to weaken and ſubject the ſtrongeſt; in "a word, he rather fomented than appeaſed their "diviſions, having in every place orators in his pay, "thoſe artificers of diſcord, thoſe firebrands of com-"mon-

(*p*) Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15.

" monwealths. And it was by these stratagems, not " by his arms, that Philip subdued Thessaly."

(q) All this is a master-piece, a miracle in point of politicks. But what engines does this art play, what methods does it employ to compass its designs? Deceit, craft, fraud, falshood, perfidy and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, insinuating, subtle genius; but we do not find him possessed of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his sense just and lawful. He gave his word with a firm resolution to break it; and made promises which he would have been very sorry to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion as he was perfidious, and made his glory consist in deceiving all with whom he treated. (r) He did not blush to say, *That children were amused with play-things, and men with oaths.*

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than any other person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea of himself to all posterity? What idea should we form to ourselves in the commerce of the world, who should value himself for tricking others, and rank insincerity and fraud among virtues? Such a character in private life, is detested as the bane and ruin of society. How then can it become an object of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men (because of the eminence of their stations, and the importance of the employments they fill) to revere sincerity, justice, and, above all, the sanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare promise among private persons ought to be sacred and

(q) Demosth. Olynth. ii. p. 22. (r) Ælian. l. vii. c. 12.

and inviolable, if they have the leaſt ſenſe of honour; but how much more ought it to be ſo among princes? "We are bound (ſays a celebrated writer*) "to ſpeak truth to our neighbour; for the uſe and "application of ſpeech implies a tacit promiſe of "truth; ſpeech having been given us for no other "purpoſe. It is not a compact between one private "man with another; it is a common compact of "mankind in general, and a kind of right of na-"tions, or rather a law of nature. Now, whoever "tells an untruth, violates this law and common "compact." How greatly is the enormity of violating the ſanctity of an oath increaſed, when we call upon the name of God to witneſs it, as is the cuſtom always in treaties? (*s*) *Were ſincerity and truth baniſhed from every other part of the earth*, ſaid John I. king of France, upon his being ſollicited to violate a treaty, *they ought to be found in the hearts and in the mouths of kings.*

The circumſtance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being perſuaded that it is the only means to make a negotiation ſucceed. But though this were the caſe, yet can it ever be lawful to purchaſe ſuch ſucceſs at the expence of probity, honour, and religion? (*t*) *If your father-in-law* (Ferdinand the catholick) ſaid Lewis XII. to Philip archduke of Auſtria, *has acted perfidiouſly, I am determined not to imitate him; and I am much more pleaſed in having loſt a kingdom* (Naples) *which I am able to recover, than I ſhould have been had I loſt my honour, which can never be recovered.*

But thoſe politicians, who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themſelves, even in this very particular. I ſhall not have recourſe to the Chriſtian world for princes and miniſters, whoſe notions of policy were very different from theſe. To go no farther than our Greek hiſtory, how many great men have we ſeen perfectly ſucceſsful in the adminiſtration of

(*s*) Mezerai. (*t*) Ibid.

* *M. Nicole on the epiſtle of the 19th Sunday after Whitſuntide.*

of publick affairs, in treaties of peace and war; in a word, in the moſt important negotiations, without once making uſe of artifice and deceit? An Ariſtides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and ſo many more; ſome of whom were ſo very ſcrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falſhood, even laughing and in ſport. Cyrus, the moſt famous conqueror of the eaſt, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his ſubjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no ſucceſs, how ſhining ſoever, can, or ought to cover the ſhame and ignominy which ariſe from breach of faith and perjury.

BOOK THE FIFTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

SECT. I. ALEXANDER's *birth. The temple of Ephesus is burnt the same day. The happy natural inclinations of that prince.* ARISTOTLE *is appointed his preceptor, who inspires him with a surprizing taste for learning. He breaks Bucephalus.*

(*a*) ALEXANDER came into the world the first year of the CVIth Olympiad. A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

The very day he came into the world, the celebrated temple of Diana in Ephesus was burnt. The reader knows, without doubt, that it was one of the seven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name, and at the expence of all Asia minor. A great number of * years were employed in building it. Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth two hundred and twenty. It was supported by an hundred and twenty-seven columns, threescore feet high, which so many † kings had caused to be wrought at a great expence, and by the most excellent artists, who endeavoured to excel one another on

(*a*) Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14.

* *Pliny says two hundred and twenty years, which is not probable.*

† *Anciently most cities were governed by their particular king.*

on this occaſion. The reſt of the temple was equal to the columns in magnificence.

(*b*) Hegeſias * of Magneſia, according to Plutarch, ſays, *That it was no wonder the temple was burnt, becauſe Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander.* A reflection, ſays our author, ſo very † cold, that it might have extinguiſhed the fire. ‡ Cicero, who aſcribes this ſaying to Timæus, declares it a very ſmart one, at which I am very much ſurprized. Poſſibly the fondneſs he had for jokes, made him not very delicate in things of this kind.

(*c*) One Heroſtratus had fired that temple on purpoſe. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confeſs his motive for committing ſo infamous an action, he confeſſed that it was the view of making himſelf known to poſterity, and to immortalize his name, by deſtroying ſo noble a ſtructure. The ſtates general of Aſia imagined they ſhould prevent the ſucceſs of his view, by publiſhing a decree, to prohibit the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curioſity; for ſcarce one of the hiſtorians of that age has omitted to mention ſo monſtrous an extravagance, and at the ſame time have told us the name of the criminal.

(*d*) The paſſion which prevailed moſt in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent deſire of glory; but not for every ſpecies of glory. Philip, like a ſophiſt, valued himſelf upon his eloquence and the beauty of his ſtile; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the ſeveral victories he had won at the Olympick games in the chariot-race. But

(*b*) Plut. in Alex. p. 665.
(*c*) Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 14. Id. de Fortun. Alex. p. 342.
(*d*) Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 665—668.

* *He was an hiſtorian, and lived in the time of Ptolemy, ſon of Lagus.*

† *I don't know whether Plutarch's reflection be not ſtill colder.*

‡ Concinnè, ut multa, Timæus; qui, cum in hiſtoria dixiſſet, qua nocte natus Alexander eſſet, eadem Dianæ Epheſiæ templum deflagraviſſe, adjunxit: minime id eſſe mirandum, quòd Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adeſſe voluiſſet, abſuiſſet domo. *De Nat. Deor.* l. ii. n. 69.

But it was not to this his ſon aſpired. His friends aſking him one day, whether he would not be preſent at the games above mentioned, in order to diſpute the prize beſtowed on that occaſion? for he was very ſwift of foot. He anſwered, *That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagoniſts.*

Every time news was brought him, that his father had taken ſome city, or gained ſome great battle, Alexander, ſo far from ſharing in the general joy, uſed to ſay in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young perſons that were brought up with him, *Friends, my father will poſſeſs himſelf of every thing, and leave nothing for us to do.*

One day ſome ambaſſadors from the king of Perſia being arrived at court during Philip's abſence, Alexander gave them ſo kind and ſo polite a reception, and regaled them in ſo noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which moſt ſurprized them was, the good ſenſe and judgment he diſcovered in the ſeveral converſations they had with him. He did not propoſe to them any thing that was trifling; and like one of his age; ſuch, for inſtance, as enquiring about the ſo-much boaſted gardens ſuſpended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace, and court of the king of Perſia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plantane-tree; (*e*) and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all ſorts of precious ſtones, under which the Perſian monarch was ſaid frequently to give audience: Alexander, I ſay, aſked them queſtions of a quite different nature; enquiring which was the road to Upper Aſia; the diſtance of the ſeveral places; in what the ſtrength and power of the king of Perſia conſiſted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies; and in what manner he governed his ſubjects. Theſe ambaſſadors admired him all the while; and perceiving even at that time how great he might one day become, they obſerved, in a few

(*e*) Athen. l. xii. p. 739.

words, the difference they found between Alexander and (*f*) Artaxerxes, by saying one to another, * *This young prince is great, and ours is rich.* That man must be vastly insignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happiness of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all such arts and sciences as are worthy the heir to a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most severe morals, and a relation of the queen. Alexander himself tells us afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journies together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to see if Olympias his mother had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he entrusted with the whole care of his education. (*g*) One of the reasons which prompted Philip to chuse him a master of so conspicuous a reputation and merit was, as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

Philip was sensible, how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle; for which reason he settled a very considerable stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of † Stagira, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinstated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made slaves; and gave them a fine park in the

(*f*) Artaxerxes Ochus.

(*g*) Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

* Ὁ παῖς οὗτος, βασιλεῦ, μέγας· ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος, πλούσιος.

† *A city of Macedon, near the sea-shore.*

the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their ſtudies and aſſemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the ſtone ſeats which Ariſtotle had placed there were ſtanding; as alſo ſpacious viſtoes, under which thoſe who walked were ſhaded from the ſun-beams.

Alexander likewiſe diſcovered no leſs eſteem for his maſter, whom he believed himſelf bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, * *That he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well.* The progreſs of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. † He grew vaſtly fond of philoſophy; and learnt the ſeveral parts of it, but in a manner ſuitable to his birth. Ariſtotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down ſure and certain rules, by which he might diſtinguiſh juſt and ſolid reaſoning from what is but ſpeciouſly ſo; and by accuſtoming him to ſeparate in diſcourſe all ſuch parts as only dazzle, from thoſe which are truly ſolid, and ſhould conſtitute its whole value. He alſo exerciſed him in metaphyſicks, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himſelf to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter; in what manner he perceives ſpiritual things; how he is ſenſible of the impreſſion of thoſe that ſurround him, and many other queſtions of the like import. The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that he did not omit either the mathematicks, which give the mind ſo juſt a turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the ſtudy of which, beſides a great many other advantages, ſhews how very incapable the mind of man is to diſcover the ſecret principles of the things to which he is daily an eye-witneſs. But Alexander applied himſelf chiefly to morality, which is properly the ſcience of kings, becauſe it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his ſerious and profound ſtudy; and conſidered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence

 and

* Ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν.

† Retinuit ex ſapientia modum. *Tacit.*

and wiſe policy. How much muſt ſuch an education contribute to the good conduct of a prince with regard to his own intereſts and the government of his people!

(*h*) The greateſt maſter of rhetorick that antiquity could ever boaſt, and who has left ſo excellent a treatiſe on that ſubject, took care to make that ſcience part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midſt of his conqueſts, was often very urgent with Ariſtotle, to ſend him a treatiſe on that ſubject. To this we owe the work intituled *Alexander's Rhetorick*; in the beginning of which, Ariſtotle proves to him the vaſt advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greateſt aſcendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wiſdom as authority. Some anſwers and letters of Alexander, which are ſtill extant, ſhew that he poſſeſſed, in its greateſt perfection, that ſtrong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with ſenſe and ideas; and which is ſo entirely free from ſuperfluous expreſſions, that every ſingle word has its meaning; which, properly ſpeaking, is the eloquence of kings.

His eſteem, or rather his paſſion * for Homer, ſhews, not only with what vigour and ſucceſs he applied himſelf to polite literature, but the judicious uſe he made of it, and the ſolid advantages he propoſed to himſelf from it. He was not prompted to peruſe this poet merely out of curioſity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondneſs for poeſy; but his view in ſtudying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow ſuch ſentiments from him, as are worthy a great king, and conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. And, indeed, the verſe which pleaſed him moſt in Homer †, was that where *Agamemnon* is repreſented as *a good king, and a brave warrior.*

After

(*h*) Ariſtot. in Rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.

* Imperatoria brevitate. *Tacit.*

† Ἀμφότερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἐσθλὸς, κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής. Iliad. 3. v. 172.

After this it is no wonder that Alexander ſhould have ſo high an eſteem for this poet. Thus, when after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found among the ſpoils of Darius a gold box (enriched with precious ſtones) in which the excellent perfumes uſed by that prince were put; Alexander, who was quite covered with duſt, and regardleſs of eſſences and perfumes, ordered that this box ſhould be employed to no other uſe than to hold Homer's poems, which he believed the moſt perfect, the moſt precious * production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, † *The beſt proviſion for a warrior.* He always had with him that edition of Homer which Ariſtotle had reviſed and corrected, and to which the title of the *Edition of the Box* was given; and he laid it, with his ſword, every night, under his pillow.

(*i*) Fond, even to exceſs, of every kind of glory, he was diſpleaſed with Ariſtotle, his maſter, for having publiſhed, in his abſence, certain metaphyſical pieces, which he himſelf deſired to poſſeſs only; and even at the time when he was employed in the conqueſt of Aſia, and the purſuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is ſtill extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander ſays in it, that "‡ he had much rather ſurpaſs the reſt of men in the "knowledge of ſublime and excellent things, than "the greatneſs and extent of his power." He in like manner requeſted (*k*) Ariſtotle, not to ſhew the treatiſe of rhetorick above mentioned to any perſon but himſelf. I will confeſs, that there is an exceſs in this ſtrong deſire of glory, which prompts him to ſuppreſs the merit of others, in order that his only may appear; but then we at leaſt muſt confeſs, that

(*i*) Aul. Gel. l. xx. c. 5.

* Pretioſiſſimum humani animi opus. *Plin.* l. vii. c. 29.

† Τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον. *The word, which I have not been able to render better, ſignifies, that we find in the Iliad whatever relates to the art of war, and the qualities of a general; in a word, all things neceſſary to form a good commander.*

(*k*) Ariſt. p. 609.

‡ Ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπειρίαις, ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν διαφέρειν.

it diſcovers ſuch a paſſion for ſtudy as is very laudable in a prince; and the very reverſe of that indifference, not to ſay contempt and averſion, which moſt young perſons of high birth expreſs for all things that relate to learning and ſtudy.

Plutarch tells us in few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taſte, with which his maſter (than whom no man poſſeſſed greater talents for the education of youth) had inſpired him from his moſt tender infancy. *He loved*, ſaid that author, *to converſe with learned men, to improve himſelf in knowledge, and to ſtudy* *; three ſources of a monarch's happineſs, and which enable him to ſecure himſelf from numberleſs difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the aſſiſtance of others. The converſation of perſons of fine ſenſe, inſtructs a prince by way of amuſement, and teaches him a thouſand curious and uſeful things without coſting him the leaſt trouble. The leſſons which able maſters give him, on the moſt exalted ſciences, and particularly upon politicks, improve his mind wonderfully, and furniſh him with rules to govern his ſubjects with wiſdom. In fine, ſtudy, eſpecially that of hiſtory, crowns all the reſt, and is to him a preceptor for all ſeaſons, and for all hours, who, without ever growing troubleſome, acquaints him with truths which no one elſe would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himſelf; teaches him to know himſelf as well as mankind, who are the ſame in all ages. Alexander owed all theſe advantages to the excellent education Ariſtotle gave him.

(*l*) He had alſo a taſte for the whole circle of arts, but in ſuch a manner as became a prince; that is, he knew the value and uſefulneſs of them. Muſick, painting, ſculpture, architecture, flouriſhed in his reign, becauſe they † found in him both a ſkilful judge,

(*l*) Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Serm. ii. p. 333.

* Ἦν φιλόλογος, καὶ φιλομαθὴς, καὶ ἄριστα κρῖναι τὸ κατορθούμενον, καὶ μάλιστα ἀμείψασθαι δυνάμενον. φιλαναγνώστης.

† Μάρτυρα ἔλαβεν καὶ θεατὴν, [illegible]

judge, and a generous protector, who was able to diſtinguiſh and reward merit.

(*m*) But he deſpiſed certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no uſe. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himſelf very attentively in throwing ſmall peaſe through the eye of a * needle, which he would do at a conſiderable diſtance, and without once miſſing. Alexander ſeeing him at this exerciſe, ordered him, as we are told, a preſent ſuitable to his employment, *viz.* a baſket of peaſe.

Alexander was of a ſprightly diſpoſition; was reſolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the ſame time would ſubmit immediately to reaſon and good ſenſe. It is very difficult to treat with perſons of this turn of mind. Philip accordingly, notwithſtanding his double authority of king and father, believed it neceſſary to employ perſuaſion rather than force with reſpect to his ſon, and endeavoured to make himſelf beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been ſent from Theſſaly to Philip a war-horſe, a noble, ſtrong, fiery, generous beaſt, called † Bucephalus. The owner would ſell him for thirteen talents, about 1900 *l.* ſterling. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horſe; but upon trial he appeared ſo very fierce, and pranced about in ſo furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that ſo furious and unmanageable a creature had been ſent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was preſent at that time, cried out, *What a noble horſe they are going to loſe, for want of addreſs and boldneſs to back him!* Philip, at firſt, conſidered theſe words as the effect

(*m*) Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 21.

* *We may ſuppoſe it was ſome inſtrument in the ſhape of a needle.*

† *Some think he was called ſo, becauſe his head was like that of an ox.*

of folly and raſhneſs, ſo common to young men: But as Alexander inſiſted ſtill more upon what he had ſaid, and was very much vexed to ſee ſo noble a creature juſt going to be ſent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permiſſion, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the ſun; having obſerved, that the thing which frighted him was his own ſhadow, he ſeeing it dance about, or ſink down, in proportion as he moved. He therefore firſt ſtroked him gently with his hand, and ſoothed him with his voice; then ſeeing his metal abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and ſpringing ſwiftly upon his back, firſt ſlackens the rein, without once ſtriking or vexing him: And when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer ſo furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein, and ſpurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full ſpeed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his firſt heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horſe which was judged abſolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauſes and congratulations; and we are told, Philip ſhed tears of joy on this occaſion, and embracing Alexander after he was alighted, and kiſſing his head, he ſaid to him, *My ſon, ſeek a kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit.*

We are told a great many ſurprizing particulars of this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. (*n*) When this creature was ſaddled and equipped for battle, he would ſuffer no one to back him but his maſter; and it would not have been ſafe for any other perſon to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his two fore-feet. According

(*n*) Aul. Gel. l. v. c. 2.

According to ſome hiſtorians, in the battle againſt Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidſt a body of the enemy, his horſe, though wounded in every part of his body, did however exert himſelf in ſo vigorous a manner, that he ſaved his maſter's life; and notwithſtanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almoſt ſpent through the great effuſion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpreſſible vigour to a place of ſecurity; where perceiving * the king was no longer in danger, and overjoyed in ſome meaſure at the ſervice he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horſe. Others ſay, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had loſt in him a moſt faithful and affectionate friend; and afterwards built a city on the very ſpot where he was buried, near the river Hydaſpes, and called it *Bucephalia* in honour of him.

I have related elſewhere, that Alexander, at ſixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and inveſted with abſolute authority during his father's abſence; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that afterwards he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt ſignal manner at the battle of Chæronea.

* Et domini jam ſuperſtitis ſecurus, quaſi cum ſenſus humani ſolatio, animam expiravit. *Aul. Gell.*

SECT.

SECT. II. ALEXANDER, *after the death of* PHILIP, *ascends the throne at twenty years of age. He subjects and reduces the nations contiguous to Macedon who had revolted. He goes into Greece to dissolve the alliance formed against him. He possesses himself of, and destroys Thebes, and pardons the Athenians. He gets himself nominated, in the diet or assembly at Corinth, generalissimo of the Greeks against Persia. He returns to Macedon, and makes preparations for carrying his arms into Asia.*

A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

(*o*) DARIUS and Alexander began to reign the same year: The latter was but twenty when he succeeded to the crown. His first care was to solemnize the funeral obsequies of his father with the utmost pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his accession to the throne, he saw himself surrounded with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations against whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made several conquests, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take the advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had ascended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting against the common usurper. Nor was he under less apprehensions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the several cities and commonwealths to continue their ancient form of government, had however entirely changed it in reality, and made himself absolute master of it. Though he were absent, he nevertheless ruled in all the assemblies; and not a single resolution was taken, but in subordination to his will. Though he had subdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the secret machinations of policy, he had not had time sufficient to subject and accustom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and disorder, the minds of the

(*o*) Plut. in Alex. p. 670, 672. Diod. l. xvii. p. 486---489. Arrian. l. i. de Expedit. Alex. p. 2---23.

the vanquiſhed not being yet calmed nor moulded to ſubjection.

The Macedonians reflecting on this precarious ſituation of things, adviſed Alexander to relinquiſh Greece, and not perſiſt in his reſolution of ſubduing it by force; * to recover by gentle methods the Barbarians who had taken arms, and to ſooth, as it were, thoſe glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reſerve, complacency and inſinuations, in order to conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not liſten to theſe timorous counſels, but reſolved to ſecure and ſupport his affairs by boldneſs and magnanimity; firmly perſuaded, that ſhould he relax in any point at firſt, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromiſe matters, he ſhould be obliged to give up all Philip's conqueſts, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all poſſible haſte to check the arms of the Barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he croſſed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; ſubdued ſeveral barbarous nations, ſome by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithſtanding the arrogant † anſwer of their ambaſſadors, he taught them to dread a danger ſtill more near them than the falling of the ſky and planets.

Whilſt Alexander was thus employed at a diſtance againſt the Barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demoſthenes, formed a powerful alliance againſt that prince. A falſe report, which prevailed of his death, inſpired the Thebans with a boldneſs that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garriſon in

* Θεραπεύειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν.

† *Alexander, imagining that his name only had ſtruck theſe people with terror, aſked their ambaſſadors what things they dreaded moſt? They replied, with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the ſky and ſtars.*

in their citadel. (*p*) Demosthenes, on the other side, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called *a child*, and a * hairbrained boy, he assured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom; but would think himself vastly happy, could he sit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he writ letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes's proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason, he therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the suspicions he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes's letters to that prince. But Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecatæus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

When Alexander had secured his kingdom from the Barbarians, he marched with the utmost expedition towards Greece, and passed the Thermopylæ. He then spoke as follows to those who accompanied him: *Demosthenes called me, in his orations, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; he called me a young man when I was in Thessaly; and I must now shew him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man grown.* He appeared so suddenly in Bœotia, that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phœnix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered

(*p*) Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 453.

* *It is μαγίστης in Greek, a word which signifies many things in that language.*

delivered up to him; and publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who ſhould come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of inſult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were ſollicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impoſſible for him to get the better of their obſtinacy by offers of peace, ſaw with grief that he ſhould be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themſelves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their ſtrength, for the enemy exceeded them vaſtly in numbers: But after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, ſuch as ſurvived of the Macedonian garriſon in the citadel, coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, ſurrounded on all ſides, the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and the city taken and plundered.

It would be impoſſible for words to expreſs the dreadful calamities which the Thebans ſuffered on this occaſion. Some Thracians having pulled down the houſe of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treaſures; and their captain having ſeized the lady, and ſatiated his brutal luſt with her, afterwards enquired whether ſhe had not concealed gold and ſilver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent deſire of revenge, replying that ſhe had hid ſome, took him with herſelf only into her garden, and ſhewing him a well, told him, that the inſtant ſhe ſaw the enemy enter the city, ſhe herſelf had thrown into it the moſt valuable things in her poſſeſſion. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and ſtooping down to ſee its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, puſhing him with all her ſtrength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great ſtones which ſhe threw upon him. She was inſtantly ſeized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The

prince perceived immediately by her mien that ſhe was a woman of quality and great ſpirit, for ſhe followed thoſe brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without diſcovering the leaſt fear. Alexander aſking her who ſhe was, Timoclea replied, I am ſiſter to Theagenes, who fought againſt Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chæronea, where he commanded. The prince admiring the generous anſwer of that lady, and ſtill more the action that ſhe had done, gave orders that ſhe ſhould have leave to retire wherever ſhe pleaſed with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocæans and the people of Platææ, Theſpiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had ſhared in his victory, repreſented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who alſo had deſtroyed their ſeveral cities; and reproached them with the zeal which they had always diſcovered, in favour of the Perſians againſt the Greeks, who held them in the utmoſt deteſtation; the proof of which was, the oath they all had taken to deſtroy Thebes, after they ſhould have vanquiſhed the Perſians.

Cleades, one of the priſoners, being permitted to ſpeak, endeavoured to excuſe, in ſome meaſure, the revolt of the Thebans; a fault which, in his opinion, ſhould be imputed to a raſh and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonſtrated, that his countrymen, upon a falſe report of Alexander's death, had indeed too raſhly broke into rebellion, not againſt the king, but againſt his ſucceſſors. That what crimes ſoever they might have committed, they had been puniſhed for them with the utmoſt ſeverity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city. That there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear; and who were ſo much the greater objects of compaſſion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which

had

had given birth to ſo many gods and heroes, ſeveral of whom were that king's anceſtors, had alſo been the ſeat of his father Philip's riſing glory, and like a ſecond native country to him.

Theſe motives, which Cleades urged, were very ſtrong and powerful; nevertheleſs, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was deſtroyed. However, he ſet at liberty the prieſts; all ſuch as had right of hoſpitality with the Macedonians; the deſcendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done ſo much honour to Greece; and ſuch as had oppoſed the revolt: But all the reſt, in number about thirty thouſand, he ſold, and upwards of ſix thouſand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were ſo ſenſibly afflicted at the ſad diſaſter which had befallen Thebes, that being about to ſolemnize the feſtival of the great myſteries, they ſuſpended them, upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greateſt humanity all thoſe who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their aſylum.

Alexander's ſo ſudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtineſs of the Athenians, and extinguiſhed Demoſthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was ſtill more ſudden, threw them into the utmoſt conſternation. They therefore had recourſe to entreaties, and ſent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demoſthenes was among them; but he was no ſooner arrived at mount Cytheron, than dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embaſſy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander ſent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he ſuppoſed to have been the chief inſtruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occaſion Demoſthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is ſuppoſed, *That the wolves one day told the ſheep, that in caſe they deſired to be*

be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard. The application was easy and natural, especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

In this prodigious dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to save their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed; or rather, to remove the several obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least pretence for murmurs; waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their sending Caridemus into banishment, who being a native of * Oræa, had been presented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the services he had done the republick. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus, king of Thrace; had learnt the art of war under Iphicrates; and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the pursuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to publick affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave

* *A city of Eubœa.*

behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of ſeverity towards ſo powerful a city as Thebes, ſpread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He ſummoned, at Corinth, the * aſſembly of the ſeveral ſtates and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the ſame ſupreme command againſt the Perſians, as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important ſubject. It was the weſtern world deliberating upon the ruin of the eaſt, and the methods for executing a revenge ſuſpended more than an age. The aſſembly held at this time will give riſe to events, the relation of which will appear aſtoniſhing and almoſt incredible; and to revolutions, which will change the diſpoſition of moſt things in the world.

To form ſuch a deſign required a prince bold, enterprizing, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a mighty name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obſtacles; but above all, a monarch, who had a ſupreme authority over all the ſtates of Greece, none of which ſingly was powerful enough to make ſo arduous an attempt; and which required, in order for their acting in concert, to be ſubject to one chief, who might give motion to the ſeveral parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the ſame end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Perſians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies; whoſe deſtruction they had more than once ſwore, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in caſe an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for that purpoſe; a hatred, which the inteſtine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have ſuſpended, but could never extinguiſh. The immortal retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, notwithſtanding

* *Plutarch places that diet or aſſembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux ſuppoſed it was ſummoned twice.*

the vigorous oppoſition of the prodigious army of the Perſians; the terror which Ageſilaus, with a handful of men, had ſtruck even as far as Suſa; ſhewed plainly what might be expected from an army, compoſed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and thoſe of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to ſay all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the aſſembly were therefore very ſhort, and that prince was unanimouſly appointed generaliſſimo againſt the Perſians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philoſophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himſelf, that Diogenes of Synope, who was then at Corinth, would alſo come like the reſt, and pay his compliments. This philoſopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men juſt upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till thoſe perſons have performed actions worthy of their high ſtations. Diogenes therefore did not ſtir out of his houſe; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a viſit. The philoſopher was at that time lying down in the ſun; but ſeeing ſo great a croud of people advancing towards him, he ſat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, ſurprized to ſee ſo famous a philoſopher reduced to ſuch extreme poverty, after ſaluting him in the kindeſt manner, aſked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, *Yes, that you would ſtand a little out of my ſun-ſhine.* This anſwer raiſed the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, ſtruck with the philoſopher's greatneſs of ſoul, *Were I not Alexander*, ſays he, *I would be Diogenes.* A very profound ſenſe lies hid in this expreſſion, that ſhews perfectly the bent and diſpoſition of the heart of man. Alexander is ſenſible that he is formed to poſſeſs all things; ſuch is his deſtiny, in which he makes his happineſs conſiſt: But then in caſe he ſhould not be able to compaſs

paſs his ends, he is alſo ſenſible, that to be happy, he muſt endeavour to bring his mind to ſuch a frame, as to want nothing. In a word, *all or nothing* preſents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. * How great and powerful ſoever that prince might think himſelf, he could not deny himſelf, on this occaſion, inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take, nothing.

Alexander, before he ſet out for Aſia, was determined to conſult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos; he happened to arrive at it on thoſe days which are called *unlucky*, a ſeaſon in which people were forbid conſulting the oracle; and accordingly the prieſteſs refuſed to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to the temple, ſhe cried out, † *My ſon, thou art irreſiſtible.* This was all he deſired; and catching hold of theſe words, which he conſidered as ſpoke by the oracle, he ſet out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

Note, with regard to the ſequel of this hiſtory.

I could have wiſhed, and it was even my deſign, to prefix to the exploits of Alexander, a geographical map, as I did to thoſe of Cyrus the younger; this being of great aſſiſtance to the reader, and enables him to follow the hero in all his conqueſts. But it was not in my power to do this here, the map of Alexander's conqueſts being too large to be conveniently inſerted in this volume. But to ſupply, in ſome meaſure, this defect, I ſhall here give, in one view, a ſhort account of thoſe countries through which Alexander paſſed, till his return from India.

Alexander ſets out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and croſſes the Helleſpont, or the Streights of the Dardanelles.

* Homo ſupra menſuram humanæ ſuperbiæ tumens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam poſſet, nec eripere. *Seneca de Benef.* l. v. c. 6.

† Ἀνίκητε εἶ ὦ παῖ.

He croſſes Aſia minor (Natolia) where he fights two battles; the firſt at the paſs of the river Granicus, and the ſecond near the city of Iſſus.

After this ſecond battle, he enters Syria and Paleſtine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Lybia to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He croſſes that river, then the Tygris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; poſſeſſes himſelf of * Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he paſſes into Hyrcania, to the ſea which goes by that name, otherwiſe called the Caſpian ſea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamiſus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Iaxarthes, called by Quintus Curtius the Tanais, the farther ſide of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whoſe country forms part of Great Tartary.

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, croſſes the river Indus; enters India, which lies on this ſide the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he alſo intended to paſs, had not his army refuſed to follow him. He therefore contents himſelf with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, almoſt to which river Alexander marched, is computed at leaſt eleven hundred leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches; firſt, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Iſſus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at leaſt, and as much ſpace at leaſt for the windings of his route in different places; we ſhall find that Alexander,

* *The capital of Babylonia.*

der, in less than eight years, marched his army upwards of seventeen hundred leagues, without including his return to Babylon.

SECT. III. ALEXANDER *sets out from Macedon upon his expedition against the Persians. He arrives at Ilion, and pays great honour to the tomb of* ACHILLES. *He fights the first battle against the Persians at the river Granicus, and obtains a famous victory.*

(q) ALEXANDER being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the grandees of his court, on the expedition he meditated against Persia, and the measures he should take in order to succeed in it. The whole assembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprize which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a consort, in order to secure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it; for which reason he determined to set out immediately. A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

Accordingly he offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, * Scenical games, that had been instituted by one of his ancestors in honour of Jupiter and the Muses. This festival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent raised large enough to hold an hundred tables, on which consequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast, the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals and officers, were in-

(q) Diod. l. xvii. p. 499---503. Arrian. l. i. p. 23---36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Justin. l. xi. c. 5, 6.

* *Theatrical representations were so called.*

vited. (*r*) He alſo treated his whole army. It was then he had the famous viſion, in which he was exhorted to march ſpeedily into Aſia, of which mention will be made in the ſequel.

Before he ſet out upon this expedition, he ſettled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thouſand foot, and near the ſame number of horſe.

He alſo enquired into the domeſtick affairs of his friends, giving to one an eſtate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. And as all the revenues of his demeſnes were already employed and exhauſted by his donations, Perdiccas ſaid to him, *My lord, what is it you reſerve for yourſelf?* Alexander replying, *Hope:* Says Perdiccas, *The ſame hope ought therefore to ſatisfy us*; and ſo refuſed very generouſly to accept of what the king had appointed him.

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of governing it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was ſenſible, that this ſecret conſiſts in making it the intereſt of every individual to promote his grandeur; and to govern his ſubjects in ſuch a manner, that they may feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then the intereſt of every perſon unites with that of the prince. They are one's own poſſeſſions, one's own happineſs which we love in his perſon; and we are ſo many times attached to him (and by as cloſe ties) as there are things we love, and receive from him. All the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew, that no perſon ever made a more happy uſe of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himſelf raiſed to the throne, merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither ſatisfied nor exhauſted by the nobleſt acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having completely ſettled affairs in Macedonia, and uſed all the precautions imaginable, to prevent any troubles from ariſing in it during

(*r*) Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. xi.

ring his abſence, ſet out for Aſia in the beginning of the ſpring. His army conſiſted of little more than thirty thouſand foot, and four or five thouſand horſe; but then they were all brave men; were well diſciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made ſeveral campaigns under Philip; and were each of them *, in caſe of neceſſity, capable of commanding. Moſt of the officers were near threeſcore years of age; and when they were either aſſembled †, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable ſenate. Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas, his ſon, had eighteen hundred horſe ‡ under him; and Callas, the ſon of Harpalus, the ſame number of Theſſalian cavalry. The reſt of the horſe, who were compoſed of natives of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, and amounted to ſix hundred, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Caſſander. Alexander began his route along the lake Cercinum towards Amphipolis; croſſed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Seſtos after twenty days march. He then commanded Parmenio to croſs over from Seſtos to Abydos, with all the horſe and part of the foot; which he accordingly did by the aſſiſtance of an hundred and threeſcore gallies, and ſeveral flat-bottomed veſſels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achaians, himſelf ſteering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Helleſpont, he ſacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereides; and made effuſions in the ſea from a golden cup. It is alſo related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as thereby to take poſſeſſion of it, he landed the firſt in Aſia; and leaping from the ſhip, completely armed, and in the higheſt tranſports of joy, he erected altars on the

* Ut non tam milites, quàm magiſtros militiæ electos putares. *Juſtin.* l. xi. c. 6.

† Ut, ſi principia caſtrorum cerneres, ſenatum te alicujus priſcæ reip. videre diceres.. *Id.*

‡ *Theſe were all Macedonians.*

ſhore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with ſo propitious a deſcent. He had done the ſame at his leaving Europe.

He depended ſo entirely on the happy ſucceſs of his arms, and the rich ſpoils he ſhould find in Aſia, that he had made very little proviſion for ſo great an expedition; perſuaded that war, when carried on ſucceſsfully, would ſupply all things neceſſary for war. He had but ſeventy * talents in money, to pay his army, and only a month's proviſion. I before obſerved, that he had divided his patrimony among his generals, and officers; and a circumſtance of great importance is, that he had inſpired his ſoldiers with ſo much courage and ſecurity, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but certain victory.

(*s*) Being arrived at the city of Lampſacus, which he was determined to deſtroy, in order to puniſh the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous hiſtorian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himſelf had a great eſteem for him, having been his pupil. The king ſuſpecting the buſineſs he was come upon, to be beforehand with him, ſwore, in expreſs terms, that he would never grant his requeſt. *The favour I have to deſire of you*, ſays Anaximenes, *is, that you would deſtroy Lampſacus.* By this witty evaſion the hiſtorian ſaved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and cauſed games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found, during his lifetime, a faithful friend in Patroclus; and after his death, a herald in Homer, worthy the greatneſs of his exploits. And indeed †, had it not been for the Iliad,

(*s*) Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3.

* *Seventy thouſand crowns.*

† Cùm in Sigæo ad Achillis tumulum conſtitiſſet: O fortunate, inquit, adoleſcens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris! Et verè. Nam, niſi Ilias illa extitiſſet,

Iliad, the name of Achilles would have perifhed in the fame grave with his body.

At laft Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The *Satrapæ*, or deputy-lieutenants, waited his coming on the other fide of it, firmly refolved to difpute the paffage with him. Their army confifted of * one hundred thoufand foot, and upwards of ten thoufand horfe. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coaft of Afia, had advifed the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay wafte the plains, and even the cities, thereby to ftarve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the beft of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not eafy to determine, what we ought to admire moft in him; whether his great wifdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his fovereign. The counfel he gave on this occafion was excellent, when we confider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous; had neither town, magazine or place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was abfolutely a ftranger; inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arfites, a Phrygian fatrap, oppofed the opinion of Memnon, and protefted he would never fuffer the Grecians to make fuch havock in the territories he governed. This ill counfel prevailed over that of the foreigner (Memnon) whom the Perfians, to their great prejudice, fufpected of a defign to protract the war, and by that means make himfelf neceffary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry drawn up in two lines,

titiffet, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, etiam nomen obruiffet. *Cic. pro Arch.* n. 24.

