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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS

BY M. ROLLIN,

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOOK IV.

PAGE

THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS AND MEDES, BY CYRUS: CONTAINING THE REIGNS OF CYRUS, OF CAMBYSES, AND SMERDIS THE MAGIAN 1

CHAP. I.—THE HISTORY OF CYRUS ..... *ib.*

ARTICLE I.

The history of Cyrus from his infancy to the siege of Babylon 2
§ I. Cyrus's education ..... *ib.*
II. Cyrus's journey to his grandfather Astyages, and his return into Persia . 4
III. The first campaign of Cyrus, who goes to succour his uncle Cyaxares against the Babylonians 8
IV. The expedition of Cyaxares and Cyrus against the Babylonians. The first battle 21
V. The battle of Thymbra, between Cyrus and Crœsus 36
VI. The taking of Sardis and of Crœsus 48

ARTICLE II.

The history of the besieging and taking of Babylon by Cyrus 52
§ I. Predictions of the principal circumstances relating to the siege and the taking of Babylon, as they are set down in different places of the Holy Scriptures ..... *ib.*
1. The prediction of the Jewish captivity at Babylon, and of the time of its duration 53
2. The causes of God's wrath against Babylon ..... *ib.*
3. The decree pronounced against Babylon. Prediction of the calamities that were to fall upon her, and of her utter destruction 54
4. Cyrus called to destroy Babylon, and to deliver the Jews 55
5. God gives the signal to the commanders, and to the troops, to march against Babylon 56
6. Particular circumstances set down relating to the siege and the taking of Babylon 57
II. A description of the taking of Babylon 61
III. The completion of the prophecy which foretold the total ruin and destruction of Babylon 64
IV. What followed upon the taking of Babylon 68

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ARTICLE III.

PAGE
The history of Cyrus, from the taking of Babylon to the time of his death .. 76
§ I. Cyrus takes a journey into Persia. At his return from thence to Babylon, he forms a plan of government for the whole empire. Daniel's credit and power ..... *ib.*
II. The beginning of the united empire of the Persians and Medes. The famous edict of Cyrus. Daniel's prophecies 79
Reflections upon Daniel's prophecies 81
III. The last years of Cyrus. The death of that prince 86
Character and eulogy of Cyrus 88
IV. Wherein Herodotus and Xenophon differ in their accounts of Cyrus ... 95

CHAPTER II. PAGE
The history of Cambyses 98

CHAPTER III.
The history of Smerdis the Magian 109

CHAPTER IV.
The manners and customs of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Lydians, Medes, and Persians 114

ARTICLE I.

Of their government ..... *ib.*
§ I. Their monarchical form of government. The respect they paid their kings. The manner of educating their children 115
II. The public council, wherein the affairs of state were considered 118
III. The administration of justice 121
IV. The care of the provinces 125
V. Administration of the revenues 133

ARTICLE II.

Of their war 136
§ I. Their entrance upon military discipline ..... *ib.*
II. Their armour 137
III. Chariots armed with scythes 138
IV. Their discipline in peace as well as war 140
§ V. Their order of battle 141
VI. Their manner of attacking and defending strong places 144
1. Their way of attacking places ..... *ib.*
2. Their manner of defending places 145
VII. The condition of the Persian forces after Cyrus's time 146

ARTICLE III.

Arts and Sciences 148
I. Architecture 149
II. Music 150
III. Physic 152
IV. Astronomy 155
V. Judicial Astrology 156

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ARTICLE IV.

PAGE
Religion 160
Their marriages, and the manner of burying the dead 167

ARTICLE V.

The cause of the declension of the Persian empire, and of the change that happened in their manners 169
§ I. Luxury and magnificence ..... *ib.*
II. The abject submission and slavery of the Persians 173
III. The wrong education of their princes another cause of the declension of the Persian empire 177
IV. Their breach of faith, and want of sincerity 179

BOOK V.

THE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE SEVERAL STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE 182

ARTICLE I.

A geographical description of ancient Greece 183
Greece, properly so called 184
The Grecian isles 185

ARTICLE II.

Division of the Grecian history into four several ages 186

ARTICLE III.

The primitive origin of the Grecians 187

ARTICLE IV.

The different states into which Greece was divided 190

ARTICLE V.

Colonies of the Greeks sent into Asia Minor 195
The Grecian dialects 197

ARTICLE VI.

The republican form of government almost generally established throughout Greece 198

ARTICLE VII.

The Spartan government. Laws established by Lycurgus 200
1. Institution. The senate 202
2. Institution. The division of the lands, and the prohibition of gold and silver money 203
3. Institution. The public meals 204
4. Other ordinances 206
Reflections upon the government of Sparta, and upon the laws of Lycurgus .. 213

Digitized by Birzeit University Library

PAGE
1. Things commendable in the laws of Lycurgus 213
2. Things blamable in the laws of Lycurgus 219

ARTICLE VIII.

The government of Athens. The laws of Solon. The history of that republic from the time of Solon to the reign of Darius the First 223

ARTICLE IX.

Illustrious men, who distinguished themselves in arts and sciences 245
Of the seven wise men of Greece 254

BOOK VI.

THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS 265

CHAPTER I. PAGE

The history of Darius intermixed with that of the Greeks..... 265
§ I. Darius's marriages. The imposition of tributes. The insolence and punishment of Intaphernes. The death of Oretes. The story of Democedes a physician. The Jews permitted to carry on the building of their temple. The generosity of Syloson rewarded ..... *ib.*
II. Revolt and reduction of Babylon 277
III. Darius prepares for an expedition against the Scythians. A digression upon the manners and customs of that nation 280
A digression concerning the Scythians 281
IV. Darius's expedition against the Scythians 288
V. Darius's conquest of India .. 298
VI. The revolt of the Ionians .. 299
VII. The expedition of Darius's army against Greece 309
1. The state of Athens. The characters of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides.... 310
2. Darius sends heralds into Greece, in order to sound the people, and to require them to submit 316
3. The Persians defeated at Marathon by Miltiades. The melancholy end of that general 318
§ VIII. Darius resolves to make war in person against Egypt and against Greece: is prevented by death. Dispute between two of his sons, concerning the succession to the crown. Xerxes is chosen king..... 329

CHAPTER II.

The history of Xerxes, connected with that of the Greeks.... ... 334
§ I. Xerxes, after having reduced Egypt, makes preparations for carrying the war into Greece. He holds a council. The prudent speech of Artabanes. War is resolved upon..... *ib.*
II. Xerxes begins his march, and passes from Asia into Europe, by crossing the straits of the Hellespont upon a bridge of boats..... 341
III. Enumeration of Xerxes's forces. Demaratus delivers his sentiments freely upon that prince's enterprise..... 349
IV. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians send to their allies to require succours from them, but to no pur-

Digitized by Birzeit University Library

PAGE

pose. The command of the fleet given to the Lacedæmonians 353
§ V. The battle of Thermopylæ. The death of Leonidas.... 358
VI. Naval battle near Artemisium 365
VII. The Athenians abandon their city, which is taken and burnt by Xerxes..... 367
VIII. The battle of Salamis. Precipitate return of Xerxes into Asia. Panegyric of Themistocles and Aristides. The defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily 371
IX. The battle of Platææ 381
X. The battle near Mycale. The defeat of the Persians 396
XI. The barbarous and inhuman revenge of Amestris, the wife of Xerxes..... 398
XII. The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians..... 401

PAGE

§ XIII. The black design of Themistocles rejected unanimously by the people of Athens. Aristides's condescension to the people 404
XIV. The Lacedæmonians lose the chief command through the pride and arrogance of Pausanias..... 407
XV. Pausanias's secret conspiracy with the Persians. His death 409
XVI. Themistocles, being prosecuted by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, as an accomplice in Pausanias's conspiracy, flies for shelter to king Admetus 412
XVII. Aristides's disinterested administration of the public treasure. His death and eulogium..... 415
XVIII. Death of Xerxes, who is killed by Artabanus. His character..... 422

BOOK VII.

Chapter I.

§ I. Artaxerxes ruins the faction of Artabanus, and that of Hystaspes his elder brother 425
II. Themistocles takes refuge with Artaxerxes..... 427
III. Cimon begins to make a figure at Athens. His first achievements. A double victory gained over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon. Death of Themistocles.... 431
IV. The revolt of the Egyptians against Persia, supported by the Athenians..... 441
V. Inarus is delivered up to the king's mother, contrary to the articles of the treaty. The affliction of Megabysus, who revolts 444
§ VI. Artaxerxes sends Ezra, and afterwards Nehemiah, to Jerusalem 446
VII. Character of Pericles. The methods employed by him to gain the affection of the people 449
VIII. An earthquake in Sparta. Insurrection of the Helots. Seeds of division between the Athenians and Spartans. Cimon is sent into banishment 456
IX. Cimon is recalled. He esta-

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PAGE

blishes peace between the two cities. He gains several victories, which reduce Artaxerxes to the necessity of concluding a treaty highly honourable to the Greeks. Cimon's death 459

§ X. Thucydides is opposed to Pericles. The envy raised against the latter. He clears himself, and succeeds in procuring the banishment of Thucydides 462

XI. Pericles changes his conduct towards the people. His prodigious authority. His disinterestedness 467

XII. Jealousy and contests arise between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. A treaty of peace is concluded for thirty years 472

XIII. New subjects of contention between the two nations, occasioned by the Athenians laying siege to Samos; by their succouring the people of Corcyra, and besieging Potidæa, an open rupture ensues 475

XIV. Troubles excited against Pericles. He determines the Athenians to engage in war against the Lacedæmonians 483

CHAPTER II.

