History of Greece

by William Godwin

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HISTORY

OF

GREECE:

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF THAT COUNTRY,

TO

THE TIME IN WHICH IT WAS REDUCED INTO A

Roman Province.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND PORTRAITS.

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND YOUNG PERSONS.

BY EDWARD BALDWIN, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF FABLES, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

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PREFACE.

Mr. Baldwin proposes with the present volume to take his final leave of that class of young persons, for whose amusement and instruction his publications were intended. It is sixteen years since he produced his Fables; and his History of Rome made its appearance four years later. The particular individuals for whose use they were designed, children then, have ceased to be children. The books are therefore no longer appropriated to individuals. The History of Greece ought to have followed immediately upon the History of Rome. But various circumstances, and more than all, increasing years, prevented its being finished. The friends of the author, and a part of the public, have never ceased to urge him, by publishing the present volume, to render the cycle of his histories, Greece, Rome, and England, complete; and he has now, though late, yielded to the agreeable importunity. He well knows the motives, warm and inextinguishable as they are in his heart, from which these works have derived their being: he cheerfully leaves it to that part of the public which is interested in such performances, to judge of their claims to be approved.

November, 1821.

I THOUGHT, while I was writing my History of Rome, that the affairs of that republic constituted perhaps the finest study to be recommended to young persons, for the purpose of cultivating in them elevated sentiments and a true generosity of soul; and I expressed myself to that effect in my Preface. In going over the successive scenes of the History of Greece, I have almost been led to doubt whether I was not too hasty in my decision. For disinterested virtue and a lofty patriotism, and that in full operation for successive centuries, no nation can compare with the Romans. In the best period of their history, theirs is the simple sublime of moral magnanimity. But neither were many of the Greeks deficient in this; and they surpass all the nations of the earth in the variety of their claims upon our regard. They excelled in subtlety of intellect, and all the graces of imagination. Their great characteristic perhaps is, that whatever bold and admirable conception occurred to their minds, they dared attempt to realize. They learned the first elements of science and philosophy from elder countries; but they are almost the only ancient people who greatly improved upon what they acquired. They were as elegant and refined (with no mixture of effeminate elegance and false refinement), as the Romans were great in their ruggedness and austerity: such are the respective claims of each.

I have been surprised to find in the result my

History of Greece so much larger than its two predecessors. I beg the reader to believe that it is written on the same plan, and that this difference in the execution is purely the result of the differences which exist in the nature of the subject.

In looking over these sheets, I cannot but be forcibly struck with the occasion they afford me, earnestly to recommend to the young scholar to illustrate one book by another. To give a single example: Praxiteles and Protogenes are mentioned in page 229. I should have a poor opinion of the student who turned the page, and did not say, "Well; but I will know who Praxiteles and Protogenes were." If he has not Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, he has probably at the end of his ordinary Dictionary of the Latin Tongue some account of these names. This is one instance. A liberal scholar of manly age, sitting in the midst of his shelves, scarcely ever reads one book, without, at the same time, consulting twenty more, that he may better understand the subject before him. I know that a schoolboy's collection of books is usually scanty; but he also may do something.

There is no book at present in circulation, in which the History of Greece is traced from its commencement to the period in which it was reduced into a province by the Romans, unmixed with matters extraneous and irrelevant. The flowing and polished style of Dr. Goldsmith can never be too

much applauded; and there is a work professing to contain a summary view of the Grecian history, which bears his name. But it is greatly inferior to his other historical writings. The author did not live to finish it; and the continuator and abridger somewhat ludicrously observes, that, "having lived in habits of intimacy with that ingenious writer, he hopes that he has executed his part in a considerable degree as the Doctor himself would have done." This is perhaps the first time, that the being of a man's acquaintance has been presumed to lead to the probability, that the person so acquainted, should become heir to the genius or manner of writing of the eminent author, with whom it may be he occasionally chatted and sat. To mention only a few of the defects of Goldsmith's History of Greece, it contains no account of the two Dionysiuses, tyrants of Syracuse, and by consequence makes no mention of Dion and Timoleon, two of the heroes selected by Plutarch, when he undertook to record the Lives of those Grecians, from whom we might best judge what sort of great men the institutions of Greece were qualified to produce. But then, on the other hand, it so mixes the latter part of its subject with a minute detail of the history of Alexander's successors, that no patience and no penetration will be found equal to the separating the subject itself from these incongrous additions.

In the present volume, it is hoped the reader

will at least have this advantage: he will see which of the Greeks lived together, what interval occurred between one memorable period and another, how the later events grew out of the preceding, and by what just degrees this wonderful people rose to their highest pitch of excellence, and how they gradually descended into the gulph of corruption, and became enslaved to sordid and ignoble motives of action.

I cannot close this Preface without particularly recommending to elder pupils the perusal of Rollin's Ancient History. It was there that, almost in infancy, I drank in the love of liberty and of public virtue. In the following pages, I have had no room to expatiate, and the commencement and the close of a story are brought almost together. But Rollin takes an ampler scope; and therefore in him the passions of the reader are gradually awakened by the different scenes that occur; and his mind grows more and more interested in each successive page, till the catastrophe comes, to end the tale, and to fill the soul with instruction and awe.

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HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

THE Greeks are distinguished from all the other nations of the earth, by the circumstance of their having carried at once all the arts of imagination and elegance, poetry, oratory, painting, sculpture, and architecture, to a higher degree of excellence, than any other nation upon earth: add to which, the philosophy of Greece may be considered as the parent of all other philosophy: whatever is most ornamental and honourable to our nature, seems to have sprung into existence all together among this favoured people: next therefore to the history of our own country, which every person of a large and liberal mind will necessarily cherish, and next to that of the country peculiarly distinguished by having given birth to the religion we pro-

fess, the history of Greece is that which is most worthy of our curiosity.

I shall divide the History of Greece into three periods; the first comprehending what may be styled the heroic age; the second extending from the close of that period to the era of Solon, legislator of Athens; and the third commencing with that legislator, and terminating with the total extinction of the Grecian liberties at the destruction of Corinth by the Romans, in the year of Rome 607, and before Christ 146.

First Period.

THE HEROIC AGE.

GREECE, as we understand of every other country, in the first period of its history, was a land of barbarians: its earliest improvers and instructors came from Egypt, Phœnicia, and Thrace,—Cecrops, Danaus, Cadmus, Orpheus, and others: Cecrops is said to have been the father of civilisation and religion in the district where he settled; Cadmus taught the use of metals, the cultivation of the vine, and the alphabet; and Triptolemus is immortalised as having introduced the art of husbandry.

The Greeks differed from the nations from which they received instruction in this: the Egyptians, and the nations of Asia, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Indians, and the Chinese, possessed certain sciences, astronomy for example, in a high degree of excellence; but they do not appear to have improved on the stores they possessed; we do not know from whence they received their instruction; but they were perpetually at a stand: there is no trace in their history of any advances they

made: they are like those children, who receive with tolerable docility the lessons of their masters, but never through their whole lives get one step beyond what has been taught them: the Greeks on the contrary were an ingenious and inventive people, and made use of what they learned from others merely as a point to start from, in the pursuit of their own enterprises and discoveries.

One of the earliest inventions of the Greeks was their mythology: much of this they certainly derived from their foreign masters in knowledge: their principal Gods were the same as those of the Egyptians and the Celts*: but they added much of their own: it was the Greek imagination that peopled all nature, and gave to every stream and every tree its separate divinity: the Grecian mythology has been the awakener and the soul of poetical conceptions among the civilised nations of Europe, from the time in which it began to the present day: it was the same propensity in the Greeks, that led them to so extraordinary a mixture of the fabulous with their ancient history, and stimulated them to give to every one of their early benefactors a God for his father: I have already related the history of the principal personages of the heroic age of Greece in my Pan-

* See Appendix to Baldwin's England: "States, Nations, and Races of Men."

theon (*Chap.* xvii. *to the end*): a work to which, from the supernatural and romantic nature of that history, it seems most properly to belong.

LAWS OF MINOS.

There is one personage however, belonging to this early period, who, as being a legislator, is properly and emphatically a subject for history: this is Minos, king of Crete: his miraculous adventures are the province of mythology: the system of government of which he was the author, is a graver and more serious topic: he lived about one hundred years before the Trojan war.

Minos is supposed to have been a conqueror, and to have come from Phœnicia: in his reign however Crete was populous and powerful: Homer, who lived not long after, speaks of the island as containing an hundred towns.

The legislation of Minos was of a peculiar sort, and served as the original model for several systems of government that were formed after him: he divided the inhabitants of Crete into two classes, the free citizens, and the Perioeci (or *dwellers round about*) who were slaves: to the latter was exclusively committed the cultivation of the earth: the citizens were brought up in what at first sight we might call

idleness, but what on a nearer examination we shall find to be much otherwise: from this division it has been inferred, that the citizens were the individuals of the army with which he overran the island, and the Periœci the people he conquered.

The subjects of the commonwealth of Minos (for the slaves he counted for nothing in this respect) were brought up in military habits, and were strongly imbued with sentiments of independence: every citizen ate at the public tables; and his only exercises were such as tended to produce strength and agility, for example, wrestling, boxing, shooting with the bow, military manœuvres, and a military dance: the soil was cultivated for the state; the public tables were furnished at the expence of the state; and there was scarcely any such thing as private property throughout the island.

Various benefits flowed from the custom of eating and living in public, as practised by the Cretans: the only conversation that was listened to, was calculated to inforce the observation of private and public duties: the principal speakers were the old men: they studied at all times to render their discourse agreeable, and they were always listened to with deference and docility: the consequence of this was, that as the citizens heard nothing from their earliest youth but the praise of the institutions of Minos, and as they felt themselves exempted by these institutions

from all mechanical and servile labour, and invited to a career of honourable action, they were penetrated with the love of their country, and were ready at all times to lay down their lives, rather than suffer the scheme of government established by Minos to be in the smallest degree broken in upon or violated.

The children of the Cretans lived in public like their parents, and like their parents were maintained at the public expence: they were regarded as belonging to the state, and not to the individuals who had given them birth: they therefore experienced no absurd indulgences; they were looked upon by all the citizens with kindness, but were not liable to be spoiled by any: they were taught no lessons either of weakness or selfishness, but were imbued from their earliest years with the principles of the laws of Minos: they were exercised to endure with patience the extremes of heat and cold, to make no account of blows and wounds, to climb precipices, and to pass rivers by swimming: their food was simple and sparing, and their temperance habitual: they were instructed to listen to the communications of wisdom with eagerness, but to be frugal of speech in return: reverence for age, experience, and knowledge in their fellow-citizens, was one of the most conspicuous features in the Cretan character.

Minos, though of a wise and grave character, and though, as a legislator, he must have been

somewhat strict in enforcing the observance of his institutions, is said to have been endowed with considerable gentleness of disposition; and one example of this is to be found in the law by which he enacted, that annually, at the festival of Mercury, the slaves should take their place at the tables, and be waited on by their masters; thus reminding his people that all were men, and that the favour of the Gods only had made a difference, and exciting them by the most impressive considerations to the practice of humanity.

Thus, at the very opening of the History of Greece, we are presented with men superior to the ordinary level of the human race, and institutions which, if they were not so well authenticated in evidence, might seem like fables invented for the amusement of the curious.

Minos, like the other lawgivers of a barbarous age, that he might impress his contemporaries with respect for his commands, pretended that his laws were dictated by inspiration from above: he gave out that Jupiter was his father, and that he received his institutions by immediate communication with the king of Gods and men: he even raised a tomb for his pretended parent in a cavern at the foot of Mount Ida, where he yearly renewed to him the rites of funeral: he was assisted in the generous task of moulding his people to the sentiments and character which he conceived most conducive to their

happiness, by his brother Rhadamanthus: and such was the respect entertained by posterity for these two illustrious personages, that they are made by the Grecian mythology, together with Æacus the grandfather of Achilles, the final judges of the dead in a future state, deciding on the merits of mankind, which of them is worthy of the rewards of Elysium, and which is to be condemned to the pains of Tartarus.

The age of Minos is also the age of many essential improvements in the arts of life: the Idæi Dactyli, persons peculiarly gifted in this respect, who originally came into Crete in the train of king Minos, introduced there the skill of working in metals: Dædalus, who lived under the special patronage of this great lawgiver, was the inventor of the axe, the wedge, and the plummet; he was the architect of the famous labyrinth of Crete, and is even said to have made some progress in that favourite object of the ambition of mechanical heads, the art of flying.

It is no small praise of the institutions of Minos, that after having endured for near a thousand years, the commonwealth of Crete did not sink into subjugation and a province under the all-conquering ascendancy of the Roman arms, till after a bloody war of three years, in the year before Christ 66.

THESEUS.

A contemporary of Minos, who was also in some degree like him a legislator, was Theseus, king of Athens: one of the early adventures of his youth, as related in the mythology, was a voyage into Crete; and it is probable that from the discernment and courtesy of Minos he actually experienced a very different reception, from that which is reported to us in the fabulous history: we may believe that in Crete he acquired his first lessons of civilisation: when he succeeded to the throne of Athens, he found Attica, his country, though a very small territory, divided into twelve governments, almost entirely independent of each other, and liable to frequent intestine contentions and hostility: he established one common legislature, and one system of jurisprudence for the whole: he distributed the commonwealth into three classes, the nobles, the peasants, and the artificers; differing in this respect from the institutions of Minos, that he considered all necessary occupations as honourable, and gave to the persons engaged in them the rights of citizens: to the nobility he reserved the superintendence of religious affairs, and the right of being elected to public offices, but he imparted to all his citizens indiscriminately a voice in elections and in the concerns of the state: Theseus was

the institutor of the Panathenæa, or great festival of *Minerva* (in Greek, *Athené*), the object of which was to unite all his subjects, by the common sentiment of one divinity the protector of the state; and in consequence, from the time of Theseus, the inhabitants of the commonwealth, who had hitherto been called Atticans, and by various other names, came to be distinguished by the appellation of *Athenians*: Theseus was the first Greek who abolished the use of wearing arms amidst the occupations of ordinary life, and accustomed his citizens to the robes of peace.

RETURN OF THE HERACLIDÆ*.

The event which obviously divides the heroic age of Greece from the second period of her history, is commonly known among the historians of that country, by the name of the Return of the Heraclidæ: this was an expedition from Doris, a tract of Greece that lies north-west of the isthmus of Corinth, which terminated in the almost total conquest of Peloponnesus: it derives its name from Hercules; Heraclidæ signifying in Greek the *posterity of Hercules;* and the story of the expedition is

* The accent in this word is to be placed on the third syllable, Heraclídæ.

this: Hercules, who is represented in fabulous history as the slave of Eurystheus king of Argos, appears to have had certain claims of superiority over the whole Peloponnesus: these claims he bequeathed at his death to his son Hyllus; but Hyllus and the rest of the progeny of Hercules were expelled the peninsula, and retired into Doris: they made however several attempts to recover their inheritance, and repeatedly failed: at length, one hundred and twenty years after their first expulsion, and eighty subsequent to the destruction of Troy, Aristodemus, Temenus and Cresphontes, great-grandsons of Hyllus, marched a considerable army into Peloponnesus, and obtained the most complete success: Temenus placed himself on the throne of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenia, and the two sons of Aristodemus, the father having fallen in the expedition, jointly occupied the throne of Sparta: the Dorian followers of these chiefs assumed the power of conquerors, and the former inhabitants of their respective kingdoms were either reduced to slavery, or driven into exile: the states of Peloponnesus were henceforth called Dorians, and their dialect of the Greek language the Doric; and as the people of Doris, from whence they came, were more rude and barbarous than the tribes they subdued, they annihilated, together with the rights of the people over whom they had triumphed, much

of the improvements and arts which had been previously established: from the return of the Heraclidæ we hear no more of the personal interference of the Gods and Demigods in the affairs of Greece.

HOMER.

Since the country whose history we are considering, was so peculiarly distinguished as a land of refinement and literature, it is reasonable to enquire what progress was made in these respects in the first period of her annals: and it fortunately happens that we are able to draw a line in this respect, well adapted for the satisfaction of our curiosity. Homer, the most astonishing of all poets, and who is scarcely less the historian, than the poet of Greece, takes not the smallest notice in any part of his works, of this great event, the Return of the Heraclidæ: he speaks of the families which previously reigned in Sparta, in Argos, and in Messenia, without the slightest hint of the revolution which deprived them all of their thrones, and totally changed the face of their kingdoms; and if we consider the minuteness and accuracy of information exhibited by Homer, the inference seems infallible, that he flourished before the Return of the Hera-

clidæ, and that he not only paints, but actually lived in, the heroic age of Greece.

Homer is perhaps the greatest, certainly the most wonderful poet that ever lived: he has left us two poems, one of the Siege of Troy, and one of the wanderings and return of Ulysses after the siege was over: these works consist of about twenty thousand lines each, and are among the longest poems in the world: the narrative is conducted with the utmost art: the characters are conceived with much variety, and sustained with invariable consistency: the mind of the author, through the whole of each of these works, is never fickle, flighty and incoherent; he bears one purpose constantly in view, and all the parts of his composition are made subordinate and conducive to his great object with the regularity of the most perfect architecture: no poet in any after age of the world has pretended to surpass Homer in contrivance: all that mankind has effected since, in the departments of genius which he occupied, is to endeavour to copy and to emulate him, leaving him for the universal leader, conspicuous to the world as the standard of excellence.

This is astonishing: supposing that Virgil, that Milton, that Shakespear, the great favourites of after ages, have equalled Homer in the display of intellectual power, this takes away scarcely any thing from his praise: it is comparatively little, to do well what another

man has done already: the miracle is in him who first opens the path, who pierces the wilds, or who traverses the seas, in which no mortal creature has been before him: it is thus that we ought always to think of the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey.

But let us not make too great a miracle even of Homer: no doubt there were poems before the Iliad, though it is reasonable to believe of much inferior merit: in our own country ignorant men have been apt to suppose that Shakespear, the greatest master of fiction in this island, who lived so long ago as the reign of Elizabeth, stood entirely alone: but careful enquirers have discovered, that there were many other dramatic writers in the same period, whose productions, if they are not equa to Shakespear's, are at least superior to any thing that has been written in that kind since: this is the history of human talents: geniuses ripen about the same time, where the soil is prepared for them, and the same discovery in manual art or in science has frequently been made in two or three places at once: the names of several Greek poets older than Homer have been handed down to us, though their works are lost: Orpheus, Amphion, Thamyris, Linus and Musæus.

A circumstance, not the least extraordinary belonging to the consideration of Homer, is that the use of letters was rare in the age in

which he lived, and that it may be doubted whether this colossal example of what we are apt to call literary genius, could either read or write: memory is a faculty of the human mind, which exerts itself in the most surprising way when we are left to it alone: in all countries poetry appears to have existed before compositions in prose: in committing passages of description or narrative to the memory, verses are most easily learned, and the measure and cadence of the verse essentially help us in recovering sentences and clauses which might otherwise have been forgotten: Julius Cæsar says, that in his time the Druids of Britain, who like Homer were unacquainted with the art of writing, possessed histories and treatises of various kinds, all of them in verse, to so great an extent, that it was computed that a noviciate of twenty years would be necessary for him who aspired to the power of repeating them all.

Homer may be considered as having a reference to his own modes of life, when he describes Phemius and Demodocus, in Ithaca and in Phœacia, who sung at the feasts of the opulent and great, accompanied by their own instrumental music, the adventures of the heroes.

Such then was the progress of the Grecian genius even during the heroic age: it did not rise suddenly and abruptly to the excellence by which, as it appeared four hundred years

afterward, it has eclipsed all the rest of the world: and if any disastrous events had forestalled the consummation of its merits, still if Homer had remained, enough would have been left to render the name of Greece for ever dear to every lover of the noblest powers and faculties of man.

In the earliest period of Greek history, the name of Grecian was equally given to the inhabitants of the Asiatic as of the European coast of the Ægean sea: Homer and Hesiod, Anacreon and Herodotus, Pythagoras and Thales, were all Asiatics: in process of time, and in the period when the fame of Greece became most illustrious, the appellation of Grecian was almost exclusively appropriated to the inhabitants of the peninsula.

Second Period.

THE second period of Greek history, according to the division already announced, extends from the Return of the Heraclidæ to the legislation of Solon.

Various circumstances immediately followed upon the Peloponnesian revolution, calculated to inspire the Greeks of Europe with a stronger feeling of general sympathy, and persuasion that they were one people, than they had hitherto entertained.

Greece is a territory considerably similar in dimensions to our own country: it contained at least sixteen independent states, eight within the limits of the Peloponnesus, and eight to the north of the isthmus: in this respect it was not very different from the tract now called England, which comprehended at the lowest calculation twelve different states, at the time of the Roman conquest: this breaking and dividing of a country into a multiplicity of little tribes or nations, is a usual characteristic of barbarous times: it is peculiar to Greece, that she preserved the same divisions in a period of the greatest refinement: the Greeks were a people enamoured of liberty: each inha-

bitant of her soil loved the individual district or town, of which he happened to be a native; and the high feelings of independence he entertained would have been materially wounded, if the individual names of Athens, or Sparta, or Corinth, or Thebes, had been in danger to be lost in the general name of Greece.

ORACLE AT DELPHI.

The first of the circumstances above alluded to, as calculated to unite the Greeks in a common feeling, relates to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi: in the obscurity of ancient times it is not possible to trace the commencement of this institution: its authority did not begin generally to prevail till about the period of which we are treating: it is not once mentioned either in the Iliad or the Odyssey: in the story however of the Return of the Heraclidæ, it is recorded that they were sometimes deterred from attempting their re-establishment, and were finally encouraged to enter on their expedition, by the answers they received at Delphi: the oracle was on the borders of Doris, the country from which they came: and when they spread themselves over Peloponnesus, they carried the fame of this seat of divine

communication into every district over which they ruled.

Shortly after, this oracle of Apollo rose into the highest reputation: it was consulted by all the nations of Greece; it was sent to from the remotest parts: even private persons who could afford it, did not enter upon any important undertaking, without being first encouraged from Delphi: whoever applied to the God for counsel, brought with him a present, an offering to Apollo: by this means in process of time the temple became exceedingly rich, and partly through its wealth, and partly from the eminence of the persons who resorted thither, Delphi came in no long time to be considered as the centre of the Grecian religion.

COUNCIL OF THE AMPHICTYONS.

Another institution which had a considerable tendency to unite the people of Greece as one nation, was the council of the Amphictyons: this was an assembly of deputies from all the independent cities of Greece, who met twice a year, to consult upon the common interests of all: their chief province was the superintendence of the Grecian religion, and in this department they had power to impose

fines, and even to raise troops from the different states to inforce their decisions: their ordinances were greatly respected; but the council had not sufficient weight to prevent wars among the independent states: its first place of meeting was at Thermopylæ, and it does not appear that in the beginning its authority extended farther than to the states which surrounded the place of meeting: in the sequel the temple and the treasures of Delphi were committed to its care: the meetings were held alternately at Delphi and at Thermopylæ: and the same events which increased the fame of the oracle, also served to extend the authority of the Amphictyons through every division of Greece.

OLYMPIC GAMES.

The third institution which tended to give to the Greeks an uniform feeling and character, was the Olympic Games: these were said to be revived, but may perhaps more properly be considered as instituted, in the year before Christ 776: Iphitus king of Elis, the grandson of the first conqueror, is said to have applied to the oracle at Delphi, to know *by what means the anger of the Gods, which threatened total destruction to Peloponnesus, through the endless*

hostilities of its new settlers, might be prevented: and it was contrived that the answer of the oracle should point to the establishment of these games.

The Olympic Games consisted at first only of the foot-race: to this was afterward gradually added wrestling, boxing, leaping, throwing the quoit or javelin, and the chariot-race: nothing but the turn of mind peculiar to the Greeks, could have given that importance to these exercises which we find them to have possessed: the Greeks were endowed with beautiful and active forms, and they engaged in these contests with an ardour of which we can with difficulty form an idea: they belonged to their national pride and their national religion: they were cultivated by the Athenians and other states at home, but the ultimate object of their emulation was the exhibition of this species of skill at the Olympic games: these games were celebrated once in four years: the scene of the exhibition was near the temple of Jupiter at Olympia in Elis: immense was the concourse that resorted from every part of Greece to this solemnity: the religious ceremonies which were performed on the occasion were conducted with the utmost possible magnificence: here treaties were proclaimed, and business of the greatest public consequence transacted: here Herodotus recited in public assembly the nine books of his

history: an armistice was established through Greece, to continue during the period of the festival; and the bitterest and most sanguinary hostilities were suspended during this interval: the territory of Elis where these games were celebrated, was privileged with perpetual peace; and the curse of all the Greeks was denounced against any one that should dare to invade it: and lastly, all the transactions of the different nations of Greece were dated in such an Olympiad, or cycle of four years from one of these festivals to the next: thus, the battle of Marathon is said to have been fought in the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad: three other solemnities of games were afterward instituted in different parts of Greece, in imitation of the Olympic, but of inferior magnificence: the Nemæan, the Isthmian, and the Pythian, thus affording one such period of festivity in every year.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

The revolution which occurred about this time in Greece, that was perhaps more striking than any other, was the extinction of royalty and establishment of republican government, nearly at the same period through almost every division of this celebrated country: in Corinth,

Telestes, the last of their kings, was assassinated by a powerful and numerous family, called the Bacchidæ, who formed themselves into a council, and swayed the state for more than a century: in Athens, occasion was taken, from the heroic action of Codrus, one of their kings, who (being informed by an oracle that *his countrymen would be defeated unless their sovereign should be killed in an approaching engagement*) voluntarily rushed into the thickest of the enemy and was slain: the Athenians passed a decree, that, after Codrus, no man should henceforth be held worthy to succeed as king of Athens: in Sparta royalty was still tolerated, but the authority was divided between two persons who jointly occupied the throne, and the royal prerogatives were reduced within very narrow bounds.

LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

It was about the period of the institution of the Olympic games, that Lycurgus established his laws in Sparta, one of the two great causes of the admiration in which Greece has been held by all succeeding ages: the Athenian eminence in literature and art is certainly the first; for without poets and historians to record the attainments of man, the memory of all achieve-

ments must perish: and only second to this, are the wonderful institutions of Sparta, changing as it were our nature, and surpassing by its extraordinary realities all that fiction ever delineated of its imaginary republics.

Lycurgus was a younger brother of one of the kings of Sparta; his elder brother, after a short reign, having died without issue, the widow secretly proposed marriage to Lycurgus, intimating at the same time that she was with child, but that she would take care that that circumstance should prove no obstacle to him: Lycurgus was struck with horror at the proposal; but dissembling his indignation, he requested that the queen would leave the care of disposing of her offspring to him; at the same time directing, that as soon as it was born, the child might be brought and delivered to him, wherever he might happen to be: Lycurgus chanced to be at supper with some of the principal magistrates of Sparta; and the child was brought, as he had ordered, into the hall where he was sitting: it proved to be a boy; and Lycurgus, immediately rising with the child in his arms, said to the company, *Spartans, behold your king!* Such was the joy that arose, not from the birth of the child, but from the virtue of Lycurgus, that it was named Charilaus, that is, *the joy of the people.*

By this action, and by the whole tenour of his life, Lycurgus gained so high a reputa-

tion, that he was looked upon as the main hope of his country: the government of Sparta was weak, and the power of its magistrates inefficient: the rich employed their opportunities of oppression without mercy, and the poor, finding the yoke imposed on them intolerable, were averse to submit: Lycurgus, after having placed his nephew securely on the throne, set out on his travels, and visited Crete, Egypt, and other states celebrated for their political institutions: his countrymen became impatient of his absence, and at length, jointly with the kings, sent a solemn deputation, intreating him to return, and lend his aid to cure the many grievances under which they laboured: Lycurgus consulted the oracle of Delphi in his way home, and the answer he received was, that he was *a man beloved of the Gods, himself rather a God than a man, and that the system of government he was about to establish would prove the most excellent in the world.*

Lycurgus did not proceed hastily, but consulted with all the men who for station and talents, experience and integrity, were of the greatest weight in Sparta, and minutely unfolded to them the particulars of his project: having gained the approbation of thirty chosen advisers, his next step was to bring forward the list of these thirty, and propose that they should be appointed the senate of the republic: he provided, that in every future vacancy

in this body, the new senator should be elected by the people; with this condition, that no one should be deemed eligible, till he had completed the sixtieth year of his age.

The next provision of the laws of Lycurgus deprived at once every inhabitant of the state of his landed possessions, and divided the territory of Sparta into as many equal portions as there were free citizens in the state.

This appears to modern observers a violent measure, and such as would be submitted to by the richer citizens of very few states: Lycurgus however was not contented with this, but added other provisions calculated to place the equality of his countrymen upon a more immoveable basis: one of these was the abolition of the use of gold and silver coin, and the introduction of iron money, so large and unwieldy, that a sum, computed to be equal to thirty pounds English, would load a cart, and fill a closet.

Thus far Lycurgus established his laws without any alarming and tumultuous opposition: this was not the case with his next law, which forbade any citizen, without so much as excepting the kings, from eating a meal in his own house, public food being provided at public tables, which all were called on to partake indiscriminately: some hot-headed youths raised a tumult against the passing this law, drove Lycurgus from the forum, and forced

him to take refuge in a neighbouring temple: one young nobleman, Alcander by name, approached nearer than the rest, and as Lycurgus turned his head, struck him on the face with a stick, and beat out his eye.

Lycurgus had no sooner climbed the steps of the temple, than he turned round upon his pursuers, and exhibited his face streaming with gore: having obtained silence, he addressed them in terms of such moderation, and with so persuasive accents, that they were filled with compunction: they attended him to his house with the greatest respect, and surrendered Alcander to his mercy: Lycurgus accepted the prisoner, and such was his treatment of the young man during a month that he detained him in his house, that Alcander was ever after the most strenuous partisan that Lycurgus had.

By the institutions of Lycurgus, every male that was born was treated as the property, not of his parents, but of the state: as soon as he came into the world, he was presented to the elders of the district of the city in which he happened to be born, and examined as to the soundness of his limbs, and the indications of a healthy frame: if he appeared weakly or deformed, he was cast into a cavern at the foot of Mount Taygetus to perish: this practice of *the exposing of children*, which our principles and our religion teach us to abhor, was frequent among the ancient Greeks and Romans: the

healthy children only were permitted to be reared.

It is remarked by historians, that Lycurgus took care of the citizens of Sparta, even before their birth: the young women, instead of being confined to needle-work as in other countries, were trained to active and athletic pursuits, to run, to wrestle, to throw the javelin, and to pitch the bar: they appeared in public, and freely took part in the affairs of the state, while the other women of Greece were confined almost as strictly, as the Asiatic women in their seraglios: their censures were feared by the men of Sparta, and their applauses were regarded by them as their most honourable reward: a woman of another country having said to Gorgo, consort to the celebrated king Leonidas, *You, women of Lacedæmon, are the only women in the world that govern men;* she replied, *We are the only women that bring men into the world.*

As soon as the child was pronounced worthy to be reared, he was given to a public nurse; and though there were many slaves in Sparta, there is reason to believe that the nurses were free: they were instructed to accustom the child to be contented with any sort of food, not to be afraid to be alone, or in the dark, and to refrain from ill-humour and unmanly crying: it would seem, as Lycurgus regarded the child as the property of the state, that this nursing was a sort of exchange, the mother of the child

being judged the unfittest person to rear him: the Spartan nurses were held in the greatest esteem, so that in any other part of Greece it was held a peculiar advantage to obtain a nurse from Sparta.

When the child had completed his seventh year, he ceased to be any longer under the government of women, and from that time lived in public, as it was conceived of the utmost importance that every Spartan should do: all the citizens of Sparta, young and old, slept in common dormitories: and the boys after having dined in their own halls, were admitted into the halls of the men.

After the example of the institutions of Minos in Crete, Lycurgus forbade to his citizens all mechanical employments and the pursuits of agriculture: learning never flourished in Sparta: all the employments of the Lacedæmonians were such, as conduced to strength of body and the defence of the state: they were consummate in military exercises and the use of arms: they spent much of their time in hunting, and were skilled in martial music: it was held disgraceful for a Spartan to be alone: the severity of the Spartan laws was never relaxed but in time of war: the Lacedæmonians therefore marched against an enemy gaily as to a festival: Lycurgus however strictly confined their military excursions to defence only, and forbade, when they had put an enemy to flight, that they

should pursue him: the enemies of Sparta often fought with less perseverance, knowing that in flight they should obtain safety.

Nothing could exceed the strictness of the Spartan discipline; yet Lycurgus contrived that his people should strongly feel their independence, and their superiority over all other nations in the qualities they valued most; and therefore no people ever loved their country, and honoured the memory of their legislator, so much as the Spartans: this celebrated people had nothing of what we call indulgences: their food was plain and scanty, the principal dish the *Lacedæmonian black broth*, a food of which by custom the old men of Sparta were particularly fond, but the flavour of which no other people could endure: they slept on rushes: they were taught to despise hardships and endure stripes without a murmur: there was one day of religious ceremony in every year in Sparta, consecrated to Diana Orthia, in which a part of the devotion was the whipping of certain persons, selected from among the noblest youth of Sparta, at the altar of the Goddess: the parents stood by, and exhorted their children to endure their sufferings in a manner worthy of their ancestors; and the infliction was so severe, that they sometimes expired under the lash.