* *According to Juftin, their army confifted of fix hundred thoufand foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more than twenty thoufand. Both thefe accounts are improbable, and there is doubtlefs fome fault in the text, and therefore I follow Diodorus Siculus.*

lines, with the cavalry in the wings: The baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in battle-array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves; and not to pass the river till very early next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; so that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle-array, on the other side, might easily defeat them before they were drawn up. That, besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprize, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet, for so he called the Granicus out of contempt: That they ought to take advantage of the terror, which the suddenness of his arrival, and the boldness of his attempt, had spread amongst the Persians; and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which was very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander, wherever he should endeavour to pass; and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks, in Darius's service, was posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and to survey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this,

this, Alexander having ordered his horſe to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himſelf commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king firſt cauſed a ſtrong detachment to march into the river, himſelf following it with the reſt of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himſelf led on the right wing into the river, followed by the reſt of the troops; the trumpets ſounding, and the whole army raiſing cries of joy.

The Perſians, ſeeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not ſo great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horſe engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other ſtriving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whoſe cavalry was vaſtly inferior in number, beſides the advantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were ſhot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Perſian horſe were drawn together in this place; and that Memnon, in concert with his ſons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at firſt gave ground, after having loſt the firſt ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them cloſe, and reinforced them with his beſt troops, heads them himſelf, animates them by his preſence, puſhes the Perſians, and routs them; upon which the whole army follow after, croſs the river, and attack the enemy on all ſides.

Alexander firſt charged the thickeſt part of the enemy's horſe, in which the generals fought. He himſelf was particularly conſpicuous by his ſhield, and the plume of feathers that overſhadowed his helmet, on the two ſides of which there roſe two wings, as it were, of a great length, and ſo vaſtly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his perſon; and though only horſe engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either ſide; every one ſtriving

to repulſe his adverſary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and ſon-in-law to Darius, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt of the generals by his ſuperior bravery. Being ſurrounded by forty Perſian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his ſide, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander obſerving in how gallant a manner he ſignalized himſelf, clapt ſpurs to his horſe, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engage, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other ſlightly. Spithrobates falls furiouſly ſword in hand upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thruſts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment, Roſaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the ſide, gives him ſo furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cuts off Roſaces's hand with one ſtroke of his ſcimetar, and by that means ſaved his ſovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been expoſed, greatly animated the courage of his ſoldiers, who now perform wonders. The Perſians in the center of the horſe, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been poſted in the intervals of the horſe, poured a perpetual diſcharge of darts; being unable to ſuſtain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who ſtruck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not purſue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

Theſe, ſays the hiſtorian, at firſt ſtood their ground, which was owing to the ſurpriſe they were ſeized with, rather than bravery. But when they ſaw themſelves attacked at the ſame time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had croſſed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged; thoſe of the Perſians did not make either a long or a vigorous re-

ſiſtance,

ſiſtance, and were ſoon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's ſervice excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promiſe from Alexander to let them march away unmoleſted; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than thoſe of reaſon, he ruſhed into the midſt of this body of foot, and preſently loſt his horſe, (not Bucephalus) who was killed with the thruſt of a ſword. The battle was ſo hot round him, that moſt of the Macedonians, who loſt their lives on this occaſion, fell here; for they fought againſt a body of men who were ſo well diſciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in deſpair. They were all cut to pieces, two thouſand excepted, who were taken priſoners.

A great number of the chief Perſian commanders lay dead on the ſpot. Arſites fled into Phrygia, where it is ſaid he laid violent hands upon himſelf, for having been the cauſe that the battle was fought. It would have been more glorious for him, had he died in the field. Twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, were killed in this engagement, on the ſide of the Barbarians; and of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horſe were killed at the firſt attack. Alexander ordered Lyſippus to make their ſtatues in braſs, all which were ſet up in a city of Macedon called Dia, in honour of them, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About threeſcore of the other horſe were killed; and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage, in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and ſervice.

He alſo took the utmoſt care of the wounded, viſited them, and ſaw their wounds dreſſed. He enquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boaſt his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by ſuch a familiarity and condeſcenſion. He alſo granted the rites of ſepulture to the grandees

of

of Perſia, and did not even refuſe it to ſuch Greeks as died in the Perſian ſervice; but all thoſe whom he took priſoners he laid in chains, and ſent them to work as ſlaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the Barbarian ſtandards againſt their country, contrary to the expreſs prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleaſure to ſhare the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and ſent particularly to the Athenians three hundred ſhields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy; and cauſed the glorious inſcription following to be inſcribed on the reſt of the ſpoils: *Alexander, ſon of Philip, with the Greeks, (the Lacedæmonians excepted) gained theſe ſpoils from the Barbarians, who inhabit Aſia.* A conduct of this kind argues a very uncommon and amiable greatneſs of ſoul in a conqueror, who generally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to ſhare in his glory. The greateſt part of the gold and ſilver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of the Perſian luxury, he ſent to his mother.

SECT. IV. ALEXANDER *conquers the greateſt part of Aſia minor. He falls ſick of a mortal diſtemper, occaſioned by bathing in the river Sydnus.* PHILIP *the phyſician cures him in a few days.* ALEXANDER *paſſes the Streights of Cilica.* DARIUS *advances at the ſame time. The bold and free anſwer of* CARIDEMUS *to that prince, which coſts him his life. Deſcription of* DARIUS'*s march.*

A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333.

(*t*) THE ſucceſs of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy conſequences that could naturally be expected from it. Sardis, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the ſide next the ſea, ſurrendered to Alexander, who thereupon gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after

(*t*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 503---511. Arrian. l. i. p. 36---59. & l. ii. p. 60---66. Plut. in Alex. p. 673, 674. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1---3. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 7, 8. Strab. l. xiv. p. 640. Solin. c. xl.

after he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. He offered a great number of sacrifices to that goddess; solemnized her mysteries with the utmost pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle array. The Ephesians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burnt the night of Alexander's birth, as was before observed, and the work was now very forward. Dinocrates, a famous architect, who superintended this edifice, was employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Ephesians all the expences they had already been at, and to furnish the remainder, provided they would inscribe the temple only with his name; for he was fond, or rather insatiable, of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Ephesus not being willing to consent to it, and however afraid to refuse him that honour openly, had recourse to an artful flattery for an evasion. They told him, that it was inconsistent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him: And indeed the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made a shew as if it would succour that city; but after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to sail away. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers, who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planted scaling-ladders on all sides. The scalado was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve

lieve one another without the leaſt intermiſſion; and this laſted ſeveral days. At laſt, finding his ſoldiers were every where repulſed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long ſiege, he planted all his machines againſt it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever theſe were attacked, a new ſcalado was attempted. The beſieged, after ſuſtaining all theſe efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by ſtorm. Alexander treated all the Mileſians with the utmoſt humanity, and ſold all the foreigners who were found in it. The hiſtorians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that he marched out with the garriſon.

A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333.

Alexander ſeeing that the enemy's fleet was ſailed away, reſolved to lay up his own, the expence of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some hiſtorians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires, he was reſolved to deprive his ſoldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other reſource than that of victory. He therefore retained ſuch veſſels only of his fleet, as were abſolutely neceſſary for tranſporting the military engines, and a ſmall number of other gallies.

After poſſeſſing himſelf of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay ſiege to Halicarnaſſus. This city was of prodigious difficult acceſs from its happy ſituation, and had been ſtrongly fortified. Beſides, Memnon, the ableſt as well as the moſt valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with a body of choice ſoldiers, with deſign to ſignalize his courage and fidelity for his ſovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was ſeconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the moſt intrepid bravery, and the moſt conſummate knowledge in the ſcience of war, was conſpicuous on both ſides on this occaſion. After the beſiegers had, with incredible labour, filled

up

up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, they had the grief to ſee their works demoliſhed in an inſtant, and their engines ſet on fire, by the frequent vigorous ſallies of the beſieged. After beating down part of a wall with their battering-rams, they were aſtoniſhed to ſee a new one behind it; which was ſo ſudden, that it ſeemed to riſe out of the ground. The attack of theſe walls, which were built in ſemicircular form, deſtroyed a prodigious number of men; becauſe the beſieged, from the top of the towers that were raiſed on the ſeveral ſides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently ſeen at this ſiege, that the ſtrongeſt fortifications of a city, are the valour and courage of its defenders. The ſiege was held out ſo long, and attended with ſuch ſurprizing difficulties, as would have diſcouraged any warrior but an Alexander; yet his troops were animated by the view of dangers, and their patience was at laſt ſucceſsful. Memnon, finding it impoſſible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the ſea was open to him, after having put a ſtrong garriſon into the citadel, which was well ſtored with proviſion, he took with him the ſurviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the iſland of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnaſſus. Alexander did not think proper to beſiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was deſtroyed, which he demoliſhed to the very foundations. He left it, after having encompaſſed it with ſtrong walls, and left ſome good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemiſia, queen of Caria, Idrieus her brother reigned in her ſtead. The ſcepter devolved upon Ada, ſiſter and wife of Idrieus, according to the cuſtom of the country; but ſhe was dethroned by Pexodorus, to whom ſucceeded, by Darius's command, Orontobates his ſon-in-law. Ada however was ſtill poſſeſſed of a fortreſs called Alinda, the keys of which ſhe had carried to Alexander, the inſtant ſhe heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her ſon. The king was ſo far from

contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet poſſeſſion of her own city; and, after having taken Halicarnaſſus, as he by that means was maſter of the whole country, he reſtored the government of it to Ada.

(*u*) This lady, as a teſtimony of the deep ſenſe ſhe had of the favours received from Alexander, ſent him every day meats dreſſed in the moſt exquiſite manner; delicious pies of all ſorts, and the moſt excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander anſwered the queen on this occaſion, "That all this train was of no ſervice to "him, for that he was poſſeſſed of much better "cooks, whom * Leonidas his governor had given "him; one of whom prepared him a good dinner, "and that was by walking a great deal in the morn-"ing very early; and the other prepared him an ex-"cellent ſupper, and that was dining very mode-"rately."

Several kings of Aſia minor ſubmitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates king of Pontus was one of theſe, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was ſon to Ariobarzanes governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elſewhere. (*x*) He is computed to be the ſixteenth king from Artabazus, who is conſidered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in poſſeſſion by Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes his father. The famous Mithridates, who ſo long employed the Roman armies, was one of his ſucceſſors.

Alexander, before he went into winter-quarters, permitted all ſuch of his ſoldiers, as had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to ſpend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the ſpring. He appointed three officers to march them thither and back again. This agrees

(*u*) Plut. in Alex. p. 677. (*x*) Florus, l. iii. c. 5.

* Βελτίσας γὰρ ὀψοποιὸς ἔχειν νυκτοφύλακα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ Λεωνίδου δεῖλιγαρίζεσθαι. ὁμοίως αὐτῷ· πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄριστον

agrees exactly with the law of *(y)* Moſes; and, as we do not find that this law or cuſtom was uſed by any other nation, it is very probable that Ariſtotle had learnt it from ſome Jew, with whom he became acquainted in Aſia; and that approving it as a very wiſe and juſt cuſtom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occaſion.

The next year Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated, whether it would be proper for him to march directly againſt Darius, or ſhould firſt ſubdue the reſt of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the ſafeſt, ſince he thereby would not be moleſted by ſuch nations as he ſhould leave behind him. (z) This progreſs was a little interrupted at firſt. Near Phaſelis, a city ſituated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the ſea-ſhore, which is always dry at low water, ſo that travellers may paſs it at that time; but when the ſea riſes, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was deſirous of paſſing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waiſt. Some hiſtorians, purely to embelliſh this incident, relate that the ſea, by the divine command, had ſubmitted ſpontaneouſly to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the uſual courſe of nature; among theſe writers is Quintus Curtius. It is ſurprizing that Joſephus the hiſtorian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews paſſing through the Red ſea on dry land, ſhould have cited this circumſtance by way of example, the falſity of which Alexander himſelf had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he had wrote only as follows in one of his letters, *That when he left the city of Phaſelis, he marched on foot through the paſs of the mountain called Climax:* And it is very well known that this prince, who was vaſtly fond of the marvellous, never let ſlip any opportunity of perſuading the

 people,

(y) Deut. xxiv. 5. (z) Strab. l. xiv. p. 666.

people, that the gods protected him in a very ſingular manner.

During his being in the neighbourhood of Phaſelis, he diſcovered a conſpiracy which was carrying on by Alexander ſon of Eropus, whom he had a little before appointed general of the Theſſalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this traitor had ſent him, promiſed him a reward of a thouſand * talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in caſe he could murder Alexander; believing this was not paying too dear for a crime, which would rid him of ſo formidable an enemy. The meſſenger who carried the king's anſwer being ſeized, made a full confeſſion, by which means the traitor was brought to condign puniſhment.

Alexander, after having ſettled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marſyas, which the fictions of poets have made ſo famous. He ſummoned the garriſon of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to ſurrender; but theſe believing it impregnable, anſwered haughtily, that they would firſt die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they deſired a truce of ſixty days, at the expiration of which they promiſed to open their gates, in caſe they were not ſuccoured: And accordingly, no aid arriving, they ſurrendered themſelves upon the day fixed.

From thence the king marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the ancient and famous reſidence of king Midas, ſituated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was deſirous of ſeeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which faſtened the yoke to the beam, was tied with ſo much art, and the ſtrings were twiſted in ſo wonderful a manner, that it was impoſſible to diſcover where it begun or ended. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle

* *About one million five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.*

oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, ſhould poſſeſs the empire of Aſia. Now Alexander was firmly perſuaded that this promiſe related to himſelf; after many fruitleſs trials, he cried, (*a*) *It is no matter which way it be untied*, and thereupon cut it with his ſword, and by that means, ſays the hiſtorian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.

In the mean time Darius was ſetting every engine at work, in order to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian adviſed him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counſel ſeemed the moſt proper, to extricate him from preſent danger; for the Lacedæmonians, and ſeveral other Greek nations, who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander muſt have been forced to leave Aſia, and return ſuddenly over-ſea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counſel, and, having determined to follow it, charged Memnon to put it in execution. Accordingly, he was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the forces deſigned for that expedition.

That prince could not poſſibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ableſt general in his ſervice, had fought a great many years under the Perſian ſtandards with the utmoſt fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his maſter's intereſts after that misfortune, but had aſſembled the ſcattered remains of the army, and immediately went firſt to Miletus, from thence to Halicarnaſſus, and laſtly into the iſland of Cos, where he was when he received his new commiſſion. This place was the rendezvous for the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his deſign in execution. He made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Chios, and all Leſbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to paſs over into Eubœa, and to make Greece and Macedonia the ſeat of the war, but

(*a*) Sortem oraculi vel eluſit, vel implevit. *Quint. Curt.*

died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to beſiege. His death was the greateſt misfortune that could poſſibly have happened to Perſia. We ſee on this occaſion the ineſtimable worth of a man of merit, whoſe death is ſometimes the ruin of a ſtate. The loſs of Memnon fruſtrated the execution of the plan he had formed; for Darius not having one general in his army who was able to ſupply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterprize which could have ſaved his empire. His whole refuge therefore now lay in the armies of the Eaſt. Darius, diſſatisfied with all his generals, reſolved to command in perſon, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army; whereupon being muſtered, they were found to be about four, five, or ſix hundred thouſand men, for hiſtorians differ very much on this head.

Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he ſubdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the reſolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Aſia. Accordingly he advanced by haſty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called * Cyrus's camp. From thence there is no more than fifty ſtadia (two leagues and a half each) to the paſs of Cilicia, which is a very narrow ſtreight, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarſus. The officer, who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few ſoldiers in it, and thoſe fled the inſtant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the paſs, and, after viewing very attentively the ſituation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confeſſed, that he might have been very eaſily ſtopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of ſtones: For, not to mention that this paſs was ſo narrow, that four men compleatly armed could ſcarcely walk a breaſt in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not

* *Quintus Curtius ſuppoſes it to be ſo called from Cyrus the Great, and Arrian from the younger Cyrus, which opinion appears the moſt probable.*

not only ſtraight, but broke in ſeveral places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarſus, where it arrived the inſtant the Perſians were ſetting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of ſo flouriſhing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had ſent thither with a detachment of horſe, arrived very ſeaſonably to ſtop the progreſs of the fire, and marched into the city, which he ſaved; the Barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not ſo remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vaſtly limpid; but at the ſame time exceſſively cold, becauſe of the tufted trees with which its banks are over-ſhadowed. It was now about the end of ſummer, which is exceſſively hot in Cilicia, and in the hotteſt part of the day, when the king, who was quite covered with ſweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river, invited by the beauty and clearneſs of the ſtream. However, the inſtant he plunged into it, he was ſeized with ſo violent a ſhivering, that all the ſtanders-by fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this ſad diſaſter threw the whole army into the utmoſt conſternation. They all burſt into tears, and breathed their plaints in the following words: "The greateſt prince that ever lived is torne from "us in the midſt of his proſperities and conqueſts; "not in a battle, or at the ſtorming of a city; but "dies by his bathing in a river. Darius, who is "coming up with us, will conquer before he has "ſeen his enemy. We ſhall be forced to retire, "like ſo many fugitives, through thoſe very coun-"tries which we entered with triumph; and as the "places through which we muſt paſs are either "deſart or depopulated, hunger only, ſhould we "meet no other enemy, will itſelf deſtroy us. But "who ſhall guide us in our flight, or dare to ſet

"himſelf up in Alexander's ſtead? And ſhould we "be ſo happy as to arrive at the Helleſpont, how "ſhall we furniſh ourſelves with veſſels to croſs it?" After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and forgetting themſelves, they cried aloud: "Alas! how ſad is it that he, who was our king, "and the companion of our toils; a king in the "flower of his youth, and in the courſe of his "greateſt proſperities, ſhould be taken off, and in a "manner torne from our arms!"

At laſt the king recovered his ſenſes by degrees, and began to know the perſons who ſtood round him; though the only ſymptoms he gave of his recovery was, his being ſenſible of his illneſs. But he was more indiſpoſed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might ſoon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus expoſed naked and defenceleſs to his enemy, and robbed of ſo noble a victory, ſince he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obſcurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promiſed himſelf. Having ordered his confidents and phyſicians to come into his tent, "You ſee (ſaid he) my friends, the ſad extremity "to which fortune reduces me. Methinks I already "hear the ſound of the enemy's arms, and ſee Darius "advancing. He undoubtedly held intelligence with "my evil * genius, when he wrote letters to his "lieutenants in ſo lofty and contemptuous a ſtrain; "however, he ſhall not obtain his deſire, provided "ſuch a cure as I want is attempted. The preſent "condition of my affairs will not admit either of "ſlow remedies or fearful phyſicians. A ſpeedy "death is more eligible to me than a ſlow cure. In "caſe the phyſicians think it is in their power to do "me any good, they are to know, that I do not ſo "much wiſh to live as to fight."

This

* *Darius, who imagined himſelf ſure of overcoming Alexander, had writ to his lieutenants, that they ſhould chaſtiſe this young fool; and after cloathing him in purple out of deriſion, ſhould ſend him bound hand and foot to the court.* Freinſheim in Quint. Curt.

This ſudden impatience of the king ſpread an univerſal alarm. The phyſicians, who were ſenſible they ſhould be anſwerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies; eſpecially as Darius had publiſhed, that he would reward with a thouſand * talents the man who ſhould kill Alexander. However Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his phyſicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, not only as his ſovereign, but his child; raiſing himſelf (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential conſiderations, offered to give him a doſe; which, though not very violent, would nevertheleſs be ſpeedy in its effects; and deſired three days to prepare it. At this propoſal every one trembled, but him only whom it moſt concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than becauſe it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promiſe of a thouſand talents, and his ſiſter in marriage. This † letter gave him great uneaſineſs, for he was now at full leiſure to weigh all the reaſons he might have to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a phyſician, whoſe ſincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, ſoon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. Upon this, he folded up the letter, and put it under his bolſter, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine, when Alexander taking the letter from under the bolſter, gives it Philip to read. At the ſame

* *About* 145,000l. *ſterling.*

† Ingentem animo ſolicitudinem literæ incuſſerant; & quicquid in utramque partem aut metus aut ſpes ſubjecerat, ſecreta æſtimatione penſabat. *Q. Curt.*

ſame time he takes the cup, and fixing his eyes on the phyſician, ſwallows the draught without the leaſt heſitation, or without diſcovering the leaſt ſuſpicion or uneaſineſs. Philip, as he peruſed the letter, had ſhewed greater ſigns of indignation than of fear or ſurprize; and throwing himſelf upon the king's bed--- *Royal Sir*, ſays he, with a reſolute tone of voice, *your recovery will ſoon clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would be caſy in your own mind; and ſuffer the draught to operate, and not regard the intelligence you have received from ſervants, who indeed have ſhewn their zeal for your welfare; which zeal, however, is very indiſcreet and unſeaſonable.* Theſe words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; ſo taking Philip by the hand, *Be you yourſelf eaſy*, ſays he to him, *for I believe you are diſquieted upon a double account; firſt for my recovery, and ſecondly for your own juſtification.*

In the mean time, the phyſick worked ſo violently, that the accidents which attended it, ſtrengthened Parmenio's accuſation; for the king loſt his ſpeech, and was ſeized with ſuch ſtrong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulſe left, or the leaſt ſymptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of phyſick to recover him, and in every lucid interval, diverted him with agreeable ſubjects; diſcourſing one moment about his mother and his ſiſters, and another, about the mighty victory which was advancing, with haſty ſteps, to crown his paſt triumphs. At laſt the phyſician's art having gained the aſcendant, and diffuſed through every vein a ſalutary and vivifick virtue; his mind firſt began to reſume its former vigour, and afterwards his body, much ſooner than had been expected. Three days after he ſhewed himſelf to the army, who were never ſatisfied with gazing upon him, and could ſcarce believe their eyes; ſo much the greatneſs of the danger had ſurprized and dejected them. No careſſes were enough for the phyſician; every one embracing him with the utmoſt tender-

neſs, and returning him thanks as to a god who had ſaved the life of their ſovereign.

Beſides the reſpect which theſe people had naturally for their kings, words can never expreſs how greatly they admired this monarch more than any other, and the ſtrong affection they bore him. They were perſuaded, that he did not undertake any thing but by the immediate aſſiſtance of the gods; and as ſucceſs always attended his deſigns, his raſhneſs became glorious in him, and ſeemed to have ſomething inexpreſſibly divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of ſuch mighty enterprizes, and which however overcame all difficulties, gave a freſh merit and a brighter luſtre to his actions. * Beſides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, and which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the ſoldiery, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander; ſuch as his taking delight in bodily exerciſes; his diſcovering a ſkill and excellency in them; his going cloathed like the common ſoldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himſelf with inferiors, without leſſening his dignity; his ſharing in toils and dangers with the moſt laborious and intrepid; qualities which, whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflexion, made him equally beloved and reſpected by his ſoldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of a vain ſecurity in the infinite number of his troops, and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their diſparity in that point. The plains of Aſſyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horſe as he pleaſed, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of ſoldiers in each army gave him; but inſtead of this, he reſolves to march to narrow paſſes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, ſo far from doing him any ſervice, would only

* Quæ leviora haberi ſolent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo ſunt. *Q. Curt.*

only incumber one another; and accordingly he advances towards the enemy, for whom he ſhould have waited, and runs viſibly to his own deſtruction. Nevertheleſs, the grandees of his court, whoſe cuſtom it was to flatter and applaud his every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would ſoon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who perſonally hated Alexander, for having cauſed him to be baniſhed from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, aſked, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the boſom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of ſlavery, where to oppoſe the inclination of a prince is of the moſt dangerous conſequence, replied as follows: "Poſſibly, Sir, you may not be pleaſed with "my telling you the truth; but in caſe I do not do "it now, it will be too late hereafter. This mighty "parade of war, this prodigious number of men "which has drained all the Eaſt, might indeed be "formidable to your neighbours. Gold and purple "ſhine in every part of your army, which is ſo "prodigiouſly ſplendid, that thoſe who have not "ſeen it, could never form an idea of its magnificence. But the ſoldiers who compoſe the Macedonian army, terrible to behold, and briſtling in "every part with arms, do not amuſe themſelves "with ſuch idle ſhew. Their only care is to diſcipline, in a regular manner, their battalions, and "to cover themſelves cloſe with their bucklers and "pikes. Their phalanx is a body of infantry, which "engages without flinching; and keeps ſo cloſe in "their ranks, that the ſoldiers and their arms form "a kind of impenetrable work. In a word, every "ſingle man among them, the officers as well as "ſoldiers, are ſo well trained up, ſo attentive to the "command of their leaders, that, whether they are "to aſſemble under their ſtandards, to turn to the

"right

" right or left, to double their ranks, and face about " to the enemy on all ſides, at the leaſt ſignal they " make every motion and evolution of the art of war. " But that you may be perſuaded, theſe Macedo- " nians are not invited hither *, from the hopes of " gaining gold and ſilver; know, that this excel- " lent diſcipline has ſubſiſted hitherto by the ſole aid " and precepts of poverty. Are they hungry? they " ſatisfy their appetite with any kind of food. Are " they weary? they repoſe themſelves on the bare " ground, and in the day-time are always upon their " feet. Do you fancy that the Theſſalian cavalry, " and that of Acarnania and Ætolia, who all are " armed cap-a-pee, are to be repulſed by ſtones hurled " from ſlings, and with ſticks burnt at the end? " Such troops as are like themſelves, will be able to " check their career; and ſuccours muſt be procured " from their country, to oppoſe their bravery and " experience. Send therefore thither all the uſeleſs " gold and ſilver which I ſee here, and purchaſe " formidable ſoldiers." † Darius was naturally of a mild, tractable diſpoſition; but good fortune will corrupt the moſt happy diſpoſition. Few monarchs are reſolute and courageous enough to withſtand their own power, to repulſe the flattery of the many people who are perpetually fomenting their paſſions, and to eſteem a man who loves them ſo well, to contradict and diſpleaſe them, in telling them the genuine truth. But Darius, not having ſtrength of mind ſufficient for this, gives orders for dragging to execution a man who had fled to him for protection, was at that time his gueſt, and gave him at that time the beſt counſel that could have been propoſed to him. However, as this cruel treatment could not ſilence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his uſual freedom; " My avenger is at hand, the very man in " oppoſition to whom I gave you counſel, and he " will

* Et, ne auri argentique ſtudio teneri putes, adhuc illa diſciplina paupertate magiſtra ſtetit. *Q. Curt.*

† Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, niſi etiam ſuam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. *Q. Curt. I ſuſpect the particle* ſuam.

" will ſoon puniſh you for deſpiſing it. * As for " you, Darius, in whom ſovereign power has wrought " ſo ſudden a change, you will teach poſterity, that " when once men abandon themſelves to the delu- " ſion of fortune, ſhe eraſes from their minds all the " ſeeds of goodneſs implanted in them by nature." Darius ſoon repented his having put to death ſo valuable a perſon; and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a cuſtom long uſed by the Perſians, never to ſet out upon a march till after ſun-riſe, at which time the trumpet was ſounded for that purpoſe from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited to the view of the whole army, the image of the ſun ſet in cryſtal. The order they obſerved in their march was this.

Firſt, they carried ſilver altars, on which there lay fire, called by them ſacred and eternal; and theſe were followed by the magi, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by three hundred and ſixty-five youths (agreeable to the number of days in a year) cloathed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot conſecrated to † Jupiter, drawn by white horſes, and followed by a courſer of a prodigious ſize, to whom they gave the name of the ſun's horſe; and the equerries were dreſſed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with ſculptures in gold and ſilver, followed after. Then marched a body of horſe, compoſed of twelve nations, whoſe manners and cuſtoms were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced thoſe whom the Perſians called *The Immortals*, amounting to ten thouſand, who ſurpaſſed the reſt of the Barbarians in the ſumptuouſneſs

* Tu quidem, licentia regni ſubitò mutatus documentum eris poſteris, homines, cum ſe permiſere fortunæ, etiam naturam dediſcere. *Q. Curt.*

† *Jupiter was a god unknown to the Perſians. Quintus Curtius therefore, in all probability, calls the firſt and greateſt of their gods by that name.*

ſumptuouſneſs of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were cloathed in robes of gold tiſſue, with ſurtouts (having ſleeves to them) quite covered with precious ſtones.

Thirty paces from them, followed thoſe called the king's couſins or * relations, to the number of fifteen thouſand, in habits very much reſembling thoſe of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dreſs than the glitter of their arms.

Thoſe called the † Doryphori came after; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he ſeemed to ſit as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both ſides with images of the gods in gold and ſilver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, roſe two ſtatues a cubit in height, the one repreſenting war, the other peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was cloathed in a veſt of purple, ſtriped with ſilver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious ſtones, that repreſented two falcons ruſhing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waiſt he wore a ‡ golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his ſcymitar hung, the ſcabbard of which flamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each ſide of him walked two hundred of his neareſt relations, followed by ten thouſand pikemen, whoſe pikes were adorned with ſilver, and tipt with gold; and laſtly, thirty thouſand infantry, who compoſed the rear-guard. Theſe were followed by the king's horſes (four hundred in number) all which were led.

About one hundred, or an hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Syſigambis, Darius's mother, ſeated

* *This was a title of dignity. Poſſibly a great number of the king's relations were in this body.*

† *Theſe were guards who carried a half pike.*

‡ *Cidaris.*

ſeated on a chariot, and his conſort on another, with the ſeveral female attendants of both queens riding on horſeback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and thoſe who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great eſteem with thoſe nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and ſixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by ſix hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treaſure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After theſe came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greateſt lords of the court; then the ſutlers, and ſervants of the army, ſeated alſo in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who cloſed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the deſcription of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the leaſt reaſon would have been ſo ſtupid, as to incorporate with their forces ſo cumberſome a train of women, princeſſes, concubines, eunuchs, and domeſticks of both ſexes? But the cuſtom of the country was reaſon ſufficient. Darius, at the head of ſix hundred thouſand men, and ſurrounded with this mighty pomp prepared for himſelf only, fancied he was great, and roſe in the idea he had formed of himſelf. Yet ſhould we reduce him to his juſt proportion and his perſonal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the ſame judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

SECT. V. ALEXANDER *gains a famous victory over* DARIUS, *near the city of Iſſus. The conſequences of that victory.*

A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

FOR the clearer underſtanding of Alexander's march, and that of Darius, and the better fixing the ſituation of the ſpot where the ſecond battle was fought, we muſt diſtinguiſh three ſtreights or paſſes. The

A MAP
Of the Places Adjacent to
I S S U S
To facilitate the Understanding
of the Marches of Alexander, and
Darius, towards that City.

(*b*) The first of these is immediately at the descent from mount Taurus; in the way to the city of Tarsus, through which, as has been already seen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The second is the pass of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the pass of Amanus, so called from that mountain. This pass, which leads into Cilicia from Assyria, is much higher than the pass of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, in order to secure it for his march. As for himself, after marching from Tarsus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is said to have built. His tomb was still to be seen in that city with this inscription, *Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarsus in one day*: GO, PASSENGER, EAT, DRINK, AND REJOICE, FOR THE REST IS NOTHING. From hence he came to Solæ, where he offered sacrifices to Æsculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himself headed the ceremony with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there solemnized games; after which he returned to Tarsus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the plains of Aleius, towards the river Pyramus, he himself went with the infantry and his life-guard to Magarsus, whence he arrived at Malles, and afterwards at Castabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Assyria, two days journey from Cilicia. There Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to march towards Darius, he set out the next day to give him battle. Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and, after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. The king left the sick in Issus, marched his whole army through the

 pass,

(*b*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 512---518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 66---82. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4---12. Justin. l. xi. c. 9, & 10.

paſs, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the badneſs of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Aſſyria, of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his ſervice, and formed the chief ſtrength of his army, adviſed him to wait there the coming-up of the enemy. For, beſides that this ſpot was open on all ſides, and very advantageous for his horſe, it was ſpacious enough to contain his vaſtly-numerous hoſt, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. However, if he ſhould not approve of their counſel, they then adviſed him to ſeparate this multitude, and ſelect ſuch only as were the flower of his troops; and conſequently not venture his whole army upon a ſingle battle, which perhaps might be deciſive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian obſerves, for ever abound, called theſe Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counſelling the king to divide his troops was, that, after they ſhould once be ſeparated from the reſt, they might have an eaſier opportunity of delivering up into the enemy's hands whatever might be in their power; but that the ſafeſt way would be, to ſurround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as an illuſtrious example of the puniſhment due to traitors. This propoſal was vaſtly ſhocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane diſpoſition He therefore anſwered, "That he was "far from ever deſigning to commit ſo horrible a "crime; that ſhould he be guilty of it, no nation "would afterwards give the leaſt credit to his pro-"miſes; that it * was never known that a perſon "had been put to death for giving imprudent coun-"ſel; that no man would ever venture to give his "opinion, if it were attended with ſuch danger, a "circumſtance that would be of the moſt fatal con-"ſequence to princes." He then thanked the Greeks

* Neminem ſtolidum conſilium capite luere debere; defuturos enim qui ſuaderent, ſi ſuaſiſſe periculum eſſet. *Q. Curt.*

Greeks for their zeal and good-will, and condescended to lay before them the reasons which prompted him not to follow their advice.

The courtiers had persuaded Darius, that Alexander's long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Persian army had filled him (for they had not heard a word of his indisposition;) that fortune, merely for their sake, had led Alexander into streights and narrow passes, whence it would be impossible for him to get out, in case they should fall upon him immediately; that they ought to seize this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy should fly, by which means Alexander would escape them. Upon this, it was resolved in council, that the army should march in search of him; the gods, says an (c) historian, blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might rush down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the destruction of the Persian monarchy.

Darius having sent his treasure with his most precious moveables to Damascus, a city of Syria, under a small convoy, marched the main body of the army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the pass of Amanus, which lies far above the passes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princesses his daughters, and the little prince his son, followed the army according to the custom of the Persians, but were in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia (from east westward) he turned short towards Issus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been assured that this prince fled before him, and was retired in great disorder into Syria; and therefore Darius was now considering how he might best pursue him. He barbarously put to death all the sick who were then in the city of Issus, a few soldiers excepted, whom he dismissed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be spectators of the prodigious multitude of

(c) Arrian.

his forces. These soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could scarce believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he desired more earnestly. But he himself was soon an eye-witness to the truth of it, upon which he began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the Barbarians were so numerous, that they could attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and palisadoes, discovering an incredible joy to see his desire fulfilled, which was, to engage in those passes, whither the gods seemed to have led Darius expressly to deliver him into his hands.

And, indeed, this spot of ground, which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in some measure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole army; whereas the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheless Alexander, as frequently happens to the greatest captains, felt some emotion when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived from the reflexion, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one, well knowing, that upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night,

night, which began at twelve, he went * to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, ſacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater ſpeed, arrived by day-break at the ſeveral poſts aſſigned them: But now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king cauſed his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle-array. The peaſants in the greateſt terror came alſo and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at firſt believe, imagining, as we have obſerved, that Alexander fled before him, and endeavoured to eſcape. This news threw his troops into the utmoſt confuſion, who in that ſurprize ran to their arms with great precipitation and diſorder.

The ſpot where the battle was fought lay near the city of Iſſus, which the mountains bounded on one ſide, and the ſea on the other. The plain, that was ſituated between them both, muſt have been conſiderably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before obſerved, that Darius's was vaſtly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the ſea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulph, the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He poſted at the extremity of the right wing, which ſtood near the mountains, the † Argyraſpides, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the center of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he poſted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and laſtly, that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which

* *The ancients uſed to offer up their ſacrifices upon eminences.*

† *This was a body of infantry, diſtinguiſhed by their ſilver ſhields, but much more ſo by their great bravery.*

we find was compoſed of ſix diſtinct corps or brigades. Each of theſe bodies was headed by able generals; but Alexander being always generaliſſimo, had conſequently the command of the whole army. The horſe were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Theſſalians, on the right, and thoſe of Peloponneſus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot which compoſed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reſerved to himſelf the command of the right. He had deſired Parmenio to keep as near the ſea as poſſible, to prevent the Barbarians from ſurrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at ſome diſtance from the mountains, to keep himſelf out of the reach of the arrows diſcharged by thoſe who were poſted on them. He covered the horſe of his right wing with the light horſe of Protomachus and the Pæonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reſerved the * Agrians (commanded by Attalus) who were greatly eſteemed, and ſome forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppoſe thoſe Darius had poſted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle-array, he commanded thirty thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand bowmen to croſs the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither ſide. In the center he poſted the thirty thouſand Greeks in his ſervice, who, doubtleſs, were the flower and chief ſtrength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thouſand Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. Theſe were all heavily armed. The reſt of the infantry, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral nations, were ranged behind the firſt line. It is pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of thoſe two lines; but it muſt have

* *Agria was a city between the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope.*

have been prodigious, if we conſider the extreme narrowneſs of the paſs, and the amazing multitude of the Perſian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, againſt Alexander's right wing, Darius poſted twenty thouſand men, who were ſo ranged (in the ſeveral windings of the mountain) that ſome were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having ſet his army in battle-array, made his horſe croſs the river again, and diſpatched the greateſt part of them towards the ſea againſt Parmenio, becauſe they could fight on that ſpot with the greateſt advantage: The reſt of his cavalry he ſent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that theſe would be of no ſervice on that ſide, becauſe of the too great narrowneſs of the ſpot, he cauſed a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himſelf, he took his poſt in the center of his army, purſuant to the cuſtom of the Perſian monarchs.