Transactions of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy 489

§ I. The Carthaginians are defeated in Sicily. Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum. Reign of Gelon in Syracuse, and his two brothers. Liberty is restored 489

§ II. Of some famous persons and citizens in Græcia Magna. Pythagoras, Charondas, Zaleucus, Milo the Athleta: Crotona, Sybaris, and Thurium 502

CHAPTER III.

The war of Peloponnesus 512

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

II. The plague makes dreadful havoc in Attica. Pericles is divested of the command. The Lacedæmonians have recourse to the Persians for aid. Potidæa is taken by the Athenians. Pericles is restored to his employment. His death, and that of Anaxagoras 521

III. The Lacedæmonians besiege Platææ. Mitylene is taken by the Athenians. Platææ surrenders. The plague breaks out again in Athens 531

IV. The Athenians possess themselves of Pylus, and are afterwards besieged in it. The Spartans are shut up in the little island of Sphacteria. Cleon makes himself master of it. Artaxerxes dies 547

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BOOK THE FOURTH.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS AND MEDES, BY CYRUS:

CONTAINING THE REIGNS OF CYRUS, OF CAMBYSES, AND SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

Chapter I. The HISTORY of CYRUS.

The history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of credit on this subject than the former; and as to those facts wherein they differ, I shall think it sufficient briefly to relate what Herodotus says of them. It is well known, that Xenophon served a long time under the younger Cyrus, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, considering how curious he was, did often converse, in order to acquaint himself by that means with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*: 'Having always looked upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure in informing myself of his birth, his natural disposition, and the method of his education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince; and herein I advance nothing but what has been told me.'

As to what Cicero says, in his first letter to his brother

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Quintus, ' that * Xenophon's design, in writing the history of Cyrus, was not so much to follow truth, as to give a model of a just government ;' this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus's history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the arts of reigning, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates is to be deemed true; and of this their conformity with the holy Scripture is of itself a sufficient proof. The reader may see the dissertation of the Abbé Banier upon this subject in the [a] *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.*

For the greater perspicuity, I divide the history of Cyrus into three parts. The first will reach from his birth to the siege of Babylon: the second will comprehend the description of the siege, and the taking of that city, with every thing else that relates to that great event: the third will contain that prince's history, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

ARTICLE I. THE HISTORY OF CYRUS FROM HIS INFANCY TO THE SIEGE OF BABYLON.—This interval, besides his education, and the journey he made into Media to his grandfather Astyages, includes the first campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions subsequent to them.

SECT. I. CYRUS'S EDUCATION.—[b] Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, and of Mandane, daughter to Astyages, king of the Medes. He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandane. The Persians were at this time divided into twelve tribes, and inhabited only one province of that vast country which has since borne the name of Persia, and were not in all above one hundred and twenty thousand men. But this people having

A. M. 3405. Ant. J. C. 599.

a Vol. vi. p. 400.

b Xen. *Cyrop.* l. i p. 3.

* Cyrus ille à Xenophonte, non ad historiæ fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.

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afterwards, through the prudence and valour of Cyrus, acquired the empire of the East, the name of Persia extended itself with their conquests and fortune, and comprehended all that vast tract of country which reaches, from east to west, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to south, from the Caspian sea to the ocean. And still to this day the country of Persia has the same extent.

Cyrus was beautiful in his person, and still more deserving of esteem for the qualities of his mind; was of a very sweet disposition, full of good nature and humanity, and had a great desire for learning, and a noble ardour for glory. He was never afraid of any danger, or discouraged by any hardship or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Persians, which were excellent in those days with respect to education.

[c] The public good, the common benefit of the nation, was the only principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was looked upon as the most important duty, and the most essential part of government: it was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whose blind affection and fondness often render them incapable of that office; but the state took it upon themselves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform manner; where every thing was regulated, the place and length of their exercises, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of punishment. The only food allowed either the children, or the young men, was bread, cresses, and water; for their design was to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety: besides, they considered, that a plain, frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragouts, would strengthen the body, and lay such a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war to a good old age.

Here boys went to school to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences; and the crime most severely punished amongst them was ingratitude.

The design of the Persians, in all these wise regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced that it is much better to prevent faults than to punish them: and whereas in other states the legislators are satisfied with enacting punishments for

[c] *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 3—8.

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criminals, the Persians endeavoured so to order it, as to have no criminals amongst them.

Till sixteen or seventeen years of age, the boys remained in the class of children; and here it was they learned to draw the bow, and to fling the dart or javelin; after which they were received into the class of young men. In this they were more narrowly watched and kept under than before, because that age requires the strictest inspection, and has the greatest need of restraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they passed all their nights in keeping guard, as well for the safety of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the daytime they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king when he went a hunting, or improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of men grown up; and in this they remained five and twenty years. Out of these all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all such as were to fill the different posts and employments in the state, were chosen. When they were turned of fifty, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Besides these, there was a fourth or last class, from whence men of the greatest wisdom and experience were chosen, for forming the public council, and presiding in the courts of judicature.

By this means every citizen might aspire to the chief posts in the government; but no one could arrive at them, till he had passed through all these several classes, and qualified himself for them by all these exercises. The classes were open to all; but generally such only as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, sent them thither.

[d] Cyrus himself was educated in this manner, and surpassed all of his age, not only in aptness to learn, but in courage and address in executing whatever he undertook.

SECT. II. CYRUS'S JOURNEY TO HIS GRANDFATHER ASTYAGES, AND HIS RETURN INTO PERSIA.—When Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandane took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Astyages, who, from the many things he had

[d] *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 8—22.

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heard said in favour of that young prince, had a great desire to see him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from those of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence, reigned here universally. Astyages himself was richly clothed, * had his eyes coloured, his face painted, and his hair embellished with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life, to be dressed in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets; whereas the habits of the Persians were very plain and coarse. All this finery did not dazzle Cyrus, who, without criticising or condemning what he saw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his sprightliness and wit, and gained every body's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may judge of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson unwilling to return home, made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was the utmost plenty and profusion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation Cyrus looked upon with great indifference: and observing Astyages to be surprised at his behaviour: 'The Persians, (says he to the king,) instead of going such a round-about way to appease their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answer the purpose.' Astyages having allowed Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cupbearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cupbearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that

* The ancients, in order to set off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexions, used to form their eyebrows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater lustre to their eyes, they made their eye-lashes of the same blackness. This artifice was much in use among the Hebrews. It is said of Jezebel, *Depinxit oculos suos stibio*, 2 Kings ix. 30. This drug had an astringent quality, which shrunk up the eye-lids, and made the eyes appear the larger, which at that time was reckoned a beauty. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 6. From hence comes that epithet, which Homer so often gives to his goddesses: βοῶπις Ἥρη, great-eyed Juno.

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favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to show his resentment. Astyages testifying some concern at the neglect shown to this officer, for whom he had a particular regard, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him: 'Is that all, papa? (replied Cyrus;) if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I will quickly obtain it; for I will take upon me to serve you better than he.' Immediately Cyrus is equipped as a cupbearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace that charmed both Astyages and Mandane. When he had done, he flung himself upon his grandfather's neck, and kissing him, cried out with great joy: *'O Sacas! poor Sacas! thou art undone; I shall have thy place.' Astyages embraced him with great fondness, and said: 'I am mighty well pleased, my dear child; nobody can serve me with a better grace: but you have forgotten one essential ceremony, which is that of tasting.' And indeed the cupbearer was used to pour some of the liquor into his left hand, and to taste it, before he presented it to the king: 'No (replied Cyrus,) it was not through forgetfulness that I omitted that ceremony.' 'Why then (says Astyages) for what reason did you do it?' 'Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor.' 'Poison, child! How could you think so?' 'Yes; poison, papa; for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after the guests had drunk a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned; they sung, made a noise, and talked they did not know what: you yourself seemed to have forgotten that you were king, and they that they were subjects; and when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs.' 'Why (says Astyages) have you never seen the same thing happen to your father?' 'No, never' (says Cyrus.) 'How is it with him when he drinks?' 'Why, when he has drunk, his thirst is quenched, and that's all.'

We cannot too much admire the skill of the historian in

* Ὦ Σάκα, ἀπόλωλας· ἐκβαλῶ σε τῆς τιμῆς.

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giving such an excellent lesson of sobriety in this story: he might have done it in a serious, grave way, and have spoken with the air of a philosopher; for Xenophon, warrior as he was, was no less excellent a philosopher than his master Socrates. But instead of that, he puts the instruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a story, which, in the original, is told with all the wit and agreeableness imaginable.

Mandane being upon the point of returning to Persia, Cyrus joyfully complied with the repeated requests his grandfather had made to him to stay in Media; being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he was not yet master of, and which was not known in Persia, where the barrenness of the country, and its craggy, mountainous situation, rendered it unfit for the breeding of horses.

During the time of his residence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and esteem. He was gentle, affable, anxious to oblige, beneficent, and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their solicitor. If the king had any subject of complaint against them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his; and he always managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, the son of the king of the *Babylonians, (this was Evil-merodach, son of Nabuchodonosor,) at a hunting-match a little before his marriage, thought fit, in order to show his bravery, to make an irruption into the territories of the Medes; which obliged Astyages to take the field, to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved himself so well on this occasion, that the victory which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour.

The year after, his father recalling him, that he might complete his course in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any

A. M. 3421. Ant. J. C. 583.

* In Xenophon this people are always called Assyrians; and in truth they are Assyrians, but Assyrians of Babylon, whom we must not confound with those of Nineveh, whose empire, as we have seen already, was utterly destroyed by the ruin of Nineveh, the capital thereof.