The young Spartans were allowed in, and even excited to, the commission of theft: when

we judge of this part of the laws of Lycurgus, we must recollect that there was scarcely such a thing as private property in Sparta, and that therefore theft was a very different thing from what we are accustomed to consider it: the reason of this part of the plan of Lycurgus was, that he considered stratagem as an essential part of the art of war, and these thefts as the school of stratagem: the young men and boys were told, that *the food provided for them by the state was scanty, but was sufficient for nourishment and health; if however they found that their appetite demanded more, they must steal it:* if they were detected in their theft, they were punished, not for dishonesty, but for want of dexterity: the young men therefore were fond of this species of subtlety, and were encouraged to boast of it, when it was over: there is an instance on record of a Spartan boy who caught a fox, and hid it under his garment (the Spartans wore only one garment): immediately after, he was accosted and detained in conversation by some old men of the city: the wild and frightened animal, unable to escape, tore out the bowels of his captor with his teeth and claws, which the boy endured in silence, chusing rather to die, than to be detected.

The employments of the Spartans were few and uniform, and they had much leisure: this leisure was their pride, as being the badge of their independence; and it was cultivated by

their legislator, because he judged that a man without leisure must always be a depressed and poor-spirited animal: there were no schools for pay in Sparta, for every old man in the state was an instructor: of the aged this was the principal employment: they were encouraged to choose favourites from among the youth, whom they took great pains to improve; and any want of skill, judgment, or propriety of conduct in the favourite, reflected disgrace on the patron: when the boys entered the halls of the old men, they were asked such questions as required thinking, and cultivated promptness of reply: the answer was given in few words; and any smartness that distinguished it, was sure to be applauded: the Spartan youth were free in speech, for there were no such distinctions in the state as rich and poor; and they were modest and respectful, for there existed no claims to honour in Lacedæmon, but age and merit: the old age of a Lacedæmonian was always vigorous and honourable, for he was never depressed by the misfortunes of poverty, and was destitute of all those artificial claims upon the attention of others, which grow out of the possession of wealth.

The slaves of the Spartans were called Helotés, or Helots, a name derived from Helos, a town near Sparta which the Lacedæmonians destroyed before the time of Lycurgus, and reduced all its inhabitants to slavery: it is

difficult to ascertain the exact condition of the Helots, slaves of Sparta: on the one hand, they were the only artificers, peasants, and stewards, of the Lacedæmonians: these offices cannot be well performed by persons reduced to a state of abject misery: on the other hand, it was a received saying among the ancients, that *as there were no freemen so free, so there were no slaves so perfect slaves, as those who dwelt in Sparta:* the Lacedæmonians stimulated the Helots to become drunk at certain periods, that they might show their children how despicable a vice drunkenness was: they required or encouraged them, to become buffoons, and play ridiculous antics, that every freeman might learn to despise a slave: we may easily suppose that stripes were not held so honourable in Sparta, but that the citizens liberally imparted to the Helots their share, as we know in fact that they did: lastly, one of the military exercises of the Spartans was *the ambuscade,* in which the young men of Lacedæmon laid wait in the most secret places, from which they sallied out occasionally, and killed such Helots as chanced to come in their way: on this occasion they selected in preference for their victims the ablest and the strongest: one of the inevitable consequences of the existence of slavery, where the slaves equal or exceed the citizens in number, is, that the citizens are continually in fear of murder and insurrection

from the resentment of men, who derive from nature an equal right to freedom with themselves.

The result of the Lacedæmonian institutions was a character of a peculiar sort, and which certainly never existed in equal perfection in any other country: the Spartans thought much of the commonwealth, and nothing of indulgences for themselves: they were at all times ready to die, when their country demanded it: they were patient, self-possessed, deliberate and brave: all their qualities were social, for a Spartan was scarcely ever alone: all their sentiments were generous and frank, for a Spartan had scarcely any thing he could call his own: their dispositions were unadulterated and simple; and yet no people were ever so keenly alive to commendation and censure: they however valued no praise, and dreaded no censure, that did not touch a responsive chord in their own bosoms: all this was the work of one man: Lycurgus, it has been observed, commanded his people to be tart and quick in repartee, and they were so: he recommended a short and pithy mode of expression (called Laconic, from Laconia, the territory of Sparta), and that mode of expression continued, so long as Lacedæmon existed.

The character of the women of Sparta was not less influenced by the institutions of Lycurgus than that of the men: upon extreme

occasions they fought for their country with no less hardiness than the other sex; and their praise was the most grateful reward a Lacedæmonian soldier could receive: it is related that, after the battle of Leuctra, in which the Spartans were defeated by the Thebans, the mothers of those who were slain congratulated one another, and went to the temples to thank the Gods that their children had done their duty; whereas the relations of those that survived the defeat were inconsolable.

A saying, strikingly illustrative of the Spartan character, is recorded of one Pædaretus, who, at a certain election finding himself left out of the number of the three hundred, returned home to his house gay and full of spirits, declaring that *it did him good to know that there were three hundred men in Sparta better than himself.*

It is right to introduce here a passing remark on slavery and slaves: we hear it frequently said by thoughtless persons in our own times, that the ancient Greeks and Romans had no true understanding of liberty, because they had slaves: this is by no means a sound remark: to judge rightly of the conduct of any man or body of men, we must in imagination put ourselves in their places: he who acts up to the light he possesses, and the rules that have been delivered to him, must either be acquitted, or at any rate not harshly condemned:

the ancient Greeks and Romans were not Christians; and it would be unreasonable to require of them, that their actions should be squared according to our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount:—*to whom much is given, of him much shall be required.*

The ancient Greeks differed from the civilised nations of modern times, in the construction they put on the laws of war: they held, that the life of every man who went into the field of battle, must be preserved by his own valour and that of his fellow-soldiers, or that it was forfeited: whoever fell into an enemy's power, might lawfully and justifiably by that enemy be put to death on the spot: it was therefore conceived to be an act of clemency, if the enemy took from him his liberty only, and spared his life: slavery being thus instituted, the victor either used his captive as his servant by right of conquest, or sold him to another, like any other portion of the spoils of war.

The system which this wonderful man had conceived, being at length put into action, Lycurgus called together an assembly of the people, and told them that it was necessary for particular reasons, that he should absent himself for some time from his country: previously to his departure, he required of kings, senators and people an oath, that nothing should be altered or infringed upon in his in-

stitutions till his return: he withdrew from Sparta, and the people who owed such lasting obligations to his public spirit and wisdom, never saw him again: he even ordered at his decease that his body should be burned, and the ashes cast into the sea, that no pretence might be raised at any future period by bringing home his remains, that the Lacedæmonians were freed from the oath in which they stood pledged to him.

FIRST MESSENIAN WAR.

Argos and Messenia were provinces of Peloponnesus, which had both of them hitherto been more prosperous and powerful than Sparta; but the laws of Lycurgus gave a decisive superiority to the latter: a bloody war shortly after commenced between Messenia and Sparta, which lasted twenty years: the events of this war were strongly marked with the barbarous spirit of the times: the Lacedæmonians are said to have been so highly exasperated against the Messenians, that the soldiers of their army engaged themselves by a vow, never to return home till Messenia was reduced to subjection; this was plainly a breach of the institutions of Lycurgus.

Meantime, the war continued, and was drawn out from year to year: advantages were

gained, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other: at length, the Spartan matrons sent a representation to the army, reminding them of *the unequal terms on which they were engaged: children were born in Messenia every year: the Lacedæmonians by their rash vow had put themselves in a manner out of the protection of nature; and therefore, with however much valour they contended, it must ultimately happen, that Sparta would be depopulated, while the soldiers of Messenia that fell in battle, would be replaced by the rising generation:* the combatants of Lacedæmon listened to this remonstrance, but could think of no better remedy than to send back to Sparta for a time the younger soldiers, who on account of their years had not enlisted till after the period of the fatal vow; that so, by their intercourse with the unmarried, and perhaps the married women of Lacedæmon, the waste of the citizens might be repaired.

The Messenians found themselves exceedingly pressed by the valour and animosity of their adversaries: they sent to the oracle at Delphi to enquire, how the blessing of the Gods might be procured on their arms: the answer of the priestess was, that there was no other method than by the sacrifice of a virgin of the royal house: the Messenians prepared to comply with the God, and the lot fell on the daughter of Lyciscus: Lyciscus felt more like

a father than a patriot, and suborned evidence to prove that the maiden was not really his daughter, but a child that, in consequence of the barrenness of his wife, he had passed for such.

Aristodemus, the most gallant of the Messenian princes, felt extremely indignant at the subterfuge of Lyciscus: he determined to show that there was at least one patriot of the royal house, and voluntarily offered his only child for the victim required: the act of Aristodemus produced an extraordinary scene: a young Messenian of the highest rank came forward, and alleged, that what was thus offered, Aristodemus had no right to give: that the virgin was betrothed, nay, was married, to him, and that by the laws of men and Gods she now belonged to her husband, and no longer to her father: Aristodemus was driven to madness by this contravention of his views, and suddenly drawing his sword, plunged it in the bosom of his daughter, who instantly expired.

In an engagement some years subsequent to this tragical event, the Messenians defeated the Spartans, and having taken Theopompus, one of their kings, and many of his followers, prisoners, they are said to have sacrificed the king and three hundred of the most eminent Lacedæmonians as an oblation to Jupiter.

At length, in consequence of another bloody

response from the oracle at Delphi, ambiguous in its construction, but to which the heart of the patriot thought he could supply a meaning, Aristodemus, who in the interval had ascended the Messenian throne, went in state to the tomb of his unhappy daughter, and there sacrificed himself, a fresh victim to the sanguinary dictates of his erroneous religion.

The war ended, after twenty years contention, with the reduction of Ithome, to which the most valiant Messenians had retired, and where they defended themselves to the last: the gallant countrymen of Aristodemus were now destined to swell the multitude of Helots: peace however did not restore tranquillity to Sparta: on the return of the army, the children which had been irregularly begotten, were looked upon with an unfavourable eye: whatever stain might be supposed to be annexed to their birth, they were not deficient in Lacedæmonian spirit: as they grew up, they felt impatient of the stigma fastened upon them: they are said to have entered into a conspiracy against the state; and being forgiven by its rulers, they were equipped for an expedition to Italy, where, under their leader Phalanthus, they settled themselves as a colony at Tarentum.

SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

That provision in the laws of Lycurgus which forbade the Lacedæmonians from pursuing a flying enemy, rendered it difficult for them to make a complete conquest on any occasion: the Messenians of Ithome had fled to Argos, to Arcadia, and to Attica: those who remained at home were oppressed with so merciless a hand by their conquerors, that they were impatient to throw off the yoke, and once more make trial of the fortune of war: a nation that is free and magnanimous at home, is not always generous and humane in its treatment of those whom the event of a military contest subjects to its discretion: forty years after the conclusion of the former war an opportunity offered, favourable to the hopes of the Messenians: a young man named Aristomenes, of the race of Hercules, himself possessing all the qualities of a hero, stimulated them to revolt, and offered to put himself at their head: his first adventure was exceedingly characteristic of the times in which he lived, and strikingly illustrates the spirit of the Grecian religion.

The Gods of the Greeks were supposed to be propitiated by oblations: every country, every city, and every house was understood to have a patron-deity who watched for its pro-

tection: scarcely was the war begun, when Aristomenes, anxious for the welfare of his country, and desirous to seduce the Gods of his enemies to the party he embraced, conceived the daring design of penetrating alone, by night, into the heart of Sparta, and hanging up a shield as an offering, upon the gate of the temple of Minerva: the project was scarcely sooner conceived, than executed: Lycurgus had forbidden that Sparta should be inclosed with walls: he had also forbidden that any citizen should carry a light in the streets by night: favoured by these circumstances, Aristomenes entered the town and returned undiscovered: in the morning the shield was found with an inscription, that *Aristomenes, from among the spoils of Sparta, had dedicated that offering to the Goddess:* he hoped that the intrepidity of his action would be regarded by Minerva as a test of his devotion, and would win her to favour him.

The fears of the Spartans were not less excited at the sight of this extraordinary spectacle, than the hopes of Aristomenes had been by the success of his adventure: they immediately sent an embassy to Delphi, to demand what they should do to arrest the threatened calamity: the oracle answered, they must *apply for a general to the Athenians:* the Athenians dared not refuse a request, which came to them under the sanction of Apollo, but sent in deri-

sion a schoolmaster of the lower order, who was lame of one leg, named Tyrtæus: this man however, though unqualified in military matters, was a poet: and, anxious within himself to do justice to the extraordinary situation in which he was placed, he composed verses with such fervour, calling on the Spartans *not to be discouraged with a few adverse events, and to act in a manner worthy of their institutions and their fame,* and recited them with such enthusiasm, that the exhortations of Tyrtæus are said materially to have influenced the fortune of the war: the Spartans sustained a great defeat, and began to think of making overtures for an accommodation; but Tyrtæus dissuaded them from this, and even prevailed on them to enfranchise a certain number of Helots, and incorporate them with their diminished forces.

In taking one of the towns of Laconia, Aristomenes, among other booty, met with a number of Spartan virgins, assembled to celebrate a festival of Diana: some young Messenians of quality, who had hitherto fought constantly by the side of the hero, inflamed with wine, began to behave with rudeness to these ladies: Aristomenes earnestly remonstrated on the unworthiness of their conduct: but finding his remonstrances of no avail, he laid the most forward of the aggressors dead at his feet, overawed the rest, and sent back the virgins uninjured to their parents.

At another time this extraordinary man, in an attack he made on one of the lesser towns of Laconia, was taken prisoner by some Spartan matrons, who, educated in the institutions of Lycurgus, fought on such an occasion with scarcely less intrepidity and valour than the men: in this desperate situation he so won by his manners and his discourse on the affections of Archidamia, priestess of Ceres, that, at the risk of whatever punishment her enraged countrymen might inflict on her, she contrived his escape.

Aristomenes was at length defeated, and obliged to throw himself into the town of Ira, as Aristodemus had formerly done into that of Ithome, and to make this the scene of his latest defence: from hence Aristomenes issued forth in frequent and desperate sallies: in one of these sallies he was again taken prisoner; that is, being senseless from the blows and wounds he received (for in no other situation could the person of this hero be seized), he was carried off by the enemy: the Lacedæmonians, irritated at the obstinacy of his resistance, for the war had now lasted nearly twenty years, ordered him, and his companions who were taken with him, to be precipitated into a deep and frightful cavern near Sparta, the common punishment inflicted by them on the worst malefactors.

All the rest were dashed to pieces or mor-

tally injured by the fall: Aristomenes alone, by some extraordinary accident, reached the bottom unhurt: he was however far from congratulating himself on this: what hope could follow him into that dreadful abode? He was surrounded with his dead or dying companions, among the skeletons and putrid carcasses of criminals: he crept to a corner of the cave, and there, wrapping his robe about his head, waited the slow approach of death: on the third day he heard a small rustling noise, and uncovered his eyes to observe: the place was extremely dark, but his organs were now accustomed to darkness: the noise proceeded from a fox gnawing the flesh of the dead bodies: Aristomenes darted on the fox, and caught him: a lucky cord offered itself to his hand, which he bound about the tail of the animal, and then let him go, holding fast the other end of the cord: he knew that the fox had entered by some unexplored and perhaps practicable path: the wild and frightened pilot of Aristomenes led to a rift through which daylight could be perceived: the hero worked with his hands and nails, till the opening became wide enough for him to pass, and he now stood once more in the world of living men.

A report soon reached Sparta that Aristomenes was alive, and was in Ira, but nobody believed it: the hero however put himself at the head of a sally, and gave a great defeat to

a party of the enemy: they no longer doubted that Aristomenes was there: he was afterward made prisoner a third time, and again owed his liberty to the generous sensibility of a woman: at length, one stormy night, the Lacedæmonians took advantage of the inclemency of the season, and some treacherous intelligence they received, and scaled one of the walls of Ira: Aristomenes fought them within the town, and yielded not an inch to all their attacks: the Spartans, however, could now send away their exhausted troops, and assail the weary defenders with such as were fresh: it became necessary for the Messenians to quit the town, and the Lacedæmonians were forbidden to follow: Aristomenes retreated to Arcadia: even in this desperate extremity he conceived a new project, which was to march with eight hundred men directly to Sparta, before the citizens could receive news of what had been done: but here again he was baffled by treachery, and his scheme frustrated: the siege of Ira had lasted eleven years.

The Messenian soldiers, no longer finding a dwelling place for themselves in Greece, began to think of the frequent expedient of a colony: a remnant of the Messenians of the former war had settled in Rhegium at the foot of Italy, and they now invited their countrymen to take possession of Zancle, from this time called Messina, on the opposite coast of

Sicily: as for Aristomenes, he waited in Greece, hoping for a favourable opportunity to avenge his countrymen on the Spartans: happening on a certain occasion to be at Delphi, Damagetus, prince of Ialysus in Rhodes, arrived there, to consult the oracle as to how he should dispose of himself in marriage: the answer directed him to take to wife the daughter of the worthiest of the Greeks: no one doubted that this epithet was descriptive of Aristomenes: the prince paid his addresses accordingly, and Aristomenes spent the remainder of an honourable life in the court of his son-in-law.

OTHRYADES.

About the time of the Messenian war, a dispute arose between Lacedæmon and Argos concerning their respective boundaries: it was at length agreed that three hundred men should be chosen from either side, who should decide by their prowess the point in question: the combatants fought with such extreme animosity, that at the close of the day only two persons, both of them Argives, appeared to be alive on the field: these accordingly returned to their native town, to carry news of their victory: Othryades however, a Lacedæmonian, who had

been left among the dead, retained still some spark of life: he raised his head, and surveyed the field: he found in himself strength enough left to erect a trophy of the arms of the enemy, upon which he placed an inscription, written with his own blood, importing that he had *remained alone master of the field:* this was the last act of the dying hero: the Argives however did not acquiesce in the claim thus set up: a general battle was fought, and the countrymen of Othryades were victorious.

DRACO.

The legislative system of Athens, which divided with Sparta the reputation of being the two great states of Greece, was not established till two hundred years after Lycurgus, by Solon the famous philosopher: it is from Solon that the period of regular history in Greece may be said to commence: all that is before him may be compared to brilliant spots of fertility amidst a blank and barren desert.

It has already been mentioned that Athens, upon the death of Codrus their king, a short time after the Return of the Heraclidæ, abolished in their state the name and authority of king: they substituted at first an archon, or chief, who was elected to his office, but who

held it for life: this office was afterward limited in its duration to ten years, and finally to one year: in the government of Athens the power of the people was more extensive, than in any other of the leading states of Greece: another peculiarity by which it was distinguished from Sparta, was that according to the institutions of Theseus, the original founder of the Athenian power, the cultivators of the earth and the artificers were admitted to the privileges of citizens, and that of consequence these occupations were held in such honour, as the dictates of nature appear to prescribe, and as must inevitably happen when they are exercised by freemen.

The great privileges however which were claimed by all the citizens of Athens, had a tendency to lead to disorder and licentiousness: and such consequences having actually arisen, the Athenians applied to Draco, a man of an honest and plain, but severe cast of mind, intreating him that he would take upon him to reform their jurisprudence, and correct their grievances: Draco, who meant well, but who was totally incapable of accommodating himself to the prejudices and habits of the people among whom he lived, judged that a licentious race was only to be reformed by the harshest methods: he therefore directed that every citizen who should be arraigned before a competent tribunal, and be found guilty, whether his crime

were great or small, should suffer death: the Athenians respected Draco: they thought that he was a better judge of the matters he had been called on to settle, than they were: and they gave his institutions a fair trial: it did not however answer: the feelings of the human mind corrected the enormity of the legislator: witnesses would not report truly concerning a culprit, where the consequences were so awful: judges would not pronounce rigorously, where the punishment was so disproportioned to the offence: the conclusion was an almost general impunity; and the severity of Draco aggravated the licentiousness it was intended to heal.

SOLON.

After a lapse of ten years, the legislation of Draco was generally condemned, and it became obvious that some other system must be formed to occupy its place: the legislator now fixed on by the general assent of the Athenian state, was Solon: a name which by the concurrence of mankind has ever since been admitted to represent the qualities, of a philosophical mind, a penetrating judgment and a humane and philanthropical temper, combined in almost as great a degree of excellence as the nature of man will admit: the laws of Solon

were the model of the laws of Rome, and the Roman jurisprudeuce has furnished the basis of the principles of civil equity prevailing to this day in almost every country of Europe.

The most crying grievance at this time existing in Athens was the law of debtor and creditor: the interest of money borrowed was at that time enormous (twelve *per cent.*, and sometimes a great deal more); and the creditor was permitted to seize the person of his debtor, and even of his wife and children, and sell them into slavery, or otherwise to dispose of them in whatever way he conceived most effectual for the satisfying his demand: Solon passed a general act of grace and oblivion as to all present claims, lowered the interest of money for the future, and took away from the creditor the despotic authority he had been accustomed to exercise.

The next proceeding of Solon was to alter and mitigate the laws of Draco on the subject of punishments, suffering that of death to remain in no case but of murder only.

Solon further divided his citizens into four classes, according to their property: those whose annual income amounted to five hundred, three hundred, and two hundred measures of corn, wine, or oil, respectively constituting the three first classes, and the rest of the citizens being placed in the fourth: the citizens of the first three classes only were eligible to the

offices of the state, while the poorer inhabitants still retained their right of election*: the general assembly of the people also possessed, as they had done from the earliest records of Athens, the absolute power of the state, deciding upon questions of peace and war, and all public affairs; and a right of appeal existing to them from all inferior tribunals.

Solon attempted in some degree to set bounds to this power, by instituting a senate, or council of five hundred, with whom all laws and public measures were to originate: the legislator required, that if any Athenian had any thing to propose for the public good, he should communicate it in the form of a written proposition to the senate: the senate was obliged to take it into consideration: and if they approved it, and not otherwise, it was then to be submitted to the votes of the assembly of the people.

Another celebrated law of Solon, forbade any citizen of Athens to stand neuter in any public question, upon pain of the banishment of his person, and confiscation of his estate: this has been held a wise precaution in such a government as Athens, where the inconstant and the desperate were most likely to be active in parties and dissentions, and there was dan-

* This was afterwards altered by Aristides, who enacted that every citizen indiscriminately should be eligible to the highest offices.

ger that the rich, the sober, and the wise might feel inclined to stand aloof from the fray, without lending their weight to give effect to the good, and to moderate by their wisdom and judgment the excesses of contending leaders.

But the most admirable of all the institutions of Solon was the court of Areopagus: a court of this name existed before his time, but it was the measures and regulations of this wise legislator that raised it to the eminence it afterward possessed: when the office of archon was reduced to an annual office, it was at the same time provided, that instead of being held by a single individual, it should be committed to a council of nine persons, each bearing the title of archon: Solon enacted that every one who had exercised the office of archon, should be a member of the court of Areopagus for the rest of his life: the Areopagus had the sole power of issuing money from the public treasury: it alone possessed judgment of life and death: the members of this court were not confined to the pronouncing on causes or accusations which were brought before them: to them was intrusted a general censorship over the manners of the citizens, and a power to punish open vice, profligacy and impiety, wherever they might find it: they were enjoined to enquire into the means which every citizen had for a livelihood, and to correct all those who led an idle and irregular life: it was also their

business to take care that every Athenian youth received a suitable education, and to pursue proper measures for that purpose: the laws of Solon decreed that such parents as should fail to train their children to some employment or profession by which they might earn a subsistence, should be held to have no claim upon the assistance of their children when they became themselves old and helpless.

The decisions of the court of Areopagus were famous for their wisdom and impartiality: when it was assembled for purposes of trial, it always sat by night, and in the dark: Solon was anxious that no beauty of countenance, and no graces of person and demeanour, should have the smallest influence on their judgments: and for the same reason it was ordained that whoever spoke in this court should use no exordium, digression, or peroration: that all should be simple, a severe statement of facts, and a plain opening of the case, without any attempt at colouring, or any of those arts for deluding the understanding, which in all ages and countries have too much obtruded themselves in the affairs of public justice.

The limits which Solon endeavoured to prescribe upon the powers of the assembly of the people of Athens, were by no means uniformly effectual: they had an authority paramount to every other institution in the state, and when

they chose to exert it, there was nothing that could control them.

The legislation of Solon was of a very different character from the legislation of Lycurgus: the Spartans had hardly yet formed to themselves a national character, when Lycurgus undertook to give them laws: scarcely two generations had passed away from the Return of the Heraclidæ, which had operated as a complete conquest, and given a new birth and commencement to the nation: he regarded therefore but little the thing that they were, and endeavoured to mould them according to the idea of excellence and perfection he had conceived in his own mind: the people to whom Solon gave laws had already arrived at a certain pitch of wealth, luxury and refinement, and the lawgiver therefore confessed, that he had *not given them the best institutions, but the best they were able to bear.*

A great change had taken place in the Athenian state between the time of Theseus and that of Solon: Theseus lived before, and at the epoch of, the Trojan war: a period therefore, according to the common computation, of six hundred years, had occurred between them: in the time of Theseus the cultivation of the earth was held in honour; therefore the occupation was pursued by freemen: but, when Solon flourished, the Athenian slaves were exceedingly numerous: according to the vulgar

computation, which is probably exaggerated, there were twenty slaves to one freeman: the exercise of the mechanical arts therefore was in a great degree confined to the slaves: the sovereign assembly of the Athenian people seldom exceeded five thousand in number.

TRAVELS OF SOLON.

Solon had no sooner completed the great work of the Athenian code, than he found his native city a very troublesome and unpleasant place to reside in: he was overwhelmed with visitors, who came to praise some things in his laws, to blame others, and to recommend certain variations and additions in the system he had promulgated: particularly a multitude of persons were continually applying to him, to ask the reason of one law, and the explanation of another: Solon felt that he had done his best: his code was not of a sort to be subjected to the frivolous comments of every idle bystander, who looked only at some particular point, and had not, as he had done, profoundly meditated the system as one great whole, and the parts in all their several bearings and relations: his institutions were formed for practice, and not for light and captious disputation: it was a written work, and should be consulted with the solemnity due to a volume emanating

from and recording the public will: it was to be held as finished, and not liable to alteration and amendment, till after a fair and sufficient trial: Solon therefore obtained leave of absence for ten years, and set out on his travels.

His first voyage was to Egypt, where he became acquainted with the most eminent of the priests of that country, and grew *learned,* as the Bible phrases it on another occasion, *in all the wisdom of the Egyptians:* his next visit was to Cyprus, where by his advice to one of the kings of that country he greatly improved the prosperity of the island, insomuch that the city Soli is said to have been built under his direction, and called after his name.

From Cyprus Solon proceeded to Miletus, his great object being a visit to Thales, the philosopher, who dwelt in that city: it has already appeared that the western coast of Asia Minor had been originally settled from the same quarter as the provinces of Greece, and that its inhabitants spoke the same language: the citizens of that part of Asia Minor called Ionia were earlier distinguished for the refinements of poetry and philosophy, than any other of the Grecian tribes: it is probable that Homer himself was a native of Chios, one of the Asiatic islands.

SEVEN WISE MEN.

The age of Solon was the period of the commencement of the Grecian philosophy, an excellence by which this admirable nation was not less distinguished, than by its proficiency in poetry, architecture, sculpture and painting: at this period flourished the Seven Sages, or Wise Men of Greece, whose merit and accomplishments have been heard of in every corner of the earth: their names were Thales of Miletus, Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedæmon, Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus* of Lindus in Rhodes, and Periander of Corinth: of these, Miletus, Mitylene, Priene and Lindus, were cities of Asia.

These men appear to have been in habits of great familiarity with each other: they were all persons of eminent station in their respective countries: but if eminent station alone had been in question, a rich man need not have sailed from Athens to Miletus, to meet with an associate as rich as himself: they all valued wisdom and the qualifications of the mind only, and looked with disdain upon mere wealth: each considered it as his greatest privilege to have six friends endowed with intellectual capacity and observation not inferior to his own: we do not find that there was among them the

* The accent on the third syllable.

smallest jealousy: and they would have been ashamed, if they had not spoken and written to each other with the most entire freedom and unreserve, and had not forwardly and zealously communicated to each other any thing they knew.

The phrase of the Seven Sages, is said to have originated in this circumstance: a fisherman of Miletus drew to shore his net with apparently a heavy draught of fishes: certain citizens, standing near, bid a sum of money for all that the net contained: the bargain was struck, and when the contents were examined, beside fish there was found a golden tripod of considerable value: upon this contract the parties went to law, the buyers contending that *they bought all that the net contained,* and the seller that *nothing but fish was included in the sense and spirit of the bargain:* the judges found the question too difficult for them to decide; and according to the mode of the times, the problem was referred to Apollo: the answer of the oracle was, *Let the tripod belong to him who is wisest:* when this answer was received at Miletus, the judges unanimously decided that the tripod belonged to Thales: Thales sent it to Bias, and Bias to Pittacus, till it passed through the seven, and came to Solon, who sent it back to Thales again: in fine, Thales presented it to the God from whom the oracle had issued: this is a beautiful story:

how frankly did these great men acknowledge the merits of each other: how different was their conduct from the heart-burnings and detractions which have too often been seen among men of extraordinary attainments in modern times!

There is a letter from Thales to Solon on record, which, whether genuine or not, gives us an impressive picture of the terms on which these men lived with each other: it runs thus: *If you leave Athens, you may in my opinion, settle yourself, with those you bring along with you, to advantage at Miletus, for here is nothing to trouble you: if you mislike that we Milesians are governed of a tyrant, yet may you please yourself with the society and conversation of me your friend: Bias hath likewise sent to invite you to Priene; if to abide at Priene please you better, we will also come and dwell there with you.*

In one instance the Seven Wise Men appear to have held a meeting by appointment at the city of Delphi: they sojourned there for a certain time, that they might enjoy each other's conversation uninterrupted in that holy and secluded spot, and might see how far, by free communication of their observations and discoveries to each other, and mutual collision of ideas, the general stock of knowledge might be improved, and might best be turned to practical use for the benefit of the whole Grecian race.

It has been matter of surprise that Periander,

tyrant of Corinth, should make one in this catalogue of sages: but he was eminently a lover of learning and learned men, himself a man of great research and sagacity: beside which we are to remember that tyranny was among the Greeks a general name for a power of government vested in a single person (perhaps only in case that person was an usurper, and not descended from a line of kings), and that some of their tyrants were men eminent for mildness and clemency, though it has been disputed whether that was the case with Periander.

PHALARIS*.

Another man of a reputation somewhat similar to that of Periander, was Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily: he was certainly a person of extraordinary abilities, and is strangely represented as combining the most savage cruelty with acts of an exalted magnanimity and generosity: some allowance however is to be made for the misrepresentations of a party, who having overturned the tyranny, would be inevitably impelled to blacken the tyrant: the story of his brazen bull is well

* The accent on the first syllable.

known: Perillus, an eminent artist of Athens, constructed a bull of brass, of admirable beauty, and so framed, that a living man being placed in the belly, and a fire lighted underneath, the screams of the miserable sufferer came forth, with an accurate resemblance of the roarings of a bull in fury: having produced this wonderful machine, and being informed that Phalaris was exceedingly curious as to the different methods of inflicting torture, Perillus carried his production to Agrigentum: Phalaris however, either abhorring the inhuman character of the man, or indignant at the implied satire which the offer conveyed against himself, ordered Perillus to be shut up in the bull, and the first experiment of the extraordinary excellence of the machine, to be made on the inventor.

ANACHARSIS.

The name of Anacharsis, the Scythian, has frequently been joined with those of the Wise Men: the Scythians (the same race of men who were afterwards called Goths) inhabited the north-east of Europe and north of Asia, and lived in the manner the Tartars do now; that is, they did not till the earth, and had no corn, but subsisted upon their flocks and herds, dwelling in tents, and perpetually removing

from one part of this vast and solitary region to another: such people could have no literature and little refinement; but they cherished the most entire independence of spirit; and it was useless for any civilised nation to attempt to conquer them, for they were no where to be found: they retreated from region to region; and in vain should their pursuers think to subsist, in tracts, which sufficed to maintain this hardy race: they were also alert in stratagems and ambush, making it a point that whatever enemy set foot in their climate, should never return home in safety, and often defeating whole bands and troops of men without suffering them so much as to behold the face of their destroyers.