Alexander, obſerving that moſt of the enemy's horſe was to oppoſe his left wing, which conſiſted only of thoſe of Peloponneſus, and of ſome other allies, detached immediately to it the Theſſalian cavalry, which he cauſed to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being ſeen by the Barbarians. On the ſame ſide (the left) he poſted, before his foot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitacles (a king of Thrace) who were covered by the horſe. The foreigners in his ſervice were behind all the reſt.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend ſo far as the left of the Perſians, which might ſurround and attack it in flank, he drew from the center of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being ſeen by the enemy. He alſo reinforced that wing of his forces which he had oppoſed to the Barbarians on the mountains; for, ſeeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and ſome other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards

the ſummit of it; ſo that he left only three hundred horſe to keep them in, and ſent the reſt, as I obſerved, to reinforce his right wing, which by this means extended further than that of the Perſians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very ſlowly, that his ſoldiers might take a little breath; ſo that it was ſuppoſed they would not engage till very late: For Darius ſtill continued with his army on the other ſide of the river, in order not to loſe the advantageous ſituation of his poſt; and even cauſed ſuch parts of the ſhore as were not craggy to be ſecured with paliſadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in ſight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their ſeveral names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the ſoldiers to ſignalize themſelves, ſpeaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and diſpoſition. To the Macedonians he repreſented, "the victories they had formerly gained in "Europe; the ſtill recent glory of the battle of Gra-"nicus; the great number of cities and provinces "they had left behind them, all which they had ſub-"dued." He added, that "by one ſingle victory "they would poſſeſs themſelves of the Perſian em-"pire; and that the ſpoils of the Eaſt would be the "reward of their bravery and toils." The Greeks he animated, "by the remembrance of the many ca-"lamities which the Perſians (thoſe irreconcilable "enemies to Greece) had brought upon them;" and ſet before them "the famous battle of Marathon, "of Thermopylæ, of Salamis, of Platææ, and the "many others by which they had acquired immortal "glory." He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who uſed to ſubſiſt by plunder and rapine, "view the enemy's army, every part of which ſhone "with gold and purple, and was not loaded ſo much "with arms as with booty. That they therefore "ſhould puſh forward (they who were men) and ſtrip

"all

" all those women of their ornaments; and exchange " their mountains, covered perpetually with ice and " snow, for the smiling plains and rich fields of Persia." The moment he had ended, the whole army set up a shout, and eagerly desired to be led on directly against the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at first very slowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals: But when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right (wing) to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that they might surprize the Barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution; and being now forced to fight close, they charged on both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his sword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private soldier and of a commander, wished nothing so ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius, who being seated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own soldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before; so that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed. Each side fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above all the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot, being quite covered with wounds, began to prance about; and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king, who, seeing himself going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The rest observing this, fled as fast as possible,

ſible, and throwing down their arms, made the beſt of their way. Alexander had received a ſlight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill conſequences.

Whilſt part of the Macedonian infantry (poſted to the right) were carrying the advantages they had gained againſt the Perſians, the remainder of them who engaged the Greeks met with greater reſiſtance. Theſe obſerving that the body of infantry in queſtion were no longer covered by the right (wing) of Alexander's army, which was purſuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to puſh the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the diſorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians alſo ſignalized themſelves with the utmoſt bravery, in order to preſerve the advantage which Alexander had juſt before gained, and ſupport the honour of their phalanx, which had always been conſidered as invincible. There was alſo a perpetual jealouſy between theſe two nations (the Greeks and Macedonians) which greatly increaſed their courage, and made the reſiſtance on each ſide very vigorous. On Alexander's ſide, Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus loſt his life, with an hundred and twenty more conſiderable officers, who all had behaved with the utmoſt gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who oppoſed it, wheeled to the left againſt thoſe Greeks who were fighting with the reſt of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorouſly; and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Perſian cavalry which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had croſſed the river, and ruſhed upon the Theſſalian horſe, ſeveral of whoſe ſquadrons were broke by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuoſity of the firſt charge, and oblige

the Perſians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Perſians ſeeing this, were filled with boldneſs and confidence; and thereupon the greateſt part of them advancing without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of purſuing the enemy. Upon this, the Theſſalians ſeeing them in ſuch confuſion, faced about on a ſudden, and renewed the fight with freſh ardour. The Perſians made a brave defence, till they ſaw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Perſian cavalry compleated the defeat of the army. The Perſian horſe ſuffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they retired in diſorder, and crouded in great numbers through paſſes, they bruiſed and unhorſed one another, and were more annoyed by their own ſoldiers than by the enemy. Beſides, the Theſſalian cavalry purſued them with ſo much fury, that they were as much ſhattered as the infantry, and loſt as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before obſerved, the inſtant he ſaw his left wing broke, he was one of the firſt who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy rugged places, he mounted on horſeback, throwing down his bow, ſhield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to purſue him, till he ſaw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Perſian horſe put to flight; which was of great advantage to the prince that fled.

About eight thouſand of the Greeks that were in Darius's ſervice (with their officers at their head, who were very brave) retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where finding the tranſports which had brought them from Leſbos upon dry ground, they fitted out as many of them as ſuited their purpoſe, and burnt the reſt, to prevent their being purſued.

As

As for the Barbarians, having exerted themſelves with bravery enough in the firſt attack, they afterwards gave way in the moſt ſhameful manner; and, being intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they took different ways. Some ſtruck into the high road which led directly to Perſia; others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a ſmall number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Syſigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, who alſo was his ſiſter, remained in it, with two of the king's daughters, a ſon of his, (a child) and ſome Perſian ladies. For the reſt had been carried to Damaſcus, with part of Darius's treaſure, and all ſuch things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thouſand talents * were found in his camp; but the reſt of the treaſure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damaſcus.

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Alexander, weary of purſuing Darius, ſeeing night draw on, and that it would be impoſſible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his ſoldiers had juſt before plundered. Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The † Perſians, either in the engagement or the rout, loſt a great number of their forces, both horſe and foot; but very few were killed on Alexander's ſide.

That very evening he invited the grandees of his court, and his chief officers, to a feaſt, at which he himſelf was preſent, notwithſtanding the wound he had received, it having only grazed the ſkin. But they were no ſooner ſet down at table, than they heard, from a neighbouring tent, a great noiſe intermixed with groans, which frighted all the company; inſomuch that the ſoldiers, who were upon guard before

* *About* 440,000 l. *ſterling.*

† *According to Quintus Curtius and Arrian, the Perſians loſt an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. And the former hiſtorian relates, that no more than an hundred and fifty horſe, and three hundred foot, were loſt on Alexander's ſide, which does not ſeem very probable.*

fore the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an insurrection. But it was found, that the persons who made this clamour were the mother and wife of Darius, and the rest of the captive ladies, who, supposing that prince dead, bewailed his loss, according to the custom of the Barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. An eunuch, who had seen Darius's cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards stripped him of that garment, had carried them that false account.

We are told that Alexander, upon being told the reason of this false alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he considered the sad calamity of Darius, and the tender disposition of those princesses, whom his misfortunes only affected. He thereupon sent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to assure them, that the man whose death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus, taking some soldiers with him, came to the tent of the princesses, and sent word, that he was come to pay them a visit in the king's name. The persons, who were at the entrance of the tent, seeing a band of armed men, imagined that their mistresses were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their last hour was come, and that soldiers were dispatched to murder them; so that these princesses, being seized with the utmost distraction, did not make the least answer, but waited in deep silence for the orders of the conqueror. At last, Leonatus having staid a long time, and seeing no one appear, left his soldiers at the door, and came into the tent: But their terror increased, when they saw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themselves at his feet, and intreated, that "before he put them to death, they might be "allowed to bury Darius after the manner of their "country; and that when they had paid this last "duty to their king, they should die contented." Leonatus answered, "That Darius was living; and "that so far from giving them any offence, they "should be treated as queens, and live in their former "splendor."

"ſplendor." Syſigambis hearing this, began to recover her ſpirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raiſe her from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after viſiting the wounded, cauſed the laſt honours to be paid to the dead, in preſence of the whole army, drawn up in the moſt ſplendid order of battle. He treated the Perſians of diſtinction in the ſame manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever perſons ſhe pleaſed, according to the cuſtoms and ceremonies practiſed in her country. However, this prudent princeſs uſed that permiſſion in regard only to a few who were her near relations; and that with ſuch a modeſty and reſerve as ſhe thought ſuited her preſent condition. The king teſtified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, eſpecially to the chief officers, whoſe actions he applauded in the ſtrongeſt terms, as well thoſe of which he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs, as ſuch as had been only related to him; and he made preſents to all, according to their merit and ſtation.

After Alexander had performed theſe ſeveral duties, truly worthy a great monarch, he ſent a meſſage to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a viſit; and accordingly commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæſtion. He was his favourite, and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed his ſecrets to him, and * nobody elſe dared to ſpeak ſo freely to him; but even Hephæſtion made ſo cautious and diſcreet a uſe of that liberty, that he ſeemed to take it, not ſo much out of inclination, as from a deſire to obey the king, who would have it ſo. They were of the ſame age, but Hephæſtion was taller, ſo that the queens took him at firſt for the king, and paid him their reſpects as ſuch: But ſome captive eunuchs ſhewing them Alexander, Syſigambis fell proſtrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as ſhe had never ſeen him, ſhe hoped that conſideration

* Libertatis quoque in eo admonendo non alius jus habebat; quod tamen ita uſurpabat, ut magis à rege permiſſum quàm vindicatum ab eo videretur. *Quint. Curtius.*

ſideration would plead her apology. The king, raiſing her from the ground, *Dear mother*, ſays he, *you are not miſtaken, for he alſo is an Alexander:* * A fine expreſſion, which does honour to both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have juſtly merited the title of Great; but † fortune had not yet corrupted his ſoul. He bore her at firſt with moderation and wiſdom; but at laſt ſhe overpowered him, and he became unable to reſiſt her.

Syſigambis, ſtrongly affected with theſe teſtimonies of goodneſs and humanity, could not forbear teſtifying her gratitude upon that account. "Great "prince," ſaid ſhe to him, "what words ſhall I find "to expreſs my thanks, in ſuch a manner as may "anſwer your generoſity! You call me your mother, "and honour me ſtill with the title of queen, whereas "I confeſs myſelf your captive. I ‡ know what I "have been, and what I now am. I know the whole "extent of my paſt grandeur, and find I can ſupport "all the weight of my preſent ill fortune. But it "will be glorious for you, as you now have an abſo-"lute power over us, to make us feel it by your cle-"mency only, and not by ill treatment."

The king, after comforting the princeſſes, took Darius's ſon in his arms. This little child, without diſcovering the leaſt terror, embraced Alexander, who being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephæſtion, ſaid to him; *O that Darius had had ſome portion of this tender diſpoſition!*

It is certain that Darius, in the beginning of his reign, behaved in ſuch a manner, that he ſurpaſſed, in clemency and goodneſs, all the kings his predeceſſors; and was ſuperior to a paſſion which conquers and enſlaves the ſtrongeſt. Darius's conſort was the moſt lovely princeſs in the world, as he himſelf was the moſt

* O donum inclitæ vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti ſpecioſum! *Val. Max.* l. iv. c. 7.

† Sed nondum fortuna ſe animo ejus infuderat. Itaque orientem eam moderatè & prudenter tulit; ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. *Quint. Curt.*

‡ Et præteritæ fortunæ faſtigium capio, & præſentis jugum pati poſſum. *Quint. Curt.*

moſt beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and moſt majeſtick ſhape; and the princeſſes their daughters reſembled them. They were, ſays Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a ſacred temple, and a ſanctuary aſſigned for the aſylum of chaſtity, in which all the princeſſes lived ſo retired, that they were not ſeen by any perſon, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the firſt viſit above mentioned, which was a reſpectful and ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid expoſing himſelf to the dangers of human frailty, took a ſolemn reſolution never to viſit Darius's queen any more. (*d*) He himſelf informs us of this memorable circumſtance, in a letter wrote by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians, who had forced the wives of ſome foreign ſoldiers. In this letter the following words were read: *For, as to myſelf, it will be found that I neither ſaw, nor would ſee, the wife of Darius; and did not ſuffer any perſon to ſpeak of her beauty before me.* We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been obſerved of the firſt (*e*) Scipio on a like occaſion. *Et juvenis, & cœlebs, & victor.*

To conclude, he treated theſe princeſſes with ſuch humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives, could have made them ſenſible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they poſſeſſed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexander, but that truſt and confidence, which no one can repoſe in an enemy, how kindly ſoever he behaves.

(*d*) Plut. in Alex. (*e*) Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

SECT.

SECT. VI. ALEXANDER *marches victorious into Syria. The treasures deposited in Damascus are delivered to him.* DARIUS *writes a letter to* ALEXANDER *in the most haughty terms, which he answers in the same stile. The gates of the city of Sidon are opened to him.* ABDOLONYMUS *is placed upon the throne against his will.* ALEXANDER *lays siege to Tyre, which at last, after having made a vigorous defence, is taken by storm. The fulfilling of the different prophecies relating to Tyre.*

(f) ALEXANDER set out towards Syria, after having consecrated three altars on the river Pinarius, the first to Jupiter, the second to Hercules, and the third to Minerva, as so many monuments of his victory. He had sent Parmenio to Damascus, in which Darius's treasure was deposited. The governor of the city, betraying his sovereign from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treasure and other rich stones of Darius. But being desirous of covering his treason with a specious pretext, he pretended that he was not secure in the city, so caused, by day-break, all the money and the richest things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, seemingly with intention to secure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addressed to the king. At the first sight of the forces which this general headed, those who carried the burdens being frighted, threw them down, and fled away, as did the soldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himself, who was most terrified. On this occasion immense riches were seen scattered up and down the fields; all the gold and silver designed to pay so great an army; the splendid equipages of so many great lords and ladies; the golden vases and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers; in a word, whatever

A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

(f) Diod. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83---86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.

ever the long prosperity and frugality of so many kings had amassed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the most moving part of this sad scene was to see the wives of the satraps and grandees of Persia, most of whom dragged their little children after them; so much the greater objects of compassion, as they were less sensible of their misfortune. Among these were three young princesses, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greatest lord of the court, and his son Ilioneus. There also were taken prisoners the wife and son of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coasts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and son of Memnon, that illustrious general; insomuch, that scarce one noble family in all Persia but shared in this calamity.

There also was found in Damascus the ambassadors of the Grecian cities, particularly those of Lacedæmonia and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a safe asylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Besides money, and plate which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage, were taken. (g) We find, by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damascus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well skilled in musick; and also a multitude of officers, whose business was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; such as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and essences, to dress viands, to make pies, and all things in the pastry way, to preside over the wine-cellars, to give out the wine, and such like. There were four hundred and ninety-two of these officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to his destruction!

Darius,

(g) Athen. l. xiii. p. 607.

Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of ſo mighty and ſplendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a deſart or vaſt ſolitude. This ill-fated prince rode ſwiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the ſame road, and moſt of thoſe who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horſes. At laſt he arrived at * Sochus, where he aſſembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thouſand men, including Perſians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all poſſible haſte to Thapſacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damaſcus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewiſe of the captives. Moſt of the cities of Syria ſurrendered at the firſt approaches of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he ſtiled himſelf king, without beſtowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than intreated him, "to aſk "any ſum of money he ſhould think proper, by way "of ranſom for his mother, his wife and children. "That with regard to their diſpute for empire, he "might, if he thought proper, decide it in one gene-"ral battle, to which both parties ſhould bring an "equal number of troops: But that in caſe he were "ſtill capable of good counſel, he would adviſe him "to reſt contented with the kingdom of his anceſ-"tors, and not invade that of another; that they "ſhould henceforward live as good friends and faith-"ful allies; that he himſelf was ready to ſwear to the "obſervance of theſe articles, and to receive Alex-"ander's oath."

* *This city was two or three days journey from the place where the battle was fought.*

This letter, which breathed ſo unſeaſonable a pride and haughtineſs, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following anſwer: " Alexander " the king to Darius. The ancient Darius, whoſe " name you aſſume, in former times entirely ruined " the Greeks who inhabit the coaſts of the Helleſpont " and the Ionians, our ancient colonies. He next " croſſed the ſea at the head of a powerful army, and " carried the war into the very heart of Macedonia " and Greece. After him, Xerxes made another " deſcent with a dreadful number of Barbarians, in " order to fight us; and having been overcome in a " naval engagement, he left, at his retiring, Mardo- " nius in Greece, who plundered our cities, and laid " waſte our plains. But who has not heard that " Philip, my father, was aſſaſſinated by wretches " ſuborned thereto by your partizans, in hopes of a " great reward? For it is cuſtomary with the Perſians " to undertake impious wars, and, when armed in the " field, to ſet a price upon the heads of their enemies. " And even you yourſelf, though at the head of a " vaſt army, however promiſed a thouſand talents to " any perſon who ſhould kill me. I therefore only " defend myſelf, and conſequently am not the aggreſ- " ſor. And indeed the gods, who always declare " for the juſt cauſe, have favoured my arms; and, " aided by their protection, I have ſubjected a great " part of Aſia, and defeated you, Darius, in a " pitched battle. However, though I ought not to " grant any requeſt you make, ſince you have not " acted fairly in this war; nevertheleſs, in caſe you " will appear before me in a ſupplicating poſture, I " give you my word, that I will reſtore to you, with- " out any ranſom, your mother, your wife and chil- " dren. I will let you ſee, that I know how to con- " quer, and to oblige the conquered *. If you are " afraid of ſurrendering yourſelf to me, I now aſ- " ſure you, upon my honour, that you may do it " without the leaſt danger: But remember, when " you

* Et vincere, & conſulere victis ſcio. *Q. Curt.*

"you next write to me, that you write not only to "a king, but to your king." Therſippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander, marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one ſubmitted as he advanced; but no people did this with greater pleaſure than the Sidonians. We have ſeen in what manner Ochus had deſtroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the ſword. After he was returned into Perſia, ſuch of the citizens, who, upon account of their traffick, or for ſome other cauſe, had been abſent, and by that means had eſcaped the maſſacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained ſo violent a hatred of the Perſians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke; and indeed they were the firſt in that country who ſubmitted to the king by their deputies, in oppoſition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæſtion to elect in his ſtead whomſoever of the Sidonians he ſhould judge worthy of ſo exalted a ſtation.

This favourite was quartered at the houſe of two brothers, who were young, and of the moſt conſiderable family in the city; to theſe he offered the crown: But they refuſed it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no perſon could aſcend the throne, unleſs he were of the blood royal. Hephæſtion admiring this greatneſs of ſoul, which could contemn what others ſtrive to obtain by fire and ſword; "Continue (ſays he to them) in this way of think-"ing; you, who before were ſenſible that it is much "more glorious to refuſe a diadem, than to accept it. "However, name me ſome perſon of the royal fa-"mily, who may remember, when he is king, that "it was you ſet the crown on his head." The brothers, obſerving that ſeveral through exceſſive ambition aſpired to this high ſtation, and to obtain it paid a ſervile court to Alexander's favourites, decla-

red, that they did not know any perſon more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, deſcended, though at a great diſtance, from the royal line; but who, at the ſame time, was ſo poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day-labour in a garden without the city. His honeſty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to ſo extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the claſhing of the arms which had ſhaken all Aſia.

Immediately the two brothers went in ſearch of Abdolonymus with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then ſaluted him king, and one of them addreſſed him thus: "You "muſt now change your tatters for the dreſs I have "brought you. Put off the mean and contemptible "habit in which you have grown old; * aſſume the "ſentiments of a prince; but when you are ſeated on "the throne, continue to preſerve the virtue which "made you worthy of it. And when you ſhall have "aſcended it, and by that means become the ſu-"preme diſpenſer of life and death over all your "citizens, be ſure never to forget the condition in "which, or rather for which, you was elected." Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and, unable to gueſs the meaning of it, aſked if they were not aſhamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater reſiſtance than ſuited their inclinations, they themſelves waſhed him, and threw over his ſhoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then after repeated oaths of their being in earneſt, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately ſpread over the whole city. Moſt of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but ſome murmured, eſpecially the rich, who, deſpiſing Abdolonymus's former abject ſtate, could not forbear ſhewing their reſentments upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new-elected

* Cape Regis animum, & in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, iſtam continentiam profer. Et, cum in regali ſolio reſidebis, vitæ neciſque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviſcaris hujus ſtatûs in quo accipis regnum, imò hercule, propter quem. *Quin. Curt.*

elected prince to be sent for; and after surveying him attentively a long time, spoke thus: "Thy * air "and mien do not contradict what is related of thy "extraction; but I should be glad to know with "what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty."--- "Would to the gods (replied he) that I may bear "this crown with equal patience. These hands have "procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed "nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

(*b*) Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the queen of the sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the center of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master;

(*b*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 518---525. Arrian. l. ii. p. 87---100. Plut. in Alex. p. 678, & 697. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.

* Corporis, *inquit*, habitus, famæ generis non repugnat. Sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris. *Tum ille:* utinam, *inquit*, eodem animo regnum † pati possim! Hæ manus suffecere desiderio meo. Nihil habenti, nihil defuit. *Q. Curt.*

† *The thought is beautiful and just. He considers the regal power as a burthen, more difficult to be borne than poverty:* regnum pati.

ſo that when he diſcovered a deſire of entering their city, in order to offer a ſacrifice to Hercules, its tutelar god, they refuſed him admiſſion. But this conqueror, after gaining ſo many victories, had too high an heart to put up ſuch an affront, and thereupon was reſolved to force them to it by a ſiege, which they, on the other ſide, were determined to ſuſtain with the utmoſt vigour. The ſpring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time ſeated in an iſland of the ſea, about a quarter of a * league from the continent. It was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall an hundred and fifty feet high, which the waves of the ſea waſhed; and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre) a mighty people, and ſovereigns of the ocean, whoſe ambaſſadors were at that time in the city offering to Hercules, according to ancient cuſtom, an annual ſacrifice, had engaged themſelves to ſuccour the Tyrians. It was this made them ſo haughty. Firmly determined not to ſurrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build work-houſes for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city; ſo that every part reſounded with the noiſe of warlike preparations. They likewiſe caſt iron grapples, to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as alſo cramp-irons, and ſuch like inſtruments, invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined that there were eſſential reaſons why he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of Tyre. He was ſenſible that he could not invade Egypt eaſily, ſo long as the Perſians ſhould be maſters of the ſea; nor purſue Darius with ſafety, in caſe he ſhould leave behind him ſo large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or ſuſpected to be ſo. He likewiſe was afraid, leſt ſome inſurrection ſhould break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after haveing retaken in his abſence the maritime cities of Aſia minor, and increaſed their fleet, would make his country the ſeat of war during his being employed

* *Four furlongs.*

ed in purſuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. Theſe apprehenſions were the more juſtly grounded, as the Lacedæmonians had declared openly againſt him; and the Athenians ſided with him more out of fear than affection. But, that in caſe he ſhould conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then ſubject to him, he would be able to diſpoſſeſs the Perſians of half their naval army, which conſiſted of the fleet of that province; and would ſoon make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not reſiſt him the inſtant he was become maſter at ſea.

On the other ſide, one would have imagined that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Iſſus, ought to have purſued Darius vigorouſly, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raiſe a new army; the ſucceſs of the enterprize, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and ſuperior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in caſe Alexander ſhould not be able to take this city (which was not very unlikely) he would diſcredit his own arms, would loſe the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chaſtiſe the pride of Tyre, as will be ſeen hereafter, did not once permit thoſe thoughts to enter his mind; but determined him to lay ſiege to the place, in ſpite of all the difficulties which oppoſed ſo hazardous a deſign, and the many reaſons which ſhould have prompted him to purſue quite different meaſures.

It was impoſſible to come near this city in order to ſtorm it, without making a bank which would reach from the continent to the iſland; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were ſeemingly inſurmountable. The little arm of the ſea, which ſeparated the iſland from the continent, was expoſed to the weſt wind, which often raiſed ſuch dreadful ſtorms there, that the waves would in an inſtant

ſweep

ſweep away all works. Beſides, as the city was ſurrounded on all ſides by the ſea, there was no fixing ſcaling-ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a diſtance in the ſhips; and the wall, which projected into the ſea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines, which might have been put on board the gallies, could not do much execution, the waves were ſo very tumultuous.

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquiſhing the reſolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. However, as the few veſſels he poſſeſſed lay at a great diſtance from him, and the ſiege of ſo ſtrong a place might poſſibly laſt a long time, and ſo retard his other enterprizes, he thought proper to endeavour an accommodation. Accordingly, he ſent heralds, who propoſed a peace between Alexander and their city; but theſe the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the ſea. Alexander, exaſperated at ſo cruel an outrage, formed a reſolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raiſing a dike. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, which ſtood on the continent, and was called Palæ-Tyros, materials to make piers, taking all the ſtones and rubbiſh from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far diſtant from it, ſo famous in ſcripture for its cedars, furniſhed him with wood for piles, and other timber-work.

The ſoldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, who himſelf gave out all the orders; and who, * knowing perfectly how to inſinuate himſelf into, and gain the affections of his troops, excited ſome by praiſes, and others by ſlight reprimands, intermixed with kind expreſſions, and ſoftened by promiſes. At firſt they advanced with pretty great ſpeed, the piles being eaſily drove into the ſlime, which ſerved as mortar for the ſtones; and as the place where theſe works were carrying

* Haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos. *Q. Curt.*

carrying on, was at ſome diſtance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the ſhore, the greater difficulties they met with; becauſe the ſea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts diſcharged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who were maſters of the ſea, coming forward in great boats, and razing every part of the dike, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then adding inſults to their attacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's ſoldiers, "That it was a noble ſight to ſee thoſe conquerors, whoſe names were ſo renowned all the world over, carrying burthens on their backs like ſo many beaſts." And they would afterwards aſk them, in a contemptuous tone of voice, "whether Alexander were greater than Neptune; and if they pretended to prevail over that god?"

But theſe taunts did but inflame the courage of the ſoldiers. At laſt the bank appeared above water, began to ſhew a level of a conſiderable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the beſieged perceiving with terror the vaſtneſs of the work, which the ſea had till then kept from their ſight, came in their ſhip-boats in order to view the bank, which was not yet very firm. Theſe boats were full of ſlingers, bowmen, and others who hurled javelins, and even fire; and being ſpread to the right and left about the bank, they ſhot on all ſides upon the workmen, ſeveral of whom were wounded; it not being poſſible for them to ward off the blows, becauſe of the great eaſe and ſwiftneſs with which the boats moved backwards and forwards; ſo that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themſelves. It was therefore reſolved, that ſkins and ſails ſhould be ſpread to cover the workmen; and that two wooden towers ſhould be raiſed at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other ſide, the Tyrians made a deſcent on the ſhore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed ſome ſoldiers, who cut to pieces thoſe that carried the ſtones; and on mount Libanus there alſo were

were ſome Arabian peaſants, who meeting the Macedonians ſtraggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took very near the ſame number. Theſe ſmall loſſes obliged Alexander to ſeparate his troops into different bodies.

The beſieged, in the mean time, employed every invention, every ſtratagem that could be found, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a tranſport-veſſel, and filling it with bruſhes, and ſuch like dry materials, made a large incloſure near the prow, wherein they threw all theſe things, with ſulphur, and pitch, and other combuſtible matters. In the middle of this incloſure they ſet up two maſts, to each of which they fixed two ſail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and ſuch like unctuous ſubſtances. They afterwards loaded the hinder part of the veſſel with ſtones and ſand, in order to raiſe the prow; and takeing advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to ſea by the aſſiſtance of their gallies. As ſoon as they were come near the towers, they ſet fire to the veſſel in queſtion, and drew it towards the point or extremity of the bank. In the mean time the ſailors, who were in it, leaped into the ſea and ſwam away. Immediately the fire catched, with great violence, the towers, and the reſt of the works which were at the head of the bank; and then the ſail-yards being drove backwards and forwards, threw oil upon the fire, which very much increaſed the flame. But, to prevent the Macedonians from extinguiſhing it, the Tyrians, who were in their gallies, were perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning torches, inſomuch that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians loſt their lives in a miſerable manner on the bank; being either ſhot through with arrows, or burnt to death; whilſt others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the ſea. But as they were ſwimming away, the Tyrians, chuſing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs and ſtones; and after diſabling them, carried them off. At the ſame time the beſieged, coming

coming out of the city in little boats, beat down the edges of the bank, tore up its ſtakes, and burnt the reſt of the engines.

Alexander, though he ſaw moſt of his deſigns defeated, and his works demoliſhed, was not at all dejected upon that account. His ſoldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with ſo prodigious a ſpeed, as quite aſtoniſhed the enemy. Alexander himſelf was preſent on all occaſions, and ſuperintended every part of the works. His preſence and great abilities advanced theſe ſtill more, than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finiſhed, and brought almoſt to the wall of the city, when there aroſe on a ſudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with ſo much fury againſt the bank, that the cement and other things that bound it gave way, and the water ruſhing through the ſtones, broke it in the middle. As ſoon as the great heap of ſtones which ſupported the earth was thrown down, the whole ſunk at once, as into an abyſs.

Any warrior but Alexander would that inſtant have quite laid aſide his enterprize; and indeed he himſelf debated whether he ſhould not raiſe the ſiege. But a ſuperior power, who had foretold and ſworn the ruin of Tyre, and whoſe orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the ſiege, and, diſpelling all his fear and anxiety, inſpired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breaſts of his whole army with the ſame ſentiments. For now the ſoldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raiſe a new mole, at which they worked inceſſantly.

Alexander was ſenſible, that it would not be poſſible for him either to compleat the bank, or take the city, as long as the Tyrians ſhould continue maſters at ſea. He therefore reſolved to aſſemble before Sidon his few remaining gallies. At the ſame time, the kings of * Aradus and Byblos, hearing that Alexander had conquered

* *Cities of Phœnicia.*

conquered their cities, abandoned the Perſian fleet, joined him with theirs and that of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty ſail. There arrived alſo, much about the ſame time, ten gallies from Rhodes, three from Solæ and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Perſian army had been defeated near the city of Iſſus, and that Alexander had poſſeſſed himſelf of Phœnicia, brought him a reinforcement of upwards of one hundred and twenty gallies.

The king, whilſt his ſoldiers were preparing the ſhips and engines, took ſome troops of horſe, with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus. The tender regard he had for an old gentleman, formerly his tutor, who was abſolutely reſolved to follow his pupil, expoſed Alexander to very great danger. This was Lyſimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his ſcholar, and called himſelf * Phœnix. When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horſe, and began to walk. His troops got a conſiderable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and ſcarce able to walk, he by that means was ſeparated from his little army, accompanied only by a very few ſoldiers; and in this manner ſpent the whole night very near the enemy, who were ſo numerous, that they might eaſily have overpowered him. However, his uſual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; ſo that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the ſtrong places either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where he found Alexander, ſon of Polemocrates, who had brought him a reinforcement of four thouſand Greeks from Peloponneſus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took ſome ſoldiers from among his guards, and theſe he embarked

5 with

* *It is well known that Phœnix was governor to Achilles.*

with him, in order to employ them in close fight with the enemy; and then set sail towards Tyre in battle-array. He himself was at the point or extremity of the right wing, which extended itself towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the king of Cyprus and Phœnicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at first determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of these forces, and saw the army advance, which made a great appearance, (for Alexander had halted to wait the coming-up of his left wing) they kept all their gallies in the harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king saw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impossible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, because of the great narrowness of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of gallies, all whose prows were turned towards the main ocean, he only sunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the bank, along the shore, where his ships rode in safety.

Whilst all these things were doing, the new bank was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees, with all their branches on them; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which served instead of mortar. Afterwards heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former ones, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The besieged, on the other side, exerted themselves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to stop the progress of the work. But nothing was of so much service to them as their divers, who swimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank,

bank, and with hooks drew ſuch branches to them as projected beyond the work; and pulling forward with great ſtrength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one *remora* to the carrying on of the work; however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen ſurmounting every obſtacle, it was at laſt finiſhed in its utmoſt perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to ſhake the walls with battering rams, and hurl on the beſiegers arrows, ſtones, and burning torches.

At the ſame time Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its ſtation before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phœnicia before the harbour on the other ſide of the bank facing Egypt, towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and enabled himſelf to attack the city on every ſide. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that ſide which lay towards the bank, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportionable breadth, the whole built with great ſtones cemented together with mortar. The acceſs to any other part was very near as difficult; the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great ſtones, to keep the Greeks from approaching it. The buſineſs then was, firſt to draw theſe away, which could not be done but with the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe, as the ſoldiers ſtood in ſhips, they could not keep very firm on their legs. Beſides, the Tyrians advanced with covered gallies, and cut the cables which held the ſhips at anchor; ſo that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, ſeveral veſſels of thirty rowers each, and to ſtation theſe croſswiſe, to ſecure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian gallies. But ſtill, divers came and cut them unperceived, ſo that they were at laſt forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew theſe ſtones with cable-ropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the ſea, where

where it was not poſſible for them to do any further miſchief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the veſſels had very eaſy acceſs to it. In this manner the Tyrians were inveſted on all ſides, and attacked at the ſame time both by ſea and land.

The Macedonians had joined (two and two) gallies, with four men chained to each oar, in ſuch a manner, that the prows were faſtened, and the ſterns ſo far diſtant one from the other, as was neceſſary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one ſtern to the other ſail-yards, which were faſtened together by planks laid croſs-wiſe, in order for the ſoldiers to ſtand faſt on the ſpace. The gallies being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and ſhot (under covert) againſt thoſe who defended the walls, the prows ſerving them as ſo many parapets. The king cauſed them to advance about midnight, in order to ſurround the walls, and make a general aſſault. The Tyrians now gave themſelves for loſt, when on a ſudden the ſky was overſpread with ſuch thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The ſea riſes by inſenſible degrees; and the billows being ſwelled by the fury of the winds, riſe to a dreadful ſtorm. The veſſels daſh one againſt the other with ſo much violence, that the cables, which before faſtened them together, are either looſened, or break to pieces; the planks ſplit, and, making a horrible craſh, carry off the ſoldiers with them; for the tempeſt was ſo furious, that it was not poſſible to manage or ſteer gallies thus faſtened together. The ſoldier was a hindrance to the ſailor, and the ſailor to the ſoldier; and, as happens on ſuch occaſions, thoſe obeyed whoſe buſineſs it was to command; fear and anxiety throwing all things into confuſion. But now the rowers exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, that they got the better of the ſea, and ſeemed to tear their ſhips out of the waves. At laſt they brought

them near the ſhore, but the greateſt part in a ſhattered condition.

At the ſame time there arrived at Tyre thirty ambaſſadors from Carthage, who did not bring the leaſt ſuccours, though they had promiſed ſuch mighty things. Inſtead of this, they only made excuſes, declaring that it was with the greateſt grief the Carthaginians found themſelves abſolutely unable to aſſiſt the Tyrians in any manner; for that they themſelves were engaged in a war, not as * before for empire, but to ſave their country. And indeed the Syracuſans were laying waſte all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though fruſtrated in this manner of the great hopes they had conceived, were no ways dejected. They only took the wiſe precautions to ſend moſt of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themſelves might be in a condition to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, and bear more courageouſly the greateſt calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a ſecure aſylum, what they moſt valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen ſtatue of Apollo, of an enormous ſize. This Coloſſus had formerly ſtood in the city of Gela in Sicily. (*i*) The Carthaginians having taken it about the year 412 before Chriſt, had given it, by way of preſent, to the city of Tyre, which they always conſidered as the mother of Carthage. The Tyrians had ſet it up in their city, and worſhip was paid to it. During the ſiege, on a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they faſtened with a gold chain his ſtatue to Hercules's altar, to prevent the deity in queſtion from leaving them. For theſe people were ſilly enough to believe, that after his ſtatue was thus faſtened down, it would not

(*i*) Diod. l. xiii. p. 226.

* *See Vol. I. in the hiſtory of Carthage.*

not be poſſible for him to make his eſcape; and that he would be prevented from doing ſo by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a ſtrange idea the heathens had of their divinities!

Some of the Tyrians propoſed the reſtoring of a ſacrifice which had been diſcontinued for many ages; and this was, to ſacrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this ſacrilegious cuſtom from their founders, preſerved it till the deſtruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were inveſted with the greateſt authority in Tyre, oppoſed this cruelly-ſuperſtitious cuſtom, a child would have been butchered on this occaſion.