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room to complain of his delay. This occasion showed how much he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all sorts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horseback; and when the sad moment came that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and reentered the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long residence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners; but when they found that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this first class he passed into the second, which is the class of youths; and there it quickly appeared that he had not his equal in dexterity, address, patience, and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the men's class, wherein he remained thirteen years, till he set out at the head of the Persian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

SECT. III. THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF CYRUS, WHO GOES TO AID HIS UNCLE CYAXARES AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS.

A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560.

—[e] Astyages, king of the Medes, dying, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother. Cyaxares was no sooner on the throne, than he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed, that the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others Crœsus, king of Lydia; that he had likewise sent ambassadors to the king of India, to give him bad impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between two nations already so powerful might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power. Cyaxares therefore despatched ambassadors to Cambyses, to desire succours from him; and ordered them to bring it about,

[e] *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 22—37.

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that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to send. This was readily granted. As soon as it was known that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, all infantry (for the Persians as yet had no cavalry;) but they were all chosen men, and such as had been raised after a particular manner. First of all Cyrus chose out of the nobility two hundred of the bravest officers, each of whom was ordered to choose out four more of the same sort, which made a thousand in all; and these were the officers that were called *Ὁμότιμοι, and who signalized themselves afterwards so gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten light-armed pike-men, ten slingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to one and thirty thousand men.

Before they proceeded to the choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the two hundred officers, whom, after having highly praised them for their courage, he inspired with the strongest assurance of victory and success. 'Do you know (says he to them) the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? They are soft, effeminate, enervated men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuousness; men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equally incapable of supporting either the toil of war or the sight of danger; whereas you, that are inured from your infancy to a sober and hard way of living; to you, I say, hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce to your meals; fatigues are your pleasure, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and of glory your only passion. Besides, the justice of our cause is another considerable advantage. They are the aggressors. It is the enemy that attacks us, and it is our friends and allies that require our aid. Can any thing be more just than to repel the injury they offer us? Is there any thing more honourable, than to fly to the assistance of our friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of your confidence is, that I do not engage in this expedition without having first consulted the gods, and implored their protection; for you

* Men of the same dignity.

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know it is my custom to begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner.'

Cyrus soon after set out without loss of time; but before his departure he invoked the gods of the country a second time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterprise, great or small, without consulting the divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyses had often taught him to consider, that the prudence of men is very short, and their views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into futurity; and that many times what they think must needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin; whereas the gods, being eternal, know all things, future as well as past, and inspire those they love to undertake what is most expedient for them; which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to those that invoke and consult them.

A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559.

Cambyses accompanied his son as far as the frontiers of Persia; and in the way gave him excellent instructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himself ignorant of nothing that related to the business of war, after the many lessons he had received from the most able masters of that time. 'Have your masters (says Cambyses to him) given you any instructions concerning economy, that is to say, concerning the manner of supplying an army with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and preserving the health of the soldiers, of fortifying their bodies by frequent exercises, of exciting a generous emulation amongst them, of making yourself obeyed, esteemed, and beloved, by your soldiers?' Upon each of these points, and upon several others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word spoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. 'What is it then your masters have taught you?' 'They have taught me to fence, (replied the prince,) to draw the bow, to fling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops in order of battle, to review them, to see them march, file off, and encamp.' Cambyses, smiling, gave his son to understand, that they had taught him nothing of what was most material and essential for a good officer and an

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expert commander to know: and in one single conversation, which certainly deserves to be well studied by all young gentlemen designed for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all the celebrated masters had done, in the course of several years. One short instance of this discourse may serve to give the reader an idea of the rest.

The question was, what are the proper means of making the soldiers obedient and submissive? 'The way to effect that,' says Cyrus, 'seems to be very easy, and very certain; it is only to praise and reward those that obey, to punish and stigmatize such as fail in their duty.' 'You say well,' replied Cambyses; 'that is the way to make them obey you by force; but the chief point is to make them obey you willingly and freely. Now the sure method of effecting this, is to convince those you command, that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themselves; for all mankind readily submit to those of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle, from whence that blind submission proceeds which you see sick persons pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and a ship's company to the pilot. Their obedience is founded only upon their persuasion, that the physician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more skilful and better informed in their respective callings than themselves.' 'But what shall a man do,' says Cyrus to his father, 'to appear more skilful and expert than others?' 'He must really be so,' replied Cambyses; 'and in order to be so, he must apply himself closely to his profession, diligently study all the rules of it, consult the most able and experienced masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprises; and, above all, he must have recourse to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wisdom, and all our success.'

[f] As soon as Cyrus had arrived in Media, and reached Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments had passed, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the forces on both sides. It appeared by the computation made of them, that the enemy's army amounted to two hundred thousand foot and sixty thousand horse; and that the united armies of the Medes and Persians scarce amounted to half the number

[f] *Cyrop.* l. ii. p. 38–40.

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of foot; and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not so many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient than to send for another body of troops from Persia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, besides that it would have taken up too much time, appeared in itself impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed another, more sure and more expeditious, which was, that his Persian soldiers should change their arms. As they chiefly used the bow and the javelin, and consequently their manner of fighting was at a distance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was easily superior to the lesser, Cyrus was of opinion that they should be armed with such weapons as should oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the superiority of their numbers useless. This project was highly approved, and instantly put in execution.

[g] Cyrus established a wonderful order among the troops, and inspired them with a surprising emulation, by the rewards he promised, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. He valued money only as it allowed him an opportunity of being generous. He was continually making presents to one or other, according to their rank, or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a sword, or something of the same kind, equally acceptable. By this generosity, this greatness of soul, and beneficent disposition, he thought a general ought to distinguish himself, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richness of his clothes, and still less by his haughtiness and imperious demeanour. '[h] A commander could not (he said) give actual proofs of his munificence to every body, and for that very reason he thought himself obliged to convince every body of his inclination and good will; for though a prince might exhaust his treasures by making presents, yet he could not injure himself by benevolence and affability; by being sincerely concerned in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making it appear that he is so.'

[i] One day, as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him, that some ambassadors being arrived from the king of the Indies, he

[g] *Cyrop.* l. ii. p. 44. [h] Ibid. l. viii. p. 207. [i] Ibid. l. ii. p. 56.

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desired his presence immediately. 'For that purpose (says he) I have brought you a rich garment, for the king desires you would appear magnificently dressed before the Indians, to do the nation honour.' Cyrus lost not a moment's time, but instantly set out with his troops, to wait upon the king; though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian fashion, and not (as the * Greek text has it) polluted or spoiled with any foreign ornament. Cyaxares seeming at first a little displeased at it; 'If I had dressed myself in purple, (says Cyrus,) and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that had been longer in coming, should I have done you more honour, than I do now by my expedition, and the sweat of my face, and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and despatch your orders are obeyed.'

Cyaxares, satisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian ambassadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was, that they were sent by the king their master, to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians, and that they had orders, as soon as they had heard what the Medes should say, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to allege on their part; to the end that the king their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those who had right and justice on their side. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power: to be influenced only by justice, to seek no advantage from the division of neighbours, but declare openly against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus answered, that they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears, in the sequel, that he declared for the Medes.

[k] The king of Armenia, who was a vassal of the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the formidable league formed against them, thought fit to lay hold on this occasion to shake off their yoke. Accordingly, he refused to pay them the ordinary

A. M. 3447. Ant. J. C. 557.

* Ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ στολῇ οὐδέν τι ὑβριμένῃ. A fine expression, but not to be rendered into any other language with the same beauty.

[k] *Cyrop.* l. ii. p. 58—61. and l. iii. p. 62—70.

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tribute, and to send them the number of troops he was obliged to furnish in time of war. This highly embarrassed Cyaxares, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himself exactly of the strength and situation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his design secret, without which it was not likely to succeed. He therefore appointed a great hunting-match on that side of the country; for it was his custom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's son, and the young noblemen of Armenia. On the day appointed, he set out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a distance, and were not to appear till a signal was given. After some days' hunting, when they were come pretty near the palace where the court resided, Cyrus communicated his design to his officers; and sent Chrysantas with a detachment, ordering them to make themselves masters of a certain steep eminence, where he knew the king used to retire, in case of an alarm, with his family, and his treasure.

This being done, he sends a herald to the king of Armenia, to summon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time orders his troops to advance. Never was greater surprise, and the perplexity was equally great. The king was conscious of the wrong he had done; and was now destitute of every resource. However, he did what he could to assemble his forces together from all quarters; and, in the mean time, despatched his youngest son, called Sabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was most precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his scouts, that Cyrus was coming close after them, he entirely lost all courage, and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians, following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to secure what was dearest to him. Cyrus, seeing the country covered with people, that were endeavouring to make their escape, sent them word, that no harm should be done them, if they staid in their houses; but that as many as were taken running away, should be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

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On the other hand, they that were conducting the princesses to the mountains, fell into the ambush Chrysantas had laid for them, and were most of them taken prisoners. The queen, the king's son, his daughters, his eldest son's wife, and his treasures, all fell into the hands of the Persians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence; where he was presently invested by the Persian army, and soon obliged to surrender. Cyrus ordered him, with all his family, to be brought into the midst of the army. At the very instant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldest son, who was just returned from a journey. At so moving a spectacle he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus, addressing himself to him, said: 'Prince, you are come very seasonably to be present at the trial of your father.' And immediately he assembled the captains of the Persians and Medes; and called in also the great men of Armenia. Nor did he so much as exclude the ladies from this assembly, who were then in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and see all that passed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded silence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the questions he was going to propose to him, he would answer sincerely, because nothing could be more unworthy a person of his rank, than to use dissimulation or falsehood. The king promised he would. Then Cyrus asked him, but at different times, proposing each article separately and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war against Astyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in consequence of his defeat concluded a treaty with Astyages; whether, by virtue of that treaty, he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furnish a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country? It was impossible for the king to deny any of these facts, which were all public and notorious. 'For what reason then (continued Cyrus) have you violated the treaty in every article?' 'For no other (replied the king) than because I thought it a glorious thing to shake off the yoke, to live free, and to leave my children in the same condition.' 'It is really glorious (answered Cyrus) to fight in defence of liberty: but if any one, after he