Anacharsis was led by the love of wisdom and thirst after knowledge, to quit his native country, and come into Greece: a visit he was particularly anxious to pay, was to Solon, the legislator of Athens: accordingly he came to his door, and desired one of the servants to inform his master, that *Anacharsis, the Scythian, led thither by the fame of his wisdom, demanded his master's hospitality and friendship:* Solon sent back the servant with this answer, *Say to the stranger, that the best friendships are those which are formed at home:* Anacharsis replied, *Go back to your master, and tell him, that he is at home, and therefore ought to receive me into his friendship:* Solon, pleased with the readi-

ness of this retort, ordered Anacharsis to be admitted, and found him in the sequel worthy to share his familiarity with the most honourable of the Grecians.

On a subsequent occasion a pert young Athenian affrontingly reproached Anacharsis that he was *of a country of barbarians;* to which the Scythian replied, *True, Sir, my country is a disgrace to me, and you are a disgrace to your country.*

Why do your Scythians in their own country, said another, *go entirely naked? Why,* replied Anacharsis, *do you go with your face naked? We are all face.*

It was also a saying of Anacharsis, that *laws were cobwebs by which the little flies were entangled, but that wasps and hornets never failed to break through them.*

THALES.

The rest of the Seven Wise Men appear to have confined their enquiries to the nature of the human mind and the knowledge of life: to these Thales alone added mathematics and the abstruser sciences: the nature of the human mind and the knowledge of life, are the most valuable subjects of curiosity: other things are the instruments merely with which we work,

man alone is the operator: the other wise men were orators, poets, lawgivers, and statesmen.

Yet the additions which Thales made to their circuit of enquiry are worthy of admiration: he analysed the structure of the universe, and endeavoured to explain the principles of its formation: he studied astronomy, and predicted eclipses: he reduced the year to a space of three hundred and sixty-five days: he taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of their pyramids, not by the application of a rule and a line, but by the process of a mathematical operation.

To return to Solon, whom we have spoken of as travelling from Athens, to Egypt, to Cyprus, and to Miletus: the object of his journey to Miletus was a visit to the celebrated Thales: Thales had formed an express plan of life for the purpose of exclusively devoting himself to the pursuits of knowledge: he refused to marry, and even resigned his estate to his nephew, on condition that he should pay him an annual stipend out of it: Solon was a married man, and his children were among the most amiable and promising youths of Athens: among the various discourses of wisdom and human life which arose between these philosophers, it was therefore natural that this question should sometimes occur, *Which was most eligible, a life of celibacy, or a life of wedlock?* Solon pushed Thales home in this disquisition, and the Mi-

lesian appeared to come off lamely and imperfectly in his answers.

The question had now not been mentioned for several days, when a stranger, instructed by Thales, entered into their society, and among other things said that he was *lately come from Athens:* Solon, as was natural, enquired whether *there was any particular news in the city when he left it? None,* replied the *traveller, except the funeral of a young man which was attended by all the public magistrates and the citizens, for he had been highly esteemed, both for his own sake, and that of his father, whose eldest son he was, and who was now absent on his travels:* Solon began to be uneasy, and enquired *who his father was: I cannot recollect his name,* answered the stranger, *but he was highly and universally praised for his wisdom and justice: Was it the son of Solon? The same:* Solon was overwhelmed with grief: he rose from his seat, and walked up and down, speechless, and in agonies of despair: Thales took him by the hand: *Be comforted, my friend,* said he, *the story you have heard is a fabrication of my own, without a word of truth in it: forgive me: I knew no effectual way but this of showing you why I have always refused to marry: I cannot deliberately consent to make myself the slave of circumstances, which a married man must necessarily be.*

Thales was wrong in this: not merely wrong

in deceiving, though but for a moment, and playing upon the feelings of his friend, but wrong in his argument: it is not wise to refuse a good thing, because we may sometime or other be deprived of it: the man who would follow this principle, should take care to love no human creature, and no possible possession, not even the endowments of the mind, for of these and the means of exercising them we may be deprived: a stock or a stone only can be secured against the pains of privation: Thales indeed might have been in the right, if he had merely said, that the state he had chosen was necessary to the pursuits in which he was engaged, and that it can rarely happen that a man shall arrive at great scientific or literary eminence, who is entangled in the connections of human society.

GYGES.

From Miletus Solon proceeded to the court of Crœsus, king of Lydia: the Lydians were one of those nations, sprung from the same source as the Greeks, and who are supposed to have settled in Asia, about the same time that the progenitors of the Athenians and the other Greek states took up their abode in Europe: their capital was Sardis; and a curious story is related of the manner in which

Gyges, the immediate progenitor of Crœsus, gained possession of the crown: Gyges had been the prime minister only of Candaules, his predecessor in the throne: but, chancing one night to lose himself in a forest, he arrived at a cavern, and descended into it: a lamp hung from the roof, and illuminated the apartment: the principal object which struck him there, was a colossal figure of a horse formed of brass: on nearer inspection he discovered a door in the flank of the horse, which having opened, he found that the statue had been placed there as a sarcophagus, or tomb, doubtless of some person of distinction: on the finger of the skeleton which the sarcophagus inclosed, sparkled a gem of uncommon lustre, which Gyges immediately purloined: when he returned home, he was surprised to find that he passed through the midst of his servants unperceived, though it was now morning: the ring had the property, when turned with the stone inward, of rendering its wearer invisible: Gyges employed it as the instrument of a lawless ambition: he murdered his master without the possibility of detection; and then married his widow, and ascended the throne.

CRŒSUS.

Sardis was distinguished by its mines of gold; and gold does not appear, at least for a time, to have produced among the Lydians its usual consequences of indolence, effeminacy and luxury: on the contrary, the Lydian monarchs made themselves arbiters of the Western Asia, and by degrees subjected all the Grecian colonies in that part of the world to their empire: they gradually rose to that power which was at its height in the time of Crœsus; and some apprehension might be conceived, lest an unsatiated ambition and love of glory might tempt them from the coasts of Asia to proceed against the islands of the Ægean sea, and succeeding there, to turn their arms upon Greece itself.

The riches of Crœsus have been proverbial from his own time to the present day; and it was this monarch in all his glory that Solon now proceeded to visit: Crœsus is said to have had as few vices as can be expected to fall to the lot of an absolute monarch: but among these vices was vanity: he was a lover of learning and learned men, and when he knew that Solon, the first of the Greeks, the legislator of Athens, was coming to Sardis, he determined to make an impression upon him: he received him with great courtesy, but with

an eye still more studious of the exhibition of splendour: Crœsus and his courtiers were covered with gold and precious stones; and after a short conversation the monarch retired, and left it to his chamberlains to lead Solon over the magnificent apartments, and to show him the costly furniture, the pictures, the statues, the vases of massy gold, and enchased with figures of the most admirable workmanship: when the philosopher had sufficiently observed these, Crœsus thought he was prepared for a more extended conversation.

The first question Crœsus proposed was a mere piece of art: *Which, oh Solon,* said he, *of mankind, in all your travels, have you found most truly happy?* The king anticipated the philosopher's answer, and already in fancy heard him say, *Your majesty.*

Solon seemed not to perceive the intention of Crœsus: after a moment's recollection, he replied, *Of all the men I have seen, oh Crœsus, the happiest was Tellus, one of my fellow-citizens of Athens: he was an honest and a good man, and had never known the sufferings of poverty: he saw his family and his country contented and free: he lived long enough to be surrounded with his children's children, who were all held in esteem, and he died at last fighting the battles of the republic.*

Crœsus was astonished at the stupidity of so celebrated a man; but he resolved to try

him with one experiment more: *Tellus no doubt,* replied the king, *was a fortunate person; but next to Tellus (speak, Solon, frankly and without reserve) who has appeared to you the greatest favourite of the Gods?*

Next to Tellus, said Solon, *I never heard of any persons so fortunate as Cleobis* and Biton: they were the twin sons of the priestess of Juno at Argos: on a solemn day of festival, it chanced that the sacred oxen that should have drawn the chariot of their mother to the temple, had met with some accident: these blameless striplings, in the flower of youth and beauty, did not hesitate immediately to harness themselves to the chariot, and amidst the acclamations of the whole city drew the priestess to the temple: the mother, enchanted with their behaviour, intreated Juno to bestow upon them a reward adequate to their deserts: the youths retired to rest with a peaceful and approving conscience, and awoke no more: the people of Argos, struck with the event, and the condescension of the Goddess, did not fail shortly afterwards to place the statues of these pious sons in the sacred city of Delphi.*

Crœsus could no longer conceal his discontent: *What,* said he, *do you put these unknown youths, and a certain husbandman of Attica, in the scale of happiness before me?*

Solon mildly replied, *The Gods, oh king, have*

* The accent on the first syllable.

given to us Greeks a spirit of philosophy and a sense of liberty, which little qualify us for the courts of princes: this philosophy instructs us to express ourselves in plain and unvarnished terms, and with the utmost sincerity: it also teaches us to reflect on the innumerable vicissitudes of human life, and to lay little stress on that prosperity, which may be hollow and unreal even while it lasts, and may speedily pass away: the life of man is seventy years, or twenty-five thousand days, and of these days no two are alike: in our opinion therefore no man can be accounted happy, till death has set a seal on his felicity, and placed him beyond the reach of fortune.

One of the eminent persons whom Solon found at the court of Crœsus, was Æsop, a Phrygian, the immortal author of the fables of animals: another celebrated literary character contemporary with Solon, was Thespis, also an Athenian, to whom is ascribed the honour of having been the inventor of tragedy: to the same period likewise belongs the famous Grecian poetess, Sappho of Lesbos.

Third Period.

PISISTRATUS*.

After an absence of ten years Solon returned to his native city of Athens.

He found that these ten years had not elapsed, without producing considerable alterations in the condition of the state: in every republican government, where the smallest portion of liberty is permitted to exist, there are always two parties, the favourers of aristocracy, and the favourers of democracy, the party of the nobles, and the party of the people: it is possible for persons adhering to either of these, to be honest men and true patriots: the democracy is certainly necessary for the preservation of liberty; the aristocracy may be equally necessary for the cultivation of wisdom and elevated sentiments, and for defeating violence and excesses.

The Athenians, the nation of the whole earth among whom literature and art have most flourished, were a people peculiarly suscepti-

* The accent on the second syllable.

ble of impression, and quick of emotion: their state was liable to convulsions, and these convulsions were attended with tumult.

Pisistratus, a kinsman of the legislator, was at this time at the head of the party of the people: he was a man of engaging manners, of high accomplishments, and great eloquence: his ambition was restless, but his temper was full of forbearance and humanity toward those who opposed him: no wonder that the career of such a man was marked with success.

The leaders of the opposite party regarded with jealousy his superior talents and his prevailing popularity: they formed a plan to assassinate him; or, as it was said when the party of Pisistratus was no longer in power, Pisistratus fabricated the plan for his own ends: be this as it will, he certainly one day entered the Athenian forum in his chariot, covered with wounds, and informed those whom he found in the place, that these wounds were given him by men who lay in ambush for him, and from whom he with difficulty escaped with his life: his partisans were inflamed with resentment: they said it was plain, that it was no longer safe for a man in Athens to be a friend to the poor; and a guard of fifty men was decreed to their favourite, to preserve him from similar attempts in future.

Pisistratus took advantage of this decree: he imperceptibly increased the number of his

guards; he made himself master of the citadel of Athens, and bade defiance to his enemies.

We are grieved to see such lawless proceedings take place under the eye of the venerable legislator, who gave to Athens the constitution which has covered it with immortal glory: but Solon was now near eighty years of age: the Athenians were a giddy people, and were at this time infatuated with the youthful graces, the liberal temper, and the courteous manners of their favourite: Solon spoke out like a man of integrity, and reproached his fellow-citizens with their levity and blindness; but the voice of wisdom was no longer regarded: some persons asked the philosopher, *To what security he trusted to protect him from the vengeance of the tyrant* (for in the language of ancient history Pisistratus was tyrant of Athens, though he had not the qualities that modern speech includes in that word), *which he might expect to provoke by such ill-timed truths?* Solon magnanimously replied, *To my old age:* he accordingly survived the time at which Pisistratus usurped the government not quite two years.

The tyrant, notwithstanding the arts of his policy, was not so firmly seated in his power, but that, a short time after, by the machinations of his enemies he was driven into banishment: after remaining an exile for some time, he found means to form a coalition with the adverse party, by marrying the daughter of its

leader: on this occasion it was thought necessary to employ an artifice for the re-establishment of Pisistratus, and that which was hit on, was one which to our manners must appear very extraordinary.

They procured a woman of uncommon stature, of well-proportioned limbs, and of noble and expressive features: this woman, who was of low birth, they clothed in a complete suit of armour, covered her with costly ornaments, and placed her in a magnificent chariot: thus accoutred, she entered the city, and addressing the populace, assured them that she was *Minerva, their guardian deity, who had assumed this visible appearance, once more to conduct her favourite into the citadel, while she required of them, under pain of her severest vengeance, to receive him with favour:* Pisistratus followed the seeming goddess, and was by her conducted up the flight of steps ascending to the fortress, while the simple spectators rent the air with their acclamations.

Yet the tyrant was not placed beyond the reach of adversity: a family quarrel occurred, and the aristocracy drove Pisistratus again out of the city: he remained in banishment no less than ten years; but he did not once lose sight of his object: he seized every occasion of improving his interest: the nobility expelled every one who favoured, or was suspected of favouring the tyrant: at length Pisistratus

formed an army of exiles, and marched against his native place: he was victorious; and he secured the fruits of his conquest by his clemency toward those who opposed him: from this time he reigned seventeen years in peace.

Pisistratus made as little infringement as possible upon the institutions of Solon: though he held Athens in subjection by force of arms, he affected the carriage and behaviour of a private citizen: on all occasions he suffered with perfect equanimity the sarcasms and bitter speeches against him, which the citizens of a free state were accustomed to indulge, and never sought to silence or revenge himself on his slanderers: in one instance he was cited somewhat petulantly before the court of Areopagus, to answer an indictment on a charge of murder: he might have refused to appear, and have quashed the indictment: but he willingly obeyed the summons, pleaded against the accusation, and obtained a verdict of acquittal.

Pisistratus was a man accomplished in all the learning of his times, and particularly studied eloquence as a branch of literature: he was the first Greek that founded a public library: the poems of Homer to his time had never been collected and digested into order: as they had long been preserved by memory alone, so one man retained one portion of these immortal works, and another man another portion: these

portions were called *Rhapsodies,* and named according to the subject of which they treated, the *Acts of Diomedes,* the *Parting of Hector and Andromache,* the *Embassy to Achilles,* the *Night-Adventure of Dolon and Rhesus,* the *Battle at the Ships,* the *Death of Patroclus,* the *Shield of Achilles,* the *Death of Hector:* Pisistratus collected the *Rhapsodists* (something like the *Minstrels* of our English ancestors) from the different parts of European and Asiatic Greece, and causing the passages they recited to be taken down in writing, gave it in charge to a certain committee of learned men to arrange them into a regular series: to him we are therefore indebted for the Iliad and Odyssey such as they now stand.

Pisistratus may be regarded in some measure as a specimen of the statesmen of Athens: such, and so accomplished, so learned, eloquent, tasteful, generous, and high-minded must that man be, who could expect permanently to figure in that wonderful republic.

HIPPARCHUS.

At the death of Pisistratus the power he had possessed devolved to his two sons, Hipparchus and Hippias: these depositaries of the public authority conducted themselves for some time like the worthy heirs of such a father:

Hipparchus in particular inherited the same love of letters: he invited Simonides, the poet, to reside under his roof, and sent a magnificent barge with fifty rowers to fetch Anacreon from Teos in Asia, that he might receive him with a distinction proportioned to his talents.

The power of Hipparchus continued for twelve years, and he then fell by the sword of a private man: the Athenians were of a perfectly republican character, and all the virtues of Pisistratus and his sons could not reconcile them to the government of a single person, or of two persons: indignation against the usurpers secretly rankled in their breasts, till at length an accident called into action the feeling which had long been smothered: Harmodius and Aristogiton*, names for ever dear to the citizens of Athens, were young friends, so attached to each other, that each made the other's griefs his own: Hippias had conceived some resentment against Harmodius, and to revenge himself had recourse to the low expedient of affronting his sister: he made her retire from a public religious procession, pretending that she was not a virgin, as the law required: so unmanly an insult inflamed the two youths, who determined to expiate the brutality of the tyrant in his blood, and killing both the brothers, to free the state of Athens: as they prepared to execute

* The accent on the third syllable.

their plot, they saw a person whom they had trusted with their secret, engaged in earnest conversation with the tyrant: they feared that their project was discovered, and deemed it necessary to precipitate the execution: turning to another part of the city, they plunged their daggers in the breast of Hipparchus: their deed was punished with death on the spot by the friends of the reigning family.

HIPPIAS.

Hippias continued for nearly four years after this event the ruler of the Athenian state: but his conduct was immediately changed: hitherto the sons of Pisistratus had been remarkable for the mildness of their administration: he was terrified and confounded by the death of his brother: he discovered that the conspiracy had been directed equally, or even more, against him: he believed that no clemency had the power to protect him against the sword of the assassin: he put to death every Athenian whom he suspected: the relations and friends of those he destroyed became next the objects of his suspicion, and were also condemned to die: before the assassination of Hipparchus, the government of Athens had been of that species

which the magnanimous feelings of the Greeks called a *Tyranny:* now it was what the rudest and most slavish of mankind denominate such: the yoke became intolerable: the malcontents contrived that the oracle at Delphi should repeatedly issue its injunctions to the Lacedæmonians to deliver Athens from its oppressors: Sparta at length obeyed: the family of Pisistratus was expelled, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were set up in the most conspicuous part of the forum, and the government instituted by Solon was completely restored.

POLYCRATES*.

Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, was the contemporary of Pisistratus: like him, he was a lover of the arts, and exceedingly attached to men distinguished by their literature and genius: Anacreon was almost his constant guest, before the time that he was invited by so splendid a mission to visit Hipparchus: but the catastrophe of Polycrates is remarkable.

The tyrant cultivated the alliance of Amasis*, king of Egypt, a prosperous prince of that age: these men, unable to conceive the sublime notions respecting the creator of the universe which are common with us, were great ob-

* The accent on the second syllable.

servers of destiny and fate: unaccustomed to refer every thing to the benevolence of God, they watched the men with whom they were connected, whether they were fortunate or otherwise, and reasoned accordingly: guided by these blind principles, Amasis on a certain occasion addressed a letter to Polycrates, in which he observed, that *the fortune of the tyrant was too uniformly prosperous not to be a subject of serious alarm, that there were Gods envious of human happiness who would not fail at some period to plague him with fatal mischief,* and added withal a serious advice, that Polycrates should *seek out a misfortune for himself, that might mitigate the animosity of these adverse powers.*

Polycrates took to heart the suggestion of his ally: some time afterward, walking with his courtiers on the deck of one of his galleys, he drew an emerald ring of immense value which he had from his finger, and unobserved cast it into the sea: he trusted that this voluntary penance might serve his turn: but what was his surprise, when a few days after, a fish of uncommon size being brought to him as a present, the ring which he had lost was found in the fish's belly!

Polycrates wrote to Amasis with great exultation an account of his adventure: he told his friend, that *it was now certain, that none of the Gods were hostile to him, and that he was so*

beloved of Heaven, that no calamity would ever be permitted to reach him: Amasis drew an opposite conclusion: he wrote to Polycrates, that *the rejection of his voluntary penance was to his mind a sure proof that some frightful reverse of fortune was in store for him,* and concluded with a *solemn abjuration of all future intercourse with a man, who was thus marked out by the Gods for their direst vengeance.*

The conjecture of Amasis was confirmed by the event: one of the satraps of the king of Persia, hearing of the flourishing state of the island of Samos, marked it out as the victim of his avarice: to accomplish his purpose, he sent a ceremonious message to the tyrant, requesting his presence at Sardis, the residence of the satrap [Crœsus was now dead], as he had something of importance to communicate to him from the Great King: the tyrant, unsuspicious of evil, complied, and set off in great state: the satrap in the meanwhile sent off a secret expedition to seize on the island; and Polycrates no sooner arrived at Sardis, than his person was apprehended, and without examination or delay he was nailed on the cross.

PYTHAGORAS.

Though Anacreon, the poet, consented to live under the tyranny of Polycrates, Pythagoras, the philosopher, who was a native of Samos, and earnestly intreated by the tyrant, refused: turning his back on the soil in which he was born, because his countrymen were slaves, he took up his residence among the colonies of Magna Græcia, but principally in the city of Crotona: but previously to this he travelled in Egypt and Chaldea, and carefully collected all that knowledge which seemed like the remains of a former world.

At Crotona he reformed the manners of the inhabitants, who were at that time to a great degree sunk in voluptuousness: he persuaded the females to leave off their gaudy attire, and assume a modest behaviour: he called off the youth from the impudence and love of pleasure which they had lately indulged, and taught them a respectful and grateful behaviour to their parents and superiors; while he prevailed on the old men no longer to seek for happiness in the amassing of money, but to pursue that peace and those comforts which philanthropy, frugality and virtue can only produce: Crotona became an example to all the neighbouring states.

The tenets of Pythagoras were singular and memorable: he taught the transmigration of souls, which he had learned in the East, and therefore forbade to his scholars the eating of animals, lest they might unawares devour their parents and ancestors; and of beans, which he supposed to be in some particular way composed of the paste from which man was originally formed: but what was most extraordinary, he taught the true system of the universe, that is, that the earth and the other planets move round the sun, which stands still: this doctrine was rejected for ages, and therefore was recorded merely as a matter of curiosity, but has since been demonstrated by Sir Isaac Newton: as the majority of the principles of Pythagoras were learned by him merely as the fragments of a remote antiquity, without his understanding the reason of them, he communicated them to others in the same peremptory way, and when among his scholars it was affirmed of any proposition, *The philosopher has said it*, it was deemed a sort of sacrilege to controvert that proposition.

Yet Pythagoras, like Thales his predecessor, endeavoured to improve on the wisdom he collected, and to add investigation to science: he made various discoveries, in music, in natural philosophy, and in mathematics; and particularly has connected his name with the theorem

respecting the square of the hypothenuse discovered by him, which has ever since been called *the Pythagorean theorem.*

Pythagoras, to give weight to the doctrines he taught, affected an air of mystery: he pretended to foresee future events, and to have immediate communication with the divinity: he had the peculiar privilege, he said, while all other men forgot the pre-existent states through which they had passed, to remember his: he clothed himself, like the Egyptian priests, in flowing white garments, and dwelling in a cave, showed himself rarely, and only by night: he affirmed that one of his thighs was of the substance of gold, and professed to have the art, by writing in a certain way on a looking-glass with letters of blood, to be able to make his writing legible on the disk of the moon: his scholars were enjoined a probation of silence for some years, before they were permitted to speak in his school.

These were artifices: but Pythagoras was a truly great man, and an eminent benefactor to his species: various of the principles he taught, were not more wonderful than true: various of the discoveries he made, have added to the stores of human intellect ever since his time: princes and nobles were ambitious to become pupils in his school, and he instructed those who listened to him, to spend a portion of every day in solitude and meditation, to

reverence the Gods and to avoid whatever might violate that self-respect and complacency upon which the happiness of the individual must always depend, and at the same time to recollect that they were members of the great community of mankind, and that public good, not private emolument, was the genuine end and purpose of a reasonable creature: Numa, the second king of Rome, was one of the most eminent of his scholars.

Two other pupils of Pythagoras appertain to the general history of Greece, Charondas, the Sicilian, and Zaleucus of Locri: both of them were legislators.

CHARONDAS.

Charondas was the author of the code of laws, established for the government of the colony of Thurium: this colony was fixed nearly on the same spot where had stood the ancient city of Sybaris: Sybaris became proverbial through all antiquity for the most extravagant stretch of luxury and effeminacy: a reward was proffered by the laws of Sybaris to any one who should invent a savoury dish unknown before: the Sybarites rigidly banished from their city all artificers whose noise might disturb their slumbers, and a particular penalty was awarded against introducing that vigilant,

but useful animal, the cock: it is related that a Sybarite, sleeping on a bed of roses, complained in the morning that his rest had been much disturbed: upon a narrow inspection it was found that one of the rose-leaves had by some accident become doubled under him, and it was no longer difficult to account for the ill consequence that had ensued: the Sybarites went to war, and their city was destroyed; it was impossible that such a people could stand against a vigorous enemy: when a new Grecian colony took possession of their territory, and founded the city of Thurium, they had recourse to the severity of a Pythagorean legislator, that they might never be in danger of experiencing the fate of their predecessors.

ZALEUCUS.

Zaleucus, the Locrian legislator, is memorable for the example he afforded of vicarious punishment, or one man's satisfying the law by suffering for the offence of another: among other regulations which he instituted for the protection of morality, there was one which condemned an adulterer to the loss of his eyes: the first person who was found violating this law was the son of Zaleucus, and the father was required to pronounce sentence on his child: the feelings of a parent struggled in

the breast of Zaleucus with the impartiality of a judge; and he at length found out a way of yielding something to both characters, by causing one of his son's eyes to be extinguished, and then ordering the executioner to put out one of the eyes of the legislator himself, as an atonement for the remaining eye of the youth.

TYRANTS OF SYRACUSE.

The Grecian colonies of Sicily were not less flourishing than those of Italy: Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, has already been mentioned: Gelon of Syracuse reigned some time after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ*: he subjected to his dominion all the Grecian cities of Sicily, except Agrigentum, the sceptre of which was at that time swayed by Theron, a prince of estimable qualities: Gelon was the most powerful sovereign that had yet reigned among the Greeks: he is still more honourably distinguished, as the most virtuous of all the tyrants: the memory of his administration continued dear to his countrymen for centuries after his death: and in a popular convulsion, when the statues of all the tyrants were thrown down, Gelon's was permitted to stand alone.

Gelon was succeeded at his death by his

* The accent on the third syllable.

brother, Hiero, who is famous for having gathered to his court the most eminent poets of his time, particularly Simonides and Pindar: it is said that Hiero, in the beginning of his reign, did not show himself disposed to tread in the steps of his illustrious brother, but rather discovered symptoms of a cruel and arbitrary character: Simonides however by well-timed and generous admonitions brought him back to the paths of justice: the odes of Pindar, celebrating the victories of Hiero and Theron in the chariot-race at the Grecian games, are among the most wonderful productions of antiquity.

There is an admired story of a reply given by Simonides to Hiero: the latter once proposed to the former, in some of those literary and instructive conversations with which the Greeks were accustomed to refine the pleasures of the table, this question, *What according to his conception was the nature of God?* Simonides demanded till the next day to give in his answer: when the next day came, Simonides required two days more, and then four, and then eight: Hiero expressed himself astonished at these repeated delays; to whom Simonides rejoined, *Be not amazed, oh king! for the longer I meditate upon the inscrutable question of the divine nature, the less I find myself able to return you a satisfactory solution.*

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

We have now seen what was the state and character of the Greek nation, previously to the great event of their being invaded by the Persians: it is at length necessary to take some brief survey of the power by which they were assailed.

It is customary in treating of ancient history to speak of the four great monarchies, which engrossed in turn the empire of almost the whole world at that time known: the first of these is the Assyrian, whose capital was first, Niniveh, and afterward, Babylon: the second is the Persian, founded by Cyrus: the third the Grecian, by Alexander the Great: and the fourth the Roman, beginning from the defeat of Hannibal, and continued till the irruption of the Goths and Vandals about four hundred years after Christ.

Persia was one of the countries, mentioned in the beginning of this book, as memorable for possessing certain sciences, astronomy for example, in a high degree of excellence, at the remotest period to which the annals of profane history reaches; Pythagoras is supposed to have learned the most interesting of his doctrines, the transmigration of souls, and the true system of the heavens, in Persia or in India: the Persian priests, in like manner with

Pythagoras, abstained from animal food: the religion of the Persians differed extremely from that of the Greeks in this, that they had neither statues, temples, nor altars: the ceremonies of their religion were performed in the open air: they worshipped fire, and the great visible receptacle of that element, the sun: and one of the fundamental dogmas of their creed was, that there are two great contending principles in the universe, Oromasdes and Arimanius, the good and the evil spirit, to whose operations respectively they ascribed the mixed scene of things, and the beneficent and calamitous events which form the history of mankind.

But though the Persians stand high in the records of history, as the depositaries of ancient knowledge, yet in two things they rank exceedingly below the Greeks; first, that they were merely depositaries, and cannot be shown to have added, like the Greeks, to the instruction they received; secondly, that, like all the Asiatic countries, they were strangers to liberty: the government of these countries was a pure despotism, checked in some degree, as it always must be, by the operation of habits and manners, but not by regular privileges subsisting in the great body of the citizens, and a power in that body to assert their privileges: in a despotism, the despot will always be spoiled by indulgence, flattery, and the im-

plicit submission of all about him; and the subject will have the vices of a slave, a certain meanness of soul, subtlety and craft, in the room of the frankness, intrepidity and self-respect, which must necessarily characterise such men as the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Before their invasion of Greece, the Persians were already far advanced in the fatal path of luxury: the sovereign dwelt, unseen by his subjects, in the midst of such splendour as the East only has ever been able to exhibit: the provinces of his vast empire were governed each one by a satrap, as absolute in his limited sphere as the great king himself; and the monarch, if displeased with his lieutenant, had often no other way left to put an end to his authority than by sending a trusty emissary to assassinate him.

CYRUS.

The founder of the vast extent of the Persian power, such as it was when it held the world in awe, was Cyrus: this prince became master, by inheritance from his mother, or by arms, of the kingdom of Media: he next threatened the Babylonian empire: his abilities in war were extraordinary: and alarmed for the consequences which seemed likely to ensue from his victories, Crœsus united himself with the king

of Babylon to repel him: irritated at an aggression which he conceived himself not to have provoked, Cyrus turned his arms from the Babylonian, and marched instantly against Lydia: he gained a great battle, and immediately pushing forward for Sardis, took Crœsus prisoner with all his treasures: Cyrus is said to have made an unmerciful use of his victory: he ordered a funeral pile to be erected, and Crœsus to be placed thereon for the purpose of being burned alive: the unhappy monarch had already ascended the stage of death, when he was heard to call three times with a mournful voice on the name of *Solon:* the conqueror, who with his courtiers was present to observe the melancholy spectacle, became curious to know the meaning of this exclamation: he caused Crœsus to be unbound and brought before him, and then demanded why he thus repeatedly called on the name of Solon: the wretched victim detailed in reply the conversation which had passed between him and that philosopher on human happiness; and added that he *was now too feelingly convinced of the justice of Solon's decision:* Cyrus, flushed as he was and intoxicated with victory, was struck with the tale: he gave Crœsus his life, and received him into the number of his friends.

The sixth year after the conquest of Lydia, was rendered memorable by the surrender of Babylon: Cyrus put an entire end to an em-

pire, which had lasted at the lowest computation more than two hundred years: the Grecian colonies of Asia were glad to make terms with his victorious lieutenants: and his dominions extended from the Ægean Sea to the Indus, and from the Euxine and the Caspian northward, to the Persian Gulph and the Indian Ocean.

CAMBYSES.

The posterity of Cyrus became extinct in Cambyses, his son: under that son's reign the kingdom of Egypt was subdued, and added to the Persian empire: upon his death seven principal lords became rivals for the crown: they at length agreed among themselves, that they would each repair to a certain spot on horseback at the rising of the sun, and that that lord whose horse should first by his neighing salute the orb of day, should be placed on the throne: the successful lot fell upon Darius* Hystaspes.

DARIUS HYSTASPES.

Darius was a prince of an active character, and formed various plans for the enlargement of the Persian dominions: in the beginning of

* The accent on the second syllable.

his reign Babylon revolted against him, and was only retaken after an obstinate siege by a singular stratagem: Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of Darius's court, cut off his nose, and his ears, and otherwise wounded himself in a dreadful manner, and in that condition presented himself to the Babylonians, affirming that he had suffered what they saw from the tyranny of the king of Persia, and intreating them to give him an opportunity of executing some deadly revenge: the Babylonians trusted Zopyrus: he was successful on their part in one or two skirmishes, but at length betrayed the city to the Persian: Darius however from that time was often heard to exclaim, that he *had rather have his faithful Zopyrus again undismembered and whole, than twenty Babylons.*

Darius after this engaged in an expedition against Scythia, and effected the conquest of India: in the former of these expeditions he was unsuccessful, and would have perished with all his army, had it not been for the critical interposition of Histiæus, tyrant of Miletus: the Scythians, who were a race of vigorous and untamed barbarians, tempted Darius to advance far into their country: his progress however was vain; he could not see an enemy: the country which afforded subsistence to the hardy Scythians, was wholly unequal to sustain the luxurious Persian: the barbarians intercepted his supplies: when Darius had

crossed the Danube in this expedition, he left the temporary bridge over which his army had passed, in the guardianship of the Ionians, or Grecian settlements in Asia: the Scythians sent an embassy to them, to intreat them to break down the bridge, and go home: *the invaded nation would deal so with Darius that he should no longer be in a condition to molest any one: this was the only opportunity the Ionians might have, to recover the independence of which Cyrus had deprived them:* Histiæus alone opposed this proposition; he brought over others to his opinion, and finally saved the Persian army: this, to say the least of it, was an extraordinary generosity, and ought to have been liberally remunerated.