The Tyrians, finding their city expoſed every moment to be taken by ſtorm, reſolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor off Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the ſeamen of Alexander's fleet were diſperſed up and down; and that he himſelf was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the ſea-ſhore. Accordingly, they came out, about noon, with thirteen gallies, all manned with choice ſoldiers who were uſed to ſea-fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's veſſels. Part of them they found empty, and the reſt had been manned in great haſte. Some of theſe they ſunk, and drove ſeveral of them againſt the ſhores, where they daſhed to pieces. The loſs would have been ſtill greater, had not Alexander, the inſtant he heard of this ſally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all imaginable diſpatch againſt the Tyrians. However, theſe did not wait their coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having alſo loſt ſome of their ſhips.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all ſides, and as vigorouſly defended. The beſieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme neceſſity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themſelves, and repulſe the enemy. They warded off all

the darts diſcharged from the baliſtas againſt them by the aſſiſtance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the ſtones that were hurled at them, by ſetting up a kind of ſails and curtains made of a ſoft ſubſtance, which eaſily gave way. To annoy the ſhips which advanced againſt their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and ſcythes to joiſts or beams; then ſtraining their catapultas, (an enormous kind of croſs-bows) they laid thoſe great pieces of timber upon them inſtead of arrows, and ſhot them off on a ſudden at the enemy. Theſe cruſhed ſome to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or penſile ſcythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did conſiderable damage to their ſhips. They alſo had brazen ſhields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling theſe with burning-ſand, hurled them in an inſtant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians ſo much dreaded as this laſt invention, for, the moment this burning ſand got to the fleſh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and ſtuck ſo cloſe, that there was no pulling it off; ſo that the ſoldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner expoſed, naked and defenceleſs, to the ſhot of the enemy.

It was then Alexander, diſcouraged at ſo vigorous a defence, debated ſeriouſly, whether it would not be proper for him to raiſe the ſiege, and go for Egypt: For, after having over-run Aſia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progreſs unhappily retarded; and loſt, before a ſingle city, the opportunity of executeing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other ſide, he conſidered that it would be a great blemiſh to his reputation, which had done him greater ſervice than his arms, ſhould he leave Tyre behind him, and thereby prove to the world, that he was not invincible. He therefore reſolved to make a laſt effort with a great number of ſhips, which

which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a ſecond naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king purſued their rear very cloſe, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulſed by arrows ſhot from the walls: However, he either took or ſunk a great number of their ſhips.

Alexander, after letting his forces repoſe themſelves two days, advanced his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general aſſault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increaſed with the danger; and each ſide, animated by the moſt powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, inſtantly the Argyraſpides mounted the breach with the utmoſt valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the braveſt officers in the army, who was killed by the thruſt of a * partizan, as he was encouraging his ſoldiers. The preſence of the king, and eſpecially the example he ſet, fired his troops with unuſual bravery. He himſelf aſcended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was expoſed to the greateſt danger his courage had ever made him hazard; for, being immediately known by his *inſignia* and the richneſs of his armour, he ſerved as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occaſion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, ſeveral of thoſe who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced ſome with his ſword, and others with his ſhield, either into the city or the ſea; the tower where he fought almoſt touching the wall. He ſoon went over it, by the aſſiſtance of floating bridges, and followed by the nobility, poſſeſſed himſelf of two towers, and the ſpace between them. The battering-rams had already made ſeveral breaches; the fleet had forced into the harbour; and ſome of the

* *A kind of halbert.*

Macedonians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, ſeeing the enemy maſter of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and there ſtood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the reſt to fly. At the ſame time, Tyre being taken on that ſide which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, ſparing no perſon who came in their way, being highly exaſperated at the long reſiſtance of the beſieged, and the barbarities they had exerciſed towards ſome of their comrades who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the ſight of the whole army.

The Tyrians, ſeeing themſelves overpowered on all ſides, ſome fly to the temple, to implore the aſſiſtance of the gods; others, ſhutting themſelves in their houſes, eſcape the ſword of the conqueror, by a voluntary death; in fine, others ruſh upon the enemy, firmly reſolved to ſell their lives at the deareſt rate. Moſt of the citizens were got on the houſe-tops, whence they threw ſtones, and whatever came firſt to hand, upon ſuch as advanced forward into the city. The king gave orders for killing all the inhabitants (thoſe excepted who had ſheltered themſelves in the temples) and to ſet fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was publiſhed by ſound of trumpet, yet not one perſon who carried arms flew to the aſylums. The temples were filled with ſuch old men and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houſes, in expectation every inſtant of being ſacrificed to the rage of the ſoldiers. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian ſoldiers, who were in Alexander's camp, ſaved great numbers of them. For, having entered the city indiſcriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians (Agenor having founded both

Tyre and Sidon) they, for that reaſon, carried off great numbers privately on board their ſhips, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit fifteen thouſand were ſaved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatneſs of the ſlaughter, from the number of the ſoldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted to ſix thouſand. However, the king's anger not being fully appeaſed, he exhibited a ſcene, which appeared dreadful even to the conquerors; for two thouſand men remaining after the ſoldiers had been glutted with ſlaughter, Alexander cauſed them to be fixed upon croſſes along the ſea-ſhore. He pardoned the ambaſſadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis, to offer up a ſacrifice to Hercules, according to annual cuſtom. The number of priſoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to thirty thouſand, who were all ſold. As for the Macedonians, their loſs was very inconſiderable.

Alexander himſelf ſacrificed to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land-forces under arms, in concert with the fleet. He alſo ſolemnized gymnaſtick exerciſes in honour of the ſame god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the ſtatue of Apollo, above-mentioned, he took off the chains from it, reſtored it to its former liberty, and commanded that this god ſhould thenceforwards be ſurnamed *Philalexander*, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, the Greeks began to pay him this ſolemn worſhip, for having occaſioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this ſtatue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having ſuſtained a ſeven-months ſiege. A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

Thus were accompliſhed the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets againſt the city of Tyre. * Nabuchodonoſor had begun to execute thoſe threats, by beſieging and taking it;

 and

* *Or Nebuchadnezzar, as he is called in our verſion.*

and they were compleated by the ſad cataſtrophe we have here deſcribed. As this double event forms one of the moſt conſiderable paſſages in hiſtory, and that the ſcriptures have given us ſeveral very remarkable circumſtances of it, I ſhall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtineſs, and irreligion; the different puniſhments with which God chaſtiſed its pride and other vices; in fine, its laſt reeſtabliſhment, but in a manner entirely different from that of others. Methinks I revive on a ſudden, when, through the multitude of profane hiſtories which heathen antiquity furniſhes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to ſay more, of the Almighty, the ſacred ſcriptures exhibit themſelves, and unfold to me the ſecret deſigns of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what idea we are to form of thoſe things which appear the moſt worthy of eſteem, the moſt auguſt in the eyes of men.

But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I ſhall here preſent the reader with a little extract of the hiſtory of that famous city, by which he will be the better enabled to underſtand the prophecies.

A. M. 2992. Ant. J. C. 1712. (*k*) Tyre was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Jeruſalem: For this reaſon it is called by Iſaiah, *The daughter of Sidon.* It ſoon ſurpaſſed its mother-city in extent, power, and riches.

A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719. (*l*) It was beſieged by Salmanaſar, and alone reſiſted the united fleets of the Aſſyrians and Phœnicians; a circumſtance which greatly heightened its pride.

A. M. 3432. Ant. J. C. 572. (*m*) Nabuchodonoſor laid ſiege to Tyre, at the time that Ithobalus was king of that city; but did not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with moſt of their effects, into a neighbouring iſland, where they built

(*k*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3. (*l*) Ibid. l. ix. c. 14. (*m*) Ibid. l. x. c. 11.

built a new city. The old one was razed to the very foundations, and has ſince been no more than a village, known by the name of *Palæ-Tyrus*, or Ancient Tyre: But the new one roſe to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flouriſhing condition, when Alexander beſieged and took it. And here begins the ſeventy years obſcurity and oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to Iſaiah. It was indeed ſoon repaired, becauſe the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, ſaved fifteen thouſand of their citizens (as was before obſerved) who, after their return, applied themſelves to traffick, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; beſides which, the women and children, who had been ſent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of ſafety, returned to it at the ſame time. But Tyre was confined to the iſland in which it ſtood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had loſt the empire of the ſea. And when, eighteen years after, Antigonus beſieged it with a ſtrong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppoſe him. This ſecond ſiege, which reduced it a ſecond time to captivity, plunged it into the ſtate of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itſelf; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Iſaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit; and, at the ſame time, reſumed its former vices; till at laſt, converted by the preaching of the goſpel, it became a holy and religious city. The ſacred writings acquaint us with part of theſe revolutions, and this is what we are now to ſhew.

(*n*) Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was conſidered as one of the moſt ancient and flouriſhing cities of the world. Its induſtry and very advantageous ſituation had raiſed it to the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and made it the center of all the trade in the univerſe. From the extreme parts of Arabia,

(*n*) Ezek. xxvi. *and* xxvii. *throughout.* Ezek. xxvii. 4---25.

Perſia, and India, to the moſt remote weſtern coaſts; from Scythia, and the northern countries, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the ſouthern countries; all nations contributed to the increaſe of its riches, ſplendor, and power. Not only the ſeveral things uſeful and neceſſary to ſociety, which thoſe various regions produced; but whatever they had of a rare, curious, magnificent, or precious kind, and beſt adapted to the ſupport of luxury and pride; all theſe, I ſay, were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other ſide, as from a common ſource, diſperſed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inſpiring mankind with a love for eaſe, vanity, luxury, and voluptuouſneſs.

(*o*) A long, uninterrupted ſeries of proſperities had ſwelled the pride of Tyre. She delighted to conſider herſelf as the queen of cities; a queen whoſe head is adorned with a diadem; whoſe correſpondents are illuſtrious princes; whoſe rich traders diſpute for ſuperiority with kings; who ſees every maritime power, either as her allies or dependants; and who made herſelf neceſſary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the meaſure of her iniquity, by her impiety againſt God, and her barbarity exerciſed againſt his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jeruſalem, in the inſulting words following. (*p*) *Behold then the gates of this ſo populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants ſhall come to me, and I will enrich myſelf with her ſpoils, now ſhe is laid waſte.* (*q*) She was not ſatisfied with having reduced the Jews to a ſtate of captivity, notwithſtanding the alliance between them; with ſelling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their moſt cruel enemies: (*r*) She likewiſe had ſeized upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the moſt precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

This

(*o*) Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 3, 4, 25---32, 33. (*p*) Ezek. xxvii. 2. (*q*) Joel iii. 2, 8. Amos i. 9, 10. (*r*) Joel iii. 2, 4, 7. Amos i. 9, 10.

(*s*) This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God is resolved to destroy her, because she relied so much upon her own strength, her wisdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore brought against her Nabuchodonosor, that king of kings, to overflow her with his mighty hosts, as with waters that overspread their banks, in order to demolish her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandizes and treasures to the soldier, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having set fire to it, and either extirpated or dispersed all its inhabitants.

(*t*) By this so unexpected a fall, the Almighty will teach the astonished nations, that he more evidently displays his providence by the most incredible revolutions of states; and that his will only directs the enterprizes of men, and guides them as he pleases, in order to humble the proud.

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses, and repaired her ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it. (*u*) She still was puffed up with the glory of possessing the empire of the sea; of being the seat of universal commerce; of giving birth to the most famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whose credit, riches and splendor, equalled them to the princes and great men of the earth; (*x*) of being governed by a monarch, who might justly be entitled god of the sea; of tracing back her origin to the most remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long series of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promise herself another such eternity in times to come.

(*y*) But since this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice and luxury, has not profited by the first lesson which God had given her, in the person of the king of Babylon; and that, after being oppressed by all the forces of the East, she still would not learn to confide no longer in the false and imaginary supports of her own

(*s*) Jerem. xlvii. 2, 6. Ezek. xxvi. 3---12, *and* 19. xxvii. 27, 34. (*t*) Ezek. xxvi. 15, 18. *and* xxvii. 33, 36. Isa. xxiii. 8, 9. (*u*) Isa. xxiii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12. (*x*) Ezek. xxviii. 2. (*y*) Isa. xxiii. 13.

own greatneſs: (z) God foretels her another chaſtiſement, which he will ſend upon her from the Weſt, near 400 years after the firſt. (a) Her deſtruction will come from Chittim, that is, Macedonia; from a kingdom ſo weak and obſcure, that it had been deſpiſed a few years before; a kingdom whence ſhe could never have expected ſuch a blow. *Tyre, poſſeſſed with an opinion of her own wiſdom, and proud* of her fleets, *of her immenſe riches, which ſhe heaped up as mire in the ſtreets*, and alſo protected by the whole power of the Perſian empire, does not imagine ſhe has any thing to fear from thoſe new enemies, who being ſituated at a great diſtance from her, without either money, ſtrength or reputation; having neither harbours nor ſhips, and being quite unſkilled in navigation; cannot therefore, as ſhe imagines, annoy her with their land forces. (b) Tyre looks upon herſelf as impregnable, becauſe ſhe is defended by lofty fortifications, and ſurrounded on all ſides by the ſea as with a moat and a girdle: Nevertheleſs Alexander, by filling up the arm of the ſea which ſeparates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demoliſh thoſe ramparts which ſerved her as a ſecond encloſure.

Tyre, thus diſpoſſeſſed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boaſting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced, during ſeventy years, to the mean condition of a ſlave. (c) *The Lord hath purpoſed it, to ſtain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth.* (d) Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general, and ſhe will prove to all cities a ſubject of ſorrow and groans, by making them loſe the preſent means and the future hopes of enriching themſelves.

(e) To prove, in a ſenſible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin is not incredible, and that all the ſtrength and wiſdom of man can no ways ward off or ſuſpend the puniſhment which God has

(z) Iſa. xxiii. 11, 12, 13. (a) 1 Maccab. i. 1. Zech. ix. 2, 5. (b) Iſa. xxiii. 10, 11, 13. (c) Ibid. ver. 9. (d) Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14. (e) Ibid. ver. 13, 14.

has prepared for pride and the abuſe of riches, Iſaiah ſets before her the example of Babylon, whoſe deſtruction ought to have been an example to her. * This city, in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the moſt ancient, the moſt populous, and embelliſhed with more edifices, both publick and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the firſt empire that ever exiſted, and was founded, in order to command over the whole earth, which ſeemed to be inhabited only by families, which ſhe had brought forth and ſent out as ſo many colonies, whoſe common parent ſhe was. Nevertheleſs, ſays the prophet, ſhe is no more, neither Babylon nor her empire. The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the beſieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raiſed pompous palaces, to make their names immortal; but all theſe fortifications were but as ſo many dens, in the eyes of providence, for wild beaſts to dwell in; and theſe edifices were doomed to fall to duſt, or elſe to ſink to humble cottages.

After ſo ſignal an example, continues the prophet, ſhall Tyre, which is ſo much inferior to Babylon in many reſpects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by heaven againſt her, *viz.* to deprive her of the empire of the ſea, and deſtroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled?

(f) To make her the more ſtrongly ſenſible how much ſhe has abuſed her proſperity, God will reduce her to a ſtate of humiliation and oblivion during threeſcore and ten years. *(g)* But after this ſeaſon of obſcurity, ſhe will again endeavour to appear with the air of an harlot, whoſe charms and artifices ſhe ſhall aſſume; ſhe will employ her utmoſt endeavours to corrupt youth, and ſooth their paſſions. To promote her

(f) Iſa. xxiii. 15.

(g) Ibid. ver. 16.

* *Behold, the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Aſſyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderneſs: They ſet up the towers thereof, they raiſed up the palaces thereof, and he brought it to ruin. Howl, ye ſhips of Tarſhiſh: For your ſtrength is laid waſte.* Iſa. xxiii. 13, 14.

her commerce, ſhe will uſe fraud, deceit, and the moſt inſidious arts. She will viſit every part of the world, to collect the moſt rare and moſt delicious products of every country; to inſpire the various nations of the univerſe with a love and admiration for ſuperfluities and ſplendor; and fill them with an averſion for the ſimplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And ſhe will ſet every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties; to recover the confidence of her former correſpondents; and to compenſate, by a ſpeedy abundance, the ſterility of ſeventy years.

(*h*) Thus, in proportion as the Almighty ſhall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, ſhe ſhall return to her former ſhameful traffick, which God had ruined, by ſtripping her of the great poſſeſſions ſhe had applied to ſuch pernicious uſes.

(*i*) But at laſt, Tyre, converted by the goſpel, ſhall no more be a ſcandal and a ſtumbling-block to nations. She ſhall no longer ſacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worſhip of the Lord, and the comfort of thoſe that ſerve him. She ſhall no longer render her riches barren and uſeleſs by detaining them, but ſhall ſcatter them, like fruitful ſeed, from the hands of believers and miniſters of the goſpel.

One of God's deſigns, in the prophecies juſt now cited, is to give us a juſt idea of a traffick, whoſe only motive is avarice, and whoſe fruits are pleaſures, vanity, and immorality. Mankind look upon cities enriched with a commerce like that of Tyre (and it is the ſame with private perſons) as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit (from their induſtry, labour, and the ſucceſs of their applications and conduct) to be propoſed as patterns for the reſt to copy after: But God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the ſhameful image of a woman loſt to all ſenſe of virtue; as a woman, whoſe only view is to ſeduce and corrupt youth; who only ſooths the paſſions

(*h*) Iſaiah xxiii, 17. (*i*) Ibid. ver. 18.

paſſions and flatters the ſenſes; who abhors modeſty and every ſentiment of honour; and who, baniſhing from her countenance every characteriſtick of chaſtity, glories in ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that traffick is ſinful in itſelf; but we ſhould ſeparate from the eſſential foundation of trade, which is juſt and lawful when rightly uſed, the paſſions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to Chriſtianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffick, and the uſes to which they ought to apply their profits.

SECT. VII. DARIUS *writes a ſecond letter to* ALEXANDER. *Journey of the latter to Jeruſalem. The honour he pays to* JADDUS *the high-prieſt. He is ſhewn thoſe prophecies of* DANIEL *which relate to himſelf. The king grants great privileges to the Jews, but refuſes them to the Samaritans. He beſieges and takes Gaza, enters Egypt and ſubdues that country. He there lays the foundations of Alexandria, then goes into Libya, where he viſits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and cauſes himſelf to be declared the ſon of that god. His return into Egypt.*

(*k*) WHILST Alexander was carrying on the ſiege of Tyre, he had received a ſecond letter from Darius, who at laſt gave him the title of king. "He offered him ten thouſand talents (thirty millions) as a ranſom for the captive princeſſes, "and his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the "country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates. "Darius hinted to him the inconſtancy of fortune; "and deſcribed, in the moſt pompous terms, the "numberleſs troops who were ſtill under his command. Could he (Alexander) think, that it was "ſo very eaſy to croſs the Euphrates, the Tygris, "the Araxes and the Hydaſpes, which were as ſo "many bulwarks to the Perſian empire? That he "ſhould

(*k*) Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 5. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101.

" ſhould not be always ſhut up between rocks and " paſſes: That they ought both to appear in a plain, " and that then Alexander would be aſhamed to " come before him with only a handful of men." The king hereupon ſummoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of thoſe offers, declaring he himſelf would agree to them, were he Alexander. *And ſo would I*, replied Alexander, *were I Parmenio.* He therefore returned the following anſwer; " That he did not want the " money Darius offered him: That it did not become " Darius to offer a thing he no longer poſſeſſed, or " to pretend to diſtribute what he had entirely loſt. " That in caſe he was the only perſon who did not " know which of them was ſuperior, a battle would " ſoon determine it. That he ſhould not think to " intimidate with rivers, a man who had croſſed ſo " many ſeas. That to whatſoever place he might " find it proper to retire, Alexander would not fail " to find him out." Darius, upon receiving this anſwer, loſt all hopes of an accommodation, and prepared again for war.

(*l*) From Tyre Alexander marched to Jeruſalem, firmly reſolved to ſhew it no more favour than he had done the former city; and for this reaſon. The Tyrians were ſo much employed in traffick, that they quite neglected huſbandry, and brought moſt of their corn and other proviſions from the countries in their neighbourhood. (*m*) Galilea, Samaria and Judea furniſhed them with the greateſt quantities. At the ſame time that Alexander laid ſiege to their city, he himſelf was obliged to ſend for proviſions from thoſe countries: He therefore ſent commiſſaries to ſummon the inhabitants to ſubmit, and furniſh his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, deſired to be excuſed, alledging that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and perſiſted in anſwering, that they would never acknowledge any other ſovereign as long as he was living: A rare example of fidelity,

(*l*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8. (*m*) Acts xii. 20.

lity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular; for they ſubmitted with chearfulneſs to Alexander, and even ſent him eight thouſand men, to ſerve at the ſiege of Tyre and in other places. For the better underſtanding of what follows, it may be neceſſary for us to preſent the reader, in few words, with the ſtate of the Samaritans at that time, and the cauſe of the ſtrong antipathy between them and the Jews.

I obſerved * elſewhere, that the Samaritans did not deſcend from the Iſraelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other ſide of the Euphrates, whom Aſaraddon, king of the Aſſyrians, had ſent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Theſe people, who were called *Cuthæi*, blended the worſhip of the God of Iſrael with that of their idols; and on all occaſions diſcovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much ſtronger after the return of the Jews from the Babyloniſh captivity, before and after the reſtoration of the temple.

Notwithſtanding the reformation which the holy man Nehemiah had wrought in Jeruſalem, with regard to the marrying of ſtrange or foreign women, the evil had ſpread ſo far, that the high-prieſt's houſe, which ought to have been preſerved more than any other from theſe criminal mixtures, was itſelf polluted with them. (*n*) One of the ſons of Jehoida the high-prieſt, whom Joſephus calls Manaſſes, had married the daughter of Sanaballat the Horonite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God which was ſo ſhamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married ſtrange women, either to put them away immediately, or depart the country. (*o*) Manaſſes choſe to go into baniſhment rather than ſeparate himſelf from his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whi-

 ther

(*n*) 2 Eſd. xiii. 28.

(*o*) Joſeph. Antiquit.

* Vol. II. of the *Aſſyrians*.

ther he was followed by great numbers as rebellious as himſelf; he there ſettled them under the protection of Sanaballat, his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus (whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Perſia had forced into Phœnicia) leave to build on mount Garizim, near Samaria, a temple like that of Jeruſalem, and to appoint Manaſſes, his ſon-in-law, prieſt thereof. From that time, Samaria became the aſylum of all the malcontents of Judea. And it was this raiſed the hatred of the Jews againſt the Samaritans to its greateſt height, when they ſaw that the latter, notwithſtanding the expreſs prohibition of the law, which fixed the ſolemn worſhip of the God of Iſrael in the city of Jeruſalem, had nevertheleſs raiſed altar againſt altar, and temple againſt temple; and refuged all who fled from Jeruſalem, to ſcreen themſelves from the puniſhment which would have been inflicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the ſtate of Judea, when Alexander laid ſiege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before obſerved, had ſent him a conſiderable body of troops; whereas the Jews thought they could not ſubmit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance, ſhould be alive.

Alexander, being little uſed to ſuch an anſwer, particularly after he had obtained ſo many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, reſolved, the inſtant he had conquered Tyre, to march againſt the Jews, and puniſh their diſobedience as rigorouſly as he had done that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus, the high-prieſt, who governed under the Perſians, ſeeing himſelf expoſed, with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourſe to the protection of the Almighty, gave orders for the offering up publick prayers to implore his aſſiſtance, and made ſacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him "To cauſe flowers to be ſcattered up and

"down

" down the city; to ſet open all the gates, and go, " clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the prieſts " dreſſed alſo in their veſtments, and all the reſt " clothed in white, to meet Alexander, and not to " fear any evil from that king, inaſmuch as he would " protect them." This command was punctually obeyed; and accordingly this auguſt proceſſion, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called * *Sapha*, whence there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jeruſalem. Here the whole proceſſion waited the arrival of Alexander.

The Syrians and Phœnicians who were in his army, were perſuaded that the wrath of this prince was ſo great, that he would certainly puniſh the high-prieſt after an exemplary manner, and deſtroy that city in the ſame manner as he had done Tyre; and, fluſhed with joy upon that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people, to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As ſoon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they ſet out to meet him with all the pomp before deſcribed. Alexander was ſtruck at the ſight of the high-prieſt, in whoſe mitre and forehead a golden plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-prieſt, he advanced towards him with an air of the moſt profound reſpect; bowed his body, adored the auguſt name upon his front, and ſaluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews ſurrounding Alexander, raiſed their voices to wiſh him every kind of proſperity. All the ſpectators were ſeized with inexpreſſible ſurprize; they could ſcarce believe their eyes; and did not know how to account for a ſight ſo contrary to their expectation, and ſo vaſtly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his aſtoniſhment, aſked the king how it came to paſs that he,

* *The Hebrew word* Sapha *ſignifies to diſcover from far, as from a tower or centry-box.*

he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-priest of the Jews. "I do not," replied Alexander, "adore the high-priest, but the God whose minister "he is; for whilst I was at Dia in Macedonia (my "mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Per-"sian war) as I was revolving the methods how to "conquer Asia, this very man, dressed in the same "robes, appeared to me in a dream; exhorted me "to banish every fear, bid me cross the Hellespont "boldly; and assured me that God would march at "the head of my army, and give me the victory "over that of the Persians." Alexander added, that the instant he saw this priest, he knew him by his habit, his stature, his air, and his face, to be the same person whom he had seen at Dia; that he was firmly persuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of heaven, that he had undertaken this war; that he was sure he should overcome Darius hereafter, and destroy the empire of the Persians; and that this was the reason why he adored this God in the person of his priest. Alexander, after having thus answered Parmenio, embraced the high-priest, and all his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner prescribed to him by the high-priest.

The high-priest, afterwards, shewed him those passages in the prophecy of Daniel, which are spoken of that monarch. I shall here give an extract of them, to shew how conspicuously the most distant events are present to the Creator.

(*p*) God manifests, by the prophecy of Daniel, that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he bestows them on whomsoever he pleases, and withdraws them, in like manner, to punish the abuse of them; that his wisdom and power solely determine the course of events in all ages; (*q*) that he changes, by the mere effect of his will, the whole face of human affairs; that he sets up new kingdoms, overthrows the ancient ones,

(*p*) Dan. ii. 20, 21, 37. (*q*) Ibid. ver. 35.

ones, and effaces them, even to the very footſteps of them, with the ſame eaſe as the wind carries off the ſmalleſt chaff from the threſhing-floor.

(*r*) God's deſign, in ſubjecting ſtates to ſuch aſtoniſhing revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in his preſence as nothing; that he alone is the moſt high, the eternal king, the ſovereign arbiter; who acts as he pleaſes, with ſupreme power, both in heaven and in earth. (*s*) For the putting this deſign in execution, the prophet ſees an auguſt council, in which the angels being appointed as ſpectators and overſeers of governments and kings, enquire into the uſe which theſe make of the authority that heaven entruſted them with, in quality of his miniſters; and when they abuſe it, theſe * ſpirits, zealous for the glory of their ſovereign, beſeech God to puniſh their injuſtice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride, by caſting them from the throne, and reducing them to the moſt abject among mankind.

(*t*) God, to make theſe important truths ſtill more ſenſible, ſhews Daniel four dreadful beaſts who riſe from a vaſt ſea, in which the four winds combat together with fury; and, under theſe ſymbols, he repreſents to the prophet the origin, the characteriſticks, and fall of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world ſucceſſively. A dreadful, but too real image! For, empires riſe out of noiſe and confuſion; they ſubſiſt in blood and ſlaughter; they exerciſe their power with violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and deſolation into all places; but yet, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, they are ſubject to continual viciſſitudes, and unforeſeen deſtruction.

(*u*) The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of theſe empires. After having repreſented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioneſs, and that of the Medes and Per-

(*r*) Dan. iv. 32, 34, 35, 36. (*s*) Ibid. ver. 14. (*t*) Ibid. vii. 2, 3. (*u*) Ibid. ver. 4, 5, 6.

* *It was at the deſire of theſe angels, that Nabuchodonoſor was driven from the ſociety of men to herd with wild beaſts.*

ſians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by preſenting us with ſuch of its characteriſticks, as it is more immediately known by. Under the image of a ſpotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he ſhadows Alexander, intermixed with good and bad qualities; raſh and impetuous in his reſolutions, rapid in his conqueſts; flying with the ſwiftneſs of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army laden with the whole equipage of war; ſupported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having aſſiſted him in conquering his empire, divide it among themſelves.

(*x*) To this picture the prophet adds elſewhere new touches. He enumerates the order of the ſucceſſion of the kings of Perſia; he declares, in preciſe terms, that after the three firſt kings, *viz.* Cyrus, Cambyſes, and Darius, a fourth monarch will ariſe, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predeceſſors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed with the idea of his own grandeur, which ſhall have roſe to its higheſt pitch, will aſſemble all the people in his boundleſs dominions, and lead them to the conqueſt of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what ſucceſs they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to underſtand, that Xerxes, a ſoft, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the leaſt ſucceſs in any of his projects.

(*y*) On the contrary, from among the Greeks in queſtion, attacked unſucceſsfully by the Perſians, there will ariſe a king of a genius and turn of mind quite different from that of Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He ſhall be a bold, valiant monarch; he ſhall ſucceed in all his enterprizes; he ſhall extend his dominion far and wide, and ſhall eſtabliſh an irreſiſtible power on the ruins of the vanquiſhed nations: But at a time when he ſhall imagine himſelf to be moſt firmly ſeated on the throne, he ſhall

(*x*) Dan. xi. 2. (*y*) Ibid. ver. 3, 4.

ſhall loſe his life, with the regal dignity, and not leave any poſterity to ſucceed him in it. This new monarchy, loſing on a ſudden the ſplendor and power for which it was ſo renowned under Alexander, ſhall divide itſelf towards the four winds of heaven. From its ruins there ſhall ariſe not only four great kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Aſia minor, and Macedon, but alſo ſeveral other foreigners, or Barbarians, ſhall uſurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of theſe.

(z) In fine, in the eighth chapter, the prophet compleats the deſcription in ſtill ſtronger colours, the character, the battles, the ſeries of ſucceſſes, the riſe and fall of theſe two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the firſt of theſe empires ſhall be compoſed of Perſians and Medes; that its ſtrength ſhall conſiſt in the union of theſe two nations; that the Perſians ſhall nevertheleſs exceed the Medes in authority; that they ſhall have a ſeries of conqueſts, without meeting with any oppoſition; that they ſhall firſt extend them towards the weſt, by ſubduing the Lydians, the provinces of Aſia minor and Thrace; that they ſhall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to ſubdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caſpian ſea; in fine, that they ſhall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the ſouth, by ſubjecting Egypt and Arabia; but that they ſhall not invade the nations of the eaſt.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the ſymbol of a he-goat of prodigious ſize; he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the weſt, in order to invade the empire of the Perſians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will take immenſe marches in queſt of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it ſhall advance towards this enemy with ſuch rapidity,

(z) Dan. viij.

that it will ſeem only to ſkim the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely ſubvert it by repeated victories, and deſtroy the double power of the Perſians and Medes; during which not one monarch, whether its ally or neighbour, ſhall give it the leaſt ſuccour.

But as ſoon as this monarchy ſhall have roſe to its greateſt height, Alexander, who formed its greateſt ſtrength, ſhall be ſnatched from it; and then there will ariſe, towards the four parts of the world, four Grecian monarchies, which, though vaſtly inferior to that of Alexander, will, however, be very conſiderable.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a ſeries of prophecies, all of them ſo clear, ſo exact, and ſo circumſtantial; prophecies, which go ſo far as to point out, that a prince ſhall die without leaving a ſingle ſucceſſor from among his own family, and that four of his generals will divide his empire between them? But we muſt peruſe theſe prophecies in the ſcriptures themſelves. The Vulgate agrees, a few places excepted, pretty nearly with the Hebrew, which I ſhall tranſlate * agreeable to the original text.

(*a*) *In the third year of the reign of king Belſhazzar, a viſion appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the firſt. And I ſaw in a viſion (and it came to paſs when I ſaw, that I was at Shuſhan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I ſaw in a viſion, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and ſaw, and behold there ſtood before the river a* RAM, *which had two horns, and the two horns were high: But one was higher than the other, and the higher came up laſt. I ſaw the ram puſhing weſtward, and northward, and ſouthward: So that no beaſts might ſtand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will,*

(*a*) Dan. viii. 1---8.

* *We have not followed Mr. Rollin's tranſlation here, believing it more proper to make uſe of our own verſion of the Bible.*

will, and became great. And as I was conſidering, behold, an he-goat came from the weſt, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had ſeen ſtanding before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I ſaw him come cloſe unto the ram, and he was moved with choler againſt him, and ſmote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to ſtand before him, but he caſt him down to the ground, and ſtamped upon him: And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was ſtrong, the great horn was broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now repeated: But theſe I ſhall leave to the reader's underſtanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which however I ſhall not expatiate ſo much as the ſubject might deſerve.

The Almighty preſides in general over all events which happen in the world; and rules, with abſolute ſway, the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but then he conceals the operations of his wiſdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural cauſes and ordinary events. All that profane hiſtory exhibits to us, whether ſieges, or the conqueſts of cities; battles won or loſt; empires eſtabliſhed or overthrown; in all theſe, I ſay, there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God ſeems to have no concern in theſe things, and we ſhould be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and their paſſions; if we, perhaps, except the Jewiſh nation, whom he conſidered as his own peculiar people.

To prevent our falling into a temptation ſo repugnant to religion and even reaſon itſelf, God breaks at every interval his ſilence, diſperſes the clouds which hide

hide him, and condeſcends to diſcover to us the ſecret ſprings of his providence, by cauſing his prophets to foretell, a long ſeries of years before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the ſucceſſion, and the different characteriſticks of the four great empires, to which he is determined to ſubject all the nations of the univerſe, *viz.* that of the Babylonians, of the Perſians and Medes, of the Greeks, and, laſtly, that of the Romans.

It is in the ſame view that he inſiſts, very ſtrongly, on the two moſt famous conquerors that ever exiſted; I mean, Cyrus and Alexander, the one founder, the other deſtroyer of the powerful empire of Perſia. He cauſes the former to be called by his name two hundred years before his birth; propheſies, by the mouth of Iſaiah, his victories; and relates the ſeveral circumſtances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been ſeen before. On this occaſion, he points out Alexander, by the mouth of Daniel, and aſcribes ſuch qualities and characteriſticks as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had been named.

Theſe paſſages of ſcripture, in which God explains himſelf clearly, ſhould be conſidered as very precious; and ſerve as ſo many keys to open to us the path to the ſecret methods by which he governs the world. Theſe faint glimmerings of light ſhould enable a rational and religious man to ſee every thing elſe clearly; and make him conclude, from what is ſaid of the four great empires of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the ſeveral events of profane hiſtory, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all ſtates, whoſe deſtiny depends entirely on his wiſdom, his power, and his pleaſure.

We may eaſily figure to ourſelves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing ſuch clear, ſuch circumſtantial, and advantageous promiſes. Before he left Jeruſalem, he aſſem-

bled the Jews, and bid them aſk any favour whatſoever. They anſwered, that their requeſt was, to be allowed to live according to the laws which their anceſtors had left them, and to be exempt, the ſeventh year, from their uſual tribute; and for this reaſon, becauſe they were forbid, by their laws, to ſow their fields, and conſequently could have no harveſt. Alexander granted their requeſt, and, upon the high-prieſt's beſeeching him to ſuffer the Jews, who lived in Babylonia and Media, to live likewiſe agreeable to their own laws, he alſo indulged them in this particular with the utmoſt humanity; and ſaid further, that in caſe any of them would be willing to ſerve under his ſtandards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worſhip, and to obſerve their reſpective cuſtoms: Upon which offer great numbers liſted themſelves.

He was ſcarce come from Jeruſalem, but the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them alſo the honour to viſit their temple. As theſe had ſubmitted voluntarily to Alexander, and ſent him ſuccours, they imagined that they deſerved his favour much more than the Jews; and flattered themſelves that they ſhould obtain the ſame, and even much greater indulgence. It was in this view they made the pompous proceſſion above-mentioned, in order to invite Alexander to their city; and the eight thouſand men they had ſent to ſerve under him, joined in the requeſt made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteouſly; but ſaid, that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no time to loſe; however, that he would viſit their city at his return, in caſe he had opportunity. They then beſought him to exempt them from paying a tribute every ſeventh year; upon which Alexander aſked them, whether they were Jews? They made an ambiguous anſwer, which the king not having time to examine, he alſo ſuſpended this matter till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

Upon

(*b*) Upon his arrival before that city, he found it provided with a ſtrong garriſon, commanded by Betis, one of Darius's eunuchs. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his ſovereign, defended it with great vigour againſt Alexander. As this was the only inlet or paſs into Egypt, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to beſiege it. But although every art of war was employed, notwithſtanding his ſoldiers fought with the utmoſt intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months before it. Exaſperated at its holding out ſo long, and his receiving two wounds, he was reſolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants and ſoldiers, with a barbarity abſolutely inexcuſable; for he cut ten thouſand men to pieces, and ſold all the reſt, with their wives and children, for ſlaves. When Betis, who had been taken priſoner in the laſt aſſault, was brought before him, Alexander, inſtead of uſing him kindly, as his valour and fidelity juſtly merited, this young monarch, who otherwiſe eſteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occaſion with an inſolent joy, ſpoke thus to him: *Betis, thou ſhalt not die the death thou deſiredſt. Prepare therefore to ſuffer all thoſe torments which revenge can invent.* Betis, looking upon the king with not only a firm, but a haughty air, did not make the leaſt reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his diſdainful ſilence---*Obſerve*, ſaid he, *I beſeech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? Has he ſpoke but even ſo much as one ſubmiſſive word? But I will conquer this obſtinate ſilence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing elſe.* At laſt Alexander's * anger roſe to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune: Upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered

(*b*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 526. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101---103. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 6. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.