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is reduced to servitude, should attempt to run away from his master, what would you do with him?' 'I must confess, (says the king,) I would punish him.' 'And if you had given a government to one of your subjects, and he should be found to have conducted himself amiss, would you continue him in his post?' 'No, certainly; I would put another in his place.' 'And if he had amassed great riches by his unjust practices?' 'I would strip him of them.' 'But, which is still worse, if he had held intelligence with your enemies, how would you treat him?' 'Though I should pass sentence upon myself, (replied the king,) I must declare the truth: I would put him to death.' At these words Tigranes tore his Tiara from his head, and rent his garments. The women burst out into lamentations and outcries, as if sentence had actually passed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded silence, Tigranes addressed himself to the prince to this effect: 'Great prince, can you think it consistent with your prudence to put my father to death, even against your own interest?' 'How against my interest?' (replied Cyrus.) 'Because he was never so capable of doing you service.' 'How do you make that appear? Do the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new title to consideration and favour?' 'They certainly do, provided they serve to make us wiser. For of inestimable value is wisdom: Are either riches, courage, or address, to be compared to it? Now it is evident, this single day's experience has infinitely improved my father's wisdom. He knows how dear the violation of his word has cost him. He has proved and felt how much you are superior to him in all respects. He has not been able to succeed in any of his designs; but you have happily accomplished all yours: and with that expedition and secresy, that he has found himself surrounded, and taken, before he expected to be attacked; and the very place of his retreat has served only to ensnare him.' 'But your father (replied Cyrus) has yet undergone no sufferings that can have taught him wisdom.' 'The fear of evils, (answered Tigranes,) when it is so well founded as this is, has a much sharper sting, and is more capable of piercing the soul, than the evil itself. Besides, permit me to say, that gratitude is a stronger and more prevailing motive, than any whatever:

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and there can be no obligations in the world of a higher nature, than those you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, sceptre, life, wives, and children, all restored to him with such a generosity; where can you find, illustrious prince, in one single person, so many strong and powerful ties to attach him to your service?'

'Well then, (replied Cyrus, turning to the king,) if I should yield to your son's entreaties, with what number of men, and what sum of money, will you assist us in the war against the Babylonians?' 'My troops and treasures (says the Armenian king) are no longer mine; they are entirely yours. I can raise forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and as to money, I reckon, that, including the treasure which my father left me, there are about three thousand talents ready money. All these are wholly at your disposal.' Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country against the * Chaldeans, with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes he doubled, and instead of fifty talents exacted a hundred, and borrowed the like sum over and above in his own name. 'But what would you give me (added Cyrus) for the ransom of your wives?' 'All that I have in the world,' (answered the king.) 'And for the ransom of your children?' 'The same thing.' 'From this time, then, you are indebted to me twice the value of all your possessions.' 'And you, Tigranes, at what price would you redeem the liberty of your wife?' Now he had but lately married her, and was passionately fond of her. 'At the price (says he) of a thousand lives, if I had them.' Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. It is easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been upon this occasion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various subjects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often seen hunting with him, and for whom he had a particular esteem. 'Alas! (says Tigranes) he is no more; and I dare not tell you by what accident I lost him.' Cyrus pressing him to tell him; 'My father (continued Tigranes) seeing I had a

* Xenophon never calls the people of Babylonia, Chaldeans; but Herodotus, l. vii. c. 63, and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739, style them so. The Chaldeans meant in this place were a people adjoining to Armenia.

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very tender affection for this governor, and that I was extremely attached to him, conceived some suspicions against him, and put him to death. But he was so worthy a man, that, as he was ready to expire, he sent for me, and spoke to me in these words: Tigranes, let not my death occasion any disaffection in you towards the king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed from malice, but only from prejudice, and a false notion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.' 'O the excellent man! (cried Cyrus) never forget the last advice he gave you.'

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all, in token of a perfect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way; some extolling his wisdom, others his valour; some admiring the sweetness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his mien. 'And you, (says Tigranes, addressing himself to his bride,) what do you think of Cyrus's aspect and deportment?' 'I did not observe him,' replied the lady. 'Upon what object then did you fix your eyes?" 'Upon him that said he would give a thousand lives as the ransom of my liberty.'

The next day, the king of Armenia sent presents to Cyrus, and refreshments for his whole army, and brought him double the sum of money he was required to furnish. But Cyrus took only what had been stipulated, and restored him the rest. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days' time, and Tigranes desired to command them.

I have thought proper, for several reasons, to give so circumstantial an account of this affair; though I have so far abridged it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find it in Xenophon.

In the first place, it may serve to give the reader a notion of the style of that excellent historian, and excite his curiosity to consult the original, the natural and unaffected beauties of which are sufficient to justify the singular esteem which persons of good taste have ever had for the noble simplicity of that author. To mention but one instance; what an idea of chastity and modesty, and at the same time what a wonderful

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simplicity, and delicacy of thought, are there in the answer of Tigranes's wife, who has no eyes but for her husband!

In the second place, those short, close, and pressing interrogatories, each of which demand a direct, precise answer from the king of Armenia, discover the disciple and scholar of Socrates, and show how well he retained the taste of his master.

Besides, this narrative will give us some idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*; the substance of which is true, though it is embellished with several circumstances, added by the author, and introduced expressly to grace his instructive lessons, and the excellent rules he lays down concerning government. Thus much therefore in the event we are treating of is real. The king of Armenia having refused to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attacked him suddenly, and before he suspected any designs against him, made himself master of the only fortress he had, and took his family prisoners; obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to furnish his proportion of troops; and after all, so won upon him by his humanity and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the faithfullest and most affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The rest is inserted only by way of embellishment, and is rather to be ascribed to the historian, than to the history itself.

I should never myself have found out, what the story of the governor's being put to death by Tigranes's father signified, though I was very sensible it had some enigmatical meaning in this place. * A person of quality, one of the greatest wits and finest speakers of the last age, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, gave me an explanation of it many years ago, which I have not forgotten, and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He supposed that Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his master Socrates, of whom the state of Athens became jealous, on account of the extraordinary attachment all the youth of the city had to him; which at last gave occasion to that philosopher's condemnation and death, which he suffered without murmur or complaint.

In the last place, I thought it proper not to miss this oppor-

* M. le Comte de Tresvilles.

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tunity of pointing out such qualities in my hero, as are not always to be met with in persons of his rank; and such as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would most contribute to the success of their designs. In most conquerors we find courage, resolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all such talents as make a noise in the world, and are apt to dazzle by their glare: but an inward stock of goodness, compassion, and gentleness towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and reserve even in prosperity and victory, an insinuating and persuasive behaviour, the art of gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than interest; a constant, unalterable care always to have right on his side, and to imprint such a character of justice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere; and, lastly, such a clemency, as to distinguish those that offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them opportunity to return to their duty: these are qualities rarely found in the most celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but which shone forth most conspicuously in Cyrus.

[1] To return to my subject. Cyrus, before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him some signal service. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring, warlike people, who continually harassed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himself of their character, strength, and the situation of their strongholds, marched against them. On the first intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans possessed themselves of the eminences to which they were accustomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to assemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus had expected this, and had only placed them there to bring the enemy the sooner to an engagement. And indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Persians, they were not able to stand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken prisoners, and the rest were scattered and

[1] *Cyrop.* l. iii. p. 70—76.

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dispersed. Cyrus himself spoke to the prisoners, assuring them that he was not come to injure them, or ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reasonable terms; and he then set them at liberty. Deputies were immediately sent to him, and a peace was concluded. For the better security of both nations, and with their common consent, Cyrus caused a fortress to be built upon an eminence, which commanded the whole country; and left a strong garrison in it, which was to declare against either of the two nations that should violate the treaty.

Cyrus, understanding that there was a frequent intercourse and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, desired that the latter would send persons to accompany and conduct the ambassador, whom he was preparing to send to the king of India. The purport of this embassy was, to desire some succours in money from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Persia, and promised that, if the gods crowned his designs with success, the king should have no reason to repent of having assisted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to second his request, which they could do the more advantageously, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The ambassador set out the next day, accompanied by some of the most considerable persons of Chaldea, who were directed to act with all the dexterity in their power, and to do Cyrus's merit that justice which it so well deserved.

The expedition against the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thousand Chaldeans, the bravest of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promised him: so that he arrived in Media, with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army than he had when he left it.

SECT. IV. THE EXPEDITION OF CYAXARES AND CYRUS AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS. THE FIRST BATTLE.—

A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556.

[m] Both parties had been employed three years together, in forming their alliances, and making prepa-

[m] *Cyrop.* l. iii. p. 78—87.

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rations for war. Cyrus, finding the troops full of ardour, and ready for action, proposed to Cyaxares to lead them against the Assyrians. His reasons for it were, that he thought it his duty to ease him as soon as possible, of the care and expense of maintaining two armies; that it were better they should eat up the enemy's country, than their own; that so bold a step as that of going to meet the Assyrians, would spread a terror in their army, and at the same time inspire their own troops with the greater confidence; that, lastly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyses, his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number, as the valour of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his proposal.

As soon therefore as the customary sacrifices were offered, they began their march. Cyrus, in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire; beseeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inspire them with such a measure of courage and prudence as was necessary, and in short, to bless their arms with prosperity and success. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterprises, with prayer: and indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himself, in the presence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Assyria, it was still their first care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and succour: after which they began to make incursions into the country, and carried off a great deal of spoil.