Darius however was persuaded afterward to become jealous of Histiæus: he sent for him to the court at Susa, and under various pretences detained him: Histiæus found that he was in reality in no better condition than that of an honourable imprisonment: he desired rather to be the first man at Miletus, or at a little colony he had founded in Thrace, than a gaudy dependent in the train of the Great King: discovering no better way to escape, he entered into a correspondence with the Greeks of Ionia, and persuaded them to revolt against Darius: in one day the different cities by his contrivance expelled their tyrants, and set up the standard of independence.

Having embraced this measure, they next sent ambassadors to Sparta and Athens, to request their aid in a contest, that was the common cause of Greece: at Sparta they were denied; but the Athenians gave them twenty ships: with this reinforcement they proceeded for Sardis, the capital of the province, where Artaphernes, the brother of Darius, commanded, and burned it to the ground: the Athenians however proceeded no further; the revolt was extinguished; and Histiæus was nailed to the cross.

GREECE INVADED BY THE PERSIANS.

Darius, surrounded with prosperity and good fortune, felt exceedingly galled by the destruction of one of the most eminent towns of his dominions, and vowed revenge: it is said, that he ordered that one of the officers of his court should cry out to him every night as he sat at supper, *Sir, remember the Athenians!* He prepared an army of an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and gave the command to Datis, a nobleman of high rank, and Artaphernes, his own nephew: the policy of the Persian government at this time was, perpetually to add new kingdoms and provinces to their dominions; and thus policy and revenge concurred in prompting this memorable expedition.

Datis and Artaphernes conveyed their army by sea, and the first land on which they debarked was the island of Eubœa: this they speedily subdued: and crossing the strait which separated Eubœa from the continent of Greece, they encamped near Marathon, about ten miles from the city of Athens.

BATTLE OF MARATHON.

In this moment of imminent danger the Athenians dispatched an ambassador to Sparta, requiring aid: Sparta had now for two hundred years been regarded as the capital of Greece: but there was no concert among the Greeks for their common defence against this seemingly irresistible foe: Sparta gave only two thousand auxiliaries; and even these were forbidden to march, for some superstitious reason, till the full of the moon: Athens mustered ten thousand men; and the better to fill her slender ranks, she put arms into the hands of a considerable number of her slaves.

Athens was fortunate in her general, Miltiades*, who had been tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, but who, in consequence of the expedition of Darius through his country in his march against the Scythians, had been ex-

* The accent on the second syllable.

pelled from that lordship, and had retired to his native Athens: the Athenian army had in reality ten generals, equal in authority, and who each in turn possessed the command for a single day: they were conscious however of the superior ability of Miltiades, and agreed among themselves, from a generous love of their country, to resign the whole command into his hands.

This is the most interesting scene that occurs through the voluminous records of profane history: it was the contest between despotism and liberty, brought into a narrow compass, and deciding to a considerable degree upon the fortunes of all mankind: we have no account of a government more absolute than that of Persia: the Great King spent his whole life in all the wantonness and effeminacy of splendour: the world poured out its treasures at his feet: the natives of the Persian empire, with all its tributaries, never approached him but in attitudes of groveling humiliation: all was flattery, and fawning, and submission: he disposed of their lives and fortunes with a breath: he was the richest of the rich: the question was now to be tried, whether a set of plain and frugal men, the citizens, as he would call them, of a few insignificant republics, and whose principal merit was that they knew what was due to the nature of man, and all the great and astonishing things of which that nature is

capable, should check his career, and disdain his mandates.

Now was to be fought the battle, which was to decide whether Themistocles, and Epaminondas, and Socrates, and Plato, and Aristotle, and Pericles, and Demosthenes, and the great artists, Phidias, and Lysippus, and Apelles, such as we know them, were ever to exist; and whether the poems of Homer should perish, or be handed down to the admiration of latest posterity: it was a struggle between an ordinary luxurious nation, made drunk with prosperity, on the one hand; and whatever is most honourable in genius, intellect, and moral heroism, on the other.

The Platæans alone, of all the free cities of Greece, with a thousand men, shared with the Athenians the honour and dangers of the battle of Marathon: Miltiades drew up his forces in a plain, confined by hills on one side, and by the sea on the other, and so circumstanced as to render the excellent cavalry of the Persians useless: the Persians were particularly skilful in the use of the bow; Miltiades therefore commanded the Athenians at the moment of the onset, to throw away their missile weapons, and running down the hill upon which they were marshalled, to close immediately with the enemy: the victory was with the Greeks: the Persians were defeated with the loss of six thousand men, while of

the Athenians there fell only one hundred and ninety-two.

DEATH OF MILTIADES.

It is painful to relate, that soon after the battle the Athenian republic forgot what they owed to their illustrious general: the Persians made the best of their way back to Asia: the Grecian islands of the Ægean had felt themselves under the necessity of submitting to the powerful armament which Datis and Artaphernes had brought along with them, and the Athenians now fitted out a fleet to bring them back to their duty, and gave the command to Miltiades: the general landed in only one of the islands, where he was repulsed, and having received a dangerous wound, returned home with his ships: for this conduct he was accused before the assembly of the Athenian people; and, either jealous of the superior abilities of Miltiades, or unable to endure to be disappointed in any of their expectations, they condemned him in a fine which he was unable to pay: Miltiades soon after died of his wound in the public prison of Athens.

Darius, master of the most potent empire which at that time existed, was highly exasperated to find the flower of his armies defeated and driven into flight, by the citizens of

an insignificant republic: he resolved to take a powerful and an exemplary revenge; but in the midst of his preparations he was cut off by death: the successor of his throne and his purposes was Xerxes, his son, a young prince in the flower of his age, and full of pride and ambition.

SECOND PERISAN INVASION.

Ten years were spent by Darius and his son in the preliminaries of this famous expedition: and the army at the head of which Xerxes finally placed himself, was probably the most numerous the world ever saw: the effective forces were about 2,000,000 foot, and 100,000 horse; and the fleet, which consisted of 1200 ships of war, and 3000 transports, was manned with 540,000 sailors and mariners: the attendants upon the camp of every sort were not less numerous than the persons employed in actual service: so that when this vast machine was put in motion, it did not include a smaller number than 5,280,000 persons: Xerxes passed the winter which preceded this war at Sardis.

Being arrived at the Hellespont Xerxes ordered a mock fight at sea to be exhibited for his entertainment; and a throne being placed on an eminence that he might view the spectacle with the greater convenience, the king surveyed

from that spot the whole of his mighty preparations by sea and land: as he beheld the field, he is said suddenly to have burst into tears; and, being asked the reason, he replied that he could not refrain from weeping when he considered, that of all that immeasurable multitude there would not in a hundred years be one living soul remaining.

Xerxes commanded a bridge of boats to be thrown over the Hellespont, for the more convenient passing of his army: and a violent storm having arisen, which broke down the bridge, we are told that he ordered two pairs of chains to be thrown into the sea, and condemned the waves to receive three hundred lashes, while a public crier proclaimed, *Troublesome and unhappy element, thus does thy master chastise thee for the ineffective and senseless affront thou hast put upon him:* the bridge was then repaired upon a more judicious plan, and the army passed over from Asia into Europe.

Another extraordinary project was at this time conceived by the Persian: the doubling of the promontory of mount Athos is a very dangerous navigation, and in the imperfect state in which the maritime art existed among the ancients, was particularly formidable: Xerxes therefore imagined that no measure could more effectually tend to subjugate the peninsula of Greece, than the removing this obstacle, by

cutting a canal through the isthmus which joins Athos to the continent: a passage was accordingly opened wide enough to admit two galleys abreast; and Xerxes is said to have written a letter to the mountain, warning it *not to oppose its most impenetrable materials to his workmen, under penalty of having the whole removed, and tossed headlong into the sea.*

ARISTIDES* AND THEMISTOCLES†.

Athens had at this time two citizens, the noblest that any country ever boasted, Aristides and Themistocles; Aristides the most upright of mankind, and Themistocles the most consummate politician and statesman: from his earliest youth Themistocles was urged on with a generous ambition; and especially after the battle of Marathon he often complained that *the sight of the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep:* once at a private entertainment at which he was present, it is said that a musical instrument was handed from one to another, that each guest in turn might contribute to the general amusement; but when it came to Themistocles he thrust it disdainfully aside, saying, that *if each man should be good for something, it was true that for his part he*

* The accent on the third syllable. † On the second.

could not play on the psaltery, but he trusted that if need were, he should be found able of a small town to make a great city.

When Greece had defeated the armies of Darius in the plains of Marathon, the Greeks unanimously gave themselves up to the joy of having humbled the strength of the Great King: Themistocles alone saw the affair in a different light: he judged, that the power of Persia would be, not depressed, but irritated, by that event, and that a fiercer storm must be expected to follow: he resolved to make of his country a great naval power: he persuaded the Athenians to apply the produce of their mines, which they had been accustomed to divide among the citizens, to the building a fleet: he talked in the assembly of the people of the repeated affronts they had received from the island of Ægina, and how incumbent it was upon them to punish the aggressor: thus he adapted his discourse to his hearers: had he threatened them with king Darius and the Persians, his reasonings would have had no effect upon ordinary citizens, who see only the thing immediately before them.

When the march of Xerxes, and the number of his forces became known in Greece, an assembly of representatives from the different states was appointed to meet at Corinth; and the first proposition seriously debated among them was, whether a sound policy did not

require that, fortifying the isthmus, they should abandon the rest of Greece, and endeavour to defend the Peloponnesus: but Athens was the particular object of the Persian vengeance, and was now become of too great importance to be left out in any question of the general welfare: it was therefore at length resolved to take up the defence of the country on a more liberal scale.

It was at first determined to make the foremost stand against the Persian on the banks of the Peneus, near the mountains Ossa and Olympus: but this was found too hazardous: Xerxes might leave these mountains on his left, and crossing the Peneus nearer to its source, take the troops that guarded that pass in the rear, and entirely cut them off.

BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ.

The ridge of mountains, known by the name Œta, entirely divides Greece from east to west, from the Malian gulph to the bay of Ambracia, and seemed not wholly incompetent to stop the march of the Persians: the principal passage through this barrier to the east, which was not more than twenty-five feet wide, is called the Straits of Thermopylæ, and is shut in between the mountain and sea: this passage was seized by a body of Greeks, to the amount of four

thousand, under the command of Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta.

Xerxes had advanced thus far without obstacle, and he now heard with surprise that a handful of Greeks made a show as if they proposed to intercept his march: he waited at the opening of the mountain four days, to give them time to recover their senses; but in vain: he then sent a message to Leonidas, commanding him *to quit the post he had chosen, and deliver up his arms;* to which Leonidas with Spartan brevity replied, *Come and take them.*

Xerxes at length became convinced that nothing but force could remove this heroic band from its station: he believed however that a show of force would be sufficient: he ordered the Medes and Cissians to go and bring the defenders of the pass, with Leonidas, their chief, alive to his presence: the Medes and Cissians met with a very different reception from what their sovereign expected, and were driven back with disgrace: Xerxes could no longer trifle: there was a chosen band of ten thousand men, called the *Immortal Band,* the flower of the Persian army, which was now ordered on this perilous service: Xerxes directed a throne for himself to be placed in a situation from which he could view the whole combat: two successive days did the *Immortals* renew the assault: thrice, when he saw this boasted

troop give ground and retire before the obstinate valour of the Greeks, did Xerxes leap from his throne with passion and disappointment: the nature of the strait was such that only a very small portion of the five millions of the Persian army, could be brought into contest with its brave defenders.

Xerxes was now utterly at a loss what to do next, when an inhabitant of the country offered himself, and undertook to show the Persians a secret path up the mountains, by which they might proceed unmolested, obtain the higher ground, and attack the Greeks in the rear: Leonidas was soon aware of this fatal measure: the detachment which had been sent, now appeared on the hills, descending into the plain: the resolution of the Spartan king was speedily taken: he dismissed all the Greeks, except three hundred Lacedæmonians, whom he still retained at their post: an oracle had declared that either Sparta or her king must fall before the Persians: Leonidas made a short address to his followers, inviting them *cheerfully to sit down to their customary dinner, for they should sup to night with Pluto*: the Spartans answered their commander with a general shout: the Persians advanced against them from their camp: the engagement had not been long begun, before the detachment from the mountains attacked the Greeks in the rear: they fought unshrinkingly: not one man threw down his

arms, or asked for quarter: the whole three hundred fell in battle: twenty thousand Persians were the price of the dear-bought victory: this engagement is the most memorable example in the history of the world, of men admitting no alternative between liberty and death: the heart of the Persians from this hour was dead within them.

ATHENS ABANDONED.

We have seen the wise precautions employed by Themistocles to render the Athenians a maritime power: previously to the invasion of Xerxes they had built a hundred ships: during the course of the events now passing they added a hundred more: thus the Athenian ships formed two thirds of the Grecian fleet: it became a question who was to be commander of the united squadron: it seemed natural that it should be an Athenian, and in that case the lot would without doubt have fallen upon Themistocles: but the legislation of Lycurgus had hitherto rendered Sparta the first state of Greece, and the allies inclined to confer the command upon Eurybiades, a Spartan: Themistocles with true magnanimity was the first to withdraw his pretensions, and to persuade his countrymen to yield this important point.

Till the battle of Thermopylæ, the Grecian

fleet had continued on the coast, and supported the army: that battle decided the fate of Greece north of the isthmus of Corinth, and the fleet immediately withdrew to the neighbourhood of Athens: Themistocles was prepared for this event: an oracle had been obtained from the temple at Delphi, directing the Athenians, *if they desired to preserve the independence of their state, that they must trust only to their wooden walls:* Themistocles was the person who expounded to them the meaning of the oracle, and assured them that it could signify nothing but the fleet: the Athenians, swayed by the influence of this extraordinary man, came to the generous resolution of abandoning their city to the fury of their conqueror, and of trusting to the Gods for enabling them by force of their warlike achievements, to expel the invader, and recover the soil of their beloved country.

RECALL OF ARISTIDES.

Another measure was carried by the virtuous efforts of Themistocles at the same time: the most deserving citizen of Athens except himself, was Aristides: these two great men had always been of opposite parties; Aristides was at the head of the nobility, and Themistocles, who was of inferior birth, was of the party of the people: the Athenians had an institution,

which could never have been thought of but in a republic, called the *ostracism:* jealous of their independence, and fearing the consequences of the ascendancy, sometimes even of the superior virtue, of an individual, the citizens met at certain periods to fix upon some member of the state, who, without a crime, and merely lest he should become too formidable to the rest, should be sent into banishment for ten years.

Aristides a short time before the Persian war had suffered the sentence of the ostracism, probably by the contrivance of Themistocles: these two men were not only of opposite parties, but also of dissimilar manners: Themistocles was a lover of fame, of glory, and his country, but he disdained to pursue these objects by ordinary rules; and provided he could achieve a truly great purpose, he was not overdelicate in the choice of his means: Aristides on the contrary was a man of rigid principles, and had formed himself on the model of Lycurgus, whom of all public characters he most admired: an anecdote is related on this occasion which strikingly illustrates his temper and reputation: the mode of determining the ostracism, was for each citizen to write the name of some individual on a shell: the shells were then collected, and the man whose name upon examination oftenest occurred, had the sentence of banishment pronounced against him;

an Athenian rustic came up to this virtuous noble without knowing him: he was unable to write; and putting his shell into the other's hand, he desired him to inscribe upon it the name of *Aristides: And what is your objection to Aristides?* said the hero: *has he ever done you wrong? I do not even know him,* replied the peasant: *but I am mortally offended by hearing one of my fellow-citizens made the perpetual subject of encomium to the rest: I find nobody spoken of but Aristides the Just:* the hero, without saying another word, took the shell, and did as he was desired: a majority of Athenian citizens were of the same mind, and Aristides went into banishment.

Themistocles had probably been active in procuring this measure: but that was in a time of peace: he felt that at this moment Athens stood in need of the assistance of every able and virtuous citizen: and looking with disdain on all personal motives, when the welfare of his country demanded it, the last measure he proposed previously to the abandonment of his native town, was the recal of Aristides.

BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

Xerxes now advanced through Greece with his millions, wasting and destroying every thing before him, burning the cities and the temples,

and converting this beautiful country into a desert: last of all, came the flames of Athens; and the Athenian fleet was near enough, for her citizens to become witnesses of the barbarous spectacle.

The Greeks of Peloponnesus were sufficiently terrified at the progress of the conqueror, and a proposal was now in agitation, that the fleet should abandon its situation, and withdraw under the walls of Corinth: Themistocles believed that such a proceeding would be the signal for a general desertion: he argued with fervour upon a subject which seemed to involve the preservation of Greece: Eurybiades, irritated at what he thought the undue warmth of an inferior, raised against him a wand he held in his hand, and bade him *be silent:* Themistocles looked up with a firm countenance in the face of his commander: *Strike,* said he; *but hear.*

Themistocles had recourse to a still more extraordinary expedient: he sent false intelligence to the Persian: he informed Xerxes of what was in agitation: he intimated, that now was the time to cut off the Grecian fleet, by surrounding them in their present station: he willingly ran the risk of being accounted a traitor, that by his seeming treason he might preserve his country.

Xerxes gave into the snare which Themistocles had prepared for him: the measure pro-

posed by Eurybiades and the more timid commanders, was no longer possible: Aristides, who had just heard of the decree which recalled him from banishment, passed at the peril of his life in a small vessel through the Persian fleet, and brought to Themistocles the intelligence that the Greeks were already surrounded: here these two great men for the first time communicated to each other their ideas respecting the present state of public affairs.

Xerxes now, as on the former occasion at Thermopylæ, had a throne erected for him on an eminence, that he might see from the land the sea-fight of Salamis: the millions of the Persian army were drawn up on the shore, but could afford no assistance to their navy: the victory was decisive: in the narrow strait between the shore and the island of Salamis, the numbers of the Persians were of no use, and they only incumbered each other: the sea itself became scarcely visible, from the quantity of wrecks and floating bodies of the dead which covered it: the next morning the Greeks expected to renew the engagement; but the enemy was no longer in sight: an order had been given on the very night of the battle, that they should make the best of their way for the Hellespont.

XERXES RETURNS HOME.

There was no circumstance relative to the Persian councils more difficult, than the providing subsistence for so vast an army: this had hitherto in a great measure been done by means of the fleet and the transports: that resource in consequence of the battle of Salamis was now cut off, or rendered precarious: Xerxes had come as upon a holiday expedition, with all his court and as many attendants as he could bring with him: he had thought only of a triumphal entry into Greece, and did not dream of any opposition: the ambition which aimed at a show and a magnificent exhibition was now at an end: he left the real struggle of war to three hundred thousand chosen men of the Persian army, and hastened back to his capital with the rest of his countless multitude: Themistocles is said to have sent him another secret message to hasten his return, intimating that the Greeks had conceived the plan of breaking down the bridge of boats at the Hellespont: the elements however had done that to their hand: Xerxes was more impatient to put an end to his excursion into Europe, than he had ever been to begin it: and finding no other vessel ready to convey him, we are told that he embarked himself in a cockboat; and this child of pride, to whose wants a few months

ago the sea and the land could not suffice, might be seen, without an army, and without attendants, passing over the straits obscurely like the humblest individual.

BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

In the ensuing campaign Pausanias commanded for the Spartans, and Aristides for Athens: the united forces of the Greeks amounted to 150,000: Mardonius, the Persian general, chose the plains of Bœotia for the scene of action, being the best adapted to his forces, the great strength of which consisted in cavalry; but the Greeks would advance no farther than the foot of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Platæa to meet him: Mardonius, as the invader, was obliged to bring the affair to a speedy issue, and to fight the enemy on his own ground; and the battle of Platæa terminated so decisively against the Persians, that only one body of 40,000 men, nnder the command of Artabasus, was fortunate enough to reach again their own country.

BATTLE OF MYCALE.

The measures which Themistocles had employed for rendering the Athenians a maritime

state, were of the most memorable consequence in the history of Greece: a naval battle was fought, off the promontory of Mycale near Ephesus, on the same day with that of the battle of Platæa; and the consequence of both was, not merely that the Persians never after attempted the invasion of Greece, but that from this time no Persian ship ever ventured to appear in the Grecian seas, and that the Greek cities of Asia Minor were gradually restored to that state of freedom, of which they had been deprived by the conquests of Cyrus.

THE WALLS OF ATHENS.

The Persian armies were no sooner retired, than it became urgent upon the Athenians, who had so gallantly and gloriously given up their city to the flames rather than compromise the liberties of Greece, to rebuild their habitations, and restore Athens to the state in which it had been previously to the arrival of the devouring invader: upon this occasion the Spartans discovered an unworthy jealousy: they had been hitherto beyond dispute the presiding state of Greece: but the events of the Persian war had enabled the republic of Athens at least to rival, if not to overstep, their greatness: Themistocles was the great leader to direct the restoration of Athens: and he

was particularly careful to surround the city with strong walls, that should render it a secure retreat and defence to its inhabitants: the work was scarcely begun, when an embassy arrived from Lacedæmon, to remonstrate against the fortification, and to represent that any strong-hold erected beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, would, by the danger to which it was exposed of falling into the hands of the common enemy, have the worst effects on the interests of Greece: this embassy produced great alarm at Athens; and there was reason to apprehend that Sparta and her allies, taking advantage of the defenceless state of the city, might march an army, and inforce by dint of war the sentiment, to which they had at first given the form of an expostulation merely: Themistocles procured himself with two other deputies to be sent to explain the business to the Lacedæmonians: when arrived, he contrived a thousand expedients to defer the opening his commission: meanwhile the Athenians worked day and night to complete their fortifications: the very women, the old men and children did every thing in their power to assist the work: at length Themistocles found himself at the end of his inventions, when he received privately a message from Athens, to say that the city was now in a state sufficient for defence: he then threw off his disguise, and plainly told the Lacedæmonian government,

that the Athenians ought to be considered by them as a people capable of judging both what their own interest and what the common cause required; that they had sufficiently shown in the Persian war that the sentiments which guided them were public and generous; that in erecting the fortifications complained of they had done no more than what was their right, and that no other state could feel displeasure at so necessary a measure, without being prompted by motives which the whole world would pronounce to be selfish and inglorious.

ADVERSITIES OF THEMISTOCLES.

Notwithstanding these eminent services, the ascendancy of the mighty mind of Themistocles did not fail to excite the apprehensions of his fellow-citizens: he did not bear his honours with the unoffending modesty and simplicity that Aristides had done: and soon after this time he experienced the same reverse that his rival had suffered, and by the decision of the ostracism was sent into banishment.

The adversity of Themistocles did not end here: though he had done more than any other man ever did, for the glory and permanent elevation of his country, and though he devoted his life to this purpose, he was accused by a party in opposition to him, of betraying

it: Pausanias, the Spartan commander at the battle of Platæa, was weak enough to be seduced by the luxury of Persia, which he contrasted with the severe simplicity of the Spartan living, and entered into a traitorous correspondence with the enemy: Themistocles was wickedly charged with participating in Pausanias's treason: he saw that defence would be vain, and that his enemies would be contented with nothing less than his life: this wonderful man, who had been the greatest instrument of preserving Greece from the dangers that menaced it, was now reduced to the state of a fugitive: an unrelenting malice pursued him from country to country, and he was at last obliged to accept the protection of the king of Persia, in whose dominions shortly after he died.

DEATH OF ARISTIDES.

Aristides himself did not long survive the glorious termination of the Persian invasion: the days of his life were spent in an unaffected course of poverty, integrity, and a love of the public good: when he was no longer capable of great active services, he spent his time in endeavouring to form the minds of certain young men of Athens so that they might become useful servants of their country, and Cimon,

the son of Miltiades, considered it as the boast of his life that he had been the pupil of the old age of Aristides: there is an anecdote related concerning Aristides, which may strikingly serve to illustrate his character: Callias, a rich man of Athens, and his relation, was brought upon some accusation to answer for himself before the people; and his accuser, to aggravate the odium against him, among other things alleged that it was a shame, that he should suffer so worthy a man as Aristides, his kinsman, with his family and children, to pass their lives in poverty, while he rolled in abundance: in answer to this charge, Callias produced Aristides as a witness, by whom it was confessed, that Callias had repeatedly pressed him to accept large sums of money, but had as constantly been refused.

ADMINISTRATION OF CIMON.

After the deaths of Themistocles and Aristides, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, became the most distinguished person in the affairs of Athens: his principles were those of Aristides: but his conduct in many respects was exceedingly different: his patrimony was ruined by the fine which the people of Athens had imposed on his father; and he is even said to have been for some time shut up in prison after

the death of Miltiades, on account of his incapacity to discharge the claim thus created against him: yet in a few years he grew extremely wealthy: and the use he made of this wealth was to purchase by its means, united with the effect of his talents and his public services, the favour of the people of Athens: he maintained in his own house an expensive establishment, and kept an open table for the entertainment of his adherents: he extended his benefactions liberally to such as were in need: he built porticoes to shelter his fellow-citizens from the sun and the rain, and planted groves for their retreat and amusement on days of festival.

To understand the history of Greece we must recollect the full extent of that appellation: it not only embraced (as has already been mentioned) eight sovereign and independent states within the circuit of the Peloponnesus, and eight without, but it further comprehended the numerous and fertile islands of the Ægean Sea, and several in the Ionian, the whole western coast of Asia Minor, and the eastern division of Italy, together with various settlements which had been made in Sicily and Thrace: at the period at which we have arrived, Sparta and Athens were its two presiding powers, and the elevation of each depended upon the number and importance of its tributaries, or, as they called them, its allies,

in the different quarters of Greece: each ally contributed an annual sum, and was liable to be called upon for its proportion of soldiers or ships, for the support and protection of the common cause: whenever a war therefore should break out between Sparta and Athens, there were two ways in which it might be prosecuted, either by striking at once at these cities themselves, the heads of the respective confederacies, or by attacking one after another the allies of each, and thus endeavouring to reduce the superior state to a condition of humiliation and nakedness.

Cimon proceeded in the general plan of policy commenced by Themistocles: by the events of the Persian war, and the naval victories which had been obtained almost entirely by the fleets of Athens, a new face was given to the affairs of Greece: up to that period the institutions of Lycurgus had secured to Sparta the undisputed superiority among the Grecian states: a new power now arose, capable of rivalling, and in many instances of controling this supremacy: the policy of Athens obviously was to cultivate her naval prosperity: Greece in its most confined sense, is almost every where surrounded by the Mediterranean, and is accessible in nearly every part by a navy: the power therefore which possessed, as Athens was in the direct road to do, the naval superiority, must to a great degree have the

command of the whole country: Cimon accordingly employed his diligence principally in improving the fleets of his country, and extending its authority: his good fortune has been particularly celebrated in the extraordinary circumstance of his gaining two victories, one by land, and one by sea, in the same day, over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon in Asia Minor.

But, though Cimon for the most part conducted the public affairs upon such principles as might best promote the ascendancy of Athens, yet, bred as he was in the school of Aristides, he showed on some occasions a strong partiality for the laws and the people of Sparta: their merits indeed were such as it was impossible for a man of an elevated mind not to regard with admiration: in some instances Cimon betrayed this predilection in a manner that bore a certain air of childishness, as when he gave to his eldest son the name of Lacedæmonius: surely Cimon could not be insensible that his native city possessed as high pretensions to the esteem and reverence of mankind, as her rival state: if Lacedæmon excelled in fortitude, frugality, self-denial, and the sterner virtues, Athens was the country of refinement and literature, to which Lacedæmon could advance no pretensions.

In some instances however the predilection which Cimon felt for the Spartans led him to a

generous line of conduct, where a vulgar mind would have adopted one directly the reverse: Sparta was overthrown by an earthquake: the Helots, descended from some of the most heroic states of Greece, took advantage of this circumstance, and endeavoured to recover their independence, and take vengeance on their former oppressors: Cimon prevailed on his countrymen to send a body of troops under his command to reinforce the Lacedæmonians in their adversity: this liberal conduct of Cimon was not attended with the success it deserved: the rigid Spartans put repeated affronts on their Athenian allies, too great for their quick-conceiving spirits to endure: the state of Athens, irritated at this ingratitude, came to a vote, renouncing the friendship of Lacedæmon for ever: and Cimon himself soon after felt the weight of their resentment, being in his turn subjected to the sentence of the ostracism.

ADMINISTRATION OF PERICLES*.

The statesman who succeeded to Cimon in the office of guiding the affairs of Athens, was Pericles: a name surrounded with the rays of never-fading glory certainly much beyond that of all the conquerors that ever existed: *the Age*

* The accent on the first syllable.

of Pericles is the name of that age in which Athens stood most resplendent, an age adorned with a constellation of all that is wonderful in architecture, in sculpture, in painting, in philosophy, and in the poetic art: the soil was no doubt already prepared for bringing forth this vast crop of intellect and genius, but the whole was in an eminent degree aided by the qualities and dispositions of Pericles: he was one of the greatest and most pathetic orators that ever existed, natural, graceful, popular, and at the same time of the purest and most unadulterated taste in literature and the arts: he had had for the instructor of his youth, Anaxagoras, the first of the heathen philosophers who clearly taught the doctrine of one Almighty mind arranging, sustaining and conducting the vast machine of the universe: he was the bosom-friend of Phidias, the first of sculptors, insomuch that when his political adversaries desired to wound him in the severest point, they began with an accusation against Phidias: it is to Pericles that we are principally indebted for those magnificent temples and other buildings, the ruins of which still render Athens the admiration of the world: lastly, his administration was so full of mildness and benignity, that it is said, while his friends stood round his death-bed, counting up his victories and the honours he had obtained, imagining him to be in a state of insensibility, suddenly the dying

statesman lifted up his head, and said, *In enumerating the things which may hereafter do credit to my memory, I wonder that you omit what I regard as the chief,—that no Athenian citizen ever put on mourning, in consequence of any thing done by me in my public character.*

What relates to the ancient philosophers, forms the most essential member, the kernel, the clue to the history of Greece. Never were independence of thought and action combined with intellectual refinement in so perfect a degree, as among this people. Man, as he exhibits himself in modern Europe, is an imitative animal. In Greece what a man thought, he dared to speak, and dared to act: and he that dares not speak and act whatever his mind prompts him, will have neither the courage nor the energy to think like a free-born creature of the supreme and self-existent intelligence. For a thought or a system of action to be daring, was no disrecommendation of it in Greece; on the contrary, singularity was rather a motive for adopting it. The Greeks however had a principle which served them to excellent purpose as a check upon the love of singularity: they desired to be admired and approved. The Greek philosophers made great sacrifices in point of simplicity of living, voluntary poverty, and self-denial; and they were not insensible to the reward of these sacrifices, in the applauses of those who witnessed them. In two

ways therefore the history of the ancient philosophers is the clue to the history of Greece: first, it leads us to conceive what were the people in the midst of whom such men were bred; and secondly, what were the people in the eyes of whom such men appeared worthy objects of the highest admiration, associated with nobles, and courted with assiduity and devotedness by kings.

Plutarch observes that some of the most eminent philosophers never published any thing: what did they then? Did they pass their lives in ostentatious idleness? No. They reasoned within themselves of the nature of things,

> of good and evil, will and fate,
> Passion and apathy, and glory, and shame:

they enquired how communities ought to be governed, and the manners of states and nations were to be amended and improved: they instructed others, and were anxious that the discoveries they made, and the wisdom they acquired, should thus be perpetuated to succeeding generations: and they were earnest to illustrate in their lives the doctrines they taught, and to display an example of independence of mind, a contempt of whatever has an imaginary and nominal value only, and an honourable watchfulness for the welfare of others.

One of the benefits we may reap from the contemplation of the ancient philosophers is,

not absurdly to make the manners of our own age and country the standard for all others: modern Europeans are imitative animals: a thoughtless being will laugh at the stranger he meets, because his complexion is of a different hue, or his clothes of another fashion from those of his own countrymen; because he wears a long beard, or is adorned with a multitude of beads: we must learn to rise above these ignorant prejudices, and consider that the customs and opinions of each distinct people have grown out of a thousand accidental circumstances, and that those of other races of men have often as much reason in their favour as our own, often perhaps much more.

Pericles in his public administration trod for the most part in the steps of Cimon: he was impressed with no blind idolatry for the institutions of Sparta; but he did not venture to engage in direct hostilities against her: he forwarded chiefly the naval career of the Athenians, and sought to make the state prosperous and rich: in these measures he was secure of success; and it was necessary for Pericles to consult the humour of the wayward democracy: they would not long have supported him in a war against Lacedæmon, whose money was of iron, and in contention with whom, if he acquired victories, there was at least no possibility that he should bring home spoils.