* Iram deinde vertit in rabiem, jam tum peregrinos ritus nova ſubeunte fortuna. *Quint. Curt.*

ordered his ſoldiers to drag Betis round the city till he died. He boaſted his having imitated, on this occaſion, Achilles, from whom he was deſcended; who, as Homer relates, cauſed the dead body of Hector to be dragged, in the ſame manner, round the walls of Troy; * as if a man ought ever to pride himſelf for having imitated ſo ill an example. Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more ſo, in cauſing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had ſerved his ſovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had intruſted him; a fidelity, that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded, by an enemy, rather than puniſhed in ſo cruel a manner.

He ſent the greateſt part of the plunder he found in Gaza to Olympias, to Cleopatra his ſiſter, and to his friends. He alſo preſented Leonidas, his preceptor, with five hundred quintals, (or hundred weight) of frankincenſe, and an hundred quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which ſeemed, even at that time, to preſage the conqueſts this monarch had lately atchieved. For Leonidas, obſerving Alexander take up whole handfuls of incenſe at a ſacrifice, and throw it into the fire, ſaid to him: *Alexander, when you ſhall have conquered the country which produces theſe ſpices, you then may be as profuſe of incenſe as you pleaſe; but, till that day comes, be ſparing of what you have.* The monarch therefore writ to Leonidas as follows: *I ſend you a large quantity of incenſe and myrrh, in order that you may no longer be ſo reſerved and ſparing in your ſacrifices to the gods.*

(*c*) As ſoon as Alexander had ended the ſiege of Gaza, he left a garriſon there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In ſeven days march he arrived before Peluſium, whither a great number of Egyptians had aſſembled, with all imaginable

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(*c*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 526---529. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104---110. Plut. in Alex. p. 679---681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 7 & 8. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 11.

* Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile. *Horat.*

ginable diligence, to recognize him for their ſovereign.

The hatred theſe people bore to the Perſians was ſo great, that they valued very little who ſhould be their king, provided they could but meet with a hero to reſcue them from the inſolence and indignity with which themſelves, and thoſe who profeſſed their religion, were treated. For, how falſe ſoever a religion may be (and it is ſcarce poſſible to imagine one more abſurd than that of the Egyptians) ſo long as it continues to be the eſtabliſhed religion, the people will not ſuffer it to be inſulted; nothing affecting their minds ſo ſtrongly, nor firing them to a greater degree. Ochus had cauſed their god Apis to be murdered, in a manner highly injurious to themſelves and their religion; and the Perſians, to whom he had left the government, continued to make the ſame mock of that deity. Thus ſeveral circumſtances had rendered the Perſians ſo odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join, and aſſiſt him in expelling the Perſians.

This Amyntas had deſerted from Alexander, and entered into the ſervice of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Iſſus; and having fled into Syria, by the country lying towards Tripoli, with four thouſand men, he had there ſeized upon as many veſſels as he wanted, burnt the reſt, and immediately ſet ſail towards the iſland of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Peluſium, which he took by ſurprize, upon feigning that he had been honoured with a commiſſion from Darius, appointing him governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Iſſus. As ſoon as he found himſelf poſſeſſed of this important city, he threw off the maſk, and made publick pretenſions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was to expel the Perſians. Upon this a multitude of Egyptians, who wiſhed for nothing ſo earneſtly as to free themſelves from theſe inſupportable tyrants,

rants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; when, coming to a battle, he defeated the Perſians, and ſhut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his ſoldiers together, they ſtraggled up and down in ſearch of plunder; which the enemy ſeeing, they ſallied out upon ſuch as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, ſo far from leſſening the averſion the Egyptians had for the Perſians, increaſed it ſtill more; ſo that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all diſpoſed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to ſubmit to him. His arrival at the head of a powerful army, preſented them with a ſecure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this conſideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpoſe for him to reſiſt ſo triumphant an army, and that Darius, his ſovereign, was not in a condition to ſuccour him; he therefore ſet open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents, about one hundred and forty thouſand pounds, and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander poſſeſſed himſelf of all Egypt, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition.

At Memphis he formed a deſign of viſiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. This temple was ſituated in the midſt of the ſandy deſarts of Libya, and twelve days journey from Memphis. (*d*) Ham, the ſon of Noah, firſt peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and, when idolatry began to gain ground in the world ſome time after, he was the chief deity of theſe two countries in which his deſcendants had continued. A temple was built to his honour in the midſt of theſe deſarts, upon a ſpot of pretty good ground, about two leagues (*e*) broad, which formed a kind of iſland in a ſea of ſand. It is he whom the Greeks call Ζεὺς, *Jupiter*,

(*d*) Plin. lib. v. c. 9. (*e*) Forty furlongs.

Jupiter, * and the Egyptians *Ammon*. In proceſs of time theſe two names were joined, and he was called *Jupiter-Ammon*.

The motive of this journey, which was equally raſh and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander, having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that moſt of their heroes were repreſented as ſons of ſome deity; and, as he himſelf was deſirous of paſſing for an hero, he was determined to have ſome god for his father. Accordingly, he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for this purpoſe, and began by bribing the prieſts, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpoſe, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a deſign, which was great in no other circumſtances than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already began to aſſume, as Plutarch obſerves, that character of tenaciouſneſs and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot ſuffer advice, and much leſs bear oppoſition; which knows neither obſtacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to conſiſt in impoſſibility; in a word, which fancies itſelf able to force, not only enemies, but fortreſſes, ſeaſons, and the whole order of nature; the uſual effect of a long ſeries of proſperities, which ſubdues the ſtrongeſt, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We, ourſelves, have ſeen a famous † conqueror, who boaſted his treading in the ſteps of Alexander, carry further than he had ever done this kind of ſavage heroiſm; and lay it down as a maxim to himſelf, never to recede from his reſolution.

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Alexander therefore ſets out; but going down from the river Memphis, till he came to the ſea, he coaſts it; and, after having paſſed Canopus, he obſerves,

* *For this reaſon the city of* Egypt, *which the ſcriptures* ‡ *call* No-Ammon (the city of Ham) *or of* Ammon, *is called by the Greeks* Διόσπολις, or the city of Jupiter.

† *Charles* XII. *king of Sweden.*

‡ *Jerem.* xlvi. 25. *Ezek.* xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

ſerves, oppoſite to the iſland of Pharos, a ſpot he thought very well ſituated for the building of a city. He himſelf drew the plan of it, and marked out the ſeveral places where the temples and publick ſquares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Epheſus, the temple of Diana, which Heroſtratus had burnt. This city he called after his own name, and it afterwards roſe to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one ſide, and the Nile and the Red-ſea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffick of the eaſt and weſt; and thereby became, in a very little time, one of the moſt flouriſhing cities in the univerſe.

Alexander had a journey to go of ſixteen hundred ſtadia, or fourſcore French leagues, to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon; and moſt of the way was through ſandy deſarts. The ſoldiers were patient enough for the two firſt days march, before they arrived in the vaſt dreadful ſolitudes; but as ſoon as they found themſelves in vaſt plains, covered with ſands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded, as with a ſea, they gazed round as far as their ſight could extend, to diſcover, if poſſible, ſome place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive ſo much as a ſingle tree, nor the leaſt footſteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increaſe their calamity, the water, that they had brought in goat-ſkins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not ſo much as a ſingle drop in all that ſandy deſart. They therefore were reduced to the ſad condition of dying almoſt with thirſt; not to mention the danger they were in of being buried under mountains of ſand, that are ſometimes raiſed by the winds; and which had formerly deſtroyed fifty thouſand of Cambyſes's troops. Every thing was by this time ſcorched to ſo violent a degree, and the air became ſo hot, that the men could ſcarcely breathe; when, on a ſudden, whether by chance, ſay the hi-

ſtorians, or the immediate indulgence of heaven, the ſky was ſo compleatly overſpread with thick clouds, that they hid the ſun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were ſtill in prodigious want of water. But the ſtorm having diſcharged itſelf in a violent rain, every ſoldier got as much as he wanted; and ſome had ſo violent a thirſt, that they ſtood with their mouths open, and catched the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of theſe marvellous incidents, with which hiſtorians have thought proper to embelliſh this relation.

They were ſeveral days in croſſing theſe deſarts, and, upon their arriving near the place where the oracle ſtood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the moſt advanced ſtandard. Theſe ravens, ſometimes, flew to the ground when the army marched ſlowly; and, at other times, advanced forward, to ſerve them as guides, till they, at laſt, came to the temple of the god. A vaſtly-ſurprizing circumſtance is, that although this oracle be ſituated in the midſt of an almoſt boundleſs ſolitude, it nevertheleſs is ſurrounded with a grove, ſo very ſhady, that the ſun-beams can ſcarcely pierce it; not to mention that this grove or wood is watered with ſeveral ſprings of freſh water, which preſerve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midſt of which is a fountain, called the *water*, or *fountain of the ſun*. At day-break it is luke-warm, at noon cold; but in the evening it grows warmer inſenſibly, and at midnight is boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreaſes in heat, and continues this viciſſitude for ever.

The god, who is worſhipped in this temple, is not repreſented under the form which painters and ſculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious ſtones, and from the head to the * navel, reſembles a ram. The king being come into the temple, the ſenior prieſt declared him to

* *This paſſage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variouſly explained by interpreters.*

to be the ſon of Jupiter; and aſſured, that the god himſelf beſtowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards aſked the prieſt, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the prieſt, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vain-glorious, anſwered, that he ſhould be monarch of the univerſe. At laſt, he enquired, whether all his father's murderers had been puniſhed; but the prieſt replied, that he blaſphemed; that his father was immortal; but that with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he ſhould be invincible, and afterwards take his ſeat among the deities. Having ended his ſacrifice, he offered magnificent preſents to the god, and did not forget the prieſts, who had been ſo faithful to his intereſt.

Swelled with the ſplendid title of the ſon of Jupiter, and fancying himſelf raiſed above the human ſpecies, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders and decrees, he always wrote in the ſtyle following: *(f)* ALEXANDER KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON: In anſwer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonſtrance in few words, by deſiring him not to quarrel any longer with Juno.

Whilſt Alexander prided himſelf in theſe chimera's, and taſted the great pleaſure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every one derided him in ſecret; and ſome, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the ſequel will ſhew. Not ſatisfied with endeavouring to paſs for the ſon of a god, and of being perſuaded, in caſe this were poſſible, that he really was ſuch, he himſelf would alſo paſs for a god; till at laſt, Providence having acted that part, of which ſhe was pleaſed to make him the inſtrument, brought

(f) Varro apud A. Gell. l. xiii. c. 4.

him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the reſt of mortals.

Alexander, upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the *Palus Mareotis*, which was not far from the iſland of Pharos, made a viſit to the new city, part of which was now built. He took the beſt methods poſſible to people it, inviting thither all ſorts of perſons, to whom he offered the moſt advantageous conditions. (*g*) He drew to it, among others, a conſiderable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for, he not only left them the free exerciſe of their religion and laws, but put them on the ſame foot in every reſpect with the Macedonians, whom he ſettled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he ſpent the winter.

Varro obſerves, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the uſe of *papyrus* (for writing) was found in Egypt; but this I ſhall mention elſewhere.

(*h*) During Alexander's ſtay in Memphis, he ſettled the affairs of Egypt, ſuffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into diſtricts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himſelf only; not thinking it ſafe to entruſt the general command of all the troops to one ſingle perſon, in ſo large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, he inveſted one Doloaſpes with the whole power of it; for, being deſirous that Egypt ſhould ſtill be governed by its ancient laws and cuſtoms, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they muſt be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatſoever.

To haſten the building of this new city, he appointed Cleomenes inſpector over it; with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abuſed his authority, and oppreſſed the people with the utmoſt barbarity.

(*g*) Joſeph. contra Appian. (*h*) Arrian. l. iii. p. 108---110. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 8.

SECT.

SECT. VIII. ALEXANDER, *after his return from Egypt, resolves to go in pursuit of* DARIUS. *At his setting out, he hears of the death of that monarch's queen. He causes the several honours to be paid her which were due to her rank. He passes the Euphrates and Tygris, and comes up with* DARIUS. *The famous battle of Arbela.*

(*i*) ALEXANDER having settled the affairs of Egypt, set out from thence about spring-time, to march into the east against Darius. In his way through Palestine, he heard news which gave him great uneasiness. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly esteemed, governor of Syria and Palestine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to settle some affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied; and setting fire to the house in which he was, burnt him alive. It is very probable, that this was occasioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the same privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exasperated against them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all those who had any hand in it, banished the rest from the city of Samaria, supplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the rest of their lands among the Jews.

He made some stay in Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, and advanced towards new conquests.

He was scarce set out, but an eunuch brought word, that Darius's consort was dead in child-bed. Hearing this, he returned back, and went into the tent of Sysigambis, whom he found bathed in tears, and lying on the ground, in the midst of the young princesses, who also were weeping; and near them the son of Darius, a child, * who was the more worthy

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

(*i*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 530---536. Arrian. l. iii. p. 111---127. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 681---685. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 9---16. Justin. l. xi. c. 12---14.

* Ob id ipsum miserabilis, quòd nondum sentiebat calamitatem, maxima ex parte ad ipsum redundantem. *Q. Curt.*

thy of compaſſion, as he was leſs ſenſible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander conſoled them in ſo kind and tender a manner, as plainly ſhewed that he himſelf was deeply and ſincerely afflicted. He cauſed her funeral obſequies to be performed with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who ſuperintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princeſſes, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his conſort's death. The Perſian monarch was ſeized with the moſt violent affliction upon hearing this news, particularly, as he ſuppoſed ſhe would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch undeceived him on this occaſion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always ſhewn her in her life-time. Darius, upon hearing theſe words, was fired with ſuſpicions of ſo horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.

Taking the eunuch aſide, he ſpoke to him as follows. "If thou doſt ſtill acknowledge Darius for "lord and ſovereign, tell me, by the reſpect and ve-"neration thou oweſt to that great ſplendor of * Mi-"thres, which enlightens us, and to this hand which "the king ſtretches out to thee; tell me, I ſay, "whether, in bemoaning the death of Statira, I do "not bewail the leaſt of her evils; and whether, as "ſhe fell into the hands of a young monarch, ſhe "did not firſt loſe her honour, and afterwards her "life." The eunuch, throwing himſelf at Darius's feet, beſought him not to think ſo injuriouſly of Alexander's virtue; nor diſhonour his wife and ſiſter after her death; and not deprive himſelf of the greateſt conſolation he could poſſibly have in his misfortunes, *viz.* to be firmly perſuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was ſuperior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander,

* *The Perſians worſhipped the ſun under the name of* Mithres, *and the moon under that of* Mithra.

der, as he had given the Perſian ladies much ſtronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Perſians themſelves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before ſaid, by the moſt dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what publick fame had related, concerning the wiſdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius, returning into the hall where his courtiers were aſſembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he broke into the following prayer: "Ye gods, who "preſide over the birth of men, and who diſpoſe of "kings and empires, grant that, after having raiſed "the fortune of Perſia from its dejected ſtate, I may "tranſmit it to my deſcendants with the ſame luſtre "in which I received it; in order that, after having "triumphed over my enemies, I may acknowledge "the favours which Alexander has ſhewn in my "calamity to perſons who, of all others, are moſt "dear to me: Or, in caſe the time ordained by "the fates is at laſt come, or that it muſt ne-"ceſſarily happen, from the anger of the gods, or "the ordinary viciſſitudes of human affairs, that the "empire of Perſia muſt end; grant, great gods, "that none but Alexander may aſcend the throne of "Cyrus."

In the mean time, Alexander having ſet out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapſacus, where he paſſed a bridge that lay croſs the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tygris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice, but finding at laſt that there was no hopes of their concluding one, unleſs he reſigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himſelf again for battle. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that of Iſſus, and marched it towards Nineveh: His forces covered all the plains of Meſopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he

caufed Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thoufand chofen horfe; and likewife gave fix thoufand to Mazæus, governor of the province; all whom were to prevent Alexander from croffing the river, and to lay wafte the country through which that monarch was to pafs: But he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the eaft, this is the moft rapid; and not only a great number of rivulets mix in its waves, but thofe alfo drag along great ftones; fo that it is named Tygris, by reafon of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being fo called in the Perfian tongue. Alexander founded thofe parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up to the horfes bellies, and in the middle to their breafts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half moon, and pofted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the firft who appeared on the oppofite fhore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the foldiers; it not being poffible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greateft difficulty they kept themfelves above water, becaufe of the flipperinefs of the ftones, and the impetuofity of the ftream. Such foldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes alfo, were much more fatigued; for thefe being unable to go forward, were carried into whirlpools, unlefs they threw away their burdens. At the fame time, the great number of clothes floating up and down, beat away the burdens of feveral; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpofe that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to fave nothing but their arms; and afiured them, that he himfelf would compenfate their other loffes; for not one of them would liften to his admonitions or orders, fo great was the noife and tumult. At laft, they all paffed over that part

part of the ford where the water was ſhalloweſt, and the ſtream leſs impetuous, recovering however but a ſmall part of their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might eaſily have been cut to pieces, had they been oppoſed by a general who dared to conquer; that is, who made ever ſo little oppoſition to their paſſage. But Mazæus, who might eaſily have defeated them, had he come up when they were croſſing the river in diſorder and confuſion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he paſſed the Granicus in ſight of ſo prodigious a multitude of horſe and foot, who waited his coming on the ſhore; and alſo in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the paſſes and ſtreights quite open and defenceleſs, where a ſmall number of troops might have checked his progreſs. This * circumſtance may leſſen our ſurprize at that exceſs of boldneſs, which was his peculiar characteriſtick, and which perpetually prompted him to attempt blindly the greateſt dangers; ſince, as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to ſuſpect himſelf guilty of raſhneſs.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his ſoldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow; but about nine or ten in the evening, the moon firſt loſt its light, and appeared afterwards quite ſullied, and, as it were, tinctured with blood. Now as this happened juſt before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful ſucceſs of which filled the army with ſufficient diſquietude, they were firſt ſtruck with a religious awe, and, being afterwards ſeized with fear, they cried out, "That "heaven diſplayed the marks of its anger; and that "they were dragged againſt the will of it, to the ex-"tremities of the earth; that rivers oppoſed their paſ-"ſage; that the ſtars refuſed to lend their uſual light; "and that they could now ſee nothing but deſarts "and

* Audaciæ quoque, qua maximè viguit, ratio minui poteſt; quia nunquam in diſcrimen venit, an temerè feciſſet. *Q. Curt.*

" and ſolitudes; that merely to ſatisfy the ambition " of one man, ſo many thouſands ſhed their blood; " and that for a man who contemned his own coun- " try, diſowned his father, and pretended to paſs for " a god."

Theſe murmurs were riſing to an open inſurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, ſummoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded ſuch of the Egyptian ſoothſayers as were beſt ſkilled in the knowledge of the ſtars, to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. Theſe knew very well the natural cauſes of eclipſes of the moon; but, without entering into phyſical enquiries, they contented themſelves with ſaying, that the ſun was on the ſide of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Perſians; and that, whenever it ſuffered an eclipſe, it always threatened the latter with ſome grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned ſeveral examples, all which they gave as true and indiſputable. Superſtition has a ſurprizing aſcendant over the minds of the vulgar. How headſtrong and inconſtant ſoever they may be, yet if they are once ſtruck with a vain image of religion, they will ſooner obey ſoothſayers than their leaders. The anſwer made by the Egyptians being diſperſed among the ſoldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purpoſely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tygris, and on his left the mountains called *Gordyæi*. At day-break the ſcouts, whom he had ſent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle-array, and ſet himſelf at their head. However, it was afterwards found, that they were only a detachment of a thouſand horſe that was going upon diſcoveries, and which ſoon retired to the main army. Nevertheleſs, news was brought the king, that Darius was now but an hundred and fifty * ſtadia from the place where they then were. Not

* *Seven or eight leagues.*

Not long before this, ſome letters had been intercepted, by which Darius ſollicited the Grecian ſoldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect ſo great an odium on the memory of this prince, as an attempt of that kind; an attempt ſo abject and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in doubt with himſelf, whether it would be proper for him to read theſe letters in a full aſſembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio diſſuaded him from it; declaring, that it would be dangerous even to awake ſuch thoughts in the minds of ſoldiers; that one only was ſufficient to ſtrike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the moſt enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counſel, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice ſued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to truſt to but his arms; nevertheleſs, being overcome by the advantageous circumſtances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderneſs and humility towards his family, he diſpatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him freſh conditions of peace more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former propoſals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the ſeveral territories ſituate between the Helleſpont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already poſſeſſed. Alexander made the following anſwer: "Tell "your ſovereign, that thanks, between perſons who "make war againſt each other, are ſuperfluous; and "that, in caſe I have behaved with clemency to-"wards his family, it was for my own ſake, and not "for his; in conſequence of my own inclination, and "not to pleaſe him. To inſult the unhappy, is a "thing to me unknown. I do not attack either pri-"ſoners or women, and turn my rage againſt ſuch "only as are armed for the fight. Did Darius ſue

" for peace in a ſincere view, I then would debate " on what is to be done; but ſince he ſtill continues, " by letters and by money, to ſpirit up my ſoldiers " to betray me, and my friends to murder me, I " therefore am determined to purſue him with the " utmoſt vigour; and that not as an enemy, but a " poiſoner and an aſſaſſin. It indeed becomes him, " to offer to yield up to me what I am already poſ- " ſeſſed of! Would he be ſatisfied with ranking him- " ſelf as ſecond to me, without pretending to be my " equal, I might poſſibly then hear him. Tell him, " that the world will not permit two ſuns, nor two " ſovereigns. Let him therefore chuſe, either to ſur- " render to-day, or fight me to-morrow, and not " flatter himſelf with the hopes of obtaining better " ſucceſs than he has hitherto had." Darius's propoſals are certainly not reaſonable; but then, is Alexander's anſwer much more ſo? In the former we behold a prince, who is not yet ſenſible of his own weakneſs, or, at leaſt, who cannot prevail with himſelf to own it; and in the latter, we ſee a monarch quite intoxicated with his good fortune, and carrying his pride to ſuch an exceſs of folly, as is not to be parallelled: *The world will not permit two ſuns, nor two ſovereigns.* If this be greatneſs, and not pride, I do not know what can ever deſerve the latter name. The ambaſſadors having leave to depart, returned back, and told Darius, that he muſt now prepare for battle. The latter pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela, and the river Bumela, in a plain at a conſiderable diſtance from Arbela. He had before levelled the ſpot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to move in; recollecting, that his fighting in the ſtreights of Cilicia had loſt him the battle fought there. At the ſame time, he had prepared * crows-feet to annoy the enemy's horſe.

Alexander,

* *Crows-feet is an inſtrument compoſed of iron ſpikes. Several of theſe are laid in fields through which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horſes feet.*

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to reſt his army, and ſurrounded his camp with trenches and paliſades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the uſeleſs ſoldiers in it, and march the remainder againſt the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he ſet out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander alſo marched in battle-array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could diſcover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and, having aſſembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they ſhould engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, becauſe it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the ſame order in which it had marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he aſſembled his general officers a ſecond time, and told them, that there was no occaſion for his making a ſpeech, becauſe their courage and great actions were alone ſufficient to excite them to glory; that he deſired them only to repreſent to the ſoldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occaſion, for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Aſia, which would be poſſeſſed by him who ſhould conquer; and that, after having gone through ſo many provinces, and left behind them ſo great a number of rivers and mountains, they could ſecure their retreat no otherwiſe than by gaining a compleat victory. After this ſpeech, he ordered them to take ſome repoſe.

It is ſaid, that Parmenio adviſed him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alledging, that they might

eaſily

eaſily be defeated, if fallen upon by ſurprize, and in the dark; but the king anſwered ſo loud, that all preſent might hear him; that it did not become Alexander to ſteal a victory, and therefore he was reſolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the ſame time, a prudent anſwer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon ſo numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he ſhould be attacked at unawares, becauſe he had not intrenched himſelf, obliged his ſoldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the higheſt prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the criſis of affairs uſed always to conſult ſoothſayers, obſerving, very exactly, whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himſelf upon the point of fighting a battle, the ſucceſs of which was to give empire to the conqueror, ſent for Ariſtander, in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence. He then ſhut himſelf up with the ſoothſayer, to make ſome ſecret ſacrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to * Fear, which he doubtleſs did to prevent his army from being ſeized with dread, at the ſight of the formidable army of Darius. The ſoothſayer, dreſſed in his veſtments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, firſt repeated the prayers which the king was to addreſs to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repoſe himſelf the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without ſome emotion, the conſequence of the battle, which was upon the point of being fought, he could not ſleep immediately. But his body being oppreſſed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he ſlept ſoundly the whole night, contrary to his uſual cuſtom: So that when his generals were aſſembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly ſurprized to find he was not awake; upon which, they themſelves commanded the ſoldiers

* *We muſt read in* Plutarch Φόβῳ *inſtead of* Φοίβῳ.

ſoldiers to take ſome refreſhment. Parmenio having at laſt awaked him, and ſeeming ſurprized to find him in ſo calm and ſweet a ſleep, juſt as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at ſtake: *How could it be poſſible*, ſaid Alexander, *for us not to be calm, ſince the enemy is coming to deliver himſelf into our hands?* Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horſe, and rode him up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if poſſible, to ſurpaſs their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of battle, imagine they ſee the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared ſo calm, ſo gay, nor ſo reſolute. The ſerenity and ſecurity which they obſerved in him, were in a manner ſo many aſſurances of the victory.

There was a great difference between the two armies with reſpect to numbers, but much more ſo with regard to courage. That of Darius conſiſted at * leaſt of ſix hundred thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe; and the other of no more than forty thouſand foot, and ſeven or eight thouſand horſe: But the latter was all fire and ſtrength; whereas, on the ſide of the Perſians, it was a prodigious aſſemblage of men, not of ſoldiers; † an empty phantom rather than a real army.

Both ſides were diſpoſed in very near the ſame array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that compoſed them; and commanded in general, by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with ſcythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his poſt in the center of

* *According to ſeveral hiſtorians it amounted to upwards of a million of men.*

† Nomina veriùs quàm auxilia. *Q. Curt.*

of the firſt line. Beſides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he alſo had fortified himſelf with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his perſon; believing this body only capable of oppoſing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army ſpread over a much greater ſpace of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to ſurround, and to charge them, at one and the ſame time, both in front and flank.

But Alexander had guarded againſt this, by giving orders to the commanders of the ſecond line, that in caſe they ſhould be charged behind, to face about to that ſide; or elſe to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in caſe the enemy ſhould charge them in flank. He had poſted, in the front of his firſt line, the greateſt part of his bowmen, ſlingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that theſe might make head againſt the chariots armed with ſcythes; and frighten the horſes, by diſcharging at them a ſhower of arrows, javelins, and ſtones. Thoſe who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as poſſible; but in ſuch a manner, as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp, under a ſmall guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been ſhewn the ſeveral places where the crows-feet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Perſians advanced forward in proportion. Darius, being afraid leſt the Macedonians ſhould draw him from the ſpot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which ſpread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops further. Then Alexander diſpatched againſt them the body

body of horſe in his ſervice commanded by Menidas; but, as theſe were not able to make head againſt the enemy, becauſe of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæoneans, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry *. Beſides the advantage of numbers, they had that alſo of their coats of mail, which ſecured themſelves, and their horſes much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiouſly annoyed: However, they marched to the charge with great bravery, and at laſt put them to flight.

Upon this, the Perſians oppoſed the chariots armed with ſcythes againſt the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little ſucceſs. The noiſe which the ſoldiers, who were lightly armed, made, by ſtriking their ſwords againſt their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all ſides, frighted the horſes, and made a great number of them turn back againſt their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horſes bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, ſeeing Darius ſet his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a ſtratagem to encourage his ſoldiers. When the battle was at the hotteſt, and the Macedonians were in the greateſt danger, Ariſtander, the ſoothſayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants as he had been inſtructed by the king; and, crying that he ſaw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a ſure omen of victory) he ſhewed, with his finger, the pretended bird to the ſoldiers; who, relying upon the ſincerity of the ſoothſayer, fancied they alſo ſaw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater chearfulneſs and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas (after having charged the cavalry, and put them into diſorder, upon their ad-

 vancing

* *Some relate that the Barbarians gave way at firſt, but ſoon returned to the charge.*

vancing to ſurround his right wing) had begun to break the foremoſt ranks of the main body of the Barbarian army; he marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without purſuing the forces which he had thrown into diſorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had poſted himſelf. The preſence of the two kings inſpired both ſides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horſeback; both ſurrounded with their braveſt officers and ſoldiers, whoſe only endeavour was to ſave the lives of their reſpective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obſtinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Perſians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the moſt diſmal ſounds, the whole army was ſeized with the greateſt conſternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and ſo abandoned the chariot; but thoſe who were at his right, took him into the center of their body. Hiſtorians relate, that this prince having drawn his ſcimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himſelf, rather than fly in an ignominious manner: But, perceiving from his chariot that his ſoldiers ſtill fought, he was aſhamed to forſake them; and, as he was divided between hope and deſpair, the Perſians retired inſenſibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a ſlaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the reſt; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in purſuing him.

Whilſt all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Perſian, Indian, and Parthian horſe, which were the beſt in all the Perſian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced

advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives ſaw them arrive in the camp, they armed themſelves with every thing that came firſt to hand, and, reinforcing their cavalry, ruſhed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They, at the ſame time, told Syſigambis, that Darius had won the battle (for this they believed;) that the whole baggage was plundered, and that ſhe was now going to recover her liberty. But this princeſs, who was a woman of great wiſdom, though this news affected her in the ſtrongeſt manner, could not eaſily give credit to it; and, being unwilling to exaſperate, by too haſty a joy, a conqueror, who had treated her with ſo much humanity, ſhe did not diſcover the leaſt emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a ſingle word; but in her uſual poſture, calmly waited till the event ſhould denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the firſt report of this attack, had diſpatched a meſſenger to Alexander, to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was expoſed, and to receive his orders. "Above all things," ſaid the prince, "let him not weaken his main body; "let him not mind the baggage, but apply himſelf "wholly to the engagement; for victory will not "only reſtore us our own poſſeſſions, but alſo give "thoſe of the enemy into our hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the center of the ſecond line, ſeeing the enemy were going to make themſelves maſters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right, in obedience to the order which had been given; and fell upon the Perſians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the reſt obliged to retire; but as theſe were horſe, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himſelf was expoſed to much greater peril. Mazæus, having ruſhed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to ſurround them. Immediately Parmenio ſent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; de-

claring, that in caſe he were not immediately ſuccoured, it would be impoſſible for him to keep his ſoldiers together. The prince was actually purſuing Darius, and, fancying he was almoſt come up with him, rode with the utmoſt ſpeed. He flattered himſelf, that he ſhould abſolutely put an end to the war, in caſe he could but ſeize his perſon. But, upon this news, he turned about, in order to ſuccour his left wing; ſhuddering, with rage, to ſee his prey and victory torn in this manner from him; and complaining againſt fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himſelf in the purſuit of that monarch.

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horſe who had plundered the baggage; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as ſoldiers who had been defeated, but almoſt as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obſtinate than before; for, the Barbarians marching cloſe in columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuſe themſelves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about, according to their uſual cuſtom; but man engaging againſt man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorſe his enemy. Alexander loſt threeſcore of his guards in this attack. Hephæſtion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; however he triumphed on this occaſion, and all the Barbarians were cut to pieces, except ſuch as forced their way through his ſquadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazæus that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill ſucceſs of that monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his ſide, he ceaſed to charge the enemy, who were now in diſorder, ſo briſkly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to paſs, that the battle, which before was carried on ſo warmly, ſhould ſlacken on a ſudden: However, like an able commander, who

ſeizes

ſeizes every advantage, and who employs his utmoſt endeavours to inſpire his ſoldiers with freſh vigour, he obſerved to them, that the terror which ſpread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the laſt hand to the victory. Upon this exhortation, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; when, transformed into other men, they gave their horſes the rein, and charged the enemy with ſo much fury, as threw them into the greateſt diſorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up that inſtant, and, overjoyed to find the ſcale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed (in concert with Parmenio) the purſuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he ſhould come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only juſt paſſed by it, and left his treaſure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and ſhield.

Such was the ſucceſs of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Perſians loſt three hundred thouſand men, beſides thoſe who were taken priſoners; which, at leaſt, is a proof that the loſs was very great on their ſide. That of Alexander was very inconſiderable, he not loſing, according to the laſt-mentioned author, twelve hundred men, moſt of whom were horſe. This engagement was fought in the month of * October, about the ſame time, two years before, that the battle of Iſſus was fought. As Gaugamela, in Aſſyria, the ſpot where the two armies engaged, was a ſmall place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being neareſt to the field of battle.

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

* *The month, called by the Greeks* Boedromion, *anſwers partly to our month of October.*

SECT. IX. ALEXANDER *possesses himself of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis; and finds immense riches in those cities. In the heat of drinking he sets fire to the palace of Persepolis.*

(*k*) ALEXANDER's first care, after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving. He afterwards rewarded such as had signalized themselves remarkably in battle; bestowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houses, employments, and governments. But, being desirous of expressing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generalissimo against the Persians, he gave orders for abolishing the several tyrannical institutions that had started up in Greece; that the cities should be restored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Platæans, declaring, that it was his desire their city should be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their ancestors had distinguished themselves, in defending the common liberties of Greece. (*l*) He also sent part of the spoils to the people of Crotona in Italy; to honour, though so many years after, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the champion, a native of their country, who (whilst war was carrying on between the Medes, and when all the rest of the Greeks that were settled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone) fitted out a galley at his own expence, and sailed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time exposed. So great a friend and encourager, says Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; considering himself, says the same author, obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions; to give immortality to merit, and propose them

(*k*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 538—540. Arrian. l. iii. p. 127—133. Plut. in Alex. p. 685—688. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1—7. Justin. l. xi. c. 14. (*l*) *Herodotus relates this history in very few words,* l. viii. c. 47.

them to posterity, as so many models for their imitation.

Darius, after his defeat, having but very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After crossing it, several advised him to break down the bridges, because the enemy pursued him. But he made this generous answer, * "That life was not so dear to "him, as to make him desire to preserve it by the "destruction of so many thousand of his subjects and "faithful allies, who, by that means, would be deli-"vered up to the mercy of the enemy; that they had "as much right to pass over this bridge as their so-"vereign, and consequently that it ought to be as "open to them." After riding a great number of leagues full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The reason of his going that way was, his supposing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Susa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory; besides, a numerous army could not pursue him by this road; whereas, in the other, horses and chariots might advance with great ease; not to mention that the soil was very fruitful.

A few days after Arbela surrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich cloaths, and other precious moveables, with four thousand talents, (about 775,000 pounds) and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his setting out against Alexander, as was before observed. But he was soon obliged to leave that place, because of the diseases that spread in his camp, occasioned by the infection of the dead bodies which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days march, arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave, is seen the celebrated fountain

* Non ita se saluti suæ velle consultum, ut tot millia sociorum hosti objiciat: debere & aliis fugæ viam patere, quæ patuerit sibi. *Justin.*

which throws out ſo vaſt a quantity of bitumen, that, we are told, it was uſed as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired moſt was, a great gulph, whence ſtreamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhauſtible ſpring; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing, from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulph. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, *viz.* its catching fire ſo very ſuddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that ſurrounds the flame, and ſets the air between both on fire. The Barbarians being deſirous of ſhewing the king the ſtrength and ſubtilty of this combuſtible ſubſtance, ſcattered ſeveral drops of it up and down after his arrival in Babylon, in that ſtreet which went up to the houſe he had choſen for his reſidence. After this, going to the other end of the ſtreet, they brought torches near the places where thoſe drops were fallen (for it was night;) and the drops which were nigheſt the torches taking fire on a ſudden, the flame ran in an inſtant to the other end; by which means the whole ſtreet ſeemed in one general conflagration.

When Alexander was got near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, ſurrendered himſelf, with his children, who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was very well pleaſed with his arrival; for he would have met with great difficulties in beſieging a city of ſuch importance, and ſo well provided with every thing. Beſides his being a perſon of great quality, and very brave, he had alſo acquired great honour in the laſt battle; and others might have been prompted, from the example he ſet them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithſtanding the greateſt part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient deſire they had to ſee their new ſovereign,

ſovereign, whoſe renown had far outſtripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortreſs, and guardian of the treaſure, unwilling to diſcover leſs zeal than Mazæus, ſtrewed the ſtreets with flowers, and raiſed on both ſides of the way ſilver altars, which ſmoaked not only with frankincenſe, but the moſt fragrant perfumes of every kind. Laſt of all came the preſents which were to be made the king, *viz.* herds of cattle, and a great number of horſes; as alſo lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After theſe the magi walked, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babyloniſh ſoothſayers and muſicians: It was cuſtomary for the latter to ſing the praiſes of their kings to their inſtruments; and the Chaldeans to obſerve the motion of the planets, and the viciſſitude of ſeaſons. The rear was brought up by the Babyloniſh cavalry, which both men and horſes were ſo ſumptuous, that imagination can ſcarce reach their magnificence. The king cauſed the people to walk after his infantry, and himſelf, ſurrounded with his guards, and ſeated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the monies he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompence, to each Macedonian horſeman ſix *minæ*, (about fifteen pounds;) to each mercenary horſeman two *minæ*, (above five pounds;) to every Macedonian foot ſoldier two *minæ*; and to every one of the reſt two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders, purſuant to the advice of the magi, with whom he had ſeveral conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demoliſhed; and, among others, that of Belus, who was in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander,

Alexander, in the midſt of the hurry and tumult of war, ſtill preſerved a love for the ſciences. He uſed often to converſe with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy from its origin, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it. * They preſented him with aſtronomical obſervations taken by their predeceſſors during the ſpace of 1903 years, which conſequently went as far backward as the age of Nimrod. Theſe were ſent by Caliſthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Ariſtotle.