Cyrus, understanding that the enemy's army was about ten days' journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance against them. When the armies came within sight, both sides prepared for battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open country; and, according to their custom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompassed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus, on the contrary, who was glad to deprive the enemy, as much as possible, of the sight and knowledge of the smallness of his army, covered his troops with several little hills and villages. For several days

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nothing was done on either side, but looking at and observing one another. At length a numerous body of the Assyrians moving first out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, * 'Jupiter protector and conductor.' He then caused the usual hymn to be sounded, in honour of Castor and Pollux, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardour, (θεοσεβῶς,) answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and an universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should command. 'For it is observable, (says the historian in this place,) that on these occasions, those that fear the Deity most, are the least afraid of men.' On the side of the Assyrians, the troops armed with bows, slings, and darts, made their discharges before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Assyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Crœsus and their own king, to encourage them, were not able to sustain so rude a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed. The former warmly pursued them to their very camp, made a terrible slaughter, and the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was killed in the action. Cyrus, not thinking himself in a condition to force their entrenchments, sounded a retreat.

[n] The Assyrians, in the mean time, their king being killed, and the flower of their army lost, were in a dreadful consternation. [o] As soon as Crœsus found them in so great a disorder, he fled, and left them to shift for themselves. The other allies, likewise, seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their escape.

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and, as we have already observed, the Persians had none. He, therefore, went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his

[n] *Cyrop.* l. iv. p. 87—104. [o] Ibid. l. vi. p. 160.

* I do not know whether Xenophon, in this place, does not call the Persian gods by the name of the gods of his own country.

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design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him how dangerous it was to drive so powerful an enemy to extremities, whom despair would probably inspire with courage; that it was a part of wisdom to use good fortune with moderation, and not lose the fruits of victory by too much vivacity: moreover, that he was unwilling to compel the Medes, or to refuse them that repose, to which their behaviour had justly entitled him. Cyrus, upon this, desired his permission only to take as many of the horse as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily consented to this, and thought of nothing else now but of passing his time with his officers in feasting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had just obtained.

The greatest part of the Median soldiers followed Cyrus, who set out upon his march in pursuit of the enemy. Upon the way he met some couriers, that were coming to him from the *Hyrcanians, who served in the enemy's army, to assure him, that as soon as ever he appeared, those Hyrcanians would come over to him; which in fact they did. Cyrus made the best use of his time, and having marched all night, came up with the Assyrians. Crœsus had sent away his wives in the night-time for coolness, (for it was the summer season,) and followed them himself with a body of cavalry. When the Assyrians saw the enemy so near them, they were in the utmost confusion and dismay. Many of those that ran away, being warmly pursued, were killed; all that staid in the camp surrendered; the victory was complete, and the spoil immense. Cyrus reserved all the horses that were taken in the camp for himself, resolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto had none. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares; and as for the prisoners, he gave them all liberty to go home to their own country, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they and their countrymen should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himself to defend them against their enemies, and to put them into a condition of cultivating their lands with entire security.

* These are not the Hyrcanians by the Caspian Sea. From observing Cyrus's encampments in Babylonia, one would be apt to conjecture, that the Hyrcanians here meant were about four or five days' journey south of Babylon.

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Whilst the Medes and the Hyrcanians were still pursuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repast, and even baths prepared for them, that at their return they might have nothing to do, but to sit down and refresh themselves. He likewise thought fit to defer the distribution of the spoil till then. It was on this occasion that this general, whose thoughts nothing escaped, exhorted his Persian soldiers to distinguish themselves by their generosity towards their allies, from whom they had already received great services, and of whom they might expect still greater. He desired they would wait their return, both for the refreshments and the division of the spoil; and that they would show a preference of their interests and conveniencies before their own; giving them to understand, that this would be a sure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of securing new victories over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wish, and make them an ample amends for the voluntary losses they might sustain, for the sake of winning the affection of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them sit down to the repast he had prepared for them, desiring them only to send some bread to the Persians, who were sufficiently provided (he said) with all they wanted, either for their ragouts, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragout, and water from the river their only drink. For that was the way of living to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning they proceeded to the division of the spoils. Cyrus in the first place ordered the Magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty what was most proper to be offered to the gods on such an occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained amongst the whole army. They earnestly desired, that the Persians might preside over the distribution; but the Persians absolutely refused it; so that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

[p] The very night that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy,

[p] *Cyrop.* l. iv. p. 104—108.

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Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity, and had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning when he awaked, he was strangely surprised to find himself almost alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of resentment and rage, he despatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus severely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonable proceeding did not dismay Cyrus, who in return writ him a respectful letter; in which, however, with a generous and noble freedom, he justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him, of taking as many Medes with him as were willing to follow him. At the same time Cyrus sent into Persia for an augmentation of his troops, designing to push his conquests still farther.

[q] Amongst the prisoners of war whom they had taken, there was a young princess of most exquisite beauty, whom they had reserved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Susiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her; for fear (as he said) such an object might engage his affection more than he desired, and divert him from the prosecution of the great designs he had in view.

[r] This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received: for it was a principle among the Persians, never to speak before young people of any thing that had any reference to love, lest their natural inclination to pleasure, which is so strong and violent at that age of levity and indiscretion, should be awakened and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araspes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, but pretended that a man may be always master of himself. Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him a very prudent admonition. 'I have seen a great many persons (says he) that have thought themselves very strong, overcome by that violent passion, in spite of all their resolution; who have owned afterwards, with shame and grief, that their passion was a bondage and slavery

[q] *Cyrop.* l. v. p. 114—117. and l. vi. p. 153—155. [r] Ibid. l. i. p. 34.

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from which they had not the power to redeem themselves; an incurable distemper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts; a kind of *bond or necessity, more difficult to force than the strongest chains of iron.' 'Fear nothing, (replied Araspes,) I am sure of myself, and I will answer with my life that I shall do nothing contrary to my duty.' Nevertheless, his passion for this young princess increased, and by degrees grew to such a height, that finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of using violence towards her. The princess at length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately sent Artabazus to Araspes, with orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and with such a rigorous severity, as was enough to throw him into despair. Araspes, struck to the soul with grief and anguish, burst into a flood of tears; and being overwhelmed with shame and fear, thinking himself undone, remained silent. Some days afterwards, Cyrus sent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trembling. Cyrus took him aside, and, instead of reproaching him with severity as he expected, spoke gently to him; acknowledging that he himself was to blame, for having imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy. By such an unexpected kindness the young nobleman recovered both life and speech. But his confusion, joy, and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of tears. 'Alas! (says he,) now I am come to the knowledge of myself, and find most plainly that I have two souls; one, that inclines me to good, another, that incites me to evil. The former prevails, when you speak to me, and come to my relief: when I am alone, and left to myself, I give way to, and am overpowered by, the latter.' Araspes made an advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus considerable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their measures and designs.

[s] The loss of so brave an officer, whom discontent was

* *Cyrop.* l. vi p. 155, 156.
* Δεδεμένους ἰσχυροτέρᾳ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ, ἢ εἰ σιδήρῳ ἐδέδεντο.

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supposed to have engaged on the enemy's side, caused a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occasioned it, promised Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit; she meant her husband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Persians with two thousand horse, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and circumspectly she had been treated by the generous conqueror. 'And how (cried out Abradates) shall I be able to acknowledge so important a service?' 'By behaving towards him (replied Panthea) as he hath done towards me.' Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and grasping the hand of his benefactor: 'You see before you (says he to him) the tenderest friend, the most devoted servant, and the faithfullest ally you ever had; who, not being able otherwise to acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himself entirely to your service.' Cyrus received him with such a noble and generous air, accompanied by so much tenderness and humanity, as fully convinced him, that whatever Panthea had said of the wonderful character of that prince, was abundantly short of the truth.

[t] Two Assyrian noblemen, likewise, who designed, as Cyrus was informed, to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary service. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and his virtue. The king of Assyria, lately dead, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had resolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas's son, and for that reason had sent for him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beast with his dart, which the king's son had missed: the latter, who was of a passionate and savage nature, immediately struck him with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas besought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather, because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been designed for a wife to the young king, but

[t] *Cyrop.* l. iv. p. 111—113.

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could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother. This young king was called Laborosoarchod: he reigned only nine months, and was succeeded by Nabonidus, called also Labynitus and Belshazzar, who reigned seventeen years. A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.

[u] The other Assyrian nobleman was called Gadatas: he was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne; because one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman whom he should choose for a wife.

[x] The expectation of this double succour was a strong inducement to Cyrus, and made him determine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire he designed to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself acquainted with it; to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations for the siege he meditated. He set out therefore with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he lived in seemed to be an impregnable place, so advantageously was it situated, and so strongly fortified on all sides. This nobleman came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus into his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and golden cups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country: then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seemed still to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgment, which he took the liberty to offer him. 'I willingly accept your gold and silver, (says Cyrus,) and I make a present of it to your daughter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but amongst the nobles of

[u] *Cyrop.* l. v. p. 123, 124. [x] Ibid. p. 119—123.

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my court, you will find a match suitable for her. It will neither be her riches, nor yours, which they will value. I can assure you, there are many amongst them, that would make no account of all the treasures of Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to their friends, formidable to their enemies, and respectful to the gods.' Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he steadfastly refused it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who staid and ate with him and his officers. The ground and the green turf that was upon it, was all the couches they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment was suitable. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit; and above all things he admired the ingenuous vein of humour, and the innocent cheerfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.