There was also another consideration that

had great weight in the choice that was made: it was easy to foresee that Athens or Sparta must one day be the sole empress of Greece; but there were few men so hardy as to devote themselves to forwarding that disastrous day: they were the two great ornaments of the period of history in which they subsisted, Sparta as memorable for the firmer and severer virtues, as Athens for intellect, art, taste, and philosophy: their perfect opposition of character seemed to fit each to show the other to the greatest advantage: it was matter of religion with the Greeks not to touch with the hand of a destroyer these two sanctuaries of excellence: it was the standing phraseology of those days, that *Sparta and Athens were the eyes of Greece;* where was the sacrilegious hand that would dare to assail those delightful organs, and to deprive Greece of all her symmetry and half her beauty? their feeling was in consonance with the solemn language of Scripture: *It cannot be but that this offence should come; but woe to the hand by which it comes!*

DEGENERACY OF THE ATHENIANS.

It was the fate of Athens that corruption and extensive power came in together: it was not here as in Rome, which exhibited successive

generations of men, who piqued themselves on their honourable poverty and republican plainness: the pure and undecorated virtues of Aristides found no successor in the leaders of the Athenian state: Cimon had possessed great wealth, and had expended its produce in measures for gaining the good will of the Athenians: he trusted to these things, and not to his virtues only, for the continuance of their favour.

Pericles, who succeeded him, did not possess the princely fortune of Cimon: he had therefore no means of corrupting the citizens of Athens, but with their own money, the revenues of the state, and the contributions of their allies; but these, by means of the flattering and self-indulgent votes he proposed in the assembly of the people, he employed without scruple: by his instigation they voted themselves an addition of pay for the days in which, according to the constitution of the state, they attended in the forum, to adjudge controversies, or debate on public affairs: they increased the number and splendour of the religious festivals; while they regaled on the carcasses of the victims offered in sacrifice every holiday, as they subsisted, on days appropriated for public business, on the recompense awarded for their attendance: beside all this, great sums from the treasury were expended on public shows, and in the exhibition of the admirable plays of Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, to which

every free citizen was admitted *gratis:* the established revenues of the state were unequal to support the splendour of the administration of Pericles; and therefore new imposts were levied on the allies, the produce of which was consumed in the purchase of new amusements and luxuries for the pampered citizens of Athens: the allies were offended, when they saw their contributions applied to purposes which had no connection with the common welfare; while at the same time the Athenians perpetually wandered farther from the path of pure virtue and spirit-stirring integrity: these were the vices of the administration of Pericles: we have already spoken of his merits: many men in many ages have imitated his errors; no man ever raised his country to an eminence of the same kind, and the lustre and fame of which are so imperishable, as he did.

The Athenians were corrupted; but their corruption was of a peculiar sort: it had nothing of the grossness, which in modern times for the most part, and most of all in the history of Rome, accompanies a deviation from the first simpleness of integrity: the Athenians were fond of indulgence; but their indulgences were not those of low sensuality: taste and elegance of a refined sort went hand in hand with their luxury: it had more in it of vanity and self-complacence than of brutality: and the very delight and pride they took in contemplating

the most extraordinary effusions of human genius, preserved them from the ordinary effects of degeneracy: the Athenians were still capable of appreciating and admiring what was best: they scarcely ever attached themselves but to persons or things endowed with some superior excellence; though they were not always sufficiently firm in their attachment: in the midst of their weakness, they have something that irresistibly wins on our affections, and forces us less to blame, than to pity their mistakes: a truly enlightened patriot would say, *Let the country I love be endowed with the integrity and generous virtue of the greatest of the Romans; but if it must have considerable defects blended with its merits, let its character resemble the character of the Athenians!*

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

It was the policy of Pericles to avoid a breach between his state and that of Lacedæmon: all however that could be done was to defer that awful crisis, which could not be wholly averted: about the twentieth year of his administration broke out that war, commonly called the Peloponnesian war, which was destined not to conclude but with the utter humiliation of one of these two illustrious states, the great ornaments of the world: we have seen

the selfish and oppressive policy of Athens towards her inferior states; how she aggravated their contributions, not merely for objects of a public nature, but also for her own private splendour and gratification: extortion is the fruitful parent of tyranny in a thousand forms: the Athenians by these means made themselves enemies on every side: and the parties who felt aggrieved, united to carry their complaints to Lacedæmon: Lacedæmon had long been the metropolitan state of Greece: she had always marked with a suspicious eye the rising greatness of Athens: her generosity stimulated her to aid the oppressed; and this line of conduct came recommended to her in the present instance by her vanity, and by the dictates of a self-interested prudence: she sent an embassy to Athens, not to expostulate with the state, not to call upon them, as by treaty she was authorised to do, to refer any differences that might arise, to a specified mode of discussion and arbitration, but to require the Athenians to do certain things, which, as the Spartans said, justice and the general interest demanded: Athens became indignant at being thus addressed in the language of command; and Pericles himself, who had earnestly deprecated the occurrence of such a war, was induced by the firmness and magnanimity of his spirit, to recommend it under the present circumstances to his fellow-citizens.

The Peloponnesian war is not marked with those dazzling and brilliant events, which unfortunately for the happiness of mankind, so strongly tend to delude us while we contemplate the history of nations and states, and which render conquerors the favourites of a thousand readers: the first year of the war records nothing but scenes of mutual devastation: the rural Athenians were obliged to retire from their fields, and betake themselves to refuge within the fortifications and long walls, joining the port of Athens to their native city, which the precaution of Themistocles and Cimon had provided: from this secure retreat they were compelled to behold the Spartans reaping the harvests they had sowed, and destroying what they were unable to carry off: on the other hand, Athens by her fleets was enabled not merely to import corn sufficient to supply the waste, but also to carry similar desolation round the shores of Peloponnesus: by the end of the year it was obvious that the Athenians had rather the advantage in the first campaign.

Pericles was at this time the soul of his native country: by his firmness he inspired steadiness and resolution into the fickle democracy: the oration he spoke in honour of the citizens who had fallen in battle in the first year of the war, is still to be seen as recorded by Thucydides the historian, and is universally admitted

to yield to nothing which all the eloquence and talents of man in succeeding ages have produced.

The evils of war in the second year were aggravated by a calamity, which no human prudence had hitherto been able to provide against or assuage: this is well known by the name of the Plague of Athens: no desolation can be more tremendous than that of a city under the visitation of such an evil, because of its protracted and uncertain duration: each day enhances the general sufferings: no one can foresee when the mischief will stop, and what numbers will be swallowed up by it: those that are in health dare not assist their dying friends; and the bodies of those who have perished lie unburied in heaps in the streets: all ties of kindred, all sentiments of humanity, all principles of justice, are at an end: nothing is to be seen but sadness, despair, ferocity, and an almost general alienation of man from his kind.

This accumulation of misfortunes broke the spirit of the citizens of Athens: they applied for peace to the Lacedæmonians, and were rejected: the Athenians in this particular bore no resemblance to the Romans, with whom it was a principle never to conclude a peace which they did not themselves dictate: the anger of the Athenians, at a loss for an object, fell upon Pericles: it seemed as if he were

somehow in fault, or might have prevented the evils under which they sunk: they took from him his command, and imposed on him a considerable fine.

Very different was the aspect of this great man from that of his faint-hearted and timorous fellow-citizens: Pericles had lost in the pestilence almost the whole of his family, several of his nearest relations, and some of those friends upon whose assistance he was accustomed principally to rely in the administration of public affairs: yet his courage did not abate: he now found support in that philosophy, the study and practice of which it had been the business of his life to cultivate: he never appeared so great and admirable as in the midst of this adversity: the Athenians had scarcely framed their decree against him, before they repented of what they had done: they saw that there was no one qualified to conduct their affairs, and support the character of the state, like Pericles: with loud voices they called on him to mount the rostrum, and unfold to them what it best became them to do in their present critical situation; and the assembly concluded with a unanimous vote, restoring to Pericles the command of the army, and all the authorities and prerogatives he had at any time enjoyed: a very short time after he had received this brilliant testimony from his countrymen, Pericles was seized with the plague, and finally

died of a lingering disease which the plague left behind it.

NICIAS AND CLEON.

The death of Pericles was a great disadvantage to the Athenians in the conduct of their public affairs: there were now no such men as Themistocles, and Aristides, and Cimon, and lastly Pericles himself, who by their transcendant abilities as statesmen had imparted so much lustre to the history of their country: the conduct of the national councils fell into inferior hands: there were in Athens, as in all republics, two parties, the party of the nobles, and the party of the people: at the head of the former was Nicias: he was a man of a good understanding and a refined taste: his temper was humane, and his dispositions virtuous: his love of his country was superior to his love of his party: but he wanted that elevated comprehension and immoveable firmness, which were requisite at this time for the successful administration of the state.

In opposition to Nicias, the party of the people was headed by Cleon: this man was a person of low birth, but of invincible impudence: his eloquence (for a leader in Athens must always be an orator) consisted of coarse language and unworthy insinuations against those

he opposed: he found in himself no seeds of disinterestedness and integrity, and he thought all other public men were as bad as he: his weapon of offence was scurrility: his main engine for securing his followers was assurance and bragging, and the boldly asserting that he could accomplish, though the least qualified of all men for the conduct of an expedition or an enterprise, that in which others failed.

SURRENDER OF MITYLENE.

The war between Athens and Sparta principally consisted in the attacks made by each on the allies of the other: in proportion as these could be conquered, or in any way alienated, the superior state to which they belonged would be reduced to the greatest adversity: the island of Lesbos was one of the most important dependencies of Athens: at this time the city of Mitylene, its most considerable town, declared for Sparta: the consequence was a siege by the Athenians: the place was at length reduced to such extremities, that the citizens were obliged to surrender, without any other condition in their favour, than that nothing should be determined to their disadvantage till their cause had been heard before the assembly of the Athenian people.

The deputies of Mitylene were accordingly produced in the forum of Athens: they pleaded their deep repentance of the infidelity they had committed against the superior state: they observed to the assembly, *You have the power in your hands:* and they expressed their *assurance that a nation so refined, so generous and humane, would never use that power barbarously:* Cleon spoke on the other side: he said *an example was necessary to fix the allies of the Athenians in a system of loyalty and good faith:* he moved therefore that every man in Mitylene should be put to the sword, and the women and children sold for slaves: such an idea could never have come into the head but of such a man as Cleon.

Surprising as it may seem, the motion of Cleon was adopted: a popular assembly, who feel that they have no superior, and have all power in their hands, are easily excited to violence: they say, *These men were our subjects, and their rebellion ought never to be forgiven:* simple private individuals will always be found excessively delighted with the idea, *These men are our subjects;* and great is the misfortune of a popular assembly when they fall under the guidance of so merciless and profligate a leader as Cleon: the decree was passed, and a galley was ordered to sail with directions for its being executed.

The Athenians we see were capable of being worked up into a sudden and sanguinary rage:

but it was not for nothing that they were styled the most refined and polished people in the world: when night came, and every man was retired to his home, they then began to imagine the cruelties they had decreed, and the shrieks of the unhappy sufferers seemed to sound in their ears: Nicias, and the leaders of a better sort, saw their opportunity, and went from house to house, urging the dictates of humanity: the deputies of Mitylene caught the hint, and called on the magistrates to summon a second assembly for the following day, which might revise the decree of the day before: in this assembly humanity prevailed, and the decree was revoked.

The business was now to dispatch a second galley so quickly, as to give the Mitylenians the benefit of the revocation: the first galley had already the start by twenty-four hours: but the rowers of the second were allowed no relaxation: they ate as they sat at their oars: one half the crew rested, while the other half pressed forward their expedition: the first galley, as being the bearer of evil tidings, did not make such haste: it however arrived before the other: the Mitylenians were already assembled, the decree was read, and the inhabitants filled with despair; when the second galley appeared, and brought the joyful news that the sentence was reversed.

A similar tragedy occurred shortly after in

the siege of Platæa, by the Lacedæmonians: we less wonder at their severity, than at the rigour of the elegant and liberal Athenians: Platæa held out to the last extremity: the besieged were finally reduced to two hundred fighting men: and these two hundred were put to the sword, when the siege was over, by the conqueror.

AFFAIR OF SPHACTERIA.

A transaction shortly after arose, upon a very narrow scale, but of no small importance in the history of Greece: an Athenian general* accidentally landed first, and was afterwards detained by stress of weather, among the ruins of Pylos, formerly the royal seat of the venerable Nestor: the whole of this coast was now desolate, in consequence of the event of the Messenian war: his soldiers, partly in the spirit of amusement, began to erect a fort: the neighbouring people at first laughed at their trifling industry; but the Lacedæmonians soon began to think that the establishment of a place of defence in their own proper dominion, by an enemy who was at all times master of

* The name of this man was Demosthenes: I have omitted it in the text, that I might not risk his being confounded by the youthful reader, with Demosthenes, the great Athenian orator, to be spoken of hereafter.

the sea, was no insignificant affair: they withdrew their army from Attica, and their fleet from Corcyra, where it had been previously stationed, and proceeded to besiege this fort by sea and land.

Pylos is immediately on the sea-shore on the south west of Peloponnesus, and had the advantage of an excellent harbour, which was defended from the inroad of the waves by a narrow island two miles long, called Sphacteria, with a small entrance into the bay to the north, and one somewhat larger at the south end: the Lacedæmonians took possession of this island: the Athenian forces were in consequence shut in on all sides, and placed in a situation of great danger.

Relief in the mean time was at hand: a numerous and well-appointed fleet from Athens made its appearance off the coast: a naval battle ensued between the vessels of the two states, and the Athenians came off conquerors: the immediate consequence was, that the Spartans on the island of Sphacteria were left without protection, and driven to as great difficulties as the Athenians at Pylos had been just before: the forces left in the island amounted to four hundred and twenty Spartans, with their attendant Helots.

The citizens of Sparta were always few in number: but these four hundred and twenty happened to be of the first families in the state:

the government dispatched commissioners to ascertain the real condition of the garrison, and it was discovered that under the circumstances there was no way in which they could be brought off by stratagem or force: they must in the course of events become prisoners in the hands of the Athenians: Sparta valued money at nothing, and made little account of territory, but fixed her whole regard on men, particularly the men who were her own citizens: the situation of this small band changed at once the whole policy of the republic: she immediately resolved to apply for peace, as the only means of safely and honourably restoring them to their native home.

Athens had now that precious occasion offered to her, which, according to the proverb, if once neglected, can never be retrieved: she could dictate her own terms, the severest which a generous nation can offer to a fallen enemy: she had the opportunity of acquiring the affection and gratitude of her rival state, and putting an end at once to the calamities which had for seven years desolated Greece: unhappily the wretched Cleon had still the ascendancy in the assembly of the Athenian people: his counsels were at all times barbarous and brutal: he persuaded his fellow-citizens to reject the overture, and never to relax their efforts till the Sphacterian band were brought prisoners to Athens.

The Athenians soon saw reason to repent their obstinacy: famine was the evil principally to be feared for this handful of beleaguered Spartans: but persevering exertion does much, and though many of the attempts clandestinely to supply them with provisions failed, many also succeeded: meanwhile the season was insensibly slipping away: this would oblige the Athenian fleet to retire: and the fort at Pylos would then be placed in the same disastrous situation as the band in Sphacteria was now: Cleon was in danger of becoming in his turn the object of the general indignation.

Among the various expedients employed by this wretched man to escape the hatred that threatened him, one of the most obvious, and above all others natural to him, was assurance and impudence: he said, *the Athenian generals knew nothing of the profession they pretended to exercise, that they might in fact reduce the corps in Sphacteria whenever they pleased, and that, if he were intrusted with the enterprise, he would engage to bring the whole garrison prisoners to Athens within twenty days:* the assembly first laughed at his extravagant boast: the party of the nobles however took hold of it, and gravely proposed to place Cleon at the head of the enterprise: the orator began to be frightened at the effects of his own suggestion: at last he requested that at any rate the general who

built the fort, and who now commanded in it, might be joined in commission with him.

It was the good fortune of Cleon, that the time in which he engaged in this strange enterprise, was the very time when the Athenian commander was on the point of bringing it to a close: Sphacteria was almost covered with wood: an accidental fire had spread among the trees and consumed them: the enemy now lay bare to his view: another advantage occurred at the same period: the Spartans had a rude and precipitous hill in their rear: an individual of the Athenian allies discovered a path by which this hill might be climbed unseen: the commander of the Athenians, though of noble birth, was of too virtuous a soul to refuse to conquer, because Cleon participated in his authority: he attacked the Spartans in front, while a detachment tumbled down stones upon them from the mountain in their rear: Cleon stood by and looked on: the Spartans were at last forced to surrender: they did not however do this, till they had sent to the army of their countrymen on shore, to ask whether they should fight it out as long as a man of them remained alive: in fine, the valorous Cleon sailed home, and brought the garrison of Sphacteria prisoners to Athens, within the twenty days he had prescribed himself: three years after a peace was concluded between

Lacedæmon and Athens, but not on such terms as, while the island of Sphacteria was in question, might have been made: the Lacedæmonians had in the interval gained several brilliant advantages, particularly under Brasidas * in Thrace, and both parties were tired of the contest.

ALCIBIADES †.

The hostilities which broke out afresh within little more than a year, might be called a second Peloponnesian war: the Athenian who made the principal figure in this war, was Alcibiades: he would probably have appeared to advantage in conducting the affairs of a state of which he had been the sovereign ruler: but he had neither virtue nor temper enough to "wield the fierce democracy ‡:" he therefore contributed in an eminent degree to the ruin of his country.

Alcibiades had in their full measure the powers of persuasion and of a statesman: the war therefore was renewed under his auspices with great advantages: in the former war Athens was driven to the greatest straits: all the early campaigns began with a Spartan

* The accent on the first syllable.

† The accent on the third syllable.

‡ Milton, Paradise Regained, Book iv. 266.

army laying waste the plains of Attica; while Sparta itself remained in a manner untouched; it was not till the affair of Pylos and Sphacteria that the Athenians got footing in the peninsula.

Alcibiades changed the theatre of the war: he united Argos and several other of the Peloponnesian states in a league against Sparta: the Lacedæmonians had to fight at their own doors, and for their authority in the peninsula, over which for so many years they had lorded without a rival: under all these disadvantages the arms of Sparta still had the better.

EXPEDITION TO SICILY.

Alcibiades grew impatient of this smaller warfare, and aspired to a field where he thought his abilities would appear to greater advantage: this field offered itself to his mind in the island of Sicily: Sicily, like Greece, was divided into a number of small independent states: the project of Alcibiades, as it was afterwards described by himself, was first to reduce all Sicily; then to subdue the Grecian establishments in Italy: with the copious supply of ship-timber which Italy afforded, the Athenian fleet might, he believed, be so increased as to effect the conquest of Carthage: Spain and all the western coast of the Mediterranean would thus become open to his

enterprises: and hence mercenaries and supplies of all kinds might be obtained, by means of which all the enemies of Athens within Greece itself might be subdued, and the foundations laid of a mighty Athenian empire: such were the visions that floated before this aspiring politician: it is difficult to say whether this project was distinguished most by its wickedness in attacking the independence of so many nations, or its absurdity as being incompatible with the peculiar felicities and democratical constitution of the Athenian state.

Athens however was not fitted to fall under the control of one man, and least of all of a man whom his own projects would conduce to remove far from his native city: the assembly of the Athenian people were fascinated with the idea held out to them of the conquest of Sicily: but the party of the nobles, with Nicias at its head, opposed it: they were outvoted: they next applied themselves to fetter the popular favourite in his proceedings: by their instigation Nicias was appointed first in command, and Alcibiades had only the second place: but this would have answered little purpose: Nicias, though a man of elegance and taste, and an accomplished orator, was unenterprising and mild: Alcibiades would always carry such a man along with him in the impetuosity of his career.

MUTILATION OF THE MERCURIES.

Athens at this time was corrupt: that which the parties in the state could not effect by fair means, they did not scruple to accomplish by such as were unfair: the Athenian people were, as St. Paul describes them, *in all things too superstitious*:* the party of the nobles applied themselves to this weakness: I have described in my Pantheon the rude statues of Mercury which stood in the streets of Athens, and were almost as numerous as the houses: these in one night were all maimed and disfigured, and an attempt was made to charge this irreligious act on Alcibiades: he could have had no motive to such an act; and it is more likely that it was done by persons employed by the party of the nobles, to make it the foundation of a charge against him: Alcibiades, conscious of innocence, intreated to have the accusation brought to trial; but in this he was defeated by his adversaries.

He had however no sooner departed upon his command, than the nobles saw their time: they suborned witnesses of the lowest and most infamous description: the people of Athens were incapable of listening to a charge of sacrilege with moderation: one unhappy victim

* Acts, chap. xvii, ver. 22.

after another was put to death: the leaders at length thought they might venture to put forward the name of Alcibiades: they did so; and a decree was obtained, summoning him to return home to be tried upon the same evidence: he felt that it was vain to contend with the stream: he fled first to Argos, and next to Sparta: a verdict was pronounced against him in his absence, condemning him to die.

DISASTROUS ISSUE OF THE EXPEDITION.

The command of the armament against Sicily was now left in the hands of Nicias, by whom the enterprise had never been approved: his forces however were so strong both by sea and land, that he had at one time nearly succeeded so far as to take Syracuse, the great fortress of the island: it is apparent that the expedition failed, through the procrastination of its amiable, but irresolute commander: the first change in the fortune of the war proceeded from the arrival of Gylippus, a Spartan general, to the assistance of the Syracusans: the Athenians on their part sent the general who had captured Sphacteria, to co-operate with Nicias: all was vain: Gylippus by his activity and perseverance converted the raw Syracusans into soldiers and sailors: he defeated the Athenian fleet: he compelled the besiegers to withdraw: when the

object of the expedition was apparently hopeless, the invaders endeavoured to escape by land from the vengeance of the enemy: they suffered evils indescribable: superstition here, as elsewhere, proved their greatest enemy: they were terrified at an unforeseen eclipse of the moon, and could not be roused into action again for several days: in this time the enemy surrounded them: they were at length reduced to lay down their arms; and the two generals were consigned by the Syracusans to an ignominious execution, as if they had been felons.

ADVENTURES OF ALCIBIADES.

Alcibiades, while in banishment, contributed with the utmost of his power to the humiliation of his native state: his great abilities supplied the want of vigour which characterised the Spartan administration: at his recommendation Gylippus had been sent to the relief of Syracuse: he excited the Spartans to build and maintain a fortress in Attica, thereby to overawe the capital: and he negociated in person a league with the satrap of the king of Persia, that barbarous enemy who had before led out his millions for the destruction of liberty, the object of which league was to subvert the Athenian state.

One of the most wonderful endowments of

Alcibiades, was the power he possessed of accommodating to all situations, and making himself acceptable to all manner of men: in Athens he was a scholar and an orator, the associate of the learned and the wise, at the same time that he was distinguished for affability to those of the meanest rank: in Sparta he abjured every indication of elegance, appeared the most rigorous of the rigid, and talked in extasies of the Lacedæmonian black-broth: in the residence of the satrap of Caria he studied to outshine every one in splendour and magnificence, and his demeanour was that of a man who had lived from infancy in an Eastern court.

He found his situation however, as must always happen to an exile and the betrayer of his country, every where precarious and uncomfortable: the Spartans regarded him with suspicion and distaste: and the satrap treated him with insincerity, and finally turned against him.

COURAGE OF THE ATHENIANS.

Another thing considerably affected his mind at this time: the Athenians, overwhelmed with their calamitous fortune in Sicily, deserted by nearly the whole of their allies, menaced with the hostility of Tissaphernes, the satrap, and

assailed by the wonderful talents and still more wonderful activity of Alcibiades, did not sink under their adversity: they exerted themselves in every direction; and the event which might be expected attended on their energy: they stood alone, and yet seemed to rise the stronger, amidst this host of evils: thus every motive seemed to call back Alcibiades to the assistance of Athens: regard for his personal safety, for he obtained no sincere confidence any where else; consideration for his character and fame, which could only be founded on the discharging his duties as a citizen; and sympathy for his country, which had so nobly sustained and recovered herself amidst a combination of disasters.

Four years after his outlawry and banishment, Alcibiades entered into correspondence wth the commanders of the Athenian fleet: and in three years more, having within that space rendered his country the most signal services against her enemies, he once again made his appearance in the public assembly of Athens, where he was received with the loudest acclamations: he had brought off the satrap of Bithynia from the Spartan alliance to join the Athenians; he had fought with and annihilated the Peloponnesian fleet in the battle of Cyzicus; and had again fixed the ascendancy of his country over the inferior states and allies, which had adhered to her in the best days of the republic.

LYSANDER.

Athens appeared at this moment to have fully regained the station in which she had been placed previously to the unfortunate expedition to Sicily: but this appearance was fallacious: her fortunes were now at the highest, and were destined rapidly to decline: the first unfavourable circumstance that occurred, was the good understanding which was established between Lysander, the first statesman of distinguished ability who had for some time arisen among the Spartans, and Cyrus the Younger, an accomplished prince, upon whom his father, the king of Persia, had devolved the uncontroled command of the western part of his dominions: as to the Peloponnesian fleet, that was soon replaced: the crews had escaped from the defeat at Cyzicus; and, as the ships of war among the ancients were of a slight fabric, they were without much difficulty reconstructed: Alcibiades commanded on one side, and Lysander on the other: but, Alcibiades having occasion to absent himself for a few days, the officer next in command, stimulated by an immoderate ambition, engaged the Athenian fleet in the mean time in battle with the Spartan off the promontory of Notium, where Lysander had the advantage, and out of

a fleet amounting to a hundred ships, captured fifteen.

The Athenians felt too strongly this comparatively insignificant disaster: they had witnessed for some years the resplendent abilities of Alcibiades, which seemed to carry with them success to whatever party he espoused; and they could not persuade themselves that there was not treachery, or at least want of zeal on his part, in the reverse they had sustained: they came to a precipitate resolution to take from him the command: this gave importance to an affair which would otherwise have been of little consideration.

Alcibiades died not long after, an exile in Asia: the difference of his character from those of Themistocles and Pericles, may be regarded as corresponding to the degeneracy which in this interval had occurred in the general character of the Athenians.

BATTLE OF ARGINUSÆ.

The Athenian people were quick in feeling, and excessive in their resentments; but a feature which particularly characterised them was energy: they saw what was due to the crisis in which they were placed: they fitted out a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, manned from

Attica itself, exclusively of the vessels of the allies, in thirty days: the crews amounted to twenty thousand men: every citizen of Athens of the lower and middle ranks, of a proper age for service, was embarked: what was still wanting in numbers was filled up with slaves: they placed the whole under the direction of ten commanders: the result was worthy of the preparation: the Athenian fleet defeated the fleet of Lacedæmon under the command of Callicratidas*, a rough Spartan, who has superseded the accomplished Lysander, and took or destroyed seventy of his ships, with ten thousand of his men: Callicratidas fell in the battle: this was called the fight of Arginusæ, and was the greatest naval action of the war.

After the battle, the question was debated among the commanders, which of two duties was to be preferred, the relieving Conon, an Athenian general, who was besieged by a detachment of the Spartan fleet in Mitylene, or the saving the crews of ten Athenian ships which had been wrecked in the engagement: it was judged practicable to attend to both: forty-six ships were left for the latter service, and the rest of the fleet sailed for Mitylene: a storm however arose, which rendered all efforts unavailing; and the crews of the wrecked ships perished to a man.

* The accent on the third syllable.

Six of the victorious commanders now returned to Athens, full of the sense of the great achievement they had performed: their reception was very different from that which they expected: it has been already said, that all the ordinary Athenian citizens of a certain age had been embarked in the fleet: the families of those who had lost a husband, a father, a son, or a brother, were numerous: these importunately cried out for vengeance on the generals, who, as they conceived, had not done every thing in their power for the preservation of the sufferers: a vote was given amidst the tumult of the passions: and, by a decree which stamps an eternal blot upon the democracy of Athens, the six victorious generals were put to death without reprieve.

DISASTER AT ÆGOSPOTAMOS*.

In the battle of Arginusæ Callicratidas, the Spartan general fell, and Lysander, the ablest man of his country, was appointed to succeed him: to him was owing the sudden reverse of fortune which now occurred: he strengthened his fleet so as to be nearly on a par with the Athenian: he took his station at Lampsacus on the Hellespont: the Athenian fleet was at the opposite point of Ægospotamos: there were

* The accent on the third syllable.

only two miles between them: the ships of the ancients were small, and extremely defective in accommodation: owing to this circumstance, it was their custom to draw up their vessels every evening on the beach, and take their meals on shore: considering the duties of the day as finished, the Athenian crews wandered to a considerable distance: Lysander took advantage of this: he watched their motions for four days: in the afternoon of the fifth, when the enemy was dispersed, and incapable of resistance, he crossed the straits, and took possession of one hundred and seventy of the abandoned vessels: he then marched up the country, and made most of the crews prisoners, together with all the generals, except Conon, who, with a squadron of nine vessels, contrived to make his escape.

SURRENDER OF ATHENS.

Thus in a moment all the generous and heroic efforts of the Athenians, during seven years, from the disaster of Sicily, were brought to nothing: they were without a fleet, and, which followed as an immediate consequence, without allies: the victorious Lysander, overpowering all resistance in his course, proceeded without delay against Athens itself: this devoted city was surrounded by sea and land:

yet the Peloponnesians dared not attempt to take it by assault: famine was their only, but their sure resource: against famine what heart of man can hold out? the Athenians still resisted for months: from time to time they obtained a furtive and precarious supply: at length, having treated with the enemy, and being permitted to preserve a sort of shadow of national independence, they threw open their gates to the victor.

From this time it might be imagined that the fate of a fallen city would scarcely merit our attention: it was not so with Athens: the mind remained, though her political power was wofully reduced: Socrates, Xenophon and Plato still lived within her walls: Alcibiades, though in exile, and other eminent statesmen, were still numbered among her citizens; she continued then, and still remains, by her literature and her productions in the fine arts, the mighty preceptress of intellect, imagination and taste to mankind: so marvellous are the talents of the soul; so contemptible in comparison is the strength of bodily sinews and limbs.

THIRTY TYRANTS.

It was the democracy of Athens which was the source of terror to her enemies: government in the hands of a few is accessible to

bribes, to intrigue, and to a thousand other sinister means of management: but who shall bribe or control a nation, having the power wholly in their own hands? The first measure of Lysander therefore was to abolish the assemblies of the people, and to put the authority of the state into the hands of a council of thirty, known in history by the name of the Thirty Tyrants.

A tyranny succeeding to a free state is always blood-thirsty and cruel: it was so under the first Roman emperors: the people were not yet inured to the yoke; and the despots, looking round them, saw on every side cause of alarm: imprisonments, and murders under the form of law, were the affair of every day, almost of every hour: we are even told that the Thirty put to death as many Athenian citizens in eight months, as the Peloponnesian war had destroyed in ten years: this was a state of things that could not last: all the most virtuous men of Athens, who had not fallen by sentence of the Thirty, were driven into exile: Thrasybulus*, the most eminent of those by whom her affairs had been directed, put himself at their head, and marched against the tyrants: it was then open for every man to chuse his side between liberty and slavery: the Thirty

* The accent on the third syllable.

were speedily deserted, and the triumph of freedom was complete.

DEATH OF SOCRATES.

The death of Socrates by the sentence of a court of law happened two or three years after: it were to be wished that this event had belonged to the reign of the Thirty; but it was not so: the virtue of Socrates is well known, and has become a name for moral excellence from the times in which he lived to the present: he taught the unity of God, and the doctrine of an all-wise Providence: these sentiments, so opposite to the Grecian mythology, furnished matter of accusation against him: offended with the simplicity of his doctrine, they called it atheism.

Thirty days elapsed between the condemnation of Socrates and his death: he was already seventy years old, but in possession of full vigour and health: in his prison he was surrounded by his scholars: one day one of them came to him, and said, *Socrates, your life is safe; the doors of your prison are open; depart, and be happy:* Socrates refused: he did not think that to die by a draught of hemlock, in the midst of his friends, at his years, was a misfortune: he held it unworthy of his cha-

racter to become a fugitive and an exile: his last moments were occupied in discourses, calm, instructive, and cheerful: the whole has been recorded by his disciples, Xenophon and Plato: to have had such disciples is itself an immortal honour: he was less fortunate in the pains he had also taken to mould the mind of the youthful Alcibiades: what master can always be responsible for the future character of his pupil?

RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND.

We are now arrived at a memorable change in the history of Greece: a large portion of what has gone before, consists of the attack of barbarians and a despot, in other words, of the empire of Persia, upon the favoured dwellings of liberty, refinement, and science: we are now come to the reaction: it was written in the decrees of heaven, that the pride of Persia was to be humbled at the foot of Greece: the haughty barbarian was now to pay the penalty of his criminal enterprise.

The first event that illustrated the power of the free, and the weakness of the slave in the heart of his own dominions, was the celebrated Retreat of the Ten Thousand, which comes described to us by the pen of Xenophon: Cyrus the Younger, of whom we have already spoken,

conceived the project of dethroning his elder brother, Artaxerxes, after the death of his father: he harboured a great partiality for the Grecian character: he saw how superior the Greeks were in every thing that constitutes a soldier: he contrived to enlist ten or twelve thousand of them in his service.