The king reſided longer in Babylon than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the diſcipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themſelves to pleaſures, to voluptuouſneſs, and the moſt infamous exceſſes; nor did ladies, though of the higheſt quality, obſerve any decorum, or ſhew the leaſt reſerve in their immoral actions, but gloried therein, ſo far from endeavouring to conceal them, or bluſhing at their enormity. It muſt be confeſſed, that this army of ſoldiers, which had triumphed over Aſia, after having thus enervated themſelves, and rioted, as it were, in the ſloth and luxury of the city of Babylon, for thirty-four days together, would have been ſcarce able to compleat their exploits, had they been oppoſed by an enemy. But, as they were reinforced from time to time, theſe irregularities were not ſo viſible; for Amyntas brought ſix thouſand foot and five hundred Macedonian horſe, which were ſent by Antipater; and ſix hundred Thracian horſes, with three thouſand five hundred foot of the ſame nation; beſides four thouſand mercenaries from Peloponneſus, with near four hundred horſes.

The above-mentioned Amyntas had alſo brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, ſons to noblemen of the higheſt quality in the country, to ſerve as his guards. The youths in queſtion waited upon him at table, brought him his horſes when in the field, attended

* Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de Cœlo.

tended upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns: And these were the first steps to the highest employments both in the army and the state.

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the soil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But lest indolence should enervate the courage of his soldiers, he proposed prizes for such of them as should exert the greatest bravery; and appointed as judges of the actions of those who should dispute this honour, persons, who themselves had been eye-witnesses of the proofs of bravery which each soldier had given in the former battles; for on these only the prizes were to be bestowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced most valiant, he gave a regiment, consisting of a thousand men; whence those officers were called *Chiliarchi*. This was the first time that regiments were composed of so great a number of soldiers, consisting before but of five hundred, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The soldiers ran in crowds to view this illustrious sight, not only as eye-witnesses of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themselves; because they might perceive very easily, whether rewards were bestowed on merit, or merely by favour; a circumstance in which soldiers can never be imposed upon. The prizes seem to have been distributed with the utmost equity and justice.

He likewise made several very advantageous changes in military discipline, as established by his predecessors; for he formed one single body of his whole cavalry, without shewing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed such officers to command them, as they themselves thought fit to nominate; whereas, before the horsemen of every nation used to fight under his own particular standard, and was commanded by a colonel of that country. The trumpet's sound used to be the signal for the march; but as it

very frequently could not be well heard, becauſe of the great noiſe that is made in decamping, he gave orders that a ſtandard ſhould be ſet up over his tent, which might be ſeen by his whole army. He alſo appointed fire to be the ſignal in the night-time, and ſmoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Suſa, where he arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, ſent his ſon to meet him, with a promiſe to ſurrender the city into his hands; whether he was prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuſe Alexander with the hopes of plunder, the king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who attended him as far as the river Choaſpes, the waters of which are ſo famous, upon account of their exquiſite taſte (*m*). The kings of Perſia never drank of any other; and, whitherſoever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in ſilver vaſes. It was here Abutites came to wait upon him, bringing preſents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible ſwiftneſs, and twelve elephants which Darius had ſent for from India. Being come into the city, he took immenſe ſums out of the treaſury, with fifty thouſand * talents of ſilver in ore and ingots, beſides moveables, and a thouſand other things of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions impoſed for ſeveral centuries upon the common people, from whoſe ſweat and poverty immenſe revenues were raiſed. The Perſian monarchs fancied they had amaſſed them for their children and poſterity; but, in one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right uſe of them; for Alexander ſeemed to be merely the guardian or truſtee of the immenſe riches which he found hoarded up in Perſia;

(*m*) Herod. lib. i. c. 188.

* *About ſeven millions five hundred thouſand pounds.*

Perſia; and applied them to no other uſe than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there was found * five thouſand quintals of Hermione † purple, the fineſt in the world, which had been treaſuring up there during the ſpace of one hundred and ninety years; notwithſtanding which, its beauty and luſtre was no ways diminiſhed.

Here likewiſe was found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, which Alexander ſent afterwards to Athens, where they were ſtanding in ‡ Arrian's time.

The king being reſolved to march into Perſia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Suſa, with a garriſon of three thouſand men; Mazarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with a thouſand Macedonian ſoldiers, who could not follow him by reaſon of their great age. He gave the government of Suſiana to Abutites.

He left Darius's mother and children in Suſa, and having received from Macedonia great quantity of purple ſtuffs and rich habits, made after the faſhion of the country, he preſented them to Syſigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if ſhe had been his mother. He likewiſe commanded the meſſengers to tell her, that in caſe ſhe fancied thoſe ſtuffs, ſhe might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them, by way of amuſement; and to give them as preſents to whomſoever they ſhould think proper. At theſe words, the tears which fell from her eyes ſhewed but too evidently how greatly ſhe was diſpleaſed with theſe gifts; the working in wool being conſidered by the

* *The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was ſold at the rate of an hundred livres a pound. The quintal is an hundred weight of Paris.*

† *Hermione was a city of Argolis, where the beſt purple was dyed.*

‡ *What Arrian aſcribes here to Alexander, in regard to the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, is attributed by other hiſtorians to other princes.*

the Perſian women as the higheſt ignominy. Thoſe who carried theſe preſents, having told the king that Syſigambis was very much diſſatisfied, he thought himſelf obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and adminiſter ſome conſolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a viſit, when he ſpoke thus: "Mother, the ſtuff in which you ſee me cloathed, "was not only a gift of my ſiſters, but wrought by "their fingers. Hence I beg you to believe, that "the cuſtom of my country miſled me; and do not "conſider that as an inſult, which was owing entire-"ly to ignorance. I believe I have not, as yet, "done any thing which I knew interfered with your "manners and cuſtoms. I was told, that among the "Perſians it is a ſort of crime for a ſon to ſeat him-"ſelf in his mother's preſence, without firſt obtain-"ing her leave. You are ſenſible how cautious I "have always been in this particular; and that I "never ſat down, till you had firſt laid your com-"mands upon me to do ſo. And every time that you "was going to fall proſtrate before me, I only aſk "you, whether I would ſuffer it? As the higheſt "teſtimony of the veneration I have for you, I al-"ways called you by the tender name of mother, "though this belongs properly to Olympias only, to "whom I owe my birth."

What I have juſt now related, may ſuggeſt two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the ſame time of the utmoſt importance.

Firſt, we ſee to how great a height the Perſians (ſo vain and haughty in other reſpects) carried the veneration they ſhewed their parents. The reader, doubtleſs, remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midſt of his conqueſts, and the moſt exalted pitch to which fortune had raiſed him, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, *viz.* of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had firſt adviſed with his father and mother, and obtained their con-

ſent.

ſent. * Hiſtory informs us here, that among the Perſians, a ſon never dared to ſeat himſelf before his mother, till he had firſt obtained her leave; and that to do otherwiſe was conſidered as a crime. Alas! how widely do our manners differ from ſo excellent an inſtitution?

Secondly, I diſcover, in the ſame relation, ſeveral valuable footſteps of that happy ſimplicity which prevailed in ancient times, when it was the cuſtom for ladies, though of the greateſt diſtinction, to employ themſelves in uſeful, and ſometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in ſcripture to this purpoſe concerning Rebecca, Rachael, and ſeveral others. We read in Homer, of princeſſes drawing themſelves water from ſprings; and waſhing, with their own hands, the linen of their reſpective families. † Here the ſiſters of Alexander, that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making clothes for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia uſed to ſpin in the midſt of her female attendants. Auguſtus, who was ſovereign of the world, wore, for ſeveral years together, no other clothes but what his wife and ſiſter made him. It was a cuſtom in the northern parts of the world, not many years ſince, for the princeſs, who then ſat upon the throne, to prepare ſeveral of the diſhes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domeſtick affairs, a ſerious and retired life, is the proper function of women; and for this they were deſigned by Providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to theſe cuſtoms, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meanneſs and contempt: But then, what has it ſubſtituted in the room of the harſh and vigorous exerciſes which a juſt education enabled the ſex to undertake, to that laborious and uſeful life which was ſpent at home? A ſoft indolence, a ſtupid idleneſs, frivolous converſations, vain amuſements, a ſtrong paſſion

* Scio apud vos, filium in conſpectu matris nefas eſſe conſidere, niſi cùm illa permiſit. *Q. Curt.*

† Mater, hanc veſtem, quam indutus ſum, ſororum non ſolùm donum, ſed etiam opus vides. *Q. Curt.*

paſſion for publick ſhows, and a frantick love of gaming. Let us compare theſe two characters, and then pronounce which of them may juſtly boaſt its being founded on good ſenſe, ſolid judgment, and a taſte for truth and nature. It muſt, nevertheleſs, be confeſſed, in honour of the fair ſex and of our nation, that ſeveral ladies among us, and thoſe of the higheſt quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleaſure, to employ themſelves in needle-works, not of a trifling, but of the moſt uſeful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I alſo might add, that great numbers of theſe adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the ſame time, ſerious and uſeful ſtudies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Syſigambis, who now was extremely well ſatisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants Paſi-Tigris. * Having croſſed it with nine thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, conſiſting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thouſand Thracians, he entered the country of the *Uxii*. This region lies near Suſa, and extends to the frontiers of Perſia; a narrow paſs only lying between it and Suſiana. Madathes commanded this province. † This man was not a time-ſerver, nor a follower of fortune; but, faithful to his ſovereign, he reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity; and, for this purpoſe, had withdrawn into his own city, which ſtood in the midſt of craggy rocks, and was ſurrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the beſieged ſent thirty deputies to Alexander, to ſue for quarter; which they obtained, at laſt, by the interceſſion of Syſigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princeſs, but likewiſe ſet all the captives, and thoſe who had ſurrendered themſelves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their ſeveral rights and privileges; would not

* *This river differs from the Tigris.*

† Haud ſanè temporum homo: quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. *Q. Curt.*

not ſuffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Syſigambis have poſſibly obtained more from her own ſon on this occaſion, had he been the victor?

The *Uxii* being ſubdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain; whilſt himſelf, at the head of his light-armed troops, croſſed the mountains, which extend as far as Perſia. The fifth day he arrived at the paſs of Suſa. Ariobarzanes, with four thouſand foot, and ſeven hundred horſe, had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe rocks which are craggy on all ſides, and poſted the Barbarians at the ſummit, out of the reach of arrows. He alſo had built a wall in thoſe paſſes, and encamped his forces under it. As ſoon as Alexander advanced, in order to attack him, the Barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, ſtones of a prodigious ſize, which falling from rock to rock, ruſhed forward with the greater violence, and at once cruſhed to pieces whole bands of ſoldiers. The king, being very much terrified at this ſight, commanded a retreat to be ſounded; and it was with the utmoſt grief he ſaw himſelf not only ſtopt at this paſs, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilſt he was revolving theſe gloomy thoughts, a Grecian priſoner ſurrendered himſelf to Alexander, with a promiſe to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, when, leaving the ſuperintendance of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cauſe a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the Barbarians might thereby be more ſtrongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in perſon. After this, taking ſome choſen troops with him, he ſet out, going through all the by-ways, as his guide directed. But, beſides that theſe paths were very craggy, and the rocks ſo ſlippery, that their feet would ſcarce ſtand upon them; the ſoldiers were alſo very much diſtreſſed by the ſnows which

the winds had brought together, and which were ſo high, that the men fell into them, as into ſo many ditches; and, when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out, they themſelves would likewiſe ſink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increaſed by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide, whoſe fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through a great number of difficulties and dangers, they at laſt got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they diſcovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them, ſword in hand, at a time when they leaſt expected it. Such as made the leaſt defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means, the cries of the dying on one ſide, and on the other the fright of thoſe who were flying to their main body, ſpread ſo great a terror, that they fled, without ſtriking a blow. At this noiſe Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded at his going away, and ſeized the paſs, which till then had reſiſted his attacks; and, at the ſame time, Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Cœnus, and Polyſperchon, and broke quite through the Barbarians, who now were attacked on every ſide. The greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and thoſe who fled, fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, eſcaped by flying over the mountains.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune, which conſtantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himſelf happily out of the danger to which he was ſo lately expoſed, marched immediately towards Perſia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Perſepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treaſures, with which he was intruſted, and therefore that it was neceſſary for him to make all the haſte imaginable to

ſeize

ſeize them himſelf; that he had only the * Araxes to croſs, after which the road was ſmooth and eaſy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harraſſed by the length and ſwiftneſs of this march, and paſſed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built ſome days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greateſt miſery. Theſe were about four thouſand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made priſoners of war, had ſuffered all the torments which the Perſian tyranny could inflict. The hands of ſome had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had loſt their noſes and ears: After which, having impreſſed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as ſo many laughing-ſtocks, with which they ſported perpetually. They appeared like ſo many ſhadows, rather than like men; ſpeech being almoſt the only thing by which they were known to be ſuch. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this ſight; and, as they unanimouſly beſought him to commiſerate their condition, he bid them, with the utmoſt tenderneſs, not to deſpond, and aſſured them, that they ſhould again ſee their wives and country. This propoſal, which one might ſuppoſe ſhould naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions ariſing on that occaſion. "How will it be poſſible," ſaid ſome of them, "for us "to appear publickly before all Greece, in the dread-"ful condition to which we are reduced; a condi-"tion ſtill more ſhameful than diſſatisfactory? The "beſt way to bear miſery is to conceal it; and no "country is ſo ſweet to the wretched, as ſolitude, "and an oblivion of their paſt calamities. Beſides, "how will it be poſſible for us to undertake ſo long "a journey? Driven to a great diſtance from Eu-

* *This is not the ſame river with that in Armenia.*

" rope, banifhed to the moft remote parts of the " eaft, worn out with age, and moft of our limbs " maimed, can we pretend to undergo fatigues, " which have even wearied a triumphant army? The " only thing that now remains for us, is to hide our " mifery, and to end our days among thofe, who are " already fo accuftomed to our misfortunes." Others, in whom the love of their country extinguifhed all other fentiments, reprefented, " That the gods of- " fered them what they fhould not even have dared " to wifh, *viz.* their country, their wives, their chil- " dren, and all thofe things for whofe fake men are " fond of life, and defpife death. That they had " long enough borne the fad yoke of flavery; and that " nothing happier could prefent itfelf, than their being " indulged the blifs of going at laft to breathe their " native air, to refume their ancient manners, laws, " and facrifices, and to die in prefence of their wives " and children."

However, the former opinion prevailed; and accordingly they befought the king to permit them to continue in a country, where they had fpent fo many years. He granted their requeft, and prefented each of them * three thoufand drachmas; five men's fuits of cloaths, and the fame number for women; two couple of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to fow them. He commanded the governor of the province not to fuffer them to be molefted in any manner, and ordered that they fhould be free from taxes and tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impoffible for Alexander to reftore them the limbs, of which the Perfians had fo cruelly deprived them; but then he reftored them to liberty, tranquillity, and abundance. Thrice happy thofe princes, who are affected with the pleafure which arifes from the doing of good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate!

Alexander, having called together, the next day, the generals of his army, reprefented to them, " That

* *About one hundred fifty pounds.*

" That no city in the world had ever been more fatal " to the Greeks than Perſepolis, the ancient reſidence " of the Perſian monarchs, and the capital of their " empire. For that it was from thence all thoſe " mighty armies poured, which had overflowed " Greece; and whence Darius, and afterwards Xerxes, " had carried the firebrand of the moſt accurſed war, " which had laid waſte all Europe; and therefore, " that it was incumbent on them to revenge the " manes of their anceſtors." It was already abandoned by the Perſians, who all fled ſeparately as fear drove them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious ſoldiers ſoon met with riches ſufficient to ſatiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all thoſe who ſtill remained in the city. However, the king ſoon put an end to the maſſacre, and publiſhed an order, by which his ſoldiers were forbid to violate the chaſtity of the women. Alexander had before poſſeſſed himſelf, either by force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities; but all this was a trifle compared to the treaſures he found here. The Barbarians had laid up at Perſepolis, as in a ſtorehouſe, all the wealth of Perſia. Gold and ſilver were never ſeen here but in heaps; not to mention the cloaths and furniture of ineſtimable value; for this was the ſeat of luxury. There was found in the treaſury one hundred and twenty thouſand talents *, which were deſigned to defray the expence of the war. To this prodigious ſum he added † ſix thouſand talents, taken from Paſagarda. This was a city which Cyrus had built, wherein the kings of Perſia uſed to be crowned.

During Alexander's ſtay in Perſepolis, a little before he ſet out upon his march againſt Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the gueſts drank to exceſs. Among the women, who were admitted to it maſked, was Thais the courtezan, a native of Attica, and at that time miſtreſs to Ptolemy,

* *About eighteen millions ſterling.* † *About nine hundred thouſand pounds.*

who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feaſt, during which ſhe had ſtudiouſly endeavoured to praiſe the king in the moſt artful and delicate manner (a ſtratagem too often practiſed by women of that character) ſhe ſaid, with a gay tone of voice, " That it would be matter of inexpreſſible joy " to her, were ſhe permitted (maſked as ſhe then was, " and in order to end this feſtival nobly) to burn the " magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burnt A- " thens; and ſet it on fire with her own hand, in or- " der that it might be ſaid in all parts of the world, " that the women, who had followed Alexander in his " expedition to Aſia, had taken much better venge- " ance of the Perſians, for the many calamities they " had brought upon the Grecians, than all the gene- " rals who had fought for them both by ſea and land." All the gueſts applauded the diſcourſe; when immediately the king roſe from table (his head being crowned with flowers) and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company follow him, breaking into loud acclamations, and afterwards, ſinging and dancing, they ſurround the palace. All the reſt of the Macedonians, at this noiſe, ran in crouds, with lighted tapers, and ſet fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was ſorry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave orders for extinguiſhing the fire, but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great ſucceſſes increaſed this beneficent diſpoſition; and he accompanied the preſents he made with ſuch teſtimonies of humanity and kindneſs, and ſo obliging a carriage, as very much enhanced their merit. He exerted this temper in a particular manner towards the fifty Macedonian young lords, who ſerved under him as guards. Olympias his mother, thinking him too profuſe, wrote to him as follows: " I do not blame you," ſaid ſhe, " for being beneficent towards your friends, for " that is acting like a king: But then a medium " ought to be obſerved in your magnificence. You

" equal

" equal them all with kings, and by heaping riches " on them, you give them an opportunity of making " a great number of friends, of all whom you deprive " yourſelf." As ſhe often wrote the ſame advice to him, he always kept her letters very ſecret, and did not ſhew them to any perſon; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephæſtion drew near to him, and read it over his ſhoulder, which the king obſerving, did not offer to hinder him; but taking only the ring from his finger, he put the ſeal of it upon the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He uſed to ſend magnificent preſents to his mother; but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She uſed frequently to make very ſevere complaints upon that account, but he always ſubmitted to her ill humour with great mildneſs and patience. Antipater having one day wrote a long letter againſt her, the king, after reading it, replied, *Antipater does not know that one ſingle tear ſhed by a mother, will obliterate ten thouſand ſuch letters as this.* A behaviour like this, and ſuch an anſwer, ſhew, at one and the ſame time, that Alexander was both a kind ſon and an able politician; and that he was perfectly ſenſible how dangerous it would have been, had he inveſted a woman of Olympias's character with the ſupreme authority.

SECT. X. DARIUS *leaves Ecbatana. He is betrayed and put in chains by* BESSUS, *governor of Bactria. The latter, upon* ALEXANDER'*s advancing towards him, flies, after having covered* DARIUS *with wounds, who expires a few moments before* ALEXANDER'*s arrival. He ſends his corpſe to* SYSIGAMBIS.

(*n*) ALEXANDER, after he had taken Perſepolis and Paſagarda, was reſolved to purſue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana, the

(*n*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 540---546. Arrian. l. iii. p. 133---137. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 689. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 8---14. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 15.

the capital of Media. There remained ſtill with this fugitive prince thirty thouſand foot, among whom were four thouſand Greeks, who were faithful to him to the laſt. Beſides theſe he had four thouſand ſlingers, and upwards of three thouſand cavalry, moſt of them Bactrians, commanded by Beſſus governor of Bactria. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before them; then aſſembling his principal officers, he ſpoke to them as follows: "Dear companions, among "ſo many thouſand men who compoſed my army, "you only have not abandoned me during the whole "courſe of my ill fortune; and in a little time, no-"thing but your fidelity and conſtancy will be able "to make me fancy myſelf a king. Deſerters and "traitors now govern in my cities; not that they are "thought worthy of the honour beſtowed on them, "but rewards are given them only in the view of "tempting you, and to ſtagger your perſeverance. "You ſtill choſe to follow my fortune rather than "that of the conqueror, for which you certainly have "merited a recompence from the gods; and I do not "doubt but they will prove beneficent towards you, "in caſe that power is denied me. With ſuch ſol-"diers and officers I would brave, without the leaſt "dread, the enemy, how formidable ſoever he may "be. What! would any one have me ſurrender my-"ſelf up to the mercy of the conqueror, and expect "from him, as a reward of my baſeneſs and mean-"neſs of ſpirit, the government of ſome province "which he may condeſcend to leave me? No---It "never ſhall be in the power of any man, either to "take away, or fix upon my head the diadem I wear; "the ſame hour ſhall put a period to my reign and "life. If you have all the ſame courage and reſolu-"tion, which I can no ways doubt, I aſſure myſelf "that you ſhall retain your liberty, and not be ex-"poſed to the pride and inſults of the Macedonians. "You have in your hands the means either to revenge "or terminate all your evils." Having ended this ſpeech,

ſpeech, the whole body of ſoldiers replied with ſhouts, that they were ready to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould go, and would ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his defence.

Such was the reſolution of the ſoldiery; but Nabarzanes, one of the greateſt lords of Perſia, and general of the horſe, had conſpired with Beſſes, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackeſt of all crimes, and that was, to ſeize upon the perſon of the king, and lay him in chains; which they might eaſily do, as each of them had a great number of ſoldiers under his command. Their deſign was, if Alexander ſhould purſue them, to ſecure themſelves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in caſe they eſcaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards uſurp his crown, and begin a new war. Theſe traitors ſoon won over the troops, by repreſenting to them, that they were going to their deſtruction; that they would ſoon be cruſhed under the ruins of an empire, which was juſt ready to fall; at the ſame time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immenſe riches. Though theſe practices were carried on very ſecretly, they came however to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, intreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to truſt the guard of his perſon to men on whoſe fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himſelf to put ſo great an affront upon the Perſians, and therefore made this anſwer: "That it would be a leſs affliction to him to "be deceived by, than to condemn them. That he "would ſuffer the worſt of evils amidſt thoſe of his "own nation, rather than ſeek for ſecurity among "ſtrangers, how faithful and affectionate ſoever he "might believe them: And that he could not but "die too late, in caſe the Perſian ſoldiers thought "him unworthy of life." It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this counſel; for the traitors ſeized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, as he was a king, and then laying him

him in a covered chariot, they ſet out towards Bactriana.

Alexander being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treaſures of Perſia in the caſtle of Ecbatana, under a ſtrong guard which he left there. According to (*o*) Strabo, theſe treaſures amounted to an hundred and eighty thouſand talents (about twenty-ſeven millions ſterling;) and, according to (*p*) Juſtin, to ten talents more, (about fifteen hundred thouſand pounds.) He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the *Caduſians*, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the reſt of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He ſent orders to Clitus, who ſtayed behind in Suſa, where he fell ſick, that as ſoon as he was arrived at Ecbatana, he ſhould take the forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the reſt of his army, purſued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at * Rhaga, which is a long day's journey from the Caſpian ſtreights; but Darius had already paſſed through them. Alexander now deſpairing to overtake him, what diſpatch ſoever he might make, ſtaid there five days to reſt his forces. He then marched againſt the Parthians, and that day pitched his camp near the Caſpian ſtreights, and paſſed them the next. News was ſoon brought him, that Darius had been ſeized by the traitors; that Beſſus had cauſed him to be drawn in a chariot, and had ſent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the ſurer of his perſon; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having a ſoul baſe enough to conſent to ſo abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a freſh motive for him to haſten his march. The Barbarians, at his arrival, were ſeized with dread, though

(*o*) Strab. l. xv. p. 741. (*p*) Juſtin. l. xii. c. 1.

* *This is the city mentioned in Tobit* iii. 7.

though the match would not have been equal, had Beſſus been as reſolute for fighting, as for putting in execution the deteſtable act above mentioned; for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and ſtrength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander (a motive all-powerful in war) filled them with ſuch prodigious terror, that they all fled. Beſſus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, they requeſted him to mount his horſe, and fly from the enemy: But he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had ſuffered; and beſeeching Alexander to do him juſtice, he refuſed to follow a band of traitors. At theſe words they fell into ſuch a fury, that all threw their darts at him, and left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid crime, they ſeparated, in order to leave different footſteps of their flight, and thereby elude the purſuit of the enemy, in caſe he ſhould follow them; or at leaſt oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Beſſus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horſemen; and, as the Barbarians were by this means deſtitute of leaders, they diſperſed themſelves up and down, as fear or hope directed their ſteps.

After ſearching about in different places, Darius was at laſt found in a ſolitude, his body run through with ſpears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had ſtrength enough before he died to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polyſtratus by name, brought him. He had a Perſian priſoner, whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and ſaid: "That "in the deplorable ſtate to which he was reduced, "he however ſhould have the comfort to ſpeak to "one who could underſtand him, and that his laſt "words would not be loſt. He therefore charged "him to tell Alexander, that he died in his debt,

"though

" though he had never obliged him. That he gave " him a multitude of thanks for the great humanity " he had exercifed towards his mother, his wife and " his children, whofe lives he had not only fpared, " but reftored them to their former fplendor. That " he befought the gods to give victory to his arms, " and make him monarch of the univerfe. That he " thought he need not intreat him to revenge the exe- " crable murder committed on his perfon, as this " was the common caufe of kings."

After this, taking Polyftratus by the hand, " Give " him," faid he, " thy hand, as I give thee mine; " and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am " able to give of my gratitude and affection." Saying thefe words, he breathed his laft. Alexander coming up a moment after, and feeing Darius's body, he wept bitterly; and, by the ftrongeft teftimonies of affection that could be given him, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappinefs of a prince who deferved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body; then caufing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he fent it to Syfigambis, in order that it might be interred with the honours ufually paid to the deceafed Perfian monarchs, and be entombed with his anceftors.

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

Thus died Darius, the third year of the 112th Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, fix of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacifick prince; his reign having been unfullied with injuftice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwife, from the perpetual war he had carried on againft Alexander all the time he had fat upon the throne. In him the Perfian empire ended, after having exifted two hundred and nine years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great (the founder of it) under thirteen kings, *viz.* Cyrus, Cambyfes, Smerdis Magus, Darius fon of Hyftafpis, Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Darius

rius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arſes, and Darius Codomanus.

SECT. XI. *Vices which firſt cauſed the declenſion, and at laſt the ruin of the Perſian empire.*

THE death of Darius Codomanus may very juſtly be conſidered as the æra, but not as the ſole cauſe of the deſtruction of the Perſian monarchy. When we take a general view of the hiſtory of the kings above mentioned, and conſider with ſome attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we eaſily perceive that this declenſion was prepared at a great diſtance, and carried on to its end by viſible ſteps which denoted a total ruin.

We may declare at firſt ſight, that the declenſion of the Perſian empire and its fall, are owing to its origin and primitive inſtitution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Perſians were a ſober, laborious, modeſt people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pride, luxury, ſoftneſs and voluptuouſneſs. The example of frugality and ſimplicity which Cyrus had ſet them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain ſo many victories, and ſupport themſelves in the midſt of ſo many enemies, prevented thoſe vices from ſpreading for ſome time: But, after thoſe nations had ſubjected all things, the fondneſs which the Medes had naturally for pleaſures and magnificence, ſoon leſſened the temperance of the Perſians, and became, in a little time, the prevailing taſte of the two nations.

Several other cauſes conſpired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated its victors with her poiſoned cup, and inchanted them with the charms of pleaſure. She furniſhed them with ſuch miniſters and inſtruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cheriſh delights with art and delicacy: And the wealth of the richeſt provinces in the world, being

being at the entire diſpoſal of new ſovereigns, they thereby were enabled to ſatiate all their deſires.

Even Cyrus himſelf, as I obſerved elſewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the conſequence of it; and prepared men's minds by the ſplendid banquet he gave, after having ended his conqueſts; and when he ſhewed himſelf in the midſt of his troops, who had ſhared in his victories, with ſuch a pomp and oſtentation as were moſt capable of dazzling the eye. He began, by inſpiring them with an admiration for pomp and ſhow, which they had hitherto deſpiſed. He ſuggeſted to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the moſt glorious exploits, and the end and fruit of them: And by thus inſpiring his ſubjects with a ſtrong deſire for things they ſaw ſo highly eſteemed by a moſt accompliſhed prince, his example authorized them to abandon themſelves to that guſt without reſerve.

He alſo ſpread this evil, by his obliging judges, officers and governors of provinces, to appear in ſplendor before the people, the better to repreſent the majeſty of the prince. On one ſide, theſe magiſtrates and commanders eaſily miſtook theſe ornaments and trappings of their employments for the moſt eſſential parts of them, endeavouring to diſtinguiſh themſelves by nothing but this glittering outſide: And, on the other ſide, men of the greateſt wealth in the provinces propoſed them as ſo many patterns for their imitation, and were ſoon followed by perſons of moderate fortune, whom thoſe in the loweſt ſtations of life endeavoured to equal.

So many cauſes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authorized publickly, ſoon deſtroyed the ancient virtue of the Perſians. They did not ſink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreſeen, and often oppoſed. Scarce was Cyrus dead, but there roſe up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Men no longer diſcourſed of that manly, that ſevere education which was beſtowed on the

Perſian

Perſian youth; of thoſe publick ſchools of ſobriety, patience and emulation for virtue, nor of thoſe laborious and warlike exerciſes; of all theſe there did not remain the ſmalleſt traces: Their young men being brought up in ſplendor and effeminacy, which they now ſaw was had in honour, immediately began to deſpiſe the happy ſimplicity of their forefathers, and formed, in the ſpace of one generation, an entire new ſet of people, whoſe manners, inclinations, and maxims, were directly oppoſite to thoſe of ancient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people, were the moſt abandoned to ſplendor, luxury, feaſting, and even to drunkenneſs: So that we may affirm, that the empire of the Perſians was, almoſt at its birth, what other empires grew up to through length of time only, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its deſtruction in its own boſom, and this internal vice increaſed every reign.

After the unſucceſsful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes againſt Scythia and Greece, the princes their ſucceſſors became inſenſible to the ambition of making conqueſts, and gave themſelves up a prey to idleneſs and effeminacy: They grew careleſs of military diſcipline, and ſubſtituted in the place of regular ſoldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confuſed multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their reſpective countries. The reader may have obſerved, on more than one occaſion, that the whole ſtrength, and almoſt the only reſource of the Perſian army, lay in the Greeks in their ſervice; that they properly depended on them only, and always took great care to oppoſe them to the beſt troops of the enemy: They were the only ſoldiers in Darius's army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the laſt; and we have ſeen that Memnon the Rhodian was the ſole great general who fought againſt Alexander.

Inſtead

Inſtead of chuſing for the command of their forces, officers of ſkill and experience, they uſed to appoint perſons of the greateſt quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were diſtinguiſhed by nothing but the ſumptuouſneſs of their feaſts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever ſurrounded, of guards, domeſticks, eunuchs and women; ſuch an aſſemblage, formed merely for vain ſhow and oſtentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, incumbered an army (already but too numerous) with uſeleſs ſoldiers, made it ſlow in its marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of ſubſiſting long in a country, and of compleating great enterprizes in ſight of an enemy.

The Perſian monarchs ſhutting themſelves up in their palaces, in order to abandon themſelves to pleaſures, and appearing ſeldom abroad, placed their whole confidence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, to women, to ſlaves, and to flattering courtiers, whoſe ſole thoughts and endeavours were to baniſh true merit, which was offenſive to them; to give the rewards appointed for ſervices to their own creatures; and to entruſt the greateſt employments of the ſtate to perſons devoted to their intereſted and ambitious views, rather than to ſuch whoſe abilities rendered them capable of ſerving their country.

Another character of theſe princes, which is but too frequent in that high ſphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accuſtomed from their infancy to have their ears ſoothed with falſe praiſes, and the moſt extravagant compliments, and to have a blind ſubmiſſion paid to their will. They were educated in ſo exalted an idea of their own grandeur, as perſuaded them that the reſt of men were formed merely to ſerve them, and adminiſter to their pleaſures. They were not taught

 their

their duties, nor the maxims of a wiſe and good government; the principles by which men judge of ſolid merit, and are capable of chuſing perſons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raiſed to ſovereign power merely to protect their ſubjects and make them happy. They were not made ſenſible of the exquiſite pleaſure that monarch feels, who is the delight of his ſubjects, and the publick ſource of the felicity of ſo vaſt an empire; as Cyrus the Great had been, who was ſo dear to his people, that every individual family conſidered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a publick calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to conſiſt in making himſelf feared, and in his being able to gratify all his paſſions with impunity.

So ill-judged an education muſt neceſſarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to ſuſtain the weight of ſo mighty an empire, nor to graſp the ſeveral parts of ſo extenſive and painful an adminiſtration. Idleneſs, and a love for pleaſure, made them careleſs, and averſe to buſineſs of every kind; and they ſacrificed matters of the higheſt importance to their vain amuſements. Some of them were born with ſuch happy diſpoſitions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life; and abandoned themſelves to the allurements of a too deſpotick power, and an over-great proſperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of liſtening, in their councils, to any expreſſion delivered with freedom, or of ſuffering the leaſt oppoſition to their wills.

It is no wonder they were not beloved by their ſubjects, ſince their whole ſtudy was to aggrandize themſelves, and to ſacrifice all conſiderations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domeſticks and ſubjects; and did not find any where a ſincere affection, nor a real attachment to his perſon and intereſt. The dazzling

ſplendor of the Perſian monarchy concealed a real weakneſs; and this unwieldy power, heightened by ſo much pomp and pride, was abhorred by the people; ſo that this coloſſus, at the very firſt blow, fell to the ground.

SECT. XII. *Lacedæmonia revolts from the Macedonians, with almoſt all Peloponneſus.* ANTIPATER *marches out upon this occaſion, defeats the enemy in a battle, in which* AGIS *is killed.* ALEXANDER *marches againſt* BESSUS. THALESTRIS, *queen of the Amazons, comes to viſit him from a far country.* ALEXANDER, *at his return from Parthia, abandons himſelf to pleaſure and exceſs. He continues his march towards* BESSUS. *A pretended conſpiracy of* PHILOTAS *againſt the king. He, and* PARMENIO *his father, are put to death.* ALEXANDER *ſubdues ſeveral nations. He at laſt arrives in Bactriana, whither* BESSUS *is brought to him.*

A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329.

(q) WHILST things paſſed in Aſia, as we have ſeen, ſome tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had ſent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that ſide; the Lacedæmonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almoſt all Peloponneſus in their deſign. Upon this news, Antipater, after having ſettled to the beſt of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmoſt expedition into Greece, whence he immediately diſpatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of theſe ſeveral tranſactions. As ſoon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he reſolved to venture a battle. The Macedonian army conſiſted of no more than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the ſuperiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow ſpot of ground. The battle began

(q) Diod. l. xvii. p. 537. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 1.

gan with great vigour, each party endeavouring to ſignalize themſelves in an extraordinary manner, for the honour of their reſpective countries; the one fired with the remembrance of their priſtine glory, and the other animated by their preſent greatneſs, fought with equal courage; the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the ſpot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains; after which, extending his whole army, he gained a ſuperiority, and made a proper uſe of his advantage. Agis was diſtinguiſhed by his ſuit of armour, his noble mien, and ſtill more ſo by his valour. The battle was hotteſt round his perſon, and he himſelf performed the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of bravery. At laſt, after having been wounded in ſeveral parts of his body, his ſoldiers laying him upon his ſhield, carried him off. However, this did not damp their courage, for having ſeized an advantageous poſt where they kept cloſe in their ranks, they reſiſted with great vigour the attacks of the enemy. After having withſtood them a long time, the Lacedæmonians began to give ground, being ſcarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with ſweat; they afterwards retired very faſt, and at laſt ran quite away. The king, ſeeing himſelf cloſely purſued, ſtill made ſome efforts, notwithſtanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppoſe the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the laſt, oppreſſed by numbers, he died ſword in hand.