[y] Cyrus, always intent upon his great design, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadatas, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood there was a strong citadel, which commanded the country of the *Sacæ and the Cadusians, where a governor for the king of Babylon resided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadatas, whose intelligence with the Persians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice, made an offer to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly he was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of this citadel made him master of the country of the Sacæ and the Cadusians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his service. The Cadusians raised an army of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse; and the Sacæ furnished ten thousand foot and two thousand horse archers.

The king of Assyria took the field, in order to punish

[y] *Cyrop.* l. v. p. 124—140.
* Not the Sacæ of Scythia.

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Gadatas for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great slaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit the conqueror employed some time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had spread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily surrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then advancing near the city of Babylon, he sent the king of Assyria a challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a single combat: but his challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence, he made a kind of truce, or treaty, with the king of Assyria, by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be molested, but should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having viewed the country, examined the situation of Babylon, acquired a considerable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.

[z] When he came near the frontiers, he sent a messenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit so great an army into his country; and an army, that was going to receive a further augmentation of forty thousand men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus; who likewise advanced forwards to meet him with his cavalry, that was very numerous and in good condition. The sight of these troops rekindled the jealousy and dissatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid receiving his salute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into an explanation with his uncle. He spoke to him with so much temper, submission, and reason; gave him such strong proofs of the rectitude of his heart, his respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispelled all his suspicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good

[z] *Cyrop.* l. v. p. 141—147.

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opinion. They embraced one another, and tears were shed on both sides. How great the joy of the Persians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horses; and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the sign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes, who came to salute him, and to bring him presents; some of their own accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find, that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the Medes had the same affection for him as before.

[a] Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Crœsus and the Babylonians. In the council, held the next day in the presence of Cyaxares, and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date that precisely fixes the years wherein the several events he relates happened, I suppose with Usher, though Xenophon's relation does not seem to favour this notion, that between the two battles against Crœsus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

[b] Cyrus, then, about this time thought of making a tour into his own country, about six or seven years after he had left it, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares, on this occasion, gave him a signal testimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male issue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage* to Cyrus, with an assurance of the kingdom of

[a] *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 148—151. [b] Ibid. l. viii. p. 228, 229.

* Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above sixty years of age, and the princess not much less, and as it is improbable, that either of them should wait till that age before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date. Besides, at that rate, Cambyses would have been but seven years old when he came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when he died; which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the rest of his history. Perhaps

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Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful sense of this advantageous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgments of it; but thought himself not at liberty to accept it, till he had gained the consent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respectful submission and entire dependence which all children ought to show to their parents on the like occasion, of what age soever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.

When the marriage solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare, in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies for accomplishing the great design he had formed.

[c] Foreseeing (says Xenophon) that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitched his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it strongly. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise, as if the enemy had been always in sight.

They understood by deserters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey only to raise up some new enemy against him; and therefore he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great number of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniencies in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

[d] In this interval, ambassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large sum of money for Cyrus, from the king their mas-

Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do; but I follow the chronology of archbishop Usher. I have also left out what is related in the *Cyropædia*, (l. viii. p. 228,) that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Astyages, the young princess had said she would have no other husband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirteen years old.

[c] *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 151. [d] Ibid. p. 156, 157.

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ter, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and, if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that, in short, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost regard, and made them noble presents; and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in fact to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves of it with great ability.

I do not recognise in this last circumstance the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant that it was an open violation of the law of nations, to send spies to an enemy's court under the title of ambassadors; which is a character that will not suffer those invested with it to act so mean a part, or to be guilty of such treachery?

[e] Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle, like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation amongst his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, fling a dart, or shoot an arrow the most dexterously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived that the captains took particular care of their men, he praised them publicly, and showed them all possible favour, in order to encourage them. When he made them any feast, he never proposed any other diversions than military exercises, and always gave considerable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited a surprising ardour throughout his whole army. In a word, he was a general who in repose as well as action, nay, even in his pleasures, his

[e] *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 157.

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meals, his conversations and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the good of the service. It is by such methods a man becomes an able and complete warrior.

[f] In the mean time, the Indian ambassadors, being returned from the enemy's camp, brought word that Crœsus was chosen generalissimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necessary sums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great reinforcement was marching, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Assyrians were likewise come up together with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Æolians, and most part of the Greeks living in Asia, had been obliged to join them; that Crœsus had likewise sent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was assembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbra, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by the accounts brought in both by the prisoners and the spies.

[g] Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news. But that prince having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispelled their fears, and revived their courage.

[h] Cyrus had taken all proper measures, that his army should be provided with all necessaries; and had given orders, as well for their march, as for the battle he was preparing to give; in the doing of which he descended to an astonishing detail which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very lowest subaltern officers; for he knew very well, that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through the neglect of the smallest circumstances; in the same manner, as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines is stopped through the disorder of one single wheel, though never so small

[f] *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 158. [g] Page 159. [h] Page 158—163

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[i] This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names; and making use of a low, but significant comparison, he used to say, 'he thought it strange that a workman should know the names of all his tools, and a general should be so indifferent, as not to know the names of all his captains, which are the instruments he must make use of in all his enterprises and operations.' Besides, he was persuaded, that such an attention had something in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe, they are both known and esteemed by their general.

[k] When all the preparations were finished, Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who staid in Media, with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless.

Cyrus, who well knew how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the seat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forwards to meet them in their own territories, that he might both consume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march he came up with the enemy at Thymbra, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine that this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country; and they were strangely surprised to see him come, before they had time to lay up the provisions necessary for the subsistence of their numerous army, or to assemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

SECT. V. THE BATTLE OF THYMBRA, BETWEEN CYRUS AND CRŒSUS.—This battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, since it decided upon the empire of Asia between the Assyrians of Babylon and the Persians. * It was this consideration that induced M. Freret, one of my brethren in the Academy of Belles Lettres, to examine it with a particular care and exactness; and the rather, because, as he observes,

[i] *Cyrop.* l. v. p. 131, 132. [k] Ibid. l. vi. p. 160, 161.
* *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, vol. vi. p 532.

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it is the first pitched battle, of which we have any full or particular account. I have assumed the privilege of making use of the labours and learning of other persons, but without robbing them of the glory, as also without denying myself the liberty of making such alterations as I judge necessary. I shall give a more ample and particular description of this battle than I usually do of such matters, because as Cyrus is looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the military profession may be glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action; moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war and fought battles, forms an essential part of their history.

[k] In Cyrus's army the companies of foot consisted of a hundred men each, exclusively of the captain. Each company was subdivided into four platoons, which consisted of four and twenty men each, not including the person that commanded. Each of these divisions was again subdivided into two files, consisting of twelve men. Every ten companies had a particular superior officer to command them, which sufficiently answers to what we call a colonel; and ten of those bodies had again another superior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

[l] I have already observed, that Cyrus, when he first came at the head of the thirty thousand Persians to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the arms of his troops. Two thirds of them till then made use of javelins only, or bows, and consequently could only fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers, and swords, or battle-axes; and left few of his soldiers light armed.

[m] The Persians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horseback. Cyrus, who was convinced that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle as cavalry, was sensible of the great inconvenience he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design,

[k] *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 167 and l. v. p. 138.

[l] Ibid. l. ii. p. 39, 40.

[m] Lib. iv. p. 99, 100.

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and by little and little formed a body of Persian cavalry, which amounted to ten thousand men, and were the best troops of his army.

I shall speak elsewhere of the other change he introduced, with respect to the chariots of war. It is now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together several scattered passages of Xenophon, that author having omitted the material circumstance of acquainting us precisely with their numbers; which appears surprising in a man so expert in military affairs as that historian was.

Cyrus's army amounted in the whole to a hundred and ninety-six thousand men, horse and foot. Of these there were seventy thousand native Persians, *viz.* ten thousand cuirassiers of horse, twenty thousand cuirassiers of foot, twenty thousand pike-men, and twenty thousand light-armed soldiers. The rest of the army, to the number of a hundred and twenty-six thousand men, consisted of twenty-six thousand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and a hundred thousand foot of the same nations.

[n] Besides these troops, Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were arrow-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.

[o] He had likewise ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a larger size, upon each of which was placed a tower, of about eighteen or twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by sixteen oxen yoked abreast.

[p] There was moreover a considerable number of camels, upon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back; so that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.

[q] Crœsus's army was above twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thousand men, of which sixty thousand were cavalry. The troops

n *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 152, 153, 157.
o Ibid. p. 156.
p Ibid. p. 153, 158.
q Ibid. p. 158.

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consisted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellespont, and of Egyptians, to the number of three hundred and sixty thousand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of a hundred and twenty thousand. They had bucklers, that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and short swords, but very broad. The rest of the army was made up of Phœnicians, Cyprians, Cilicians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

[r] Crœsus's army was ranged in order of battle in one line, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horse, were thirty men deep; but the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were a hundred and twenty thousand in number, and who were the principal strength of Crœsus's infantry, in the centre of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or square battalions, of ten thousand men each, which had a hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval between every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with, one another. Crœsus would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and left: and the design of Crœsus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle to which they had been accustomed. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty stadia, or five miles in length.

Araspes, who, under the pretence of discontent, had retired to Crœsus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus, in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

[s] The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four and twenty men in depth, but Cyrus thought fit to change

[r] *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 166. [s] Ibid. p. 167

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that disposition. It was necessary for him to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his battalions, to prevent his army's being enclosed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuirasses, partisans, battle-axes, and swords; and provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe that the Lydian battalions, that were armed only with light bucklers and javelins, could support the charge. Cyrus therefore thinned the files of his infantry one-half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chrysantas, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two stadia, or four miles in extent; and consequently was at each end near four stadia, or half a mile, short of the enemy's front.