With this formidable band, added to one hundred thousand Persians, Cyrus marched against his brother in his metropolis of Babylon: he fought a battle at Cunaxa, sixty miles from the capital: the Greeks were irresistible: but Cyrus, hurried along by the impetuosity of his passions, forced his way to a part of the field where his brother, the king, rode in state, and even wounded him: he paid with his life for the rashness of the attempt.

Cyrus was no sooner dead, than the Persians, who had followed him, quitted the field and dispersed: ten thousand Greeks were left to their own resources in the heart of the empire, two or three thousand miles from their native country: one of the first achievements of Artaxerxes and his ministers in this situation, was to invite six Grecian generals to a conference, from which they were never permitted to return alive: the army was thus left without a leader.

At this crisis Xenophon, who had accompanied it from Greece as a volunteer, offered himself to their attention: he exhorted them not to be

cast down: he said the treacherous treatment they had just experienced, was an acknowledgment how much the Persians feared them: he advised them without loss of time to chuse new generals: they did so: of these Xenophon was one, and to him principally they owed their deliverance.

The Ten Thousand no sooner began their retreat, than they were assailed every day by multitudes of the Persians: but the barbarians never dared to come near them, and annoyed them with missile weapons only: they had to cross vast and uninhabitable deserts: their hardships were innumerable: they were obliged to destroy their tents, and to sleep often unsheltered amidst pathless snows: nothing but the energy of the Greek character, and the wisdom of Xenophon, could have effected their deliverance: at length, after months of undescribable sufferings, they reached the shores of the Euxine, and from thence found means of passing into Greece.

EXPEDITION OF AGESILAUS * INTO ASIA.

The retreat of the Ten Thousand did not fail to produce important consequences: Sparta was at this time undisputed mistress of Greece:

* The accent on the second syllable.

it is of the nature of success to beget a more extended ambition: the Grecian settlements of Asia Minor groaned under the tyranny of the Persian satraps, and applied to Sparta for relief: Sparta sent to them Dercyllidas first, and afterwards their king Agesilaus, a lame man, but of admirable talents: after a series of successes Agesilaus conceived the plan of rendering the whole territory of Asia Minor independent of the Persian king.

PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

Agesilaus had advanced considerably in the execution of this project, and every thing seemed to promise a favourable conclusion, when he was called home by a confederacy which had broken out against Sparta, at the head of which were the republics of Athens, Thebes, Argos, and Corinth: while the institutions of Lycurgus were in full operation, the justice of the Spartan government rendered them respectable in Greece: when the administration became corrupt, the sternness of the Lacedæmonian character became more offensive as its reputation for justice grew less: the imperiousness of her decisions at length combined the most considerable states of Greece against the Spartan ascendancy.

Unfortunately Agesilaus at home no longer

appeared like the same man he was in Asia: there every thing was regulated by his talents and skill, and he proceeded as he pleased: at home he was perpetually under the control of the republican magistrates, and whatever he began well, was interrupted by the narrowness of their policy: meanwhile both parties in the war paid their court to the king of Persia, without whose gold neither could unless with the greatest difficulty pay their fleets: he by his satraps wavered between them, and sometimes favoured the one and sometimes the other: at length he was enabled to dictate to both a disgraceful peace, called the peace of Antalcidas, the most memorable provision of which, was the total abandonment of the Grecian settlements of Asia Minor to the dominion of the Persian.

PELOPIDAS* AND EPAMINONDAS.

The immediate occasion of the war which broke out soon after, was the treacherous surprise of the citadel of Thebes, by a Spartan force which passed near this city on its march towards Thrace: the Spartans were encouraged to the enterprise by a party in Thebes itself; and the first result of its success was a change in the government of that city, and the ex-

* The accent on the second syllable.

pulsion of those who were most zealous for its independence: the exiles withdrew to Athens.

At this period Thebes could boast of two illustrious citizens, who raised the glory of their state to a pitch unknown before: these were Pelopidas and Epaminondas, inseparable friends; the former rich, and who by the gallantry of his spirit put himself forward in public on all considerable occasions; the latter poor, and devoted to the study of philosophy: Epaminondas however did not yield to his friend in the love of his country.

Four years after the time when the Spartans had treacherously gained possession of the citadel of Thebes, a conspiracy was formed against them by the friends of freedom: it was conducted with the utmost secrecy: the most eminent exiles returned home in disguise: they fell at a concerted hour upon the magistrates who had betrayed the state, and slew them: they expelled the Spartan garrison; and Thebes was once more independent.

The Theban democracy being restored, the people of Athens entered into a fresh league with them, and both together engaged in vigorous hostilities against Sparta: the Lacedæmonians however found means to break this league, and Thebes was once more left to stand alone.

BATTLE OF LEUCTRA.

Upon this occasion were displayed the memorable effects that might flow to a state, from the having one or two persons of pre-eminent merit at the head of its affairs: Pelopidas and Epaminondas were incessant in their exertions to improve their countrymen in military discipline and character: the Spartans had long been superior to all the other Greeks in that particular: it had been received as a maxim, from the time of Leonidas, and even before, that no rival state could produce soldiers so resolute, hardy, and irresistible as those of Lacedæmon: it was the glory of the Theban leaders to put an end to that superiority: among other expedients they formed a corps of three hundred young men of high promise, distinguished by the name of the *Sacred Band,* who were bound together in a vow of inviolable friendship, engaging them to stand by each other to the last drop of their blood.

The consequences of the exertions of the two Theban generals in a short time became conspicuous: the first memorable effect displayed itself in the battle of Leuctra, where six thousand Thebans defeated a Lacedæmonian army of three times that number: it is true that this army consisted principally of allies, who felt little earnestness in the cause in which they

were engaged: altogether however that battle formed an epoch in the history of Greece.

The government of Athens seems at this time to have been very skilfully administered: they feared equally the uncontroled ascendancy either of Thebes or Lacedæmon, and they were powerful enough to interfere with effect: they called on all the states of Greece to swear afresh to that independence of every state upon every other state, which was one of the provisions of the peace of Antalcidas: thus repose was restored.

BATTLE OF MANTINEA.

But neither Thebes nor Sparta was contented with this rigorous inforcement of the articles of peace: Thebes would not forego her authority over the inferior towns of Bœotia, nor Sparta over those of Laconia: the first gross violation of the treaty came from Sparta.

The affairs of Thebes were now under able direction, and the first measure adopted by Epaminondas on the renewal of hostilities was masterly: the whole of Peloponnesus for the most part had been under the supremacy of Sparta for nearly three hundred years: we have seen what an obstinate struggle the Messenians maintained for their liberties about the time referred to: having failed in their exertions,

they carried their pride of independence to other countries, and settled at Rhegium in Italy, at an advantageous station on the opposite coast of the straits of Sicily, called from them Messina, and in other places: Epaminondas invited them to return to their native soil, where he undertook to assist their settlement, and guarantee their independence: numbers accepted the invitation; and thus a rival state, counterbalancing in some degree the authority of Sparta, was once more established in the south-west of Peloponnesus itself.

Four times did Epaminondas invade Peloponnesus, and twice he marched to the very entrance of Sparta: in the last of these expeditions he lost his life in the field of battle: the engagement in which he perished is called the battle of Mantinea; and the way in which Epaminondas conducted the engagement has always been considered as a master-piece of the art military: Epaminondas himself has been described by Cicero and by the ancients in general, as inferior to none of the great men that Greece ever produced, consummate in philosophy, in taste, in energy, in mildness and humanity: with him his country rose to authority among the neighbouring states, and when he died, her political importance and ascendancy suddenly declined.

DIONYSIUS THE ELDER.

The reign of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, forms a memorable chapter in the history of the ancient Greeks: it continued thirty-eight years, having begun about the period of the close of the Peloponnesian war, and ending a short time before the battle of Mantinea: Dionysius was a prince of consummate abilities: he maintained a long and arduous struggle with Carthage for the independence of Sicily: in one instance Syracuse sustained a desperate siege from the Carthaginians, who came against it, according to one account with three hundred thousand, and according to another with a hundred and twenty thousand men: but Dionysius was enabled to defeat the invader, in the same manner as his countrymen had defeated the less formidable armament of the Athenians seventeen years before.

But, notwithstanding the great abilities and energetic administration of Dionysius, he stands upon record to the latest ages as the model of a tyrant: this may be supposed to be partly owing to the fervent love of liberty which pervaded his countrymen, by whom the measure of his despotism may be in some degree exaggerated: he is said to have delighted in cruelty: he was perpetually apprehensive of plots against his life: he represented his

situation to Damocles, one of his courtiers, who complimented him on the security and happiness he enjoyed, by placing Damocles at a magnificent feast, with a drawn sword suspended over his head by a single hair: *This*, said Dionysius, *is the condition of a despot:* one of the inventions ascribed to him, the dictate of his suspicious nature, was an artificial excavation, called Dionysius's Ear, in the rock immediately over the state-dungeon, which brought to him, as he sat in his retirement, all the cabals and murmurings of his victims: he suffered none to approach him, not even his brothers or his sons, without their being previously searched for concealed arms: he would not allow even his barber to make use of a razor: and he slept in an apartment which could only be approached by means of a drawbridge.

DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER.

Upon the death of the elder Dionysius, he was succeeded in the tyranny by his son: Dionysius the younger was a person of good natural dispositions, but debauched and effeminate: he had a brother-in-law, named Dion, who had formed himself under the instructions of Plato, the celebrated philosopher: Dion, anxious for the reformation of the tyrant, per-

suaded him to invite Plato into Sicily, to give a constitution to the government, and to direct him in the art of reigning: for some time Dionysius was delighted with the lessons of Plato: but the courtiers soon entered into a cabal to undermine his influence: and partly by ridicule, and partly by laying hold of the weaknesses of Dionysius's character, they effected their purpose: Plato was sent back into Greece.

The tyranny of Dionysius, under the auspices of his new counsellors, now became intolerable: Dion, who was his friend as long as there was a hope of his reformation, was a greater friend to his country and to liberty: Dionysius, aware of the inflexibleness of his principles, sent him into banishment: but in the tenth year of the reign of the tyrant he returned with a small escort, his arrival being instantly hailed by the acclamations of all the people of Syracuse: Dionysius was absent on an expedition in Italy; but, aware of the sentiments of his countrymen, he was happy to abdicate the sovereignty, and fixed his exile at Corinth: Dion administered the government of his country with the highest virtue and honour for four years; but at the end of that time was killed in a conflict with his political enemies.

TIMOLEON.

Dionysius took advantage of the tumult and distraction that ensued among contending factions, and once more gained possession of the throne: but he was uncorrected by the discipline of adversity, and his government became more odious than ever: the year after his restoration, the Syracusans sent to Corinth, which they acknowledged as their mother-city, for a leader against their internal and external enemies: the Corinthians appointed Timoleon to the command.

Timoleon was one of the most elevated characters that Greece ever produced: the first act by which he distinguished himself, was one which ancient and modern times do not see in exactly the same light: he had an elder brother, named Timophanes; and Timophanes, urged by his ambition, and seeing his opportunity, possessed himself of the tyranny of Corinth: Timoleon was endowed with all the softer qualities of our nature: he loved his brother tenderly: but all other affections gave place in his bosom to the love of liberty, and the desire of his country's deliverance: he expostulated, he remonstrated with Timophanes, but with no success: he went to him the last time accompanied by two friends: he tried his utmost powers of persuasion and authority: at length

he shrunk back from his brother, as rejecting him: and the friends, as had been previously concerted in that case, struck their daggers to the heart of the tyrant.

Timoleon had now performed to the utmost the rigorous demand of a public duty: he condemned the tyrant: but still he loved his brother: he bewailed the hard necessity which had driven him to so stern a deed: he could no longer endure the sight of men, and withdrew to solitude and the woods.

Such was the position of Timoleon, when he was called forth by the decree of the Corinthian people, to embark for the liberation of Sicily: an arduous undertaking like this was exactly what was wanting to restore Timoleon to the complete possession of all his powers: he sailed: and through a thousand difficulties and discouragements fully accomplished his mission: he drove out the tyrant: he defeated the Carthaginians: he removed the despots who, in imitation of Dionysius, had usurped the rule in almost every city of Sicily: for twenty years after the expedition of Timoleon, the island enjoyed a degree of prosperity, happiness, and peace, such as has rarely been paralleled.

DAMON AND PYTHIAS.

The beautiful story of Damon and Pythias belongs to the reign of one of the Dionysiuses, without the historians having exactly ascertained whether it were the elder or the younger; the heroes of the story were Pythagorean philosophers, and were bound to each other in ties of the most intimate affection: Dionysius, incited it may be by political fears and the jealousy of a tyrant, condemned the former to death: Damon, undismayed by this disaster, was only anxious to be allowed a few days' liberty, that he might go and put his affairs in order before he suffered: Pythias offered to be hostage for him till his return: the tyrant consented, at the same time frankly declaring, that if Damon did not come back in time, Pythias should die in his stead: the time arrived; and the generality began to exclaim upon the folly of the man, who had risked his life upon the supposition that another would voluntarily come to have his head cut off; Pythias alone entertained no doubt on the subject: Damon arrived to his hour; and the tyrant, deeply affected with the magnanimity of both, revoked the sentence of condemnation, and made a very extraordinary, and, as it should seem, senseless request, that he might be admitted as a third person into the

league of their friendship: friendship must be founded upon certain inherent qualities in the party demanding, and, no more than wit, can be given to every person who might wish to have a share of it.

PHILIP OF MACEDON.

The course of historical events among the Greeks and the descendants of the Greeks, led us to Sicily: we now return to the history of Greece, properly so called.

Hitherto from the period of the Persian invasion we have seen the contention of one Grecian republic against another: war is always sufficiently immoral, and sufficiently odious: but at least in this case we had the consolation, whichever party was victorious, liberty survived: Greece was still Greece, was that country, that has ever been the wonder and admiration of mankind: we are now to see a war of a very different sort, the unrelenting hostility of a learned and polished despot, endowed with every quality best adapted to that calamitous purpose, against the very name of liberty: Philip of Macedon arose, and Greece, such as we have hitherto seen it, expired under his assaults.

Macedon is the north-eastern division of that country, which the modern writers of an-

cient history have been accustomed to denominate Greece: it was in fact however no part of Greece in the purest sense: Athens, in the best time of Athens, would have thought scorn to call the king of Macedon a Greek: but what is most decisive, Macedon was no member of the Amphictyonic council, in which all the states of Greece were represented.

At all times however this kingdom was an important object of Grecian policy: Athens and Sparta had settlements and alliances of the highest value round mount Athos, in Thrace, in the Thracian Chersonesus, on the Hellespont and the Propontis: Macedon lay in the direct road to many of these, and could not be overlooked.

The last considerable events that have been mentioned as taking place within the circumference of Greece, were the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas: the genius of Epaminondas produced the full effect of raising Thebes, his country, to eminence, and of humbling Sparta: but, when this great man disappeared from the stage of the world, he left no one to succeed him in his command: Greece was now under the control of three states, Thebes, Sparta and Athens: Sparta was thrown down from the ascendancy she had so haughtily occupied ever since the close of the Peloponnesian war: Thebes did not wholly lose the authority she had derived from the

victories of Leuctra and Mantinea: but Athens was of the three the most prosperous and powerful.

Athens however was a state very different from what she had been in the times of Aristides and Themistocles, or even of Pericles: her people were no longer animated with a love of the purest glory, no longer disdained servitude in the degree they had done, or were prepared in the cause of freedom to make light of hardships and death: they had been corrupted with prosperity, and spoiled by the indulgence of their statesmen and orators: once even, in the extravagance of thoughtless democracy, they had voted a law, making it death for any one to propose applying the funds of the theatre to the public interest and the political service of the state.

DEMOSTHENES.

I have said that, at the commencement of the reign of Philip of Macedon, Athens was the most considerable of the states of Greece: one of the circumstances that made her so, was the high qualities and endowments of her leading statesman, the great Demosthenes: he was the first of orators, and the sincerest of patriots: he is greater than Pericles, for his orations have come down to us as published

by himself, and this evidence of his genius is thus preserved to the latest posterity: he is greater than Pericles, for he had less personal ambition: and he is greater than Pericles, in consequence of the generous and persevering struggle he made, against the most insidious and remorseless incroacher in the annals of history.

The project to which Philip of Macedon devoted his reign was, first, to make himself sovereign arbiter of Greece, and then to conquer the empire of Persia: the first of these objects he lived to complete.

The spirit of his policy was to do every thing, as far as possible, by insinuation: not to sound the alarm, was his maxim; but by silent and stealing steps to gain every thing necessary to his purpose, and then by surprise to complete his enterprise: Demosthenes was exactly the man to detect his arts, and to rouse the energies and indignation of his countrymen.

INCROACHMENTS OF PHILIP.

The Athenians had a most valuable settlement, Amphipolis, near the mouth of the Strymon; Philip made himself master of it: under the weakness of his predecessors, the Athenians had possessed themselves of Me-

thone and Pydna on the shores of Macedon; these he recovered: he conquered the strong cities of Potidæa and Olynthus, in the peninsula of Pallene: he next proceeded to Thessaly, and under pretence of interfering in the squabbles of her petty tyrants, in effect made himself umpire and director of the whole: during all this process he held the smoothest language in the world: he protested that *nothing was further from his thoughts than hostility to Athens, and that on the contrary he entertained the profoundest reverence for her as the mother of all that was excellent at that time in the world.*

PHOCION.

There were at that time two parties in Athens, the party of Phocion, and the party of Demosthenes: Phocion was a good man, and meant as well to his country as Demosthenes; but they proceeded upon a different principle: they both saw that Philip was the most formidable enemy to Greece that had ever arisen: but Phocion reasoned thus: *Greece is prostrate: neither Athens, nor Sparta, nor any of her states are to be compared to what they were in better times: Athens is corrupt, and Sparta is imbecil: it is now the interest of the friends of freedom to temporise: Philip is a spe-*

cious and oily-tongued statesman: he cannot frame his speech to the language of frank and ferocious defiance and command: let us adapt our policy to this feature of his character: let us administer no provocatives to his ambition: we shall thus foil him at his own weapons: he will not dare to violate the seeming good-understanding that subsists between us: and the present cloud will blow over.

The speculations of Demosthenes were of a very different sort: the liberty that a people held at the will of a tyrant, he thought was no liberty: *I know,* such were his contemplations, *how to rouse and guide my country and the states of Greece in open hostility to their worst enemy: but I do not know how to put on the tricks and dexterity of a wily politician: Philip will be too much for me, and for Athens, at this game: it is in reality the thing he desires most: he is always recommending to us by his instruments and minions not to feel offence where no offence is meant: he would have us take the wolf into the midst of the sheep, and choose him for their guardian: a very few years will be sufficient for him to accomplish his purposes, if we suffer him thus in every thing to have his own way: no, if we must fall, this is not the way in which Greece should fall: but, if we endeavour to our utmost to resume the ancient virtues of Greece, we may, and I will not doubt that we shall, succeed: the tyrant desires to blind us to his*

purposes, and to involve us in a fatal security: my policy, and the policy of my country, are the opposite of his: I will unmask his most secret purposes: I will expose his character in all its deformity: I will rouse against him the indignation of mankind. The speeches of Demosthenes, composed and delivered with this view, are the most perfect specimens of energetic oratory that ever existed: among all his demerits, we may at least thank Philip for them.

SACRED WAR.

An incident occurred about this time peculiarly calculated to forward the designs of the Macedonian: there happened to be a great degree of ill blood between Thebes and the Phocians: the Thebans, not knowing how else to be revenged on their adversary, conjured up a hollow pretence of sacrilege against him: they said, that certain Phocians had ploughed up, and devoted to profane purposes, a portion of lands consecrated to the temple of Apollo at Delphi: they brought this accusation before the council of the Amphictyons: and the Amphictyons, being packed and bribed, partly by the intrigues of the Thebans, and partly by the sinister arts of Philip, decreed an enormous fine against Phocis, which she was neither able nor willing to pay: the fine not

being discharged, the other alternative was war: this was carried on for some time with uncertain success, and at length Philip was chosen general of the Amphictyonic army.

This was the precise measure which the Macedonian most earnestly desired: he now, by the invitation of Greece, passed through the straits of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas had stopped all the combined powers of Persia: he descended into the plains of Phocis: he made himself master of the temple of Delphi.

BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA.

Philip had but one enemy that he feared, and that was Demosthenes: Demosthenes had exerted himself to save Amphipolis, Olynthus, and Potidæa: his exertions were a fruitless struggle against the indolence and selfishness of his countrymen: they always voted succours, but they voted them too little and too late: his orations had however had one good effect; the character of Philip was thoroughly understood: Demosthenes now stirred himself more than ever: he reconciled Athens and Thebes which had long been at variance: by his single activity he brought together forces from all parts of Greece: he caused a numerous and well-appointed army to march to the plains of Chæronea on the river Cephisus.

Philip expressed himself exceedingly grieved to *draw one sword, or shoot one arrow, against his beloved people of Athens: but, if they would go to war with him, what could he do? he must give them their way:* Philip had spent some of his early years a hostage in Thebes: he had studied the art of war under Epaminondas: he was a most accomplished soldier; and it was by his contrivance and skill that the Macedonian phalanx was instituted, which for a long time bore down every thing before it in the field: the forces collected by Demosthenes were raw recruits; and, which was worse, the sentiments of ancient Sparta and ancient Athens were as a tale of things that existed no more: the bodies of Greeks stood up to resist Philip; but the soul of Greece was not there: the battle of Chæronea decided the contest: and the country of Aristides and Socrates and Plato fell prostrate at the feet of the Macedonian.

DEATH OF PHILIP.

In addition to the enterprises already enumerated, Philip had early marched against Thrace, and had subjugated the Chersonesus, and some other districts of that country: it was his policy, as has been said, to proceed against the extremities, and to bring them

under his sway, before he aimed a decisive blow at the heart of Greece, and felled to the earth the enemy he chiefly dreaded, the republic of Athens: after the battle of Chæronea he was the undisputed dictator of this illustrious nation, the Greeks, and accordingly caused himself to be elected by the Amphictyonic council captain-general of the race for the war against Persia: at this period he was cut off by assassination in the midst of a festival, in his own capital of Pella, through a personal affront he had put upon a considerable individual among his own subjects: Pausanias stabbed Philip, and was immediately after cut to pieces by the royal guards.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT: DESTRUCTION OF THEBES.

Alexander, the son of Philip, was just twenty years of age, at the death of his father: all men had admired the consummate talents of the father, and of course believed that his great projects would die with him: Demosthenes was transported with the unexpected occurrence, and appeared in the assembly of the Athenian people crowned with a chaplet of flowers: but the friends of liberty and Greece were bitterly disappointed in the result: Alexander was the

pupil of Aristotle, and surpassed perhaps every one that ever existed in the endowments that fit a man for a conqueror: there is an idle story, intended to reflect credit on the hero, that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned to the ground on the very day that Alexander was born: it was purposely set on fire by a man named Erostratus, through an earnest desire that impelled him to do something that should render his name immortal: the Ephesians made a law, declaring it penal for any one to mention the name of Erostratus.

Alexander first marched against the Thracians, and penetrated to the further shores of the Danube: Demosthenes in the mean time raised a confederacy against him in Greece: Alexander returned from the north with inconceivable rapidity, and while a universal report prevailed that he was slain, appeared before the gates of Thebes: the Thebans made a very gallant defence, but were overpowered: then followed one of the most afflicting scenes that imagination can conceive: a decree went forth from the conqueror, that every house in Thebes should be levelled with the ground: he sold thirty thousand of the inhabitants for slaves: in the midst of the universal desolation, he ordered that the house in which Pindar, the poet, had lived, should alone be left standing: he next issued his mandate to the Athenians that they should surrender to him their ten

principal orators, with Demosthenes at their head, upon pain of suffering the same vengeance as the Thebans: this mandate he was prevailed on to remit: such was the preparation which Alexander made for his expedition against Persia: he left behind him an everlasting monument of severity, that none of the Grecian states might dare to rebel against his lieutenants in his absence.

DIOGENES.

Alexander caused himself to be elected by a council-general from the different states, as his father had been, commander-in-chief of the Greeks for the war against Persia: the council was held at Corinth: Diogenes, the famous Cynic philosopher, dwelt there: the doctrine of the Cynics was that independence was the most valuable of all possessions: they looked upon the distinction of ranks as beneath their attention: they valued a man, neither for the greatness of his possessions, nor for the power engrossed by him over his fellow-beings, but only for his intrinsic qualities: they disdained wealth and luxury, which they regarded only as splendid chains, rendering their possessor under specious names a slave to other men: Diogenes at this time made his abode in a tub,

was clothed in the meanest garments, fed on the coarsest food, and drank water only, which he scooped with a wooden dish from the running stream: a person who lived so in modern Europe, would obtain neither deference nor attention: in Greece it was otherwise: the Greeks were judges of intellectual power, and prized it in whatever form it might appear: when Alexander came to Corinth, his favour was sought by the rich and the great, by poets and philosophers: Diogenes alone came not to his court: Alexander had been educated by Aristotle, and knew what a philosopher was: as Diogenes would not come, Alexander sought the philosopher in his tub: the king was attended by his courtiers: he asked Diogenes, *whether he wanted any thing that he could bestow on him? Yes,* said the philosopher, *that you would stand out of my sunshine:* the courtiers expressed their contempt of this answer: Alexander thought otherwise: *If I were not Alexander,* said he, *I would be Diogenes:* meaning, that he had fixed his heart upon the highest degree of fame, prosperity and power: but that the next thing to that, if indeed it were any way inferior, was independence, and a disdain of all that the world was able to give.

LIBERALITIES OF ALEXANDER.

Never did commander set out with more confident expectation of success, than Alexander on his expedition against the king of Persia: before he took shipping, Plutarch tells us, he enquired of his followers, *What means they had for attending him on his march?* and to one he gave lands, to another the revenues of a town, and to a third the toll of a harbour: Perdiccas, seeing this, said, *And, my lord, what do you keep for yourself?* Alexander replied, *Hope:* how much meaning is comprised in this short word! a generous liberality in the heart of him that gave; a serene confidence with relation to the things to come.

BATTLE OF GRANICUS.

Alexander had to encounter a high degree of skill in one of the persons who commanded against him, Memnon, a Greek, but faithfully attached to Darius, king of Persia: the Macedonian, alarmed at the formidable preparations of this man, instead of marching south after crossing the Hellespont, as he would otherwise have done, took his course to the north: after some days' march, he arrived at the river

Granicus: here the satrap of Phrygia resolved to give him battle: Memnon expostulated: he shewed how easy it would be by wasting the country, and harassing Alexander in his march, to force him back into Greece: the satrap replied, that this devastation would be cruel to the inhabitants of his province, and unworthy the majesty of the Great King; and even insinuated that Memnon had some motives for his advice, foreign to the interests of the master he served: the counsel of the satrap prevailed, and the Persians were defeated.

THE GORDIAN KNOT.

The victory of the Granicus was productive of the most extraordinary advantages to Alexander: the whole of Asia Minor yielded to him almost without a struggle: he entered Sardis, Ephesus, and Miletus: at Gordium he met with the famous adventure of the Gordian knot: the yoke of a cart, which had formerly belonged to king Midas, was fastened to the beam with a leathern thong, and the knot was implicated in so curious a manner, that no eye could discover the ends of the thong: an oracle had said, that whoever succeeded in loosening the yoke of this cart from the beam should become master of Asia: Alexander attempted it, but finding no success in the way others had tried

before him, he presently drew his sword, and, with one blow dividing the knot, thus fulfilled the prediction of the oracle.

MEMNON.

Memnon, the Greek, was the good genius of Persia, and he at this time suggested a plan, which had every promise of putting an end to the career of Alexander: he collected a fleet, embarked an army, and sailed for Greece, resolved, first, to restore to liberty all the states in that country which Alexander or his father had subdued; and secondly, by proceeding to the Hellespont, to prevent at once any further recruits from joining the Macedonian army, and the army itself from returning to Europe: Memnon was almost every where received with open arms: he sailed first for the island of Chios, and then for Lesbos: Mitylene in the latter alone resisted him: this city he besieged: but in the siege of Mitylene, Memnon fell sick and died, and in consequence of his death the enterprise failed.

ALEXANDER AND HIS PHYSICIAN.

Alexander began his second campaign in Asia with the passage of Mount Taurus into Cilicia: here his whole army might easily have

been stopped: but the Persian neglected this opportunity, and Alexander crossed the defile unmolested: on his arrival at Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, he was struck with the beauty of the river Cydnus which runs through it, and without precaution, covered with dust and sweat as he was, plunged into the stream: the waters of the Cydnus are supplied and refreshed with the mountain streams formed by the melting of the snow: the coldness of the river was such, that Alexander was immediately seized with an illness, which had every appearance of proving fatal.

A favourite physician, or rather a personal friend, named Philip, accompanied the king of Macedon in his march, and was immediately called in to prescribe: while he was preparing his medicines, a letter was delivered to Alexander from Parmenio, the chief of his generals, advising him to beware of Philip, to whom Darius had promised a thousand talents, and his daughter in marriage, if he would put an end to the life of Alexander: Alexander, having read the letter, folded it up, and placed it under his pillow: at this moment Philip entered with a bowl in his hand, requiring the king to drink its contents: Alexander took the bowl with one hand, and gave Philip the letter with the other, and having for a moment eyed the physician with a fixed countenance, swallowed the medicine, and composed himself to sleep.

BATTLE OF ISSUS.

Darius had spent the whole winter, and part of the preceding summer, in collecting a vast army to stop the career of his adversary: he assembled in his camp thirty thousand Greeks, and six hundred thousand Asiatics: his Greeks alone equalled almost the whole number of the Macedonians: at this period a circumstance occurred of a very critical nature: Alexander with his usual spirit and enterprise pushed forward with all his forces, and proceeded from Cilicia into Syria, by a narrow pass between the ridge of mount Amanus* and the sea: Darius, directed by a counsel which seems not void of military skill, passed the mountain by a strait more remote from the sea, so marching his army from Syria into Cilicia: Alexander appears thus to have been placed in a situation of no small peril: the whole army of Darius was interposed between him and the country from which he came, and there was perhaps no safety to be obtained by him but in cutting
A. that army to pieces.

The advantage which Darius now possessed would have been decisive, had it been in his power and his will to have avoided a battle: how far he was urged by pride and impatience

* The accent on the second syllable.

only, and how far the necessity of his affairs compelled him to the last trial, history does not enable us to pronounce: that however which was contrary to the interest of the Persian, was indispensible to the Macedonian: Alexander, as soon as he heard of the position of Darius's army, retrod his steps, and appeared again in Cilicia: their forces met at Issus: and here the superior discipline of the Macedonians, and the great military prowess and skill of Alexander, qualities in a high degree wanting on the other side, decided the fortune of the day: the victory was complete: and, among other prisoners, Sysigambis the mother, Statira the wife, and three of the children of Darius, fell into the hands of the conqueror, all of whom were treated by him with exemplary moderation and kindness.

SIEGE OF TYRE.

After the battle of Issus it would seem to have been most natural for Alexander to have pursued without intermission the flight of Darius, and reaching the heart of the empire, at once to have put an end to the reign of the descendants of Xerxes: but he chose a different plan: he determined to march by the sea-coast of Syria into Egypt: in this course of proceed-

ing he would be certain, if successful, to fix the authority of his empire over the whole eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, and to make the river Euphrates the great boundary line between himself and the sovereignty of Darius: the principal difficulty he encountered was at Tyre: Tyre had long stood the greatest commercial establishment in the world: Carthage, which afterwards rivalled Tyre in this respect, is said to have been at first a colony from that city: the Tyrians were too proud to submit to a yoke to which all their neighbours yielded: they proposed neutrality: but this did not suit the views of Alexander: he therefore commenced the siege of the place: Tyre was built on an island half a mile from the main land: when Alexander sat down before it, he had no fleet to assist him: he began therefore with erecting a mole, or highway, for his soldiers to pass: this work was more than once destroyed by the impetuosity of the waves and the persevering efforts of the besieged: by degrees Alexander collected, what he had wanted at first, a fleet: at length, through a thousand obstacles and discouragements, he made himself master of the place, and sold the inhabitants into slavery: further cruelties are described of him; two thousand Tyrians crucified for the gallant defence of their city, and Betis, governor of Gaza, dragged alive at the wheels of a chariot round the walls, in imita-

tion of Achilles's treatment of the dead body of Hector: but as these things are related by Quintus Curtius only, and not by the other ancient historians, we may chuse whether we will believe them.

ALEXANDER IN EGYPT.

From Tyre Alexander marched into Egypt: Egypt was famous in ancient history for learning and superstition: the Persians believed in one God, and refused to worship him under the form of an image made with hands: they therefore lost no opportunity of insulting the religion of the Egyptians, who paid adoration to bulls, and serpents, and crocodiles: the Greeks were polytheists; and for this reason, and because their most eminent men had been at all times in the habit of resorting to Egypt for instruction, they did not feel the same disdain for the religious institutions of this ancient state, as the Persians had done: Alexander and his followers were therefore welcomed by the Egyptians, as their deliverers from a yoke they abhorred.