In this engagement, upwards of three thouſand Lacedæmonians loſt their lives, and a thouſand Macedonians at moſt; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but alſo the hopes of thoſe who only waited the iſſue of this war, to declare themſelves. Antipater immediately ſent the news of this ſucceſs to Alexander: But, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in

the moſt modeſt and circumſpect terms; in ſuch as were beſt adapted to diminiſh the luſtre of a victory which might expoſe him to envy. He was ſenſible, that Alexander's delicacy, with regard to honour, was ſo very great, that he looked upon the glory which another perſon obtained, as a diminution of his own. And, * indeed, he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop ſome words which diſcovered his jealouſy. Antipater did not dare to diſpoſe of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedæmonians leave to ſend an embaſſy to the king, in order that they themſelves might tell him the ill ſucceſs they had met with. Alexander pardoned them, ſome of thoſe who had occaſioned the revolt excepted, and theſe he puniſhed.

(*r*) Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from purſuing Beſſus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had aſſumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at laſt that it would be impoſſible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and reſting his troops ſome days in Hecatompylos, commanded proviſions of all ſorts to be brought thither.

During his ſtay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conqueſts he had atchieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very inſtant the ſoldiers, as if a ſignal had been made for their ſetting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load the waggons with the utmoſt diſpatch, and fill the whole camp with noiſe and tumult. Alexander was ſoon informed of this, when, terrified at the diſorder, he ſummoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midſt of ſo glorious a career, he was ſtopped on a ſudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like

(*r*) Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 2---4.

* Alexander hoſtes vinci voluerat; Antipatrum viciſſe, ne tacitus quidem indignabatur, ſuæ demptum gloriæ exiſtimans, quicquid ceſſiſſet alienæ. *Q. Curt.*

like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by repreſenting, that this ſudden motion was a mere ſally, and a tranſient guſt of paſſion, which would not be attended with any ill conſequences; and aſſured him, that the ſoldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he would addreſs himſelf to them in tender expreſſions. He promiſed to do it. The circumſtance which had given occaſion to this falſe report, was, his having diſbanded ſome Grecian ſoldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner; ſo that the Macedonians imagined they alſo were to fight no more.

Alexander having ſummoned the army, made the following ſpeech. " I am not ſurprized, O ſoldiers, " if, after the mighty things we have hitherto per- " formed, you ſhould be ſatiated with glory, and " have no other views but eaſe and repoſe. I will " not now enumerate the various nations we have " conquered. We have ſubdued more provinces " than others have cities. Could I perſuade myſelf, " that our conqueſts were well ſecured, over nations " who were ſo ſoon overcome, I would think as you " do (for I will not diſſemble my thoughts) and would " make all the haſte imaginable to reviſit my houſhold- " gods, my mother, my ſiſters, and my ſubjects, and " enjoy in the midſt of my country the glory I have " acquired in concert with you. But this glory will " all vaniſh very ſoon, if we do not put the laſt hand " to the work. Do you imagine, that ſo many na- " tions, accuſtomed to other ſovereigns, and who " have no manner of ſimilitude to us either in their " religion, manners, or language, were entirely ſub- " dued the moment they were conquered; and that " they will not take up arms, in caſe we return back " with ſo much precipitation? What will become of " the reſt who ſtill remain unconquered? How! ſhall " we leave our victory imperfect, merely for want of " courage! But that which touches me much more; " ſhall we ſuffer the deteſtable crime of Beſſus to go " unpuniſhed? Can you bear to ſee the ſceptre of

" Darius in the ſanguinary hands of that monſter,
" who, after having loaded him with chains, as a cap-
" tive, at laſt aſſaſſinated his ſovereign, in order to
" deprive us of the glory of ſaving him? As for my-
" ſelf, I ſhall not be eaſy till I ſee that infamous
" wretch hanging on a gibbet, there to pay, to all kings
" and nations of the earth, the juſt puniſhment due to
" his execrable crime. I do not know whether I am
" miſtaken; but methinks I read his ſentence of death
" in your countenances; and that the anger which
" ſparkles in your eyes, declares you will ſoon imbrue
" your hands in that traitor's blood."

The ſoldiers would not ſuffer Alexander to proceed; but clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the ſpeeches of this prince generally produced this effect. In how deſponding a condition ſoever they might be, one ſingle word from him revived their courage in an inſtant, and inſpired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable diſpoſition of the whole army, croſſed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which ſubmitted to his arms. He afterwards ſubdued the *Mardi*, the *Arii*, the *Drangæ*, the *Arachoſii*, and ſeveral other nations, into which his army marched, with greater ſpeed than people generally travel. He frequently would purſue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almoſt without ſuffering his troops to take any reſt. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great diſtance, and ſubdued them before they had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet ſhadowed Alexander many ages before his birth, by repreſenting him as a panther, a leopard, and a goat, who ruſhed forward with ſo much ſwiftneſs, that his feet ſeemed not to touch the ground.

(s) Nabarzanes, one of Beſſus's accomplices, who had

(s) Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.

had written before to Alexander, came and ſurrendered himſelf, upon promiſe of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania; and, among other preſents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch, who afterwards gained as great an aſcendant over Alexander, as before over Darius.

At the ſame time arrived Thaleſtris, queen of the Amazons. A violent deſire of ſeeing Alexander, had prompted that princeſs to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curioſity. Being come pretty near his camp, ſhe ſent word that a queen was come to viſit him; and that ſhe had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little diſtance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable anſwer, ſhe commanded her train to ſtop, and herſelf came forward with three hundred women; and the moment ſhe perceived the king, ſhe leaped from her horſe, having two lances in her right hand. The dreſs the Amazons uſed to wear, did not quite cover the body; for their boſom being uncovered on the left ſide, every other part of their body was hid; their gowns being tucked up with a knot, and ſo deſcended no farther than the knee. They preſerved their right breaſt to ſuckle their female offspring, but uſed to burn the left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called * *Amazons*.

Thaleſtris † looked upon the king without diſcovering the leaſt ſign of admiration, and ſurveying him attentively, did not think his ſtature anſwerable to his fame; for the Barbarians are very much ſtruck with a majeſtick air, and think thoſe only capable of

* *This is a Greek word ſignifying*, without breaſts.

† Interrito vultu regem Thaleſtris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perluſtrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majeſtate veneratio eſt; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quàm quos eximia ſpecie donare natura dignata eſt. *Curt. lib.* vi. *cap.* 5.

mighty atchievements, on whom nature has beſtowed bodily advantages. She did not ſcruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have poſterity by him; adding, that ſhe was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this requeſt, was obliged to make ſome ſtay in this place; after which Thaleſtris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This ſtory, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by ſome very judicious authors, as entirely fabulous.

(*t*) Alexander devoted himſelf afterwards wholly to his paſſions, changing into pride and debauch, the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been ſo greatly admired; virtues ſo very neceſſary in an exalted ſtation of life, and in the midſt of a ſeries of proſperities. He now was no longer the ſame man. Though he was invincible, with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwiſe with reſpect to the charms of eaſe. The inſtant he enjoyed a little repoſe, he abandoned himſelf to ſenſuality; and he, whom the arms of the Perſians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be ſeen but games, parties of pleaſures, women, and exceſſive feaſting, in which he uſed to revel whole days and nights. Not ſatisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on inſtrumental muſick, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to ſing ſongs after the manner of their country. He happened, among theſe women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the reſt, and who, by a modeſt, and at the ſame time a noble confuſion, diſcovered a greater reluctance than the others, to appear in publick. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her baſhfulneſs, whilſt ſhe threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king ſoon imagined by her air and mien that ſhe was not

(*t*) Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 6.

not of vulgar birth; and enquiring himſelf into it, the lady anſwered, that ſhe was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had ſwayed the Perſian ſceptre, and daughter of his ſon; that ſhe had married Hyſtaſpes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compaſſion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princeſs of the blood royal, and the ſad condition to which ſhe was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her poſſeſſions; and cauſed her huſband to be ſought for, in order that ſhe might be reſtored to him.

This prince was naturally of ſo tender and humane a diſpoſition, as made him ſenſible of the affliction of perſons in the loweſt condition. (*u*) A poor Macedonian was one day leading before him a mule, laden with gold for the king's uſe; the beaſt being ſo tired that he was not able either to go on or ſuſtain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a conſiderable way. Alexander, ſeeing him juſt ſinking under his burthen, and going to throw it on the ground, in order to eaſe himſelf, cried out, *Friend, do not be weary yet; try and carry it quite through to thy tent, for it is all thy own.*

(*x*) Alexander, in a very difficult march through barren places, at the head of a ſmall body of horſe, when he purſued Darius, met ſome Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-ſkins upon mules. Theſe Macedonians perceiving their prince was almoſt parched with thirſt, occaſioned by the raging heat (the ſun being then at the meridian) immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to preſent him with it: Alexander aſking to whom they were carrying all that water, they replied, *We were going to carry it to our children; but do not let your majeſty be uneaſy, for if your life is but ſaved, we ſhall get children enough, in caſe we ſhould loſe theſe.* At theſe words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he ſaw all his horſemen hanging down their heads, and with eyes fixed earneſtly on the liquor he held,

(*u*) Plut. in Alex. p. 687. (*x*) Ibid.

held, ſwallow it, as it were, with their glances; upon which he returned it, with thanks, to thoſe who offered it him, and did not drink ſo much as a ſingle drop, but cried, *There is not enough for my whole company; and ſhould I drink alone, it would make the reſt be thirſtier, and they would quite die away.* The officers, who were on horſeback round him, ſtruck in the moſt ſenſible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, intreated him, with ſhouts, to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not ſpare them in any manner; that now they were not in the leaſt tired, nor felt the leaſt thirſt; and that as long as they ſhould be commanded by ſuch a king, they could not think themſelves mortal men.

Such ſentiments as theſe, which ariſe from a generous and tender diſpoſition, reflect a greater honour on a prince than the greateſt victories and conqueſts. Had Alexander always cheriſhed them, he would juſtly have merited the title of *Great*; but a too glorious and uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity, which is too heavy for mortals to ſuſtain, inſenſibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was man: For now, contemning the cuſtoms of his own country, as no longer worthy the ſovereign of the univerſe, he laid aſide the dreſs, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and ſimple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went ſo far, as to imitate the pomp of the Perſian kings, in that very circumſtance in which they ſeemed to equal themſelves to the gods; I mean, by requiring thoſe who had conquered nations to fall proſtrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which became only ſlaves. He had turned his palace into a ſeraglio, filling it with three hundred and ſixty concubines, (the ſame number as Darius kept) and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the moſt infamous. Not ſatisfied with wearing a Perſian robe himſelf, he alſo obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the ſame dreſs, which gave them the greateſt mortification, not

one of them however daring to ſpeak againſt this innovation, or contradict the prince in any manner.

The veteran ſoldiers, who had fought under Philip, not having the leaſt idea of ſenſuality, inveighed publickly againſt this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learnt in Suſa and Ecbatana. The ſoldiers would frequently expreſs themſelves in the following terms: "That they had "loſt more by victory than they had gained: That "as the Macedonians had thus aſſumed the man-"ners and cuſtoms of foreigners, they might proper-"ly be ſaid to be conquered. That therefore the "only benefit they ſhould reap from their long ab-"ſence, would be, to return back into their coun-"try in the habit of Barbarians; that Alexander "was aſhamed of, and deſpiſed them; that he choſe "to reſemble the vanquiſhed rather than the victo-"rious; and that he, who before had been king of "Macedonia, was now become one of Darius's "lieutenants."

The king was not ignorant of the diſcontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the eſteem and friendſhip of both by his beneficence: But * ſlavery, though purchaſed at ever ſo high a rate, muſt neceſſarily be odious to freeborn men. He therefore thought, that the ſafeſt remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpoſe led them againſt Beſſus. But as the army was encumbered with booty and an uſeleſs train of baggage, that it could ſcarce move, he firſt cauſed all his own baggage to be carried into a great ſquare, and afterwards that of his army (ſuch things excepted as were abſolutely neceſſary;) then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but after he had ſent away the horſes, he himſelf ſet fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted

* Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium ſervitutis ingratum eſt. *Q. Curt.*

lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burnt the rich ſpoils they had purchaſed with their blood, and often forced out of the midſt of the flames. Such a ſacrifice muſt certainly have been made with the utmoſt reluctance; but the example the king ſet them ſilenced all their complaints, and they ſeemed leſs affected at the loſs of their baggage, than at their neglect of military diſcipline. A ſhort ſpeech the king made, ſoothed all their uneaſineſs; and, being now more able to exert themſelves hereafter, they ſet out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one but Alexander; but nothing could daunt his ſoul, or check his progreſs; for he put the ſtrongeſt confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forſook that hero, but extricated him from a thouſand perils, wherein one would have naturally ſuppoſed both himſelf and his army muſt have periſhed.

(*y*) Being arrived among the *Drangæ*, a danger to which he had not been accuſtomed, gave him very great uneaſineſs; and this was, the report of a conſpiracy that was formed againſt his perſon. One Dymnus, a man of no figure at court, was the contriver of this treaſon; and the motive of it was, ſome private diſguſt which he had received. He had communicated his execrable deſign to a young man, Nicomachus by name, who revealed it to Cebalinus, his brother. The latter immediately whiſpered it to Philotas, earneſtly entreating him to acquaint the king with it, becauſe every moment was of the utmoſt conſequence, and that the conſpirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and diſcourſed on a great variety of ſubjects, but without taking the leaſt notice of the plot. In the evening Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out,

(*y*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 550, 551. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 7, 11. & l. vii. c. 1, 2. Arrian. l. iii. p. 141, 142. Plut. in Alex. p. 692, 693.

out, and aſking whether he had done as requeſted, he anſwered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majeſty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be ſure not to forget it; and however did not perform his promiſe. This made Cebalinus ſuſpect him; and fearing, that in caſe the conſpiracy ſhould be diſcovered by any other perſon, his ſilence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore got another perſon to diſcloſe it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from Cebalinus himſelf, and told how many times he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, firſt commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter gueſſing upon what account he was ſent for by the king, ran himſelf through with his ſword; but the guards having prevented this wretch from compleating the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king aſked him, why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was of the kingdom of Macedon? but he was quite ſpeechleſs; ſo that, after fetching a deep ſigh, he turned his head aſide, and breathed his laſt.

The king afterwards ſent for Philotas, and ſpeaking to him (having firſt commanded every one to withdraw) he aſked whether Cebalinus had really urged him ſeveral times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on againſt him. Philotas, without diſcovering the leaſt confuſion in his countenance, confeſſed ingenuouſly that he had; but made his apology, by ſaying, that the perſon who had whiſpered this, did not appear to him worthy of the leaſt credit. He confeſſed, however, that Dymnus's death plainly ſhewed he had acted very imprudently, in concealing ſo long a deſign of ſo black a nature: Upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet; which he embraced, and beſought him to conſider his paſt life, rather than the fault he had now committed,

which

which did not proceed from any bad design, but from the fear he was under of alarming, very unseasonably, the king, should he communicate a design, which he really supposed was without foundation. It is no easy matter to say, whether Alexander believed what Philotas said, or only dissembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand, in token of reconciliation; and told him, that he was persuaded he had despised, rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly possible it should be otherwise, because none of them was more familiar with the king, or more esteemed by him. Instead of softening and moderating the lustre of the distinguished favour he enjoyed, by an air of sweetness and humanity; he seemed, on the contrary, to endeavour nothing so much as to excite the envy of others, by affecting a silly pride, which generally displayed itself in his dress, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and still more so, by the haughty airs he assumed, which made him universally hated. Parmenio, his father, disgusted at his lofty behaviour, said one day to him, * *My son, make thyself less.* The strongest sense is couched under these words; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them, was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He used often to give Philotas advice to this effect; but too exalted a prosperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot persuade themselves, that favour, which is established on so seemingly solid a foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to his sorrow.

(z) His former conduct, with regard to Alexander, had given the latter just reason to complain of him; for he used to take the liberty to speak disrespectfully of the king, and applaud himself in the most haughty terms.

(z) Plut. de Fortun. Alex. c. ii. p. 339.

* Ὦ παῖ, χείρων μοὶ γίνου.

terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman, Antigona by name, with whom he was in love, he began to boaſt, in a very inſolent manner, his father's ſervices and his own: "What would Philip," ſaid he, "have been, had it not been for Parmenio? and "what would Alexander be, were it not for Philotas? "what would become of his pretended divinity, and "his father Ammon, ſhould we undertake to expoſe "this fiction?" All theſe things were repeated to Alexander, and Antigona herſelf made oath, that ſuch words had been ſpoke. The king had nevertheleſs taken no notice of all this, nor ſo much as once let drop the leaſt word, which ſhewed his reſentment upon that occaſion, whenever he was moſt intoxicated with liquor; he had not ſo much as hinted it to his friends, nor even to Hephæſtion, from whom he ſcarce concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accuſed of, recalled to his memory the diſguſt he had formerly entertained.

Immediately after the converſation he had with Philotas, he held a council compoſed of his chief confidents. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great eſteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occaſion for ſupplanting his rival. Concealing therefore his hatred, under a ſpecious pretence of zeal, he ſuggeſted to the king, "The apprehenſions he might "juſtly be under, both from Philotas himſelf, be-"cauſe mercy is not apt to work any change in a "heart, which could be corrupt enough to entertain "ſo deteſtable a crime; and from Parmenio, his fa-"ther, who, ſaid he, will never be able to bear the "thoughts of his owing his ſon's life to the king's "clemency. Some beneficial acts are ſo great, that "they become a burden to thoſe on whom they are "conferred, for which reaſon they do all in their "power to eraze them from their memory. And "farther, who can aſſure us, that both father and "ſon are not engaged in the conſpiracy? When a "prince's life is in danger, every thing is of impor-

"tance;

" tance; and all things, even to the ſlighteſt ſuſpi-
" cions, are ſo many proofs. Can we conceive it
" poſſible, that a favourite, on whom his ſovereign
" has beſtowed the moſt ſhining marks of his bene-
" ficence, ſhould be calm and undiſturbed, upon his
" being told an affair of ſuch mighty importance?
" But we are told, that this deſign was communi-
" cated by young people, who deſerved very little
" credit. Wherefore then did he keep them in ſuſ-
" pence two days, as if he really believed what they
" told him, and ſtill promiſed them that he would
" reveal the whole affair to the king? Who does not
" ſee, that he did this merely to prevent their hav-
" ing acceſs by another way to his majeſty? Sir," continued he, " it is neceſſary, for your own ſake and
" that of the ſtate, for us to put Philotas to the tor-
" ture; in order to force from his own mouth an ac-
" count of this plot, and the ſeveral perſons who are
" his accomplices in it." This being the opinion of all the members of the council, the king came into it. He then diſmiſſed the aſſembly, having firſt enjoined them ſecrecy; and the better to conceal his reſolution, gave orders for the army's marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to ſupper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been poſted in the ſeveral places neceſſary, ſome entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep ſleep; when ſtarting from his ſlumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, *Alas! my ſovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodneſs.* After this, they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a ſingle word. The next morning, the Macedonians, according to an order publiſhed for that purpoſe, came thither under arms, being about ſix thouſand. It was a very ancient cuſtom for the army, in war-time, to take cognizance of capital crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do ſo; ſo that the prince had no power on theſe occaſions,

ſions, unleſs a ſanction were given to it by the conſent of one of theſe bodies; and the king was forced to have recourſe to * perſuaſion, before he employed his authority.

Firſt, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then preſent knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king came into the aſſembly; an air of ſorrow appearing in his countenance, as well as in his whole court, every one waited with impatience the iſſue of this gloomy ſcene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes caſt on the ground; but at laſt, having recovered his ſpirits, he made the following ſpeech: "I narrowly "eſcaped, O ſoldiers, being torn from you, by the "treachery of a ſmall number of wretches; but by "the providence and mercy of the gods, I now again "appear before you alive: And I proteſt to you, "that nothing encourages me more to proceed againſt "the traitors, than the ſight of this aſſembly, whoſe "lives are much dearer to me than my own; for I "deſire to live for your ſakes only; and the greateſt "happineſs I ſhould find in living (not to ſay the "only one) would be the pleaſure I ſhall receive, "in having it once in my power to reward the ſer-"vices of ſo many brave men, to whom I owe all "things." Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the ſoldiers, who all burſt into tears. "Alas! how will you behave, when I ſhall name the "perſons who formed ſo execrable an attempt? I "myſelf cannot think of it without ſhuddering. "They, on whom I have been moſt laviſh of my "kindneſſes; on whom I had beſtowed the greateſt "marks of friendſhip; in whom I had put my whole "confidence, and in whoſe breaſts I lodged my "greateſt ſecrets——Parmenio and Philotas." At theſe names, all the ſoldiers gazed one upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor any thing they ſaw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and

* Nihil poteſtas regum valebat, niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas, *Q. Curt.*

Cebalinus, were ſent for, who made the ſeveral depoſitions of what they knew. But as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole aſſembly, being ſeized with a trouble and confuſion eaſier conceived than expreſſed, continued in a ſad and gloomy ſilence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarſe, worn-out piece of cloth. How ſhocking a ſight was this! Loſt to himſelf, he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the tears ſtreaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the ſtanders-by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his ſpeech and his voice, by inſenſible degrees, he ſeemed deſirous of ſpeaking. The king then told him, that he ſhould be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have juſtified himſelf very eaſily; for not one of the witneſſes, and thoſe who had been put on the rack, had accuſed him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dymnus, who firſt formed it, had not named him to any of the conſpirators; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ring-leader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the reſt, in order to engage them the more ſtrongly. Had Philotas been conſcious to himſelf of guilt in this particular, as he was ſenſible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, ſought earneſtly to acquaint the king of it, is it any ways probable, that he could have lain quiet two days together, without once endeavouring, either to diſpatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark deſign in execution? which he might very eaſily have done. Philotas ſet theſe proofs, and a great many more, in the ſtrongeſt light; and did not omit to mention the reaſons which had made him deſpiſe the information that had been given him, as groundleſs and imaginary. Then directing, on a ſudden, himſelf to Alexander, as if he had been preſent, "O king," ſays he, "wherefoever you may "be," (for it is thought Alexander heard all that paſt

from

from behind a curtain) " if I have committed a fault " in not acquainting you with what I heard, I con- " feſſed it to you, and you pardoned me. You gave " me your royal hand as a pledge of this; and you " did me the honour to admit me at your table. If " you believed me, I am innocent, if you pardoned " me, I am cleared: I refer all this to your own " judgment. What new crime have I committed " ſince? I was in a deep ſleep when my enemies waked " me, and loaded me with chains. Is it natural for " a man, who is conſcious that he is guilty of the " moſt horrid of all crimes, to be thus eaſy and un- " diſturbed? The innocence of my own conſcience, " and the promiſe your majeſty made me, gave my " ſoul this calm. Do not let the envy of my enemies " prevail over your clemency and juſtice."

The reſult of this aſſembly was, that Philotas ſhould be put on the rack. The perſons who preſided on that occaſion, were his moſt inveterate enemies, and they made him ſuffer every kind of torture. Philotas, at firſt, diſcovered the utmoſt reſolution and ſtrength of mind; the torments he ſuffered not being able to force from him a ſingle word, nor even ſo much as a ſigh. But at laſt, conquered by pain, he confeſſed himſelf to be guilty, named ſeveral accomplices, and even accuſed his own father. The next day, the anſwers of Philotas were read in full aſſembly, he himſelf being preſent. Upon the whole, he was unanimouſly ſentenced to die; immediately after which he was ſtoned, according to the cuſtom of Macedonia, with ſome other of the conſpirators.

They alſo judged at the ſame time, and put to death, Lynceſtes Alexander, who had been found guilty of conſpiring the death of the king, and kept three years in priſon.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio: Whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father now he had put the ſon to death. Polydamus, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to ſee the execution

performed. He had been one of Parmenio's moſt intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reaſon of his being nominated, becauſe no one could ſuſpect that he was ſent with any ſuch orders againſt Parmenio. He therefore ſet out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was intruſted with the king's treaſures, which amounted to an hundred and fourſcore thouſand talents, about twenty-ſeven millions ſterling. Alexander had given him ſeveral letters for Cleander the king's lieutenant in the province; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other ſealed with Philotas's ſeal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the leaſt ſuſpicions. Polydamus was but eleven days in his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions neceſſary, they went together, with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus ſpied him, though at a great diſtance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmoſt joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the ſtrongeſt indications of friendſhip, had paſſed on both ſides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In the opening it, he aſked him what the king was doing; to which Polydamus replied, that he would know by his majeſty's letter. Parmenio, after peruſing it, ſaid as follows: "The king is "preparing to march againſt the *Arachoſii*. How "glorious a prince is this, who will not ſuffer himſelf "to take a moment's reſt! However, he ought to be "a little tender of himſelf, now he has acquired ſo "much glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name; and, by his countenance, ſeemed pleaſed with the contents of it. At that very inſtant Cleander thruſt a dagger into his ſide, then made another thruſt in his throat; and the reſt gave him ſeveral wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus

Thus this great man ended his life; a man illuſtrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never atchieved any thing conſpicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a perſon of great abilities and execution; was very dear to the grandees, and much more ſo to the officers and ſoldiers, who repoſed the higheſt confidence in him; and looked upon themſelves as aſſured of victory when he was at their head, ſo firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then threeſcore and ten years of age; and had always ſerved his ſovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his ſon and himſelf having been put to death, merely on a ſlight ſuſpicion, uninforced with any real proof, which nevertheleſs obliterated in a moment all the great ſervices both had done their country.

(*a*) Alexander was ſenſible, that ſuch cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they ſent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order; concluding therefore that it would be proper for him to ſeparate, from the reſt of the army, ſuch ſoldiers as had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their murmurs and complaints, leſt their ſeditious diſcourſes ſhould ſpread the ſame ſpirit of diſcontent, he formed a ſeparate body of theſe, the command of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only puniſhment he inflicted on them. But they were ſo ſtrongly affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the diſgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they obſerved ever afterwards. A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329.

To prevent the ill conſequences that might ariſe from this ſecret diſcontent, Alexander ſet out upon his march, and continued to purſue Beſſus; on which occaſion he expoſed himſelf to great hardſhips and

(*a*) Arrian. l. iii. p. 143, 148. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 3---5. Diod. l. xvii. p. 552, 554.

dangers. After having paſſed through Drangania, Arachoſia, and the country of the Arimaſpi, where all things ſubmitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain, called Paropamiſus (a part of Caucaſus) where his army underwent inexpreſſible fatigues, through wearineſs, thirſt, cold, and the ſnows, which killed a great number of his ſoldiers. Beſſus laid waſte all the country that lay between him and mount Caucaſus, in order that the want of proviſions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of purſuing him. He indeed ſuffered very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repoſe for ſome time at Drapſaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactra, the two ſtrongeſt cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about ſeven or eight thouſand Bactrians, who till then had adhered very firmly to Beſſus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his reſpective home. Beſſus, at the head of the ſmall number of forces who continued faithful to him, paſſed the river Oxus, burnt all the boats he himſelf made uſe of, to prevent Alexander from croſſing it, and withdrew to Nautacus, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raiſe a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and not meeting with trees or timber ſufficient for the building of boats and rafts, or floats of timber, he ſupplied the want of theſe by diſtributing to his ſoldiers a great number of ſkins ſtuffed with ſtraw, and ſuch like dry and light materials; which laying under them in the water, they croſſed the river in this manner; thoſe who went over firſt, drawing up in battle-array, whilſt their commanders were coming after them. In this manner his whole army paſſed over in ſix days.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, Spitamenes, who was Beſſus's chief confident, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having ſeized his perſon, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces

pieces the royal robe of Darius he had put on, and set him on horseback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the *Branchidæ*. These were the descendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, and Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly sent into Upper Asia, where he had settled them in a very flourishing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treasure of the temple called Didymaon, with which they had been entrusted. These received the king with the highest demonstrations of joy, and surrendered both themselves and their city to him. Alexander sent for such Milesians as were in his army, who preserved an hereditary hatred against the *Branchidæ*, because of the treachery of their ancestors. They then left them the choice, either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in consideration of their common extraction. The Milesians being so much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themselves, Alexander undertook the decision himself. Accordingly, the next day he commanded his phalanx to surround the city; and a signal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the sword, which inhuman order was executed with the same barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time that they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the streets and in their houses; no manner of regard being had to their cries and tears, nor the least distinction made of age or sex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, in order that not the least traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were these ill-fated citizens guilty? Were they responsible for those their fathers had committed upwards of one hundred and fifty years before? I do not know whether history furnishes another example of so brutal and frantick a cruelty.

A little after Beſſus was brought to Alexander, not only bound, but ſtark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was difficult to ſay, whether that object was more agreeable to the Barbarians or Macedonians. In preſenting him to the king, he ſaid theſe words: "I have, "at laſt, revenged both you and Darius, my kings "and maſters. I bring you a wretch who aſſaſſinated "his ſovereign, and who is now treated in the ſame "manner as himſelf gave the firſt example of. "Alas! why cannot Darius himſelf ſee this ſpecta-"cle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Beſſus, and ſpoke thus: "Thou ſurely muſt have been inſpired with the rage "and fury of a tyger, otherwiſe thou wouldeſt not "have dared to load a king, from whom thou hadſt "received ſo many inſtances of favour, with chains, "and afterwards murder him! Be gone from my "ſight, thou monſter of cruelty and perfidiouſneſs." The king ſaid no more, but ſending for Oxatres, Darius's brother, he gave Beſſus to him, in order that he might ſuffer all the ignominy he deſerved; ſuſpending however his execution, that he might be judged in the general aſſembly of the Perſians.

SECT. XIII. ALEXANDER, *after taking a great many cities in Bactriana, builds one near the river Iaxarthes, which he calls by his own name. The Scythians, alarmed at the building of this city, as it would be a check upon them, ſend ambaſſadors to the king, who addreſs themſelves to him with uncommon freedom. After having diſmiſſed them, he paſſes the Iaxarthes, gains a ſignal victory over the Scythians, and behaves with humanity towards the vanquiſhed. He checks and puniſhes the inſurrection of the Sogdians, ſends* BESSUS *to Ecbatana to be put to death, and takes the city of Petra, which was thought impregnable.*

(*b*) ALEXANDER, inſatiable of victory and conqueſts, ſtill marched forward in ſearch of new nations

(*b*) Arrian. l. iii. p. 148, 149. & l. iv. p. 150---160. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 6---11.

nations whom he might ſubdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had ſuffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the * Iaxarthes.

Not far from this river the Barbarians, ruſhing ſuddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander's forces, and having carried off a great number of priſoners, they retired to their lurking holes, in which were twenty thouſand, who fought with bows and ſlings. The king went and beſieged them in perſon, and being one of the foremoſt in the attack, he was ſhot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron point ſtuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not ſo ſecretly, but the Barbarians knew of it; for they ſaw, from the top of the mountain, every thing that was doing below. The next day they ſent ambaſſadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he ſhewed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. Theſe aſſured him, that as ſoon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could poſſibly be; and that had it been poſſible for them to find the perſon who had ſhot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war againſt the gods: In a word, that being vanquiſhed by his unparallelled bravery, they ſurrendered themſelves to him, with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his priſoners, accepted of their homage.

After this he ſet out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great diſpute aroſe between the horſe and foot who ſhould carry it, each of thoſe bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only: And

* *Quintus Curtius and Arrian calls it the Tanais, but they are miſtaken. The Tanais lies much more weſtward, and empties itſelf not in the Caſpian ſea, but in the Pontus Euxinus, and is now called the Don.*

And there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they ſhould carry it in their turns.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very conſiderable city, and capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and after leaving a conſiderable garriſon there, he burnt and laid waſte all the plains.

There came an embaſſy to him from the (*c*) Abian Scythians, who from the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent: Theſe ſubmitted to Alexander. They were conſidered as the moſt equitable of all the Barbarians; never making war but to defend themſelves; and the liberty eſtabliſhed among them, and which they no ways abuſed, removed all diſtinction, and equalled the meaneſt among them with the greateſt. A love of poverty and juſtice was their peculiar characteriſtick, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and ſent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Boſphorus.

He had marked out a ſpot of ground proper for building a city on the river Iaxarthes, in order to curb the nations he had already conquered, and thoſe he intended to ſubdue. But this deſign was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was ſoon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander diſpatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Beſſus into his hands, believing him a very fit perſon to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himſelf had been chiefly inſtrumental in this inſurrection. The king, greatly ſurprized at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the moſt ſignal manner. He then marched to Cyropolis, and beſieged it. This was the laſt city of the Perſian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whoſe name it was called. At the ſame time he ſent Craterus, with two more of his general-officers, to beſiege the city

(*c*) Abii Scythæ.

city of the *Memaceni*, to whom fifty troopers were ſent, to deſire them to ſue for Alexander's clemency. Theſe met with a very kind reception at firſt, but in the night-time they were all cut to pieces. Alexander had reſolved to ſpare Cyropolis, purely for the ſake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over theſe nations, there were none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, becauſe they had ſurpaſſed all the reſt in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the beſieged, but they were ſo blindly obſtinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and inſolence; upon which he ſtormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his ſoldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was beſieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander loſt his beſt ſoldiers before it, and was himſelf expoſed to very great danger; a ſtone ſtriking him with ſo much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his ſenſes. The whole army indeed thought him dead, which threw them into tears: But this prince, whom no danger or diſappointment could depreſs, puſhed on the ſiege with greater vigour than before, the inſtant he recovered, without ſtaying till his wound was healed, anger adding freſh fuel to his natural ardour. Having therefore cauſed the wall to be ſapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burnt to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. Several other cities met with the ſame fate. This was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet, though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They loſt above an hundred and twenty thouſand men in theſe different ſieges. The king afterwards ſent Menedemus with three thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had drove the Macedonian garriſon, and ſhut himſelf up there.

With regard to himſelf, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxarthes, where he ſurrounded with

walls the whole ſpot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, containing ſixty * furlongs in circumference, which he alſo called Alexandria; having before built ſeveral of that name. He cauſed the workmen to make ſuch diſpatch, that in leſs than twenty days the ramparts were raiſed, and the houſes built; and indeed there was a great emulation among the ſoldiers, who ſhould get his work done ſooneſt, every one of them having had his portion allotted him: And, to people his new city, he ranſomed all the priſoners he could meet with, ſettled ſeveral Macedonians there who were worn out in the ſervice, and permitted many natives of the country, at their own requeſt, to inhabit it.

But the king of thoſe Scythians, who live on the other ſide of the Iaxarthes, ſeeing that this city, built on the river, was a kind of yoke to them, they ſent a great body of ſoldiers to demoliſh it, and to drive the Macedonians to a greater diſtance. Alexander, who had no deſign of attacking the Scythians, finding them make ſeveral incurſions, even in his ſight, in a very inſolent manner, was very much perplexed; eſpecially when advice was brought him at the ſame time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such a number of obſtacles would have diſcouraged any one but an Alexander; for the Sogdians had taken up arms, and the Bactrians alſo; his army was harraſſed by the Scythians; he himſelf was brought ſo low, that he was not able to ſtand upright, to mount on horſeback, to ſpeak to his forces, or give a ſingle order. To increaſe this affliction, he found his army no ways inclined to attempt the paſſage of the river in ſight of the enemy, who were drawn up in battle-array. The king continued in the utmoſt perplexity all night long; however, his courage ſurmounted all things. Being told, that the auſpices were not propitious, he forced the ſoothſayers to ſubſtitute favourable ones in their ſtead. The day

* *Three leagues.*

day beginning to break, he put on his coat of mail, and ſhewed himſelf to the ſoldiers, who had not ſeen him ſince the laſt wound he had received. Theſe held their king in ſuch high veneration, that only his preſence immediately removed all their fears, ſo that they ſhed tears of joy, and went unanimouſly and paid him their reſpects; intreating him to lead them againſt the enemy, againſt whom they before had refuſed to march. They worked ſo hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days time they had made twelve thouſand; and alſo prepared a great number of ſkins for that purpoſe.

As every thing was ready for the march, ſeveral Scythian ambaſſadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the cuſtom of their country, who all rode through the camp, deſiring to ſpeak with the king. Alexander having ſent for them into his tent, deſired them to ſit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without ſpeaking a ſingle word, being very probably ſurprized (as they formed a judgment of men from their air and ſtature) to find that his did not anſwer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldeſt of the ambaſſadors made this ſpeech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I ſhall preſent my readers with the greateſt part of it.

"Had the gods given thee a body proportionable "to thy ambition, the whole univerſe would have "been too little for thee. With one hand thou "wouldeſt touch the eaſt, and with the other the "weſt; and not ſatisfied with this, thou wouldeſt "follow the ſun, and know where he hides himſelf. "Such as thou art, thou yet aſpireſt after what it "will be impoſſible for thee to attain. Thou croſſeſt "over from Europe into Aſia; and when thou ſhalt "have ſubdued all the race of men, thou then wilt "make war againſt rivers, foreſts, and wild beaſts. "Doſt thou not know, that tall trees are many years "a growing, but may be tore up in an hour's time;

" that the lion ſerves ſometimes for food to the ſmalle-
" eſt birds; that iron, though ſo very hard, is con-
" ſumed by ruſt; in a word, that there is nothing
" ſo ſtrong which may not be deſtroyed by the weak-
" eſt thing?