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus placed the spearmen, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by soldiers in their front, over whose heads they could fling their javelins and shoot their arrows at the enemy.

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their business was to have their eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to sustain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill those as traitors that fled; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could possibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only serve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual discharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewise be looked upon as a kind of movable forts, or redoubts, under which the Persian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women, and such other persons as were unfit for service.

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[t] To close all these lines, and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all two thousand infantry, two thousand horse, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's design in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the enemy, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line, by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into three bodies, of a hundred each. One of these bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of Susiana, was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies as they were drawn out and disposed the day before the engagement.

[u] The next day, very early in the morning, Cyrus made a sacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the soldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was sight more beautiful and magnificent: coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to admire most: men and horses all finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.

[x] When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirass, which was only of quilted linen, according to the fashion of his country, his wife, Panthea, came and presented him with a helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that her present might be more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when she dressed him in this armour, she could not refrain from shedding tears. But notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not signalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. 'Our obligations (says she) to that

[t] *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 168. [u] Page 169. [x] Page 169, 170.

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prince are infinitely great. I was his prisoner, and as such was destined for him; but when I came into his hands, I was neither used like a captive, nor had any dishonourable conditions imposed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife; and in return I assured him you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness.' 'O Jupiter! (cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven,) grant, that on this occasion I may approve myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of so generous a benefactor!' Having said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, kissed the chariot he rode in; and when she had pursued him with her eyes as far as she possibly could, she retired.

[y] As soon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice, given his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage that is due to the gods, every man went to his post. [z] Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals: he ate a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed amongst those that were about him. He took a little wine likewise; and poured out a part of it, as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide, and come to his assistance; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was considering on which side he should direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out, * 'Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee.' And that instant he set forwards, having Chrysantas on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arsamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them above all things to pay attention to the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle at the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out; and the same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He made his troops halt three times before they arrived at the enemy's army; and after having

[y] *Cyrop.* l. vi p. 170. [z] Lib. vii. p. 172.
* He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.

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marched about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, and the enemies had observed how much their front exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the centre of their army halt, whilst the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with design to enclose Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every side at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, '*Jupiter leader and protector*,' he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

[a] He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the soldiers; and he, who on all other occasions was so modest, and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was assured of victory: 'Follow me, comrades, (says he,) the victory is certainly ours: the gods are for us.' He observed, that many of his officers, and even Abradates himself, were uneasy at the movement, which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: 'Those troops alarm you, (says he;) believe me, those are the very troops that will be the first routed; and to you, Abradates, I give that as a signal of the time when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots.' In fact, the event happened just as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary every where, he returned to the right wing of his army.

[b] When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended, Crœsus gave the signal to the main body, to march up directly to the front of the Persian army, whilst the two wings, that were wheeling round upon their flanks, advanced on each side; so that Cyrus's army was enclosed on three sides, as if it had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon says, looked like a small square drawn within a great one.

In an instant, on the first signal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every side, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to sing the hymn

[a] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 173—176. [b] Ibid. l. vii. p. 176.

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of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse, briskly followed by a body of foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces, that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank: and having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do him, put them into great disorder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, completed their defeat.

In the same moment the troops of the left flank, knowing by the noise that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewise, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as ever they were sensible of the approach of those animals, (for horses cannot endure the smell of camels,) began to snort and prance, to run foul upon and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. Whilst they were in this confusion, a small body of horse, commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying; and the chariots armed with scythes falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed with a dreadful slaughter.

[c] This being the signal which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots. Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge, but gave way, and were dispersed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, which being covered with their bucklers, and marching in such close order that the chariots had not room to pierce amongst them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, but for the violence of the horses that trod upon them. It was a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses, overturned chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the sharp scythes, which cut every thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariot having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed, after they had signalized their valour in an extraordinary manner. The

[c] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 177.

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Egyptians then marching forwards in close order, and covered with their bucklers, obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the moving towers; and the battalions of the Persian rear-guard advancing sword in hand, hindered their archers and spearmen from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.

[d] Cyrus in the mean time having put both the horse and foot to flight on the left of the Egyptians, did not lose time in pursuing the fugitives. But, pushing on directly to the centre, he had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way; and rightly judging, that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining further ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell upon their rear: the cavalry came up at the same time, and the enemy was pushed with great fury. The Egyptians, being attacked on all sides, faced about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, sinking under him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, says Xenophon, of seeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his soldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they saw their leader, ran headlong into the thick forest of pikes, to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, if they would surrender, letting them know, at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions; and, as they prided themselves no less upon their fidelity than on their courage, they stipulated that they should not be obliged to carry arms against Crœsus, in whose service they had been engaged. From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.

[e] Xenophon observes, that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larissa and Cyllene, near Cumæ, upon the sea-coast, as also

[d] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 178. [e] Ibid. p. 179.

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other inland places, which were inhabited by their descendants even in his time; and he adds, that these places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation of Xenophon's, as also many other in several parts of his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of what he advances, show plainly that he meant that work as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the main substance of it, and the greatest part of the facts and transactions. This judicious reflection Monsieur Freret makes upon this passage.

[f] The battle lasted till evening. Crœsus retreated, as fast as he could, with his troops to Sardis. The other nations, in like manner, that very night directed their course, each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.

In describing this battle, I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin translation of which is not always faithful. Some military men, to whom I have communicated this description, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus drew up his forces in order of battle; as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to sustain his armed chariots, and to oppose the two bodies of troops which Crœsus had detached to fall upon the flanks of Cyrus's army. It is possible such a circumstance might have escaped Xenophon in describing this battle.

[g] It is allowed, that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry, which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which, till his time, they had been utterly ignorant. The chariots armed with scythes did good service, and the use of them was ever after retained by the Persians. The camels too were not unserviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them; and observes, that in his time they made no other use of them than for carrying the baggage.

I do not undertake to write a panegyric upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is sufficient to take notice, that in this affair we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in

[f] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 180. [g] Ibid.

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him. Before the battle, an admirable sagacity and foresight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures; an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army should be provided with every thing necessary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his soldiers, and to inspire them with confidence and ardour: in the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, and at the same time what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed! We shall soon see what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration, than all the rest, is the constant care he took, on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the Deity, which he thought belonged to him. Doubtless the reader has been surprised to see, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in sight of all his army, makes mention of the gods, offers sacrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them, and implores their succour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military man himself, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame then and a reproach would it be to a Christian officer or general, if on a day of battle he should blush to appear as religious and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hosts, the God of armies, whom he acknowledges as such, should make a less impression upon his mind, than respect for the false deities of paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus!

As for Crœsus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is said of him in the whole engagement. But that profound silence which Xenophon observes with regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

[h] But let us return to the camp of the Persians. It is easy to imagine what must be the affliction and distress of Panthea,

[h] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 184—186.

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when the news was brought her of Abradates's death. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and leaning her head upon her knees, quite out of her senses, with her eyes steadfastly fixed upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief and indulging her misery with the sight of that dismal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus, being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathized with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he possibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shown to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very spot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.

SECT. VI. THE TAKING OF SARDIS AND OF CRŒSUS.—[1] The next day in the morning Cyrus marched towards Sardis. If we may believe Herodotus, Crœsus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces to meet him, and to give him battle. According to that historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could neither endure the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city; [k] which Cyrus quickly besieged, causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling-ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But whilst he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that

[1] Herod. l. i. c. 79—84. [k] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 180

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place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already begun to disperse themselves in all quarters. To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them as it were by a single command, in a city so abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Crœsus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.

[1] When Cyrus had given all necessary orders concerning the city, he had a private conversation with the king, of whom he asked, among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphi, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom, it was said, he had always had a great regard? Crœsus first acknowledged, that he had justly incurred the indignation of that god, for having shown a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason to complain of him; for that having consulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead a happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness when he once came to the knowledge of himself. 'For want of this knowledge, (continued he,) and believing myself, through the excessive praises that were lavished upon me, to be something very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in war against a prince infinitely my superior in all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, and begin to know myself, I believe I am going to begin to be happy; and if you prove favourable to me, (for my fate is in your hands,) I shall certainly be so.' Cyrus, touched with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen

[1] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 181—184.

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in a moment from so great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under such a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to say, he discharged him (as Crœsus acknowledged himself) from all the burdensome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead a happy life, exempt from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, or to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more secure of his person.

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this story with the addition of some very remarkable circumstances, which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithstanding they seem to be much more wonderful than true.

[m] I have already observed, that the only son Crœsus had living was dumb. This young prince, seeing a soldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a stroke upon the head with his scimitar, made such a violent effort and struggle, out of fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that he broke the string of his tongue, and cried out, 'Soldier! spare the life of Crœsus.'

[n] Crœsus being a prisoner, was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive. Accordingly, the funeral pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince being laid thereon, and just upon the point of execution, recollecting * the conversation he had formerly had with Solon, was wofully convinced of the truth of that philosopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof, cried aloud three times, 'Solon! Solon! Solon!' Cyrus, who, with the chief officers of his court, was present at this spectacle, was curious to know why Crœsus pronounced that celebrated philosopher's name with so much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reason, and reflecting upon the uncertain state of all sublunary things, he was touched with commiseration at the prince's misfortune, caused him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and respect. † Thus had Solon the glory, with one single

[m] Herod. l. i. c. 85. [n] Ibid. c. 86—91. Plut. *in Solon.*

* This conversation is already related, p. 369.

† Καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ὁ Σόλων ἑνὶ λόγῳ τὸν μὲν σώσας, τὸν δὲ παιδεύσας τῶν βασιλέων. Plut

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word, to save the life of one king, and give a wholesome lesson of instruction to another.