Alexander, as we have seen, had received a refined education under Aristotle: he was a lover of the arts and the sciences: he had it in his idea to improve, to civilise, and polish the nations he conquered: a memorable example

that he did not overrun the world merely as a destroyer, he gave at this time in founding the city of Alexandria: he observed that Egypt was wanting in a commodious sea-port, suitable to her wealth and her resources: he surveyed the mouths of the Nile and the coast of the Mediterranean, and at length fixed on a most desirable spot, on which to found a new city: he employed Dinocrates in the construction, the same architect who had lately rebuilt with vast applause the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

TEMPLE OF JUPITER AMMON.

From Egypt Alexander undertook an expedition of a very romantic nature: the heroes of the Greeks were many of them feigned to have a God for their father: Olympias, the mother of Alexander, was not distinguished for chastity; and upon this circumstance some of his flatterers had founded the rumour that his parent on the male side was Jupiter: twelve days' journey from Memphis, the metropolis of Egypt, in the midst of the Great Desert, was an oracle of high fame, belonging to the temple of Jupiter Ammon: this oracle Alexander determined to visit, that he might learn the truth as to what was reported of his birth: Cambyses, king of Persia, the son of Cyrus, who stands upon record as a

madman, had almost two hundred years before marched an army of fifty thousand men into this desert, who are said to have been buried in its sands: Alexander, with the select band which attended him on this occasion, would have encountered the same fate, but for a miracle, which as the historians tell, was wrought in his favour, heaven having sent a supernatural guide, a serpent according to some, a bird according to others, to conduct him, and a miraculous rain to preserve his soldiers from dying of heat and thirst: the oracle returned to Alexander such answers as he pleased; and henceforth he constantly styled himself the son of Jupiter Ammon: this expedition, absurd enough in itself, it is not fair to judge by ideas founded on the Christian reve lation: the Macedonian conqueror, when he claimed a parentage from heaven, did nothing more than several of his countrymen had done before him, and been believed.

BATTLE OF ARBELA*.

Having spent one year in his expedition against Syria and Egypt, Alexander returned in the beginning of the next to seek Darius: at Tyre an embassy met him from the king of

* The accent on the second syllable.

Persia, requesting peace, and offering to make the Euphrates the boundary between the two empires: thus Alexander would have possessed the whole territory, which for some hundred years has now belonged to the Turks: Parmenio, the general of highest character in Alexander's army, ventured to express his approbation of these terms: *If I were Alexander,* said he, *I would accept them: And so would I,* answered his master, *if I were Parmenio:* in rejecting them one of the reasons Alexander assigned, was the impossibility that there should be a sincere peace between him and a prince who had so repeatedly endeavoured to get him assassinated.

Darius assembled an army not less numerous than that with which he had fought the field of Issus: still he was desirous to add science to numbers: he abandoned Babylonia, and Persia, and all the southern provinces of his empire to the mercy of the conqueror: he withdrew himself to Media, and the mountains which border on the Caspian Sea: if Alexander marched to Babylon, or even if he pushed into the vast plains of Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris, Darius trusted that he should cut him off without a battle, as the Parthians destroyed Crassus almost three hundred years later: but against his will, as in a former instance, he was forced by the temper of his subjects to put all to the issue of the

sword; and, though the battle of Arbela was fought with great obstinacy, and for some time with doubtful success, the final event was the same as that of the battle of Issus.

BABYLON AND PERSEPOLIS *.

From the field of Arbela Alexander turned to the south: Babylon opened its gates to him with willingness and delight, for the same reason that the cities of Egypt had done so before: the Babylonians were polytheists and idolators: and the Persians, without paying any attention to the predilections of the people they subdued, insulted their worship, and destroyed their temples: the people therefore eagerly received the Grecian victor, whose religion harmonised better with their own, and who on all occasions shewed himself friendly to the Egyptian and Chaldean superstitions: from Babylon Alexander with equal ease made himself master of Susa and Persepolis, at the last of which cities a disgraceful scene was acted: the conqueror gave a sumptuous entertainment in commemoration of his success: Thais, an Athenian courtezan, was one of the guests: and, when the spirits of all were most elevated with the banquet of which they par-

* The accent on the second syllable.

took, this woman reminded the company of the outrage committed by Xerxes, who had consigned the city of Athens to perish by flames: she proposed that, now it was in their power, they should exact a terrible vengeance for this outrage, and burn to the ground the capital of Persia: the company caught the infection of the proposal: Alexander led the way: the palace was first set on fire: but, before the flames had spread so that they could not be extinguished, the conqueror repented of this brutal action, and saved the greater part of the town from destruction.

INSURRECTION IN GREECE.

While Alexander was thus engaged in distant conquests, a spark of the ancient spirit of liberty fell upon Greece: it was clear that this immortal country of genius and the arts was on the point of dwindling into a petty province to the empire of him who aspired to conquer the world: would he who had burned Thebes to the ground, who had compelled all Greece to chuse him for their leader and general, and who, as it now seemed certain, was about to rule with despotic sway over his millions of eastern slaves, suffer the voice of freedom to be heard in the little portion of land from

whence he came? that man must be credulous indeed who will believe it.

Sparta had honourably distinguished herself by refusing her voice to the general vote, by which Alexander had been deputed on the part of the Grecian people, to lead their arms against Persia: in Athens Demosthenes was the most ardent friend of every thing for which his country will be admired as long as the genuine spirit of man shall survive on the face of the earth: Alexander, in his impatience to conquer the east, had left these materials of disaffection behind him: he was now at a great distance, involved in affairs of complicated difficulty; and this was apparently the time for Greece, if it ever could be done with effect, to assert herself: Agis, king of Sparta, in concert with Demosthenes, entered into measures for that purpose: they won over to their party Arcadia, Achaia, and other states of Peloponnesus: they excited troubles in Thessaly and Thrace: but all was to no purpose: the spirit of Greece survived in a very few, but was extinguished in the nation: a battle was fought under the walls of Megalopolis*, in which Antipater†, viceroy of Macedon, totally defeated the allies, and Agis himself was left dead on the field.

* The accent on the third syllable. † On the second.

ALEXANDER PURSUES DARIUS: DEATH OF DARIUS.

Alexander, having wintered in Persepolis and Babylon, set out early in the spring in further pursuit of Darius: that unfortunate prince had fled from the defeat of Arbela to Ecbatana *, the capital of Media: he had still before him several warlike provinces; and he was not without hope of raising in those countries an army capable of vindicating to him a no contemptible empire: in this he was disappointed: he had perhaps looked to the confederacy in Greece as forming a diversion in his favour: every thing was adverse: he fled from Media into Parthia and Bactria: here Bessus, one of his courtiers, took advantage of his master's forlorn condition, and resolved on the attempt to form an independent sovereignty for himself: he threw Darius into chains, and forcibly carried him with him in his march: Alexander, hearing this, felt himself moved with pity and indignation: he pursued only the more rapidly: he was almost come up with Bessus, when the traitor, unable to drag his master any further, and determined that he should not escape him alive, basely murdered him: Bessus speedily after suffered the penalty due to his crime.

* The accent on the second syllable.

Alexander was undoubtedly endowed by nature with a very generous and noble disposition: it chanced one day, says Plutarch, during the pursuit of Darius, that certain Macedonians were carrying on mules goat-skins filled with water, which they had fetched from a river: seeing Alexander at high noon in a manner dead with thirst, they ran towards him with a helmet filled with water: Alexander asked them, To whom they were taking these skins: they said, *To their children; but drink you; we may have more children:* the king then took the helmet; but perceiving the men at arms, that were about him, and followed him, stretching out their necks to look at the water, he gave it back again, saying, *If I drink, all these men will faint:* then they, seeing the courage and courtesy of Alexander, cried out that he should lead them; and therewithal began to spur their horses, saying, that they were *not weary nor athirst, nor could believe themselves mortal, as long as they had such a king.*

ALEXANDER AND HEPHÆSTION.

Alexander had an intimate friend, named Hephæstion: no one dared to say the free things to him that Hephæstion did: on a certain occasion one was remarking the loyalty

and worth of Craterus *, one of the chief officers of Alexander: *Yes,* replied the sovereign, *Craterus loves the king; but Hephæstion loves Alexander:* the worth of the favourite is some argument of the excellence of the master: Hephæstion was as much regarded by all the courtiers, as by the king himself: he never abused his credit with Alexander, but was on all occasions modest, even-tempered, and beneficent: when he died, a short time before his sovereign, Alexander fell into an excessive sorrow, and for a time abandoned every other consideration, but the recollection of his friend.

PARMENIO AND PHILOTAS.

As long as Darius lived, the conduct of Alexander upon the whole was such as to conduce to his reputation and honour: his proceedings in some instances had been stamped with a severe and a sanguinary character: for the most part they had been of an opposite nature†; and these instances were at least the acts of an enemy to an enemy, of a conqueror to the party by which he had been defied:

* The accent on the first syllable.

† When we say this, it is fit we should always recollect the bloodshed, and the habits of bloodshed, included in the term, a conqueror.

but the severities of Alexander were not always confined within these limits: noble as his disposition appears originally to have been, it was marred with prosperity: what wonder? such is the frailty of the nature of which we partake: he was born to the inheritance of a throne: at twenty years of age he grasped the sceptre in his hand: his father had bequeathed him the project of the expedition against Persia: he set out; and victory attended all his steps: in his first year he conquered Asia Minor: in his second he won Syria and the countries beyond Mount Taurus: having spent one summer on the banks of the Mediterranean and in Egypt, he proceeded in the next to Babylon, Susa and Persepolis: he extinguished the empire of Darius: he subdued the warlike Bactrians: he was unrestrained by the Scythian snows: difficulties were his delight: even impossibilities he seemed to vanquish: no man before or since, in the records of genuine history, ever subdued so many nations as Alexander the Great: what was the consequence of this?

It has been already said that the ablest of all the generals of Alexander, and of Philip, his father, was Parmenio: Parmenio had a son, named Philotas, only inferior to his father, and who was one of the earliest and most intimate friends of the king: one of the courtiers came to Philotas, and told him a story of

a conspiracy against the life of Alexander: Philotas promised to relate it to the king: he came repeatedly into his presence, and did not open his lips on the subject: this was made the ground of a capital accusation against him: it was alleged that he would not have concealed the crime, if he had not been a party to it: Philotas gave the most ingenuous explanation: he said, that the tale had appeared to him unworthy of credit, and such a one that the king ought not to be disturbed with it: Alexander believed, and forgave him: but the malignant herd of courtiers that always infest the vicinity of a throne, seized the opportunity: they commented on the way in which Philotas had for two days trifled with and baffled the informer, hereby preventing the particulars from reaching the king: they said, that he would never forget that Alexander had given him his life, nor forgive the humiliation to which he was thus exposed: the king was at last persuaded to suffer Philotas to be tried by a tribunal prepared to condemn him: he suffered death: but what was worse, these courtiers represented to Alexander the vehement resentment Parmenio would feel for the loss of his son: and the king was persuaded on this account to send a secret commission to assassinate his veteran servant, then seventy years of age.

DEATH OF CLITUS.

The situation of Alexander was an extraordinary one; and the further he extended his conquests, the more perilous that situation became: his own Macedonians were but a handful of men amidst the millions he subdued: it is comparatively easy to overrun nation after nation, and country after country: it is difficult to found an empire: Alexander had to do with idolators of different sects, and with the Persian race, who had long been accustomed to govern half the world: he possessed in a singular degree the faculty of conciliating men, and controling the mind: he appointed Persians for the most part to govern the Persian provinces; and he so thoroughly saw into and won the hearts of his fellow-creatures, that he was seldom deceived in them: one of the most powerful engines of amity and conciliation is the adopting the habits and manners of the persons with whom we live: Alexander assumed the dress and customs of Persia: the Persians were transported to find their conqueror become as it were one of themselves: upon these terms they were scarcely ashamed of having been conquered: but what delighted the Persian, offended the Macedonian: the countrymen of Alexander had had the happiness to be borderers upon the immortal repub-

lics of Greece; and they had caught something of the simplicity and independence of mind of republicans: the Persians were always accustomed when they approached their sovereign, to throw themselves at his feet: Alexander suffered them to pay him this homage; he required the Macedonians to do the same: this produced murmurs and ill will: it was altogether an equivocal sort of policy; since, if Alexander thought it would contribute to consolidate his empire, we must also be aware that it would have recommendations of another sort to a man spoiled by an uninterrupted series of prosperity: altogether however his modes of proceeding answered their end: the Persians never again made head against their conquerors, and the empire of the East continued Grecian, till the overwhelming power of Rome came, and swept away all that had gone before them.

What degree of policy there was on the part of Alexander in adopting Asiatic manners, may be open to debate: but there are other of his proceedings at this time which are less questionable: we have seen that he was desirous to pass for the son of Jupiter, and that his journey into the Great African Desert was directed to this end: this was the impulse of vanity and folly merely: it could not recommend him to the Persians; for the Persians were not polytheists: it is also of importance

to recollect that Alexander was the first man in the records of profane history, who had the arrogance to claim to be made an object of the ceremonies of religion in his life-time: apotheosis, or an aggregation to the society of the immortal Gods, had in all former instances been reserved as a token of the gratitude of mankind, to benefactors who had already quitted this transitory scene: the claim however, absurd as it was, proved a source of great anguish and dishonour to him who made it: the Macedonians were already offended with the Asiatic habits which Alexander assumed, and the prostrations he demanded: this further example of arrogance drove many of them beyond the bounds of forbearance.

Among others who disdained the servile humiliation expected from them, was Clitus: he was one of the most esteemed of the generals of Alexander, an old servant, and who had actually saved the life of the king, having covered him with his shield at the battle of the Granicus: at an entertainment given by Alexander on the banks of the Oxus, in honour of Castor and Pollux, one of those flatterers who are always to be found in the train of a court, proposed that the company present should proceed to pay divine honours to the conqueror; and instantly took up a censer with incense, that he might give an example of what he recommended: Clitus, already heated with wine, re-

proved the impiety, launched into copious praises of the Macedonians, whose party the king seemed to have deserted that he might put himself altogether into the hands of the Persians, and reproached Alexander with ingratitude to his predecessor Philip, whom he was willing to deny to be his father: the king became highly incensed at some of the insinuations of Clitus, and advanced towards him in an attitude of assault: but several of the guests came between, and forced the old general out of the apartment: Clitus however was too much goaded with wine and anger to be thus restrained, and returning by another door, began to sing certain verses which were deemed contemptuous towards the king: Alexander, no longer capable of moderation, seized a javelin from one of the attendants, and struck the old soldier to the heart: but no sooner did he see him stretched lifeless on the ground, than he was seized with the bitterest remorse, and according to Plutarch, sought to destroy himself with the same weapon with which he had killed Clitus: prevented in this, he shut himself up in his chamber, uttering only sighs and groans, and for three days refusing to take sustenance; nor was he recalled to recollection and activity, but by the reproaches of Anaxarchus, a philosopher of the school of Aristippus, who coming into the apartment, exclaimed with a loud voice, *See there the con-*

queror of the East, the son of Jupiter: of whom the world is in awe, abandoning the memory of all his exploits, and wallowing on the ground like a beaten slave!

It is of Anaxarchus the extraordinary story is told, that, being ordered by Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis in Cyprus, to be pounded with pestles in a mortar, he exclaimed in the midst of his sufferings, *Beat on, tyrant! thou dost but bruise the shell of Anaxarchus; Anaxarchus himself thou canst not touch.*

DEATH OF CALLISTHENES.

There was another philosopher in the train of Alexander, Callisthenes, the kinsman of Aristotle, who had given him to the young king as a companion and monitor, when the old philosopher from his infirmities was unable to attend his distant expeditions: Callisthenes was accustomed to expostulate with the king, and to be heard: but his admonitions, received with docility at first, afterwards became a source of ill will: Callisthenes was one of those, who set themselves against the Persian manners and habits of Alexander, and still more against the attribution of divine honours which he demanded: the sight of Callisthenes at length became intolerable to the king; and

he was finally cut off, as Parmenio and Philotas had been before, upon an unexplained charge of his being engaged in a treasonable conspiracy.

ALEXANDER IN INDIA.

Thus far Alexander had advanced in his military expeditions, upon motives however incorrect, and irreconcileable to sound morality, yet sufficiently congenial to the ordinary operation of human feelings: Darius and Xerxes had proceeded with their myriads and their millions for the purpose of subjugating Greece: they had wasted the country: they had destroyed the towns: they had burned Athens to the ground: the virtues and the energy only of this small portion of the globe, of Miltiades, and Leonidas, and Aristides, and Themistocles, had caused these despots to retrace their steps, baffled and disgraced: it was natural, I say, that the mind of Greece should not be satisfied with this termination of the story: the statesmen and the poets of Greece did every thing in their power to keep alive a deep sense of the barbarous aggression: there was scarcely a man throughout the country who did not think, that, as the Persian had wantonly invaded with his armies the soil of liberty, he deserved in his turn to have the evil

brought to his own doors, and to be reduced as low, as he had long been inflated, arrogant, and incroaching: it was with these feelings that the Macedonians and the Greeks cheerfully accompanied Alexander in his expedition: with these feelings they conquered Asia Minor, and Syria, and Egypt, and Babylonia, and Persia, and Media, and Parthia, and Bactria, and placed their beloved leader in full state upon the throne of Cyrus, securing to him all the provinces that had ever belonged to the Persian empire.

But Alexander was not satisfied with this: as a late historian* has said, *from the age of twenty he had been so habituated to activity in war, that it seems to have become as necessary to his enjoyment, as to a keen sportsman the pleasures of the chace:* let us pause for a moment on this character: Alexander was, or was become, a man to whom human blood, and massacre, and causeless hostility against unoffending nations, were grown into a necessary of existence: he stood on the extremest eastern border of the Persian empire, and considered what he should do next: before him was the river Cophes, and the various other rivers that swell with their streams the waters of the Indus: the countries that occupy this space were filled with a numerous population that

* Mitford.

had never heard the names of Darius or of Alexander: these were the Hindoos, a people with whom the enterprises of the English East India Company have of late brought us extensively acquainted: they were distinguished by the simplicity and innocence of their manners: Menu, their great legislator, had given them laws, the characteristics of which are benevolence, and moderation, and industry: they abstained from animal food: they neither desired to offend others, nor apprehended any thing from an invader: but were it otherwise, what right had the Macedonian stranger to invade their lands, and dragoon them into submission to his sceptre?

Against this people Alexander marched his armies: their country abounds in fertile plains, and in every thing delightful to the eye: but which was more unfortunate for them, it abounds in gold and precious stones: theirs are the mines of Golconda, and the treasures of Delhi: the march of Alexander against this people, reminds us of the conquests made two centuries ago in South America, by Cortes and Pizarro: the one not more unprovoked and unjustifiable than the other: in the first fortified town he arrived at, he gave no quarter, and demolished all the habitations: this is a specimen of Alexander's conquests in India: how well is such a character painted in the prophecy of Isaiah! *He smote the people in wrath*

with a continued stroke; he ruled the nations in anger; he made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof.

We must not however be unjust to a conqueror, who made injustice his daily exercise, and who knew no law but his will: Alexander was not such a conqueror as Attila, and Alaric, and the noted destroyers of the middle ages: every where he showed that he partook of the mind and the refinements of Greece, and that he was the pupil of Aristotle: his soul was plentifully stored with science, and his views were grand and comprehensive: he was not satisfied to overrun vast tracts of the globe, but he was desirous also to leave behind him the memory of permanent benefits: he wished after his mode, that the world should be the better for him: and among various indications of his disposition in that respect, it may be mentioned that he founded sixteen cities in Asia and Africa, bearing his name, of which Alexandria in Egypt, already spoken of, is the most famous.

At length the soldiers of Alexander, and the Macedonians themselves, broke out in discontent: they saw no end to their labours: still they had new obstacles to encounter, and new enemies to contend with, and every march they made led them further from their beloved home: Alexander tried every gentle method to overcome their distaste: he endeavoured to

excite them to sympathise with his vehement ambition and the disappointment he must endure: never was general more beloved by his soldiers than Alexander was: but all his efforts were vain: he was obliged, after having arrived at the Hyphasis *, the most eastern of the rivers that flow into the Indus, to yield to their intreaties, and set out on his return.

VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS.

Still however his active and energetic spirit was not contented simply to return; but he fastened a new plan upon the consent not to extend his march further east: he learned, in consequence of his various enquiries, that the Indus discharged its stream into the Great Southern Ocean: the fame of Carthage and Tyre made no small portion of the history of mankind: and Alexander resolved to contribute his share to increase the commerce and intercourse of nations: he determined to institute a voyage of discovery, and having led a great part of his army to the mouths of the Indus, he fitted out a fleet under Nearchus to explore the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulph: the voyage of Nearchus may be considered as a prelude to the discoveries of the

* The accent on the first syllable.

Portuguese, and the subsequent establishment of the British empire in India: to do justice to this adventurous undertaking, we must consider how little of the globe was known at that time, the observations of the most informed having been principally confined to the borders of the Mediterranean Sea: Alexander himself told his army that the Caspian Sea and the India Ocean being united, formed the eastern boundary of the world: how unlike is this idea to what is now known of the geography of Asia!

CITY OF THE OXYDRACÆ.

The measures of Alexander, in his progress from the banks of the Hyphasis to the mouths of the Indus, appear to have been unusually sanguinary: in several places that he took, he put all the inhabitants to the sword: if in other places he proceeded with less ferocity, as many inhabitants as were spared from slaughter, he sold into slavery: this impolitic proceeding rendered the resistance he had to encounter more obstinate: a memorable scene occurred at the attack of the city of the Oxydracæ: Alexander seized one of the scaling ladders which were brought for storming the place, and himself, accompanied by three of his officers, mounted the walls: the eagerness of his followers to support their leader, had

an effect directly opposite to their wishes: they overloaded the ladder, and it broke: these four persons were left alone on the wall, a mark for all the darts of the enemy: Alexander in particular, distinguished by the splendour of his armour, was more exposed than the rest: the gallantry of his spirit refused this species of danger, and he leaped into the city: he lighted on his feet, and immediately, sword in hand, placed his back against the wall, and slew several of the enemy: the three officers followed the example of their general, and joined him: in this situation Alexander received an arrow in his breast, and fell: the others fought strenuously about his body: and the Macedonians without applied their scaling ladders, and burst the gates, just in time to save their king from destruction.

DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

Alexander proceeded across the desert of Gedrosia, and met his admiral Nearchus at the entrance of the Persian Gulph: from thence he marched to Persepolis, Susa, and Ecbatana: at the last of these places Hephæstion died.

From Ecbatana Alexander proceeded to Babylon: his object here seems to have been to restore this city to the same splendour and prosperity it had enjoyed under its native mo-

narchs: he rebuilt the temple of Belus, which the Persians had destroyed: he surveyed the marshes which choaked the mouth of Euphrates, and which had converted a fruitful province into a standing pool: these marshes had been drained by the Assyrian kings, and the waters of the river confined within proper channels: Alexander ordered these works to be restored: one reason for the peculiar attention he paid to Babylon probably was, its advantageous situation for purposes of commerce: he also busied himself in building a fleet, with which he designed in person to examine the whole coast of Arabia, and from thence to proceed to Egypt: death came to arrest him in the midst of these projects: he was seized with a fever, similar to the yellow fever of North America, which he probably contracted in surveying the marshes*: he died on the eleventh day of his illness, in the thirty-third year of his age, after a reign of twelve years and eight months.

DEATH OF DEMOSTHENES.

The reign of Alexander could not be omitted in the history of Greece: he was one of the

* I received this explanation of the death of Alexander from that eminent physician, Dr. George Fordyce, who assured me that, from a careful examination of the bulletins of the king's illness, he had no doubt of the truth of the account here given.

most extraordinary persons which that memorable portion of the earth produced, and his character must be considered as the offspring of the institutions and achievements of the Greeks: but it is foreign to our purpose to pursue the general history of his successors: and therefore we now return to the subject of Greece in the strict sense of that appellation.

One of the last measures of the reign of Alexander, was an order issued to the different republics of Greece, to restore all those citizens whom for whatever reason the governments of the different states had sent into exile; with directions to Antipater, his governor in Macedonia, to inforce the execution of the order, if necessary, by dint of arms: it is difficult to conceive any thing more despotic than this: it immediately laid all the states of Greece prostrate at the foot of the conqueror: the Athenians accordingly refused to obey the decree; and Antipater had not yet entered upon his part of the commission, when the news of the death of the king totally changed the face of affairs between the two parties.

When Alexander died, the pretensions to succeed him in right of blood, remained with Hercules, his infant son by the daughter of Darius, with an unborn child, who proved to be a son, by Roxana, another of his wives, and, lastly, with Aridæus, his natural brother: all was uncertain, and open to dispute: this

was a state of things favourable to the assertion of the independence of Greece, beyond any thing that could have been hoped for; and Demosthenes was the man in all the world best qualified to discern the benefits that it held out: Demosthenes was at this time in exile: but no sooner had the death of Alexander become known, than his fellow-citizens by public decree sent a galley of honour to fetch the patriot home to the bosom of his country: Greece was however no longer the region that had immortalised herself by her arts and her arms: through the strenuous exertions of Demosthenes the republican armies won two battles against Antipater: but their very successes ruined them: they became presumptuous and careless, and many of the troops disbanded themselves, and repaired to their homes: in the mean time a large reinforcement to the enemy came from Craterus, who was stationed in Asia Minor; and Antipater, thus strengthened, defeated the confederates: the Greeks, as they had been too suddenly elated with success, became proportionably depressed with miscarriage: Antipater marched against one town and another, dictating the conditions of submission: at length he came before Athens: the terms he prescribed to this city were, that they should surrender Demosthenes and Hyperides*, their orators, into his hands, and

* The accent on the second syllable.

that the democracy should be abolished, and a Macedonian garrison be received into their citadel; and to these terms the Athenians were compelled to submit: Hyperides was put to death by Antipater: but Demosthenes, who had retired to the temple of Neptune in the isle of Calauria, and was on the point of being taken, swallowed poison, and thus escaped from the malice of his own enemies and the enemies of his country: his tomb was for a long time after to be seen in that island.

DEATH OF PHOCION.

Antipater, who had been appointed regent on behalf of the children of Alexander, died not long after this; and his death produced a schism in the government: Polysperchon, another of Alexander's generals, was chosen regent in his room; but Cassander, the son of Antipater, would not submit to this measure, and he found no want of partisans to support him: Polysperchon, to increase the number of his adherents, restored the democracy, and proclaimed liberty to Greece.

This proceeding occasioned the death of Phocion: Phocion was a good man; but he was averse to war, and had on all occasions been an opposer of hostilities against the Macedonians: one of the popular leaders in

Athens, impatient of his perpetual want of enterprise, asked him on a time, *When, Phocion, will it in your opinion be proper to go to war for the Athenian liberty?* Phocion, without being disconcerted, answered, *When the young men shall show that they are capable of temperance and firmness, when the rich shall devote their wealth to the public service, and the demagogues shall be under the guidance of patriotism and virtue:* he had no faith in the success of the exertions of Athens to free the state, and believed it better for them to sit down quietly in their present condition, than by vexatious efforts to bring upon themselves a more grievous subjection: he was therefore always on friendly terms with the Macedonian governor of the citadel, and had even considerable influence with Antipater himself.

The party who had acted with Demosthenes could by no means relish the temporising of Phocion; and the first use they made of their restoration to power, was to sentence him and the other leaders who appeared to be in the confidence of Antipater, to death: thus perished a man, who had no other fault than that of being too tender of the lives of his fellow-citizens, and shrinking, more than perhaps became an ancient Greek, from contention in the field for the liberties of his country.

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS*.

The efforts of Polysperchon were not attended with success: Cassander shortly after made himself master of Athens, and once more placed a Macedonian garrison in the citadel: the civil government he intrusted to Demetrius Phalereus.

Demetrius Phalereus was the disciple of Theophrastus, the celebrated philosopher; and his administration of the government of Athens, which continued ten or twelve years, was not unattended with a certain degree of glory: his character was humane, and the main bent of his endeavours was to make his fellow-citizens happy: Cicero celebrates him as a remarkable instance of a man, who brought philosophy from the retirement of the schools, and successfully applied her to the administration of public affairs: he was not less eminent as an author than a statesman: and, while he was at the head of the government, Athens was adorned and made glorious by the works of Theophrastus, Menander, Praxiteles, and Protogenes, and by the public lessons and instructions of Zeno and Epicurus, the founders of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophy.

As the administration of Demetrius Phalereus was beneficent and prosperous, his re-

* The accent on the second syllable.

compense was not less ample: three hundred and sixty statues are said to have been erected in different parts of Athens to his honour: upon this circumstance we find a judicious reflection in Cornelius Nepos, the historian: *In the most virtuous times of the republic,* says he, *the rewards conferred were few and sparing, and therefore the more honourable; afterwards they became lavish and profuse, and on that account carried with them less of distinction: thus, when Miltiades won the battle of Marathon, and saved his country from the Persian yoke, the recompense bestowed upon him was that in a painting of the army drawn up for fight, which hung in the Great Hall at Athens, his figure was placed in the midst of the ten generals, in the attitude of exhorting his soldiers to quit themselves like men; but, when Demetrius Phalereus governed the state under the nomination of a foreign ruler, three hundred statues were not held too much to be set up in his honour.*

DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES.

One of the most considerable of the generals of Alexander the Great was Antigonus*: he was perpetually engaged in warfare against Ptolemy, Seleucus and Cassander, who had for

* The accent on the second syllable.

the most part divided the territories and conquests of Alexander among them; and his enterprises were attended with great success: like Polysperchon, he conceived the project of extending his influence, by proclaiming liberty to Greece, and driving out the Macedonian garrisons from her cities: in execution of this design he sent his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, to Athens, where he was received with rapturous applause: Demetrius Phalereus, the late governor, was driven into exile, and even sentenced to death in his absence; the Macedonian garrison was expelled; and the assembly of the people resumed its authority: but it presently appeared that to restore Athens was a vain attempt: instead of resuming that republican dignity and independence of spirit for which she had once been renowned, her citizens poured out their acknowledgments in the grossest adulation: they voted that Antigonus and his son should be called kings; they pronounced them the tutelar deities of Athens: they ordered that two of the months of the year should be called after their names, as two of the months of the Roman year were afterwards called after Julius Cæsar and Augustus; and they directed that offerings and sacrifices should be made to them as Gods: Demetrius Poliorcetes, though a man of splendid abilities, was however of a very dissolute life; and he is even said to have caused the Athenians

to erect altars to his courtesans: when a people has manifested such dispositions, it is in vain to proclaim them free: in their very souls they are slaves.

SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

It is said that the other successors of Alexander took the hint from this proceeding in Athens, when they declared themselves kings, Ptolemy of Egypt, Seleucus of Babylon, and Cassander of Macedonia: the children and kindred of Alexander were already destroyed: Olympias, the mother of the conqueror, had put to death Aridæus; Olympias herself, as well as Roxana and her son, were murdered by order of Cassander; and at his instigation Polysperchon inflicted the same fate on Hercules, and his mother, the daughter of Darius: such are the crimes with which ambition inspires men who aim at a throne: while living, Alexander was the object of all their loyalty and attachment; dead, it was a crime fatal to the lives of those to whom it belonged, to be any way related in blood or marriage to their former master.

The remainder of the history of Greece is the history of a shadow, the ghost of departed greatness: yet it is instructive to look upon this decline of her glory, and to learn from it

the perishableness of all that is most illustrious and admirable beneath the sun: only one hundred and twenty-four years had elapsed from the death of Pericles to the triumphal entry of Demetrius Poliorcetes into Athens; and only one hundred and eighty-four years from the battle of Marathon.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Antigonus, his father, were of a character, never contented, never satisfied with what they had; and this disposition perpetually united all the other princes against them: the contention was finished by the battle of Ipsus, twenty-one years after the death of Alexander: in this battle Antigonus was killed, and his son reduced to seek his safety in flight: from this period we date the firm establishment of the Ptolemies in Egypt, the Seleucidæ* in Babylon and Syria, Cassander in Macedon, and Lysimachus on the throne of Thrace.

DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES.