" What have we to do with thee? We never ſet
" foot in thy country. May not thoſe who inhabit
" woods, be allowed to live without knowing who
" thou art, and whence thou comeſt? We will nei-
" ther command over, or ſubmit to any man. And
" that thou mayeſt be ſenſible what kind of people
" the Scythians are, know, that we received from hea-
" ven, as a rich preſent, a yoke of oxen, a plough-
" ſhare, a dart, a javelin, and a cup. Theſe we
" make uſe of, both with our friends, and againſt
" our enemies. To our friends we give corn, which
" we procure by the labour of our oxen; with them
" we offer wine to the gods in our cup: And with
" regard to our enemies, we combat them at a diſ-
" tance with our arrows, and near at hand with our
" javelins. * It is with theſe we formerly conquered
" the moſt warlike nations, ſubdued the moſt power-
" ful kings, laid waſte all Aſia, and opened ourſelves
" a way into the heart of Egypt.

" But thou, who boaſteſt thy coming to extirpate
" robbers, thou thyſelf art the greateſt robber upon
" earth. Thou haſt plundered all nations thou over-
" cameſt. Thou haſt poſſeſſed thyſelf of Lydia, in-
" vaded Syria, Perſia, and Bactriana; thou art form-
" ing a deſign to march as far as India, and thou
" now comeſt hither to ſeize upon our herds of cat-
" tle. The great poſſeſſions thou haſt, only make
" thee covet more eagerly what thou haſt not. Doſt
" thou not ſee how long the Bactrians have checked
" thy progreſs? Whilſt thou art ſubduing theſe, the
" Sogdians

* *This is to be underſtood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, who advanced as far as Egypt, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Upper Aſia, for twenty-eight years. See the ſecond volume of this work, in the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians. I have not followed Q. Curtius literally in this place, his ſenſe being pretty much embarraſſed.*

" Sogdians revolt, and victory is to thee only the occaſion of war.

" Paſs but the Iaxarthes, and thou wilt behold the great extent of our plains. It will be in vain for thee to purſue the Scythians; and I defy thee ever to overtake them. Our poverty will be more active than thy army, laden with the ſpoils of ſo many nations; and, when thou ſhalt fancy us at a great diſtance, thou wilt ſee us ruſh ſuddenly on thy camp; for we purſue, and fly from our enemies, with equal ſpeed. I am informed that the Greeks ſpeak jeſtingly of the Scythian ſolitudes, and that they are even become a proverb; but we are fonder of our deſarts, than of thy great cities and fruitful plains. Let me obſerve to thee, that fortune is ſlippery; hold her faſt therefore, for fear ſhe ſhould eſcape thee. Put a curb to thy felicity, if thou deſireſt to continue in poſſeſſion of it.

" If thou art a god, thou oughteſt to do good to mortals, and not deprive them of their poſſeſſions: If thou art a mere man, reflect always on what thou art. They whom thou ſhalt not moleſt, will be thy true friends; the ſtrongeſt friendſhips being contracted between equals; and they are eſteemed equals, who have not tried their ſtrength againſt each other: But do not imagine, that thoſe whom thou conquereſt can love thee; for there is no ſuch thing as friendſhip between a maſter and his ſlave, and a forced peace is ſoon followed by a war.

" To conclude, * do not fancy that the Scythians will take an oath in their concluding an alliance. The only oath among them, is to keep their word without ſwearing. Such cautions as theſe do indeed become Greeks, who ſign their treaties, and call upon the gods to witneſs them; but, with regard to us, our religion conſiſts in being ſincere, and in

" keeping

* Jurando gratiam Scythas ſancire ne credideris: colendo fidem jurant. Græcorum iſta cautio eſt, qui acta conſignat, & deos invocant: nos religionem in ipſa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. *Q. Curt.*

" keeping the promiſes we have made. That man " who is not aſhamed to break his word with men, " is not aſhamed of deceiving the gods; and of what " uſe could friends be to thee whom thou couldeſt " not truſt? Conſider that we will guard both Europe " and Aſia for thee. We extend as far as Thrace, " and we are told, that this country is contiguous to " Macedonia. The river Iaxarthes only divides us " from Bactriana. Thus we are thy neighbours on " both ſides. Conſider, therefore, whether thou wilt " have us for friends, or enemies."

The Barbarian ſpoke thus: To whom the king made but a very ſhort anſwer; *That he would take advantage both of his own good fortune, and of their counſel; of his good fortune, by ſtill continuing to rely upon it; and of their counſel, by not attempting any thing raſhly.* Having diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed ſuch as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to ſecure themſelves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind theſe were thoſe who worked the machines for diſcharging arrows and ſtones, covered on all ſides with ſoldiers armed cap-a-pee. The reſt who followed the engines, had their ſhields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoiſe, by which they defended the ſailors who wore corſlets. The like order and diſpoſition was obſerved in the other rafts or floats which carried the horſe.

The army found great difficulty in croſſing. Every thing conſpired to intimidate them; the clamour and confuſion, that are inſeparable from ſuch an enterprize; the rapidity of the ſtream, which carried away every thing with it; and the ſight of a numerous army drawn up in battle-array, on the oppoſite ſhore. However, the preſence of Alexander, who was ever the foremoſt in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own ſafety, and be concerned for his only. As ſoon as the Macedonians began to draw near the ſhore, they who carried ſhields roſe up together,

gether, when throwing their javelins with a ſtrong arm, every weapon did execution. When they perceived that the enemy, overpowered with that ſhower of ſhafts, began to retire, and draw their horſes back, they leapt on the ſhore with incredible ſwiftneſs, and, animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this diſorder, the troopers, whoſe horſes were ready bridled, ruſhed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard, by reaſon of the faintneſs of his voice; but the example he ſet, ſpoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army, but ſhouts of joy and victory, whilſt they continued to attack the Barbarians with the utmoſt fury. The latter not being able to ſtand ſo fierce an onſet, fled as faſt as their horſes could carry them; for theſe were the cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheleſs purſued them briſkly a long way, till being at laſt quite ſpent, he was obliged to ſtop. After commanding his troops to purſue them as long as they could ſee, he withdrew to the camp, in order to repoſe himſelf, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries or limits of Bacchus, which were marked out by great ſtones ranged pretty cloſe one to the other, and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the purſuit carried them ſtill farther, and they did not return back into the camp, till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more priſoners, with eighteen hundred horſes, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's ſide there were but ſixty troopers ſlain, and about an hundred foot, with a thouſand wounded. Alexander ſent back to the Scythians all their priſoners without ranſom, to ſhew, that not animoſity, but a thirſt of glory, had prompted him to make war againſt ſo valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquiſhed,

greatly increaſed his reputation. The Scythians had always been conſidered as invincible; but, after their defeat, it was owned, that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The *Sacæ*, who were a powerful nation, ſent an embaſſy to Alexander, by which they ſubmitted themſelves to him, and requeſted his friendſhip. The Scythians themſelves made an apology by their ambaſſadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on ſome few people, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being ſo happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himſelf. At the firſt news of Alexander's approach, he had fled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king purſued him thither, but deſpairing to come up with him, he returned back and ſacked Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken priſoners, there were thirty young men, who were well-ſhaped and very comely, and the greateſt lords of the country. Theſe being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to ſing ſongs of joy, to leap and dance, diſcovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, ſurprized to ſee them go to death with ſo much gaiety, had them brought before him; when he aſked them, how they came to break into ſuch tranſports of joy, when they ſaw death before their eyes? They anſwered, that they ſhould have been afflicted, had any other perſon but himſelf put them to death; but as they would be reſtored to their anceſtors by the command of ſo great a monarch, who had vanquiſhed all nations, they bleſſed this death; a death ſo glorious, that the braveſt men would wiſh to die the ſame. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, aſked whether they would deſire to be pardoned, upon condition that they ſhould no longer be his enemies? They anſwered, he

he might be aſſured they had never been his enemies; but that, as he had attacked them, they had defended themſelves; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeneſs and generoſity. The king aſked them farther, what pledges they would give him of their faith and ſincerity? "No other, (anſwered they) but the ſame "life we receive from your goodneſs, and which we "ſhall always be ready to give back, whenever you "ſhall require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them, whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a ſmall number of forces in Sogdiana, marched to Bactria, where, having aſſembled all his generals, he commanded Beſſus to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and cauſing his noſe and ears to be cut off, he ſent him to Ecbatana, there to ſuffer whatever puniſhment Darius's mother ſhould think proper to inflict upon him. Plutarch has left us an account of this execution. Four trees were bent, by main force, one towards the other; and to each of theſe trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was faſtened. Afterwards, theſe trees being let return to their natural poſition, they flew back with ſo much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and ſo quartered him. The ſame puniſhment is at this day inflicted on perſons convicted of high-treaſon, who are tore to pieces by four horſes.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of ſixteen thouſand men. By this conſiderable reinforcement, he was enabled to ſubdue all thoſe who had rebelled; and to curb them for the future, he built ſeveral fortreſſes in Margiana.

All things were now reſtored to a profound tranquillity. There remained but one ſtrong hold, called *Petra Oxiana*, or the rock of Oxus, which was de- A. M. 3676. Ant. J. C. 328.

fended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with thirty thouſand ſoldiers under his command, and ammunition and proviſions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all ſides, was acceſſible only by a ſingle path that was cut in it. The king, after viewing its works, was a long time in ſuſpence whether he ſhould beſiege it; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impoſſibilities, he reſolved to try if he could not overcome, on this occaſion, nature itſelf, which ſeemed to have fortified this rock in ſuch a manner as had rendered it abſolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the ſiege, he ſummoned thoſe Barbarians, but in mild terms, to ſubmit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner; and, after uſing ſeveral inſulting expreſſions, aſked, "whether Alexander, who was able to do all "things, could fly alſo; and whether nature had, on "a ſudden, given him wings?"

Alexander was highly exaſperated at this anſwer. He therefore gave orders for ſelecting, from among the mountaineers who were in his army, three hundred of the moſt active and dextrous. Theſe being brought to him, he addreſſed them thus: "It was "in your company, brave young men, that I ſtormed "ſuch places as were thought impregnable; that I "made my way over mountains covered with eternal "ſnows; croſſed rivers, and broke through the paſſes "of Cilicia. This rock, which you ſee, has but one "outlet, which alone is defended by the Barbarians, "who neglect every other part. There is no watch "or centinel, except on that ſide which faces our "camp. If you ſearch very narrowly, you certainly "will meet with ſome path that leads to the top of "the rock. Nothing has been made ſo inacceſſible "by nature, as not to be ſurmounted by valour; and "it was only by our attempting, what no one before "had hopes of effecting, that we poſſeſſed ourſelves "of Aſia, Get up to the ſummit, and when you "ſhall have made yourſelves maſters of it, ſet up a

"white

" white ſtandard there as a ſignal; and be aſſured, " that I then will certainly diſengage you from the " enemy, and draw them upon myſelf, by making a " diverſion." At the ſame time that the king gave out this order, he made them the moſt noble promiſes; but the pleaſing him, was conſidered by them as the greateſt of all rewards. Fired therefore with the nobleſt ardour, and fancying they had already reached the ſummit, they ſet out, after having provided themſelves with wedges to drive into the ſtones, cramp-irons, and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march * at the ſecond watch of the night, by that part which ſhould ſeem to them of eaſieſt acceſs; beſeeching the gods to guide their ſteps. They then took proviſions for two days; and being armed with ſwords and javelins only, they began to aſcend the mountain, walking ſome time on foot; afterwards, when it was neceſſary for them to climb, ſome forced their wedges into the ſtones which projected forwards, and by that means raiſed themſelves; others thruſt their cramp-irons into the ſtones that were frozen, to keep themſelves from falling in ſo ſlippery a way; in fine, others driving in their wedges with great ſtrength, made them ſerve as ſo many ſcaling-ladders. They ſpent the whole day in this manner, hanging againſt the rock, and expoſed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to ſtruggle at the ſame time with ſnow, cold, and wind. Nevertheleſs, the hardeſt taſk was yet to come; and the further they advanced, the higher the rock ſeemed to riſe. But that which terrified them moſt, was the ſad ſpectacle of ſome of their comrades falling down precipices, whoſe unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themſelves might expect. Notwithſtanding this, they ſtill advanced forward, and exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that, in ſpite of all theſe difficulties, they at laſt got to the top of the rock. They then were all inexpreſſibly

 weary,

* *About ten o'clock.*

weary, and many of them had even loſt the uſe of ſome of their limbs. Night and drowſineſs came upon them at the ſame time, ſo that, diſperſing themſelves in ſuch diſtant parts of the rock as were free from ſnows, they laid down in them, and ſlept till day-break. At laſt waking from a deep ſleep, and looking on all ſides to diſcover the place where ſo many people could lie hid, they ſaw ſmoke below them, which ſhewed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the ſignal, as had been agreed; and their whole company drawing up, thirty-two were found wanting, who had loſt their lives in the aſcent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a deſire of ſtorming the fortreſs, and ſtruck with the viſible dangers to which thoſe men were expoſed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and he himſelf did not retire to reſt till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day, he was the firſt who perceived the ſignal. Nevertheleſs, he was ſtill in doubt whether he might truſt his eyes, becauſe of the falſe ſplendor which breaks out at day-break; but the light increaſing, he was ſure of what he ſaw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had ſounded the Barbarians, he diſpatched him a ſecond time, with an exhortation to think better of the matter; and in caſe they ſhould ſtill depend upon the ſtrength of the place, he then was ordered to ſhew them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the ſummit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments poſſible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; repreſenting to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in caſe he did not interrupt the great deſigns he meditated, by obliging him to make ſome ſtay before that rock. Arimazes ſent a haughtier and more inſolent anſwer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes taking him by the hand, deſired he would come out of the cave with him, which the Barbarian doing, he ſhewed him the Macedonians poſted over his head, and ſaid in an inſulting tone of voice, *You*

ſee

ſee that Alexander's ſoldiers have wings. In the mean time, the trumpets were heard to ſound in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army ſhouted aloud, and cried, *Victory!* Theſe things, though of little conſequence in themſelves, did nevertheleſs, as often happens, throw the Barbarians into ſo great a conſternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the ſummit, they thought themſelves loſt. Upon this Cophes was recalled, and thirty of the chiefs among the Barbarians were ſent back with him, who agreed to ſurrender up the place, upon condition that their lives might be ſpared. The king, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition he might meet with, was however ſo exaſperated at the haughtineſs of Arimazes, that he refuſed to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and raſh confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him inſenſible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other ſide, blinded by fear, and concluding himſelf abſolutely loſt, came down, with his relations and the principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not maſter of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaty and humanity required on this occaſion, cauſed them all to be ſcourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to croſſes, at the foot of the ſame rock. The multitudes of people who ſurrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in thoſe parts; and Artabazus was left governor of the rock and the whole province round it.

SECT. XIV. *The death of* CLITUS. *Several expeditions of* ALEXANDER. *He commands worſhip to be paid to himſelf, after the manner of the Perſians. Diſcontents ariſe among the Macedonians. Death of* CALISTHENES *the philoſopher.*

(*d*) ALEXANDER having ſubdued the Maſſagetæ and the Dahæ, entered Bazaria. In this province are a great number of large parks ſtocked with deer. Here the king took the diverſion of hunting, in which he was expoſed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous ſize advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a ſingle thruſt. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occaſion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his perſon, gave orders, purſuant to the cuſtom of their country, that the king ſhould go no more a hunting on foot, without being attended by ſome of his courtiers and officers. They were ſenſible, that a king is not born for his own ſake, but for that of his ſubjects; that he ought to be careful of his own perſon for their ſakes, and reſerve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beaſts (a reputation unworthy of a great prince) ought not to be purchaſed ſo dear.

From hence he advanced to Maracanda, where he quelled ſome tumults which had broke out in that country. Artabazus requeſting to be diſcharged from the government of that province, by reaſon of his great age, he appointed Clitus his ſucceſſor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Roſaces had his arm raiſed, in order to ſtrike him behind, he covered the king with his ſhield, and cut off the Barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his ſiſter, had nurſed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderneſs as if ſhe had been his own mother. As

(*d*) Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 1---8. Arrian. l. iv. p. 161---171. Plut. in Alex. p. 693---696. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 6---7.

As the king, from these several considerations, had very great respect for Clitus, he entrusted him with the government of one of the most important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to set out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, * after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was so excessively lavish of self-commendation, that he even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth. However, the oldest men in the company held their peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boasted, "That the famous victory of Chæronea was won by "his means; and that the glory of so immortal a "battle had been torn from him by the malice and "jealousy of his father. That in the † insurrection "which broke out between the Macedonians and "mercenary Greeks, Philip, fainting away after the "wounds he had received in that tumult, had laid "himself on the ground; and could not think of a "better method to save himself, than by lying along "as dead; that on this occasion he had covered him "with his shield, and killed with his own hands those "who attempted to fall upon him; but that his father could never prevail upon himself to confess "this circumstance ingenuously, being vexed that he "owed his life to his own son. That in the war "against the Illyrians, he was the only person who "had done any thing, Philip having had no manner "of share in it; and hearing of the defeat of the "enemy, no otherwise than by the letters he sent him. "That the persons worthy of praise, were not such "as initiated themselves in the ‡ mysteries of the "Samo-

* In quo Rex, cùm multo incaluisset mero, immodicus æstimator sui, celebrare quæ gesserat cœpit: gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari. *Q. Curt.*

† *This sedition is not mentioned in any other place.*

‡ *It was usual for generals, before they set out on their expeditions, to cause themselves to be initiated in these mysteries, and offer sacrifices to the gods who presided in them. Possibly Philip, by observing this ceremony, had delayed some enterprize.*

" Samothracians, when they ought to have laid waſte " all Aſia with fire and ſword, but thoſe who had " atchieved ſuch mighty exploits as ſurpaſſed all " belief."

Theſe and the like diſcourſes were very pleaſing to the young men, but were very ſhocking to thoſe advanced in years; eſpecially for Philip's ſake, under whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who alſo was intoxicated, turning about to thoſe who ſat below him at table, quoted to them a paſſage from * Euripides, but in ſuch a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words diſtinctly. The ſenſe of this paſſage was, " That the Greeks had done " very wrong in ordaining, that in the inſcriptions " engraved on trophies, the names of kings only " ſhould be mentioned; † becauſe, by theſe means, " brave men were robbed of the glory they had pur- " chaſed with their blood." The king, ſuſpecting Clitus had let drop ſome diſobliging expreſſions, aſked thoſe who ſat neareſt him, what he had ſaid? As no one anſwered, Clitus, raiſing his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great diſpute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigiouſly vexed in his mind, he nevertheleſs ſtifled his reſentment, and ſeemed to liſten very patiently to all Clitus ſpoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite ſuppreſſed his paſſion, had Clitus ſtopped there; but the latter growing more and more inſolent, as if determined to exaſperate and inſult the king, went ſuch lengths, as to defend Parmenio publickly; and to aſſert, that the deſtroying of Thebes was but trifling in compariſon of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though ſometimes unſucceſsful, were greatly ſuperior to thoſe who were ſo raſh as to deſpiſe them.

Alexander

* *In his Andromache.*

† Alieno enim ſanguine partam gloriam intercipi. *Q. Curt.*

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill ſucceſs, he was pleading his own cauſe; Clitus riſes up, with his eyes ſparkling with wine and anger, "It is nevertheleſs this hand (ſaid he to him, "extending it at the ſame time) that ſaved your life "at the battle of the Granicus. It is the blood and "wounds of theſe very Macedonians, who are ac-"cuſed of cowardice, that raiſed you to this grandeur. "But the tragical end of Parmenio ſhews, what re-"ward they and myſelf may expect for all our ſer-"vices." This laſt reproach ſtung Alexander: However, he ſtill reſtrained his paſſion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in the right "(ſays Clitus, as he roſe up) not to bear freeborn "men at his table, who can only tell him truth. "He will do well to paſs his life among Barbarians "and ſlaves, who will be proud to pay their adora-"tion to his Perſian girdle and his white robe." But now the king, no longer able to ſuppreſs his rage, ſnatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the ſpot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, ſinging, with an air of inſolence, verſes reflecting highly on the prince, who ſeeing the general near him, ſtruck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the ſame time, *Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus.*

The king's anger being in a manner extinguiſhed on a ſudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime diſplayed itſelf to him in its blackeſt and moſt dreadful light. He had murdered a man, who indeed abuſed his patience, but then he had always ſerved him with the utmoſt zeal and fidelity, and ſaved his life, though he was aſhamed to own it. He had that inſtant performed the vile office of an executioner, in puniſhing, by an horrid murder, the uttering of ſome indiſcreet words, which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the ſiſter of

Clitus, his nurſe, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother's blood? Upon this he threw himſelf on his friend's body, forced out the javelin, and would have diſpatched himſelf with it, had not the guards, who ruſhed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his own apartment.

He paſſed that night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite waſted his ſpirits, he continued ſpeechleſs, ſtretched on the ground, and only venting deep ſighs. But his friends, fearing his ſilence would be fatal, forced themſelves into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the words that were employed to comfort him; but Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, putting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he ſaw Clitus, cloathed in a black robe, and ſeated at table; and declaring, that all which had then happened, was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, Alexander appeared a little eaſier in his mind. He next was addreſſed by two philoſophers, Calliſthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderneſs, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs his grief, by agreeably inſinuating himſelf, and endeavoured to make him recall his reaſon, by reflections of a ſolid nature, drawn from the very eſſence of philoſophy, and by carefully ſhunning all ſuch expreſſions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was ſtill bleeding, required to be touched with the gentleſt hand. But Anaxarchus did not obſerve this decorum; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, *How! is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the whole world are fixed? Behold him here extended on the floor, ſhedding floods of tears, like the meaneſt ſlave! Does not he know, that he himſelf is a ſupreme law to his ſubjects; that he conquered merely to raiſe himſelf to the exalted dignity of lord and ſovereign, and not to ſubject himſelf to a vain opinion?* The king was determined to ſtarve himſelf; ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little ſuſtenance. The Macedonians declared

by

by a decree, that Clitus had been very juſtly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philoſopher had given occaſion, by aſſerting, that the will of princes is the ſupreme law of the ſtate. Alas! how weak are all ſuch reflections againſt the cries of a juſtly-alarmed conſcience, which can never be quieted, either by flattery or falſe arguments!

It muſt be confeſſed, that Clitus had committed a great and inexcuſable fault. It was indeed his duty, not to join in diſcourſes calculated to ſully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to ſhew his diſlike of what was ſaid, by a mournful but modeſt ſilence. He poſſibly might have been allowed to ſpeak in favour of the late monarch, provided he had expreſſed himſelf with prudence and moderation. Had ſuch a reſervedneſs been unſucceſsful, he might juſtly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and ſhocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the ſacred character of kings; with regard to whom, how unjuſtly ſoever they may act, not only every contemptuous and inſulting expreſſion is forbid, but every diſreſpectful and unguarded word; they being the repreſentatives of God himſelf.

It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that the circumſtance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in ſome meaſure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a ſubject to a feaſt; when he makes him the companion of debauch, and in perſon excites him to quaff immoderately; a king, on ſuch an occaſion, ſeems to forget his dignity, and to permit his ſubjects to forget it alſo; he gives a ſanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and ſudden flights which wine commonly inſpires: And ſhould he be diſpleaſed with a ſubject for equalling himſelf with him, he ought to blame himſelf, for having firſt raiſed a ſubject ſo high. A fault committed under theſe circumſtances, is always a fault; but then it ought never to be expiated with the blood of the offender.

A certain

A certain author compares * anger, when united to power, with thunder; and, indeed, what havock does it not then make? But how dreadful muſt it be, when joined with drunkenneſs! We ſee this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endeavoured to ſubdue thoſe two vices in his youth; † and to have been confirmed in them, from the example of one of his tutors? For it is aſſerted, that both were the conſequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king, than drinking to exceſs? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the tranſports of anger? ‡ Alexander, who had overcome ſo many nations, was himſelf conquered by thoſe two vices, which throw a ſhade over the glory of his brighteſt actions. The reaſon of this, ſays Seneca, is, he endeavoured more to vanquiſh others, than to ſubdue himſelf; not knowing, that to triumph over our paſſions is, of all conqueſts, the moſt glorious.

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his ſpirits, marched into the Xenippa, a province bordering upon Scythia; whither ſome rebels were retired, all whom he ſubjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he ſet forward with his army towards the rock Chorienſis, of which Syſimethres was governor. All acceſs to it ſeemed abſolutely impracticable; nevertheleſs, he at laſt got near it, after having paſſed through numberleſs difficulties; and, by the mediation of Oxartes, a prince of that country who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with Syſimethres to ſurrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promiſed him very great advantages in caſe he continued faithful.

Alexander

* Fulmen eſt, ubi cum poteſtate habitat iracundia. *Publ. Syr.*

† Nec minùs error eorum nocet moribus, ſi quidem Leonides Alexandri pædagogus, ut à Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibuſdam eum vitiis imbuit, quæ robuſtum quoque & jam maximum regem ab illa inſtitutione puerili ſunt proſecuta. *Quintil.* l. i. c. 1.

‡ Victor tot regum atque populorum, iræ ſuccubuit. Id enim egerat, ut omnia potius haberet in poteſtate, quàm affectus---Imperare ſibi, maximum imperium eſt. *Senec. Epiſt.* cxiii.

Alexander had reſolved to attack the *Dahæ*, becauſe Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels, was among them; but the felicity which always attended him, ſpared him that labour. The wife of this Barbarian, being no longer able to bear the vagabond, wretched life her huſband had forced her to lead, and having often intreated him, but in vain, to ſurrender himſelf to the conqueror, ſhe herſelf murdered him in the night; and, quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was ſhocked at ſo horrid a ſpectacle, and ordered her to be drove ignominiouſly from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garriſons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful ſtorm. Flaſhes of lightning coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the eyes of the ſoldiers, and entirely diſcouraged them. It thundered almoſt inceſſantly, and the thunder-bolts fell every moment at the feet of the ſoldiers; ſo that they did not dare either to ſtand ſtill or advance forward. On a ſudden, a violent ſhower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down like a flood; and ſo extreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the rain as ſoon as it fell. The ſufferings of the army on this occaſion were inſupportable. The king, who was the only perſon invincible to theſe calamities, rode up and down among the ſoldiers; comforted and animated them; and pointing at ſmoke which iſſued from ſome diſtant huts, intreated them to march to them with all the ſpeed poſſible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in different places, and by this means ſaved the army, but upwards of a thouſand men loſt their lives. The king made up to the officers and ſoldiers the ſeveral loſſes they had ſuſtained during this fatal ſtorm.

When they were recovered ſo well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the *Sacæ*, which he ſoon over-run and laid waſte. Soon after this,

Oxartes

Oxartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a ſumptuous banquet, in which he diſplayed all the magnificence of the Barbarians. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady whoſe exquiſite beauty was heightened by all the charms of wit and good ſenſe. Alexander found her charms irreſiſtible, and made her his wife; covering his paſſion with the ſpecious pretence of uniting the two nations, in ſuch bands as ſhould improve their mutual harmony, by blending their intereſts, and throwing down all diſtinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage diſpleaſed the Macedonians very much, and exaſperated his chief courtiers, to ſee him make one of his ſlaves his father-in-law: But as, * after his murdering Clitus, no one dared to ſpeak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themſelves wonderfully to flattery and ſervile complacency.

In fine; having reſolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded (in order that nothing might be left behind to check his deſigns) that thirty thouſand young men ſhould be brought him, all completely armed, out of the ſeveral provinces, to ſerve him at the ſame time as hoſtages and ſoldiers. In the mean while, he ſent Craterus againſt ſome of the rebels, whom he eaſily defeated. Polyſperchon likewiſe ſubdued a country called Bubacene; ſo that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on war with India. This country was conſidered as the richeſt in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious ſtones, with which the inhabitants adorn themſelves, but with more luxury than gracefulneſs. It was related, that the ſwords of the ſoldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greateſt monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any perſon whatſoever, in any circumſtance, cauſed the ſwords of his ſoldiers to be ſet

* Sed, poſt Clyti cædem, libertate ſublata, vultu, qui maximè ſervit, aſſentiebantur. *Curt.*

ſet off with ſilver plates, put golden bridles to the horſes, had the coats of mail heightened with gold and ſilver, and prepared to march for this enterprize, at the head of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, all equipped with the magnificence above deſcribed.

All things being ready for their ſetting out, he thought proper to reveal the deſign he had ſo long meditated, *viz.* to have divine honours paid him; and was ſolely intent on the means for putting that deſign in execution. He was reſolved, not only to be called, but to be believed, the ſon of Jupiter; as if it had been poſſible for him to command as abſolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians would condeſcend to fall proſtrate, and adore him after the Perſian manner.

To * ſooth and cheriſh theſe ridiculous pretenſions, there were not wanting flatterers, thoſe common peſts of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed, would not ſtoop to this baſe adulation; all of them, to a man, refuſing to vary, in any manner, from the cuſtoms of their country. The whole evil was owing to ſome Greeks, whoſe depraved manners were a ſcandal to their profeſſion of teaching virtue and the ſciences. Theſe, though the mean refuſe of Greece, were nevertheleſs in greater credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army: It was ſuch creatures as theſe that placed him in the ſkies; and publiſhed, wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Caſtor and Pollux, would reſign their ſeats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a feſtival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greateſt lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and moſt of the higheſt quality among the Perſians. With theſe he ſat down at table for ſome time, after which he withdrew. Upon this Cleon,

* Non deerat talia concupiſcenti perniciosa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes ſæpius aſſentatio, quàm hoſtis, evertit. *Q. Curt.*

one of his flatterers, began to ſpeak, and expatiated very much on the praiſes of the king, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they had to him, all which (he obſerved) they might acknowledge and repay at a very eaſy expence, merely with two grains of incenſe, which they ſhould offer him as to a god, without the leaſt ſcruple, ſince they believed him ſuch. To this purpoſe he cited the example of the Perſians. He took notice, that Hercules himſelf, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities, till after they had ſurmounted the envy of their contemporaries. That in caſe the reſt ſhould not care to pay this juſtice to Alexander's merit, he himſelf was reſolved to ſhew them the way, and to worſhip him if he ſhould come into the hall. But that all of them muſt do their duty, eſpecially thoſe that profeſſed wiſdom, who ought to ſerve to the reſt as an example of the veneration due to ſo great a monarch.

It appeared plainly that this ſpeech was directed to Calliſthenes. (*e*) He was related to Ariſtotle, who had preſented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Perſia. He was conſidered, upon account of his wiſdom and gravity, as the fitteſt perſon to give him ſuch wholeſome counſel, as was moſt capable of preſerving him from thoſe exceſſes, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him: But he was accuſed of not poſſeſſing the gentle, inſinuating behaviour of courts; and of * not knowing a certain medium, between groveling complacency, and inflexible obſtinacy. Ariſtotle had attempted, but to no purpoſe, to ſoften the ſeverity of his temper; and foreſeeing the ill conſequences, with which his diſagreeable liberty of ſpeaking his mind might be attended, he uſed often to repeat the following verſe of * Homer to him;

My

(*e*) Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. lib. v. p. 303.

* Inter abruptam contumaciam & deforme obſequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. *Tacit. Annal.* lib. iv. cap. 20.

† Ὠκυμόρῳ δή μοι τεκέσθαι, δὲ' ἀρφήνας. Il. xviii. v. 95.

My ſon, thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true.

This philoſopher, ſeeing that every one, on this occaſion, continued in a deep ſilence, and that the eyes of the whole aſſembly were fixed on him, made a ſpeech, which appears to me juſt enough. However, it often happens, when a ſubject is bound in duty to oppoſe the inclinations of his ſovereign, that the moſt cautious and moſt reſpectful zeal is conſidered as inſolence and rebellion. " Had the king," ſaid he, " been " preſent when thou madeſt thy ſpeech, none among " us would then have attempted to anſwer thee, for " he himſelf would have interrupted thee, and not " have ſuffered thee to prompt him to aſſume the " cuſtoms of Barbarians, in caſting an odium on his " perſon and glory, by ſo ſervile an adulation. But " ſince he is abſent, I will anſwer thee in his name. " I conſider Alexander as worthy of all the honours " that can be paid a mortal; but there is a difference " between the worſhip of the gods and that of men. " The former includes temples, altars, prayers, and " ſacrifices; the latter is confined to praiſes only, " and aweful reſpect. We ſalute the latter, and look " upon it as glorious to pay them ſubmiſſion, obedi- " ence and fidelity; but we adore the former, we " inſtitute feſtivals to their honour, and ſing hymns " and ſpiritual ſongs to their glory. The worſhip of " the gods does itſelf vary, according to their rank; " and the homage we pay to Caſtor and Pollux, is not " like that with which we adore Mercury and Jupiter. " We muſt not therefore confound all things, either " by bringing down the gods to the condition of " mortals, or by raiſing a mortal to the ſtate of a " god. Alexander would be juſtly offended, ſhould " we pay to another perſon the homage due to his " ſacred perſon only; ought we not to dread the in- " dignation of the gods as much, ſhould we beſtow, " upon mortals, the honours due to them alone? I

" am ſenſible that our monarch is vaſtly ſuperior to
" the reſt; he is the greateſt of kings, and the
" moſt glorious of all conquerors; but then he is a
" man, not a god. To obtain this title, he muſt
" firſt be diveſted of his mortal frame; but this is
" greatly our intereſt to wiſh may not happen, but
" as late as poſſible. The Greeks did not worſhip
" Hercules till after his death; and that not till the
" oracle had expreſsly commanded it. The Perſians
" are cited as an example for our imitation; but
" how long is it that the vanquiſhed have given law
" to the victor? Can we forget that Alexander croſſed
" the Helleſpont, not to ſubject Greece to Aſia, but
" Aſia to Greece?"

The deep ſilence which all the company obſerved whilſt Calliſthenes ſpoke, was an indication, in ſome meaſure, of their thoughts. The king, who ſtood behind the tapeſtry all the time, heard whatever had paſſed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, That without inſiſting any farther, he would only require the Perſians to fall proſtrate, according to their uſual cuſtom; a little after which he came in, pretending he had been buſied in ſome affair of importance. Immediately the Perſians fell proſtrate to adore him. Polyſperchon, who ſtood near him, obſerving that one of them bowed ſo low that his chin touched the ground, bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, to *ſtrike harder*. The king, offended at this joke, threw Polyſperchon into priſon, and broke up the aſſembly. However, he afterwards pardoned him, but Calliſthenes was not ſo fortunate.

To rid himſelf of him, he laid to his charge a crime of which he was no ways guilty. Hermolaus, one of the young officers who attended upon the king in all places, had, upon account of ſome private pique, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; but it was very happily diſcovered, the inſtant it was to be put in execution. The criminals were ſeized, put to the torture, and executed. Not one among them had accuſed Calliſthenes; but having been very intimate

with Hermolaus, that alon was ſufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and the moſt grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confeſſion of guilt. But he inſiſted upon his innocence to the laſt, and expired in the midſt of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected ſo much diſhonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjuſt and cruel death of Calliſthenes. He truly merited the name of Philoſopher, from the ſolidity of his underſtanding, the extent of his knowledge, the auſterity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and above all, from the hatred he ſo evidently manifeſted for diſſimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which muſt have a ſupple, pliable, flexible turn of mind; ſometimes it muſt be of a knaviſh, and treacherous, at leaſt, of an hypocritical, flattering caſt. He very ſeldom was ſeen at the king's table, though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevailed ſo far upon himſelf as to go thither, his melancholy ſilent air was a manifeſt indication, that he diſapproved of every thing that was ſaid and done at it. With this humour, which was a little too ſevere, he would have been an ineſtimable treaſure, had he been poſſeſſed by a prince who hated falſhood; for among the many thouſands who ſurrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Calliſthenes only had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes who know the value of ſuch a virtue, and the uſe which ought to be made of it? Truth ſeldom pierces thoſe clouds which are raiſed by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of exhorting him to thoſe things which were for his true intereſt. From that inſtant no one ſpoke with freedom in the council; even thoſe, who had the greateſt love for the publick, and a perſonal affection for Alexander, thought themſelves not obliged to undeceive him. After this, nothing was liſtened to but flattery,

flattery, which gained ſuch an aſcendant over that prince, as entirely depraved him, and juſtly puniſhed him, for having ſacrificed, to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the moſt virtuous man about his perſon.

I obſerve, after Seneca, that the death of * Calliſthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and ſo horrid a crime, that no quality, how beautiful ſoever, no military exploit, though of the moſt conſpicuous kind, can ever efface its infamy. It is ſaid in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Perſians; that he dethroned and ſlew the moſt powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the moſt remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the eaſt: In anſwer to each of theſe particulars, *Yes*, ſays Seneca, *but he murdered Calliſthenes*; a crime of ſo heinous a nature, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions.

* Hoc eſt Alexandri crimen æternum, quòd nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, occidit Perſarum multa millia; opponetur, & Calliſthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, occidit Darium, penes quem tunc magnum regnum erat; opponetur, & Calliſthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipſum quoque tentavit novis claſſibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ uſque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, ſed Calliſthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua ducum regumque exempla tranſierit, ex his quæ fecit, nihil tam magnum erit, quàm ſcelus Calliſthenis. *Senec. Nat. quæſt.* l. vi. c. 23.

END OF VOL. IV.