Two years after the battle of Ipsus, Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had spent the intermediate period chiefly at Ephesus, embarked for Athens: but he was strangely surprised, when he was met on his way by ambassadors from that

* The accent on the second syllable.

place, who told him that the Athenians had made a decree, declaring that they would open their gates to none of the kings, successors to Alexander: it is not easy to form a sound judgment of this proceeding: Greece had now for several years descended from the lofty eminence, on which she had defied all the military force that the world could bring against her, and had become the sport of every surrounding sovereign: Polysperchon, when he was driven out of Macedon, settled himself in Peloponnesus: Cassander, having left a garrison in Athens, followed him, and reduced Argos and most of the towns of the peninsula: a few years after, Ptolemy made prize of Sicyon*, Corinth, and several neighbouring cities: again, shortly before the battle of Ipsus, Demetrius Poliorcetes recovered all the conquests of Ptolemy in Greece, and caused himself to be chosen at Corinth commander-in-chief of the Grecian armies, as Philip and Alexander had been before him: in this prostrate state of a country lately so illustrious, it was natural for the Athenians to hesitate, before by admitting the fugitive they risked the bringing upon themselves the resentment of the combined and victorious kings.

But Demetrius Poliorcetes was a singular instance of a man, whom, as it appeared, no

* Pronounce *Sickyon.*

adversity could crush: his abilities were of a superior sort: he had a courage which nothing could dismay; and it seemed as if fortune could never have the resolution to desert him: he soon after contracted a matrimonial connection with Ptolemy and Seleucus: he married the daughter of the first, and gave his own daughter in marriage to the second: these alliances enabled him to fit out a fleet with which to besiege Athens: at length, after an obstinate resistance, he took the city: he then ordered all the Athenians to meet in the forum: they stood in breathless expectation of the punishments that would be awarded them: but Demetrius was a man of a generous temper: he forgave them all they had done against him, and even bestowed upon them, among other gifts, an ample supply of the provisions of which they were greatly in want.

About this time Cassander died; and, a dispute arising about the succession, it was terminated by Demetrius Poliorcetes placing himself on the throne of Macedon: after seven years indeed he was expelled from this kingdom by the joint forces of Lysimachus, king of Thrace, and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus: but his posterity recovered the inheritance, and wore the crown of Macedon, till the country was finally reduced into a Roman province: the Pyrrhus here mentioned is the same who

became afterwards so celebrated for his interview and transactions with Fabricius.

BRENNUS AT DELPHI.

A memorable event which occurred soon after in Greece, was the invasion of the Gauls, about a century after the invasion of Italy by the same people, when they took the city of Rome: the leader in this irruption, as in that, is named Brennus: their armies were exceedingly numerous: they overwhelmed Macedon, and poured down with an irresistible torrent to the south: their invasion is reported to have terminated in a very singular manner: Brennus marched against the temple of Delphi, lured by the immense treasures which were supposed to be deposited there: his approach is said to have been immediately encountered by an earthquake: the God declared himself against him in thunders and hail: the Gauls were seized with a panic, and presently fled: the Macedonians and other Greeks took advantage of their disorder; and Brennus and the greater part of his army were destroyed.

PYRRHUS: SIEGE OF SPARTA.

Pyrrhus, who has just been mentioned, may be considered as a soldier of fortune: he excelled in the art of disciplining troops, but had no sufficient revenues to maintain them: he therefore led them from country to country in search of adventures: he performed many brilliant exploits: he subdued provinces and realms, but had not the art to retain them in obedience: he conquered Macedon; he passed over to Italy; he invaded Sicily: shortly after the irruption of the Gauls, he returned into Greece, and gained some advantages over Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes: circumstances then occurred to induce him to march against Sparta: Sparta had never been taken by an enemy; and he wished to place the capture of that city in the roll of his military achievements.

The Spartans preserved their ancient reputation better than the Athenians: the reason is obvious: with the Athenians glory, fortitude, refinement, were a passion merely, spreading as it were by infection from man to man, growing up suddenly, and easily liable to perish; supported, it is true, by the liberality of their political institutions, and the share which was secured to every citizen in the public affairs: but in Sparta it was education: every child,

as soon as he was born, was the property of the public: all were instructed in the same things, trained in the same habits, and inspired with the same preferences and desires: this scheme of things was handed down from father to son: and it was with difficulty such a character could wear out.

The reputation of Pyrrhus had gone before him, and caused considerable alarm: his march was sudden, and the king of Sparta was absent on a military expedition: the Lacedæmonian senate decreed to send their women and children to Crete, that they might prosecute the defence of the city with less incumbrance, and at all events might preserve a residue of its inhabitants: meanwhile the women gained intelligence of what was going on, and repaired in a body to the senate: they were led by one of their troop, named Archidamia, who entering the senate-house with a sword in her hand, asked the members, in the name of herself and her companions, *Whether they thought the Lacedæmonian women were so faint-hearted, that they would consent to live, when the city to which they belonged was destroyed?* the senators yielded to this spirited appeal: it was resolved that a trench should be cast up on the side on which the enemy approached: here again the women interfered, and insisted that they, together with the old men, should work at the trench, that so the young men

might come forth in the morning fresh for the combat: the men of Sparta showed themselves worthy of such wives, and Pyrrhus was repulsed.

From Sparta Pyrrhus marched against Argos: and here he terminated his restless career: having penetrated into a street of the town, a woman, from the top of a house, cast a tile on his head with so just an aim, that it brought him to the ground: an Argive soldier perceived what had happened, immediately came up, and struck off his head.

AGIS.

But, though a considerable part of the effect of the Spartan discipline remained, yet the institutions of Lycurgus were in a great degree lost: one of the magistrates, who had conceived a mortal displeasure to his son, that he might gratify his implacable spirit, had brought up a law, that every man might give away his property while he lived, or bequeath it by will, to whomsoever he pleased: this law produced a memorable effect: that equality, which was the peculiar characteristic of the system of Lycurgus, perished: the citizens became distinguished into the rich and the poor: and in no long while, as in that case must necessarily

happen, a small number were rich, and the body of the people were poor.

It has been already mentioned, that there were always two kings in Sparta, who divided such power and royalty as were permitted by the institutions of Lycurgus, between them: twenty-four years after the period in which Pyrrhus was compelled to raise the siege of the city, a young prince of the name of Agis succeeded to a share of the joint royalty: Agis was a philosopher-king: he brooded over the glories of the ancient Spartans: he penetrated his soul with admiration of the legislation of Lycurgus: his heart sickened at the thought, that the descendants of such a race should subside into a corrupt and ordinary people: he chose for himself the heroic task of restoring in its complete state the ancient Lacedæmonian discipline: the two great points in his project were, first, the abolition of all debts, and, secondly, the dividing of all property into equal shares, according to the institution of Lycurgus.

He began with making converts in his own family: his mother, his grandmother, and his uncle, the brother of his mother, were extremely rich: they were prevailed on, partly by a sincere admiration of, and sympathy with, the generous plans of Agis; and partly by other and less honourable motives, to lend

their countenance and aid to his proceeding; only that the uncle, who we are told was deeply in debt, but had great landed possessions, overpersuaded the young king, that the surest method for carrying through his scheme, was by dividing it; to propose the abolition of debts first, and the equal division of property afterwards.

The most formidable opposer of the proposed reformation was Leonidas, who was with Agis joint king of Sparta: Leonidas acted in concert with that portion of the richer citizens which was not, like the uncle of the young king, burthened with debts: they dreaded a proposal which would at once sink them to privation and obscurity: at the same time that they did not venture upon an open opposition to Agis, who of course had the main body of the Spartan people on his side, in addition to those whom his eloquence might persuade, and the beauty and liberality of his scheme might bring over to his side.

It was therefore a great thing for the party of the rich to have one of the kings engaged in their views; and Agis found that he could no otherwise succeed in his project, than by depriving Leonidas of his joint sovereignty: accordingly at his instigation an accusation was brought against Leonidas, for having married an Asiatic woman, contrary to the institutions of Lycurgus; Leonidas withdrew himself; and

Cleombrotus*, his son-in-law, who was also of royal birth, was substituted in his stead.

The law for the abolition of debts was now passed: but a variety of obstacles was thrown in the way of the other law, and even the uncle of Agis secretly counteracted it: the mother and the grandmother of the young king, as well as Agis himself, surrendered their property, as they had promised to do: but there it ended.

When the great body of the Spartan people found themselves frustrated of their expectation, they, as usually happens in such cases, became cool towards their benefactor; and Agis was no longer carried along with the full tide of popularity and love which had distinguished his beginning career: he prayed them to have patience; but in vain.

The rich saw their time: they spread imputations and reports of selfishness and insincerity against Agis: they cajoled and beguiled with false promises as many of the lower people as they could gain: the multitude had been deceived, and they were persuaded to consider Agis as the deceiver: Leonidas was brought back; and both the other kings were obliged to fly to sanctuary: Cleombrotus his father-in-law was contented to send into banishment: but against Agis he meditated a deeper revenge.

* The accent on the second syllable.

There was a magistracy of a peculiar sort in Sparta, called the Ephori*: it consisted of five persons: their original office was to watch against innovation or improper proceeding on the part of any member of the government; they were allowed to exercise what in modern books of political science has been called a *Veto*, a Latin word which signifies, *I forbid:* they were probably originally instituted by Lycurgus: but in process of time they greatly enlarged their powers, and at length came to overrule the kings themselves.

Agis was seduced from his sanctuary, and dragged before this board: they endeavoured to persuade him to retract the measures he had adopted, but without success: he replied, that no consideration on earth should induce him to repent of an enterprise which was both virtuous and wise: they at length condemned him to death: and what renders the proceeding peculiarly atrocious, they involved his mother and grandmother in the same sentence: all three were strangled together in the public prison.

CLEOMENES †.

A further act of Leonidas, not less brutal than those which have been mentioned, was

* The accent on the first syllable. † On the third.

that he forced the widow of Agis to marry his own son, Cleomenes: the young lady protested against the violence that was exercised towards her, but in vain: and, being married, she ever hated Leonidas to the death; but to Cleomenes, who was scarcely more than a stripling at the time, she proved herself a good and loving wife: Cleomenes, who had been educated by a stoic philosopher, a scholar of Zeno, delighted in her conversation, and would often lead her to talk of her first husband, taking much pleasure in hearing the magnanimous conceptions and counsels of Agis.

After some years Leonidas died, and Cleomenes reigned in his stead: one of the first acts of his reign was to recal Archidamus*, the brother of Agis, and make him joint partaker of the sovereignty: but the same party that had destroyed Agis, did not scruple to assassinate Archidamus: Cleomenes then associated his own brother, Euclidas†, in the royalty.

Cleomenes was more resolute, and of a less scrupulous nature, than Agis: having fully ripened his plan, he proceeded with a chosen body of friends to the hall where the Ephori were assembled, and, without form of trial, put them to death: he then set forth a list of eighty persons, whom he ordered to be sent

* The accent on the third syllable.

† The accent on the second syllable.

into banishment: after these preliminaries, he brought forward his laws, the first of which was for the division of lands, and the second for the public meals, which he directed to be served up in fifteen halls, prepared for the accommodation of from two to four hundred persons in each.

ARATUS *.

The state of Greece was at this time not a little unfortunate: it had been the policy of the kings of Macedon, as far as they were able, to place the sovereign authority in each city in the hands of a single person, which government the Greeks denominated a tyranny: these tyrants, maintained in their respective states in opposition to popular opinion, were tools in the hands of the Macedonian: Aratus of Sicyon, a name which stands high in this period of Grecian history, set himself to expel the tyrants: he revived the Achæan league, a confederacy originally of twelve towns in the north-west of Peloponnesus, and brought Corinth, Trœzene and Epidaurus in addition, to increase the strength of the league: this was a point of resistance against the ascendancy of the Macedonian kings: but unfortunately there

* The accent on the second syllable.

was ill-blood between the Achæans and Sparta: Cleomenes had been the leader on the part of this latter city, and, by way of putting an end to the war, he proposed that the Spartans and Achæans should jointly chuse him their commander in chief: Aratus was of a jealous nature, and could not bear that himself, the elder general, and who had expelled the tyrants, should be superseded for Cleomenes: the union of the two would have given a strength to the free states of Greece, which had been long unknown: but, owing to the narrow sentiments of Aratus, the war proceeded: in the contest Cleomenes had decisively the superiority; and Aratus at length preferred calling in the king of Macedon, whom he had been all his life opposing, to the idea of yielding in any thing to the ascendant of his fellow-labourer in the cause of freedom, Cleomenes.

The sovereign of Macedon at this time was Antigonus Doson, the second in succession from Antigonus Gonatas: this prince accepted the overture of Aratus with eagerness, and marched his forces immediately for the isthmus of Corinth: Cleomenes, an able leader both in peace and war, conducted his Spartans to the mountains north of the isthmus, that so he might prevent Antigonus from advancing: this excellent manœuvre however was defeated by an insurrection in Argos, stirred up by Aratus: Cleomenes fell back upon his own country:

and here the battle of Sellasia took place between the Macedonian and the Spartan: the Spartans fought well and obstinately; but the Macedonian phalanx was too strong: two hundred Lacedæmonians only are said to have escaped from this battle: Cleomenes was obliged to fly into Egypt: Antigonus entered Sparta; and the first thing he did was to suppress all the recent reforms, and bring back the country to the state in which it had been found previously to the heroic achievements of Cleomenes and Agis: this done, he entertained no further apprehension from the hostilities of Sparta.

PHILIP: GREECE INVADED BY THE ROMANS.

We are now come to the last scene of the history of Greece: in about one hundred and twenty years after the death of Alexander, was fought the battle of Zama, which terminated the great struggle for superiority between Carthage and Rome in favour of the latter: the characteristic of the Roman republic, as far as foreign affairs was concerned, was a spirit of conquest: one after another they had subdued the many states into which Italy was then divided: their next object was Sicily: Sicily was the region in which they and the Cartha-

ginians first came into contest: and, when at length Carthage was humbled, they found no object too vast for the grasp of their ambition.

The very next portion of the earth upon which they cast their eyes, was Greece: the Romans were a people penetrated with the highest degree of patriotism, and with all the austerer virtues: but they had at this period no touch of literature, refinement, or the arts: they looked upon Greece with none of that tender and reverential feeling which since that time Ancient Greece has excited: they regarded her illustrious and immortal productions no more, than a hungry hawk values the colours of the pheasant, or the voice of the nightingale.

Ambition can always make a pretence for the gratification of her appetites, where she finds none: the Roman historians tell us that Philip, who succeeded Antigonus Doson in the throne of Macedon three years after the battle of Sellasia, had entered into a treaty with Hannibal in the full career of his victories, to divide Italy between them: it was fitting that Rome should remember and avenge this, when she had ridded her hands of her principal adversary: the Romans accordingly stirred up several states of Greece to make war upon Philip, during the second Punic war, and before the battle of Zama: and, that war being ended, they set themselves seriously to the

business of subjecting Macedon to their authority and command, as they had recently subjected Carthage.

This project of the Romans produced a new state of things in Greece: hitherto, since the humiliation of the Persians, the adherents of that system of freedom and independence which constitutes the proper subject of this volume, had no neighbour government so strongly adapted to excite in them feelings of alarm as that of Macedon: every friend of Greece, such as we have seen her in her best days, must have been an enemy to the usurpations of the Macedonian: but, when the Romans had once gained footing, or sought to extend their authority, to the east of the Ionian Sea, then nearly the same motives would induce a genuine Greek to make common cause with the king of Macedon: liberty to all the states was the first point; but, next to that, it was obviously to be desired, that Greece, in its most extensive sense, from Mount Hæmus to its southernmost extremity, should repel far from her shores the ascendancy of any foreign, or, as the Greeks were accustomed to style it, barbarian power: under the Macedonian Greek literature might flourish, and Greece itself might hope to revive; not so under the Roman: such however was not the feeling of the Greeks at the time of which we are treating: the conduct of Philip had in many instances been usurping and cruel:

and the Achæans, the Ætolians, and even the Athenians joined the invader against him.

Titus Quintius Flamininus was the principal commander of the Romans in this war: and, after two very active and spirited campaigns, he gave king Philip a final defeat at Cynocephalæ*, in the heart of the Macedonian dominions: the result of all was a peace, the terms of which were dictated by the Roman senate: the principal were, that Philip should deliver up all his ships of war, except five, to the Romans, that his army should never exceed the amount of five thousand men, that he should in no instance make war without the approbation of the Roman senate, and that he should pay an annual tribute for ten years.

The immediate consequence of this peace was a proclamation made by Flamininus in person at the Isthmian games in Corinth, of liberty and independence to the states of Greece: we shall presently see to what this gift amounted: meanwhile it is clear that this was purely a measure of policy: if the Romans had attempted immediately to usurp the sovereignty, they would have excited all the Greeks to revolt against them: by this specious gift they made them zealous allies: the Greeks were now so effectually sunk from their former elevation, that they received this boon from an

* The accent on the third syllable.

invading stranger, with all the demonstrations of an inextinguishable gratitude.

ANTIOCHUS* THE GREAT.

The Romans had no sooner concluded their war with the king of Macedon, than they were threatened with another from Antiochus the Great, the descendant of Seleucus, king of Babylon, or, as he is more usually styled, of Syria: the dominions of Antiochus extended, with few exceptions, as far west as to the Ægean: he saw plainly enough that he should one day be engaged in contention with the Roman republic; and he judged it for his advantage to carry the seat of war across the Ægean into Greece: Hannibal, whom the Romans had driven into exile from Carthage, took refuge in the court of Antiochus.

Since the expulsion of Cleomenes, Sparta herself, like the inferior cities of Greece, had been in subjection to tyrants: strange stories are told of Nabis, one of these tyrants, and of an instrument of torture, that he called his *wife:* Nabis had by a stratagem added to his dominions the city of Argos: Flamininus, having some reason to fear that the tyrant would lend his aid to the projects of Antiochus,

* The accent on the second syllable.

resolved to clear away this difficulty in the first instance: he marched against Nabis, and presently made an end of the war: he compelled him to restore Argos to its liberty: he limited his naval force to two vessels: and imposed on him a tribute for eight years: the remainder of the history of Nabis is obscure: we are told, that the Ætolians, now enemies to Rome, caused him to be assassinated; but that Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, her allies, improved the opportunity, abolished the tyranny of Sparta, and compelled her to become a member of the Achæan confederacy.

Shortly after the death of Nabis, Antiochus crossed over into Greece, and quartered his army in Thessaly: but he carried on the war in a way unequal to the great expectations that had been formed of him; and in the following year was glad to quit the advanced post he had seized, and retire into Asia: he had the extraordinary advantage to have Hannibal for his companion, and, if he pleased, for the guide of his counsels: but his courtiers persuaded him, that it would be disgraceful to so great a monarch to be directed by a stranger, in measures, the glory of which, if they succeeded, would be wholly ascribed to the adviser, and not at all to the king: whatever therefore Hannibal recommended, Antiochus took care to adopt a different proceeding.

Antiochus fought a battle at Thermopylæ for

the possession of Greece, and in the following year another battle at Magnesia in Asia Minor: in both he was unsuccessful: the consequence was, that he was obliged to submit to such terms of peace as the Romans thought fit to impose: the conditions were, that he should surrender all his dominions west of mount Taurus, that he should pay to his conquerors the whole amount of the expence of the war, and that he should deliver the person of Hannibal, his guest, into their hands: Hannibal, aware of his danger in this respect, escaped, first, into Crete, and afterwards to Prusias*, king of Bithynia, in whose dominions he died.

It is reasonable to believe that it would have been more advantageous for Greece, to have remained under the ascendancy of the kings of Macedon, than to have been subject to the Romans: but, in the contest that afterwards occurred between Antiochus and Rome, the case was altered: nothing worse perhaps could befal this beautiful and illustrious portion of the globe, than to submit to an Asiatic monarch; if the Romans were austere, inflexible and despotic, they at least learned in the sequel to cultivate Grecian arts, and to honour the great models of Grecian intellect and genius: what the Roman character in its original constitution wanted in imagination, it made up in the

* The accent on the first syllable.

robuster moral qualities of the soul: yet the Romans were by no means desirable masters.

PHILOPŒMEN.

About the period at which we are arrived, occurred an event which put a final close upon the glory of Sparta: Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, seems to have been inspired with an unremitted animosity against that republic: a quarrel which arose between the Spartans and their exiles, who had fortified certain castles and villages on the coast of Laconia in opposition to the mother-city, gave occasion for him to interfere: Philopœmen marched the Achæan army to the aid of the exiles: he named ninety of the heads of the republic as the ringleaders of the dispute, and demanded that they should be sent to him to give an account of themselves: in reliance upon the honourable character of Philopœmen this demand was complied with: he nevertheless put them all to death: he then restored the exiles, demolished the walls of Sparta, and abrogated for ever the institutions of Lycurgus, the wonder of the world.

Philopœmen has been handed down to posterity as the subject of high panegyric: he is said to have been a consummate military commander: his conduct was certainly such for the most part, as to command the reverence and

attachment of those who served beneath his standard: Plutarch styles him *the last of the Greeks:* but it seems hard to say that his conduct tended to any beneficial results to the country of the Greeks: that country was unhappy, and it was perhaps impossible at this time for any individual to render it a service that should be effectual and permanent.

PERSEUS AND DEMETRIUS.

It was the fortune of the Romans to subdue one enemy after another, and seldom to have a confederacy of hostile states to contend with at the same time: in the war with Antiochus, Philip, who had recently been humbled at the battle of Cynocephalæ, was assiduous in affording aid to the Roman commanders sent against the Syrian: he came in person to meet them on his western frontier, supplied their wants, and accompanied them with every mark of respect to the Hellespont: but, when Antiochus was subdued, the Romans by no means showed him the favour he expected in return: if he aspired to any advantage to the south of Macedon, this they decided to be inconsistent with the freedom of the Grecian cities: if he desired to extend and consolidate his dominions on the side of the Thracian Chersonesus, they granted to

Eumenes, king of Pergamus*, a decided preference over him: if Philip was now their ally, it was plain they regarded him as a prince who might one day be their foe, and whom it was their interest to keep from becoming formidable.

Convinced by the whole of the treatment he received, that the Romans were resolved to deprive him of his crown, and reduce Macedon into a province, Philip now employed himself for several years in making suitable provision for the final contention: he was assiduous in training his Macedonians to the discipline of war: and he even invited the Thracians, and the barbarians from the Carpathian mountains, to settle in his dominions, conceiving that he might make of them soldiers more formidable and robust, than of his native subjects.

The last days of this unfortunate prince were embittered with family dissention: he had two sons, Perseus and Demetrius, the younger of whom had particularly attached himself to the Romans, and perhaps expected by their aid to reap his father's inheritance: this was a bitter anticipation to Philip: Perseus did every thing in his power to widen the breach, and continually brought fresh stories to his father to the disadvantage of his brother: at length Philip gave the word that Demetrius

* The accent on the first syllable.

should be seized and put to death: from this moment we are told the court of the old king was left deserted, while all hastened to tender their service to his expected successor: too late Philip repented of the death of Demetrius; and partly remorse, and partly the ingratitude of his surviving son, in no long time brought him to the grave.

PERSEUS.

The insatiate spirit of conquest in the Roman republic already made them impatient to number Macedon, the country of the greatest conqueror on record, in the list of their provinces: if they had been able to place Demetrius, their tool, a prince of slender capacity, on the throne of his father, this revolution might have been brought about by insensible degrees: but Perseus was a man of another cast: he was not destitute either of policy or military skill; but these qualities in him were obscured by contemptible vices, cowardice, duplicity, and avarice: the neighbouring kings and free states were at length roused to a full sense of their danger from the incroaching spirit of the Romans; and Polybius says, that, for a moderate sum of money well applied, Perseus might have brought

almost all those states and kings to co-operate with him: but unfortunately he prided himself upon a low craft, having in several instances promised large subsidies, and, when he thought his new allies were involved with him beyond redemption, disappointing them of the expected performance.

For three years the war was carried on between the Romans and Perseus, rather to the advantage of the latter: but in the fourth year the republic sent the ablest general of the time, Paulus Æmilius, into Macedon, with large reinforcements: he first drove Perseus from his intrenchments near Dium; and then fought a bloody and decisive battle with him at Pydna: the conduct of Perseus had been odious to his subjects; and, immediately after this defeat, he found himself obliged to fly from his kingdom: he took refuge in the sacred island of Samothrace, but in a short time surrendered his person unconditionally to the Romans: in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, Perseus was compelled to walk in chains before the chariot of the victor, and was then thrown into prison, where he was starved to death: Macedon was reduced into a Roman province.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE SUBJECTION OF MACEDON.

Flamininus, as we have seen, solemnly proclaimed liberty to the Greeks in an assembly of the nation held at Corinth: but the Romans put their own construction upon the liberty they granted to nations whom they called their allies: they required them to assist Rome with their armies, whenever she thought proper: they forbade them to make war with one another, or even to subdue rebellion among themselves, without permission from the Roman senate: they sought every occasion to issue their orders to the states of Greece, which they expected to have instantly obeyed: things grew much worse after the conquest of Macedon: the Romans would no longer endure opposition or contradiction.

The proceedings of the Romans in Greece in the year subsequent to the battle of Pydna, were marked with a peculiar degree of atrocity: the senate, says the historian, being desirous to preserve the wealth of the Macedonian whole for the public treasury, resolved to give the cities of Epirus to pillage, to satisfy the rapacity of the soldiers: Anicius, the prætor, had previously declared these cities free: Paulus Æmilius then dispatched certain

officers into each, under pretence of withdrawing the Roman garrisons: he issued orders to the principal inhabitants, to take care that all the gold and silver, both from temples and private houses, should be gathered together, and piled up in the market-places; and he sent cohorts of the Roman army to attend, and see that all was properly done: it was contrived that these cohorts should enter all the cities at the same time; and on a signal given, the soldiers proceeded to plunder the houses and seize the inhabitants: seventy towns of Epirus were thus sacked in one day, and one hundred and fifty thousand persons made slaves.

Paulus Æmilius next proceeded to execute what he called justice within the precise limits of Greece: the enquiry every where was, who had afforded assistance to the Romans in their late contention with Perseus: and those who, whether from partiality to the Macedonian, or affection for the liberty of their country, had shewn themselves backward, were treated as enemies: lists of all the considerable persons in these classes were carefully procured; and the men whose names were put down in these lists, were ordered by the Roman commander to proceed to Rome, there to justify their conduct: with the Achæans, whose power was more formidable, he acted in somewhat a different manner: he sent two

of his officers to the Achæan diet, to complain that certain of their citizens had favoured Perseus, and to demand a decree, that all such persons should suffer death: *when the decree was passed, the officers would give in the names of the offenders:* the assembly exclaimed with one voice against the enormity of condemning men unheard, and even unnamed: the form of the requisition was then changed, and it was prescribed that the accused should be sent to Rome, to answer to the senate for what they had done: upwards of one thousand Achæans were in consequence transported into Italy: they were distributed into the different towns of that country, and were never brought to a hearing: and it was not till seventeen years afterwards, that as many of them as were then living were permitted to return into Greece: these amounted to three hundred, and Polybius, the historian, was one of them.

CORINTH DESTROYED.

The Achæan league was now the only power in Greece formidable enough to give umbrage to the Roman republic: and accordingly the Romans watched for an occasion to humble this power still further: such an occasion did not fail to present itself twenty years after the battle of Pydna, in a quarrel between the

Achæans and the Spartans: Sparta, as we have seen, amidst all its corruptions still retained a reverence for the institutions of Lycurgus, and an attachment to its national independence, and had unwillingly been included in the Achæan confederacy: misunderstandings were likely to arise out of this forced connection: Sparta refused to obey some mandate of the Achæan assembly, and the Achæans resolved to subdue her refractoriness by arms: it was the system of the Romans to forbid all her inferior allies to go to war with each other without permission from the senate: the Achæans disobeyed this prohibition, and the senate in consequence decreed that Sparta, Corinth, Argos, and one or two other towns, not originally members of the league, should henceforth be separated from it: the Achæans were exasperated at a decree so fatal to their ascendancy: they resolved that this was the time, the Romans being deeply occupied with their wars in Africa and Spain, to assert their independence: finding all pacific measures ineffectual, Metellus, the Roman governor of Macedon, marched against Achaia: he won a decisive battle, and shut up the remainder of the Achæan army in the city of Corinth.

At this time Mummius, the consul, to whom the senate had given in charge the Achæan war, arrived, and superseded Metellus in the command: the Greek commander was presump-

tuous enough to come out from the walls of Corinth, and offer Mummius battle: the consequence was so signal a defeat, that the Grecian army dispersed, and the Romans entered the city next day without opposition: Mummius abandoned Corinth to be plundered by his soldiers: the men who were found in it were put to the sword, and the women and children sold for slaves: he then demolished the walls, and set fire to the houses, which were in flames for several successive days: this happened in the same year with the destruction of Carthage: Greece was from this time reduced into a province under the name of Achaia.

It deserves to be recorded, that Mummius, who performed this memorable exploit, was void of all discrimination in the arts, and all sense of what is admirable in painting and statuary: as a proof of this, we are told, that when he shipped for Rome the statues of Lysippus, and the pictures of Apelles, those unrivalled monuments of human ingenuity, he gave strict injunctions to the captains of the vessels that received them, that in case any of them were lost or destroyed, they should be obliged to supply the place with others at their own cost.

THE END.

B. M'Millan, Printer,
Bow-Street, Covent-Garden.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

	Before Christ.
Reign of Minos in Crete	1406
—— of Theseus in Athens	1234
Surrender of Troy	1184
Return of the Heraclidæ	1104
Death of Codrus	1070
Lycurgus	884
Commencement of the Olympiads	776
First Messenian War	743
Second Messenian War	685
Draco	623
Solon	594
Pisistratus	560
Death of Solon	558
Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus	548

The above is the vulgar chronology, as arranged by Archbishop Usher: Sir Isaac Newton, in his Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended, gives the following dates:

Minos	1006
Theseus	968
Surrender of Troy	904
Return of the Heraclidæ	825
Commencement of the Olympiads [*in this date the vulgar chronology, and Sir Isaac Newton's Table coincide*]	776
Lycurgus	705

	Before Christ.
First Messenian War	652
Second Messenian War	607
Draco	572
Solon	562
Pisistratus	550
Death of Solon	549
Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus	544

Here ends the difference between Sir Isaac Newton's and the vulgar chronology.

Cyrus King of Persia	536
Cambyses	529
Death of Pisistratus	526
Death of Polycrates	522
Darius	521
Harmodius and Aristogiton	512
Expulsion of Hippias	508
Sardis burned by the Athenians	500
Battle of Marathon	490
Xerxes	485
Battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis	480
Battle of Platæa: Gelon Tyrant of Syracuse	479
Hiero Tyrant of Syracuse (he reigns eleven years)	472
Battle of the Eurymedon	469
Ostracism of Themistocles	469
Earthquake of Sparta	465
Ostracism of Cimon	461
Peloponnesian War	431
Plague of Athens: Pericles dies	430
Surrender of Mitylene and Platæa	427
Surrender of Sphacteria	425
Peace of Nicias	421
Alliance between Argos and Athens	420
Expedition to Sicily	415
Surrender of the Athenians in Sicily	413
Battle of Cyzicus	410
Alcibiades in Athens	408

	Before Christ.
Defeat of the Athenian Fleet at Notium	407
Victory of Arginusæ	—
Disaster at Ægospotamos	406
Surrender of Athens	405
Thirty Tyrants: Dionysius Tyrant of Syracuse	404
Liberty restored by Thrasybulus	403
Battle of Cunaxa: Retreat of the Ten Thousand: Death of Socrates	401
Expedition of Agesilaus	396
Peace of Antalcidas	386
Spartans seize the Citadel of Thebes	382
Counter-revolution of Thebes	379
Battle of Leuctra	371
Dionysius II, Tyrant of Syracuse	366
Battle of Mantinea	363
Philip king of Macedon	360
Timoleon in Sicily	343
Philip at Delphi	339
Battle of Chæronea	338
Death of Philip: Alexander succeeds	336
Destruction of Thebes	335
Battle of the Granicus	334
Battle of Issus	333
Siege of Tyre: Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon	332
Battle of Arbela: Alexander at Babylon and Persepolis	331
Battle of Megalopolis: Death of Darius: Deaths of Philotas and Parmenio	330
Alexander in Bactria: Deaths of Clitus and Callisthenes	328
Invasion of India	327
Voyage of Nearchus	325
Death of Alexander: Revolt of the Athenians	323
Surrender of Athens: Death of Demosthenes	322
Death of Phocion	319
Demetrius Phalereus Governor of Athens	317
Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens	306

	Before Christ.
Battle of Ipsus	302
Demetrius Poliorcetes shut out from Athens	300
Athens surrenders to him	295
Brennus at Delphi	278
Antigonus Gonatas King of Macedon	276
Sparta besieged by Pyrrhus	272
Agis King of Sparta	248
Murder of Agis	244
Cleomenes King of Sparta	242
Aratus calls in Antigonus King of Macedon	225
Battle of Sellasia: Cleomenes flies	223
Philip King of Macedon	220
Battle of Cynocephalæ	196
Flamininus proclaims Liberty to Greece	195
Death of Nabis Tyrant of Sparta	192
Battle of Magnesia	190
Sparta taken by Philopœmen	188
Perseus King of Macedon	179
Macedon reduced into a Roman Province	168
Epirus pillaged: One Thousand Achæans sent into exile	167
Corinth destroyed: Greece reduced into a Roman Province	146

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