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Crœsus to engage in the war which proved so fatal to him. The one was, that he was to believe himself in danger when the Medes should have a mule to reign over them: the other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the first of these oracular answers he concluded, considering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the second he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found how things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he despatched messengers to Delphi, with orders to make a present to the god, in his name, of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having so basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding the numberless presents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Crœsus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by such false and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the Devil, who was the author of them, imposed upon mankind, in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answers to those that consulted him, in such ambiguous and doubtful terms, that let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

° When the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprized of Cyrus's having subdued the Lydians, they sent ambassadors to him at Sardis, to desire he would receive them as his subjects upon the same conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who before his victory had solicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel them to it by force, answered them only by a fable of a fisherman, who having played upon his pipe, in order to make the fish come to

° Herod. l. i. c. 141, 152, 153.

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him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of succeeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded their succour. The Lacedæmonians thereupon sent deputies to Cyrus, to let him know, that they would not suffer him to undertake any thing against the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at such a message, and warned them in his turn to take care, and put themselves into a condition to defend their own territories.

The nations of the isles had nothing to apprehend from Cyrus, because he had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, and the Persians had no shipping.

ART. II.—THE HISTORY OF THE BESIEGING AND TAKING OF BABYLON BY CYRUS.—[p] Cyrus staid in Asia Minor, till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it into subjection, from the Ægean sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he also subjected. After which he entered into Assyria, and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the East that stood out against him.

The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design. But despairing to take the place by storm or assault, he made them believe his design was to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himself, as so much unprofitable labour.

SECT. I. PREDICTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL CIRCUMSTANCES

p Herod. l. i. c. 177. *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 186—188.

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RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON, AS THEY ARE SET DOWN IN DIFFERENT PLACES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.—As the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in ancient history, and as the principal circumstances with which it was attended were foretold in the holy Scriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the profane writers say of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

I. *The Prediction of the Jewish Captivity at Babylon, and of the Time of its Duration.*—God Almighty was pleased not only to cause the captivity, which his people were to suffer at Babylon, to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them by bringing a remarkable and irretrievable destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. 'And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years.' Jer. xxv. 11.

II. *The Causes of God's Wrath against Babylon.*—That which kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. Her insupportable pride; 2. Her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and, 3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. Her pride. * She believed herself to be invincible. She said in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness or widowhood. Eternity is written in my destiny, according to the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it.

2. Her cruelty. It is God himself that complains of it. †I was willing (says he) to punish my people, as a father chastiseth his children. I sent them for a time into banishment at Babylon, with a design to recall them, as soon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and

* Dixisti, In sempiternum ero domina—Dicis in corde tuo, Ego sum, et non est præter me amplius: non sedebo vidua, et ignorabo sterilitatem. Isa. xlvii. 7, 8.

† Iratus sum super populum meum, et dedi eos in manu tuâ, Babylon. Non posuisti eis misericordiam: super senem aggravâsti jugum tuum valdè. Veniet super te malum. Isa. xlvii. 6, 7.

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her prince have added to the paternal chastisement which I inflicted, such cruel and inhuman treatment as my clemency abhors. Their design has been to destroy; mine was to save. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shown no compassion or regard either to age, infirmity, or virtue.

3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king. To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors Belshazzar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the true and only God, but fancied that he had vanquished his power, because he was possessed of the vessels which had belonged to his worship; and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply those holy vessels to profane uses. This was what completed the measure of God's wrath.

III. *The Decree pronounced against Babylon. Prediction of the Calamities that were to fall upon her, and of her utter Destruction.*—[q] 'Make bright the arrows, gather the shields,' saith the prophet, speaking to the Medes and Persians. 'The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple.'

[r] 'Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand,—a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger to lay the land desolate.' [s] 'Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of * Assyria.'

[t] 'Shout against her round about. Recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her;—and spare ye not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host.' [u] 'Every one that is found shall be thrust through, and every one that is joined to them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children.' [x] 'O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed,

[q] Jer. li. 11. [r] Isa. xiii. 6, 9. [s] Jer. l. 18. [t] Ibid. l. 15, 29. and li. 3.
[u] Isa. xii. 15, 18. [x] Ps. cxxxvii. 8, 9.
* In the destruction of Nineveh.

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happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones.'

[y] 'And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces.' [z] 'I will also make it a possession for the bittern and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts. The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.'

IV. *Cyrus called to destroy Babylon, and to deliver the Jews.*—Cyrus, whom the Divine Providence was to make use of, as an instrument for the executing his designs of goodness and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the Scripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born. And, that the world might not be surprised at the marvellous rapidity of his conquests, God was pleased to declare, in very sublime and remarkable terms, that he himself would be his guide; and that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him.' [a] 'Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayst know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel: For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.'

[y] Isa. xiii. 19, 22. [z] Ibid. xiv. 23, 24. [a] Ibid. xlv. 1—4.

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V. *God gives the Signal to the Commanders, and to the Troops to march against Babylon.*—[b] 'Lift ye up a banner,' saith the Lord, 'upon the high mountain,' that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. 'Exalt the voice unto them' that are able to hear you. 'Shake the hand,' as a signal to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops 'go into the gates of the nobles,' into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and make haste to offer him their service, and to go unto his tent, which is already set up.

[c] 'I have commanded my sanctified ones;' I have given my orders to those whom I have sanctified for the execution of my designs; and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It is I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made divers nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my designs by their ministration. 'I have called my mighty ones [d] for mine anger.' I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they are invincible, it is because they serve me: every thing gives way, and trembles before them, because they are the ministers of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, 'they rejoice in my highness.' The honour they have of being under my command, and of being sent to deliver a people that I love, inspires them with ardour and cheerfulness: Behold! they triumph already in a certain assurance of victory.

The prophet, a witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is astonished at the swiftness with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he cries out, [e] 'The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together. The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle:' [f] 'They come from a far country, from the end of

[b] Isa. xiii. 2. [c] Ibid. xiii. 3. [d] Lat. vers. *in irâ meâ*. Heb. *in iram meam*.
[e] Isa. xiii. 4. [f] Ibid. ver. 5.

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heaven,' where the voice of God, their master and sovereign, has reached their ears.

But it is not with the sight of a formidable army, nor of the kings of the earth, that I am now struck; it is God himself that I behold; all the rest are but his retinue, and the ministers of his justice. 'It is even the Lord and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land.'

g 'A grievous vision is declared unto me:' The * impious Belshazzar, king of Babylon, continues to act impiously; 'the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth.' To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia; 'go up, O Elam:' And thou prince of the Medes, besiege thou Babylon: 'Besiege, O Media; all the sighing, which she was the cause of, have I made to cease.' That wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

VI. *Circumstances relating to the Siege and the taking of Babylon, minutely detailed.*—There is nothing, methinks, better calculated to raise in us a profound reverence for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but several ages, before it happened.

1. We have already seen, that the army by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way which she did not at all expect: h 'Therefore shall evil come upon thee: thou shalt not know from whence it riseth.' She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she was not able to foresee: i 'Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know.' In a word, she shall be taken, as it were in a net, before she perceiveth that any snares have been laid for her: k 'I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware.'

3. Babylon reckoned the Euphrates alone was sufficient to

g Isa. xxi. 2. h Ibid. xlvii. 11. i Ibid. k Jer. l. 24.
* This is the sense of the Hebrew word.

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render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being so advantageously situated and defended by so deep a river: [l] 'O thou that dwellest upon many waters;' It is God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus, by a stratagem (of which there never had been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it since) shall turn the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city: [m] 'I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry. A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up.' Cyrus shall take possession of the quays of the river; and the waters, which rendered Babylon inaccessible, shall be dried up, as if they had been consumed by fire: [n] 'The passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire.'

4. She shall be taken in the night-time, upon a day of feasting and rejoicing, even whilst her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: [o] 'In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord.' It is remarkable, that it is God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon; [p] 'I have laid a snare for thee;' who drieth up the waters of the river; 'I will dry up her sea;' and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes; [q] 'I will make drunk her princes.'

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind: [r] 'My loins are filled with pain; pangs have taken hold upon me as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it: my heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me: The night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me.' This is the condition Belshazzar was in, when in the middle of the entertainment he saw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon it as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more especially when Daniel declared to him, that those characters imported the sentence of his death. [s] 'Then,' says the Scripture, 'the king's

[l] Jer. li. 13. [m] Ibid. l. 38. and li. 36. [n] Ibid. li. 32. [o] Ibid. li. 39.
[p] Ibid. [q] Ibid. li. 57. [r] Isa. xxi. 3, 4. [s] Dan. v. 6.

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countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another. The terror, astonishment, fainting, and trembling of Belshazzar, are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the description of Belshazzar's consternation, the following words: [t] 'Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink.' The prophet foresees, that Belshazzar, though dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his courage and spirits, through the exhortations of his courtiers; but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen, his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears, and unnecessary alarms: [u] 'Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed.' They will exhort him therefore to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of the sentinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recall that gaiety and joy, which his excessive fears had banished from the table: 'Prepare the table; watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink.'

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his; [x] 'Arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield.' It is God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine, or buried in sleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the troops with which it is filled, shall not keep their ground, or stand firm any where, neither at the palace nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatsoever; that they shall desert and leave one another, without thinking of any thing but making their escape; that in running away they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or

[t] Isa. xxi. 5. [u] Dan. v. 10. [x] Isa. xxi. 14.

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of sheep, is dispersed and scattered, when they are affrighted: [y] 'And it shall be as a chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up.' The second circumstance is, that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonian service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conquerors: because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: [z] 'They shall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land.'

8. Lastly, not to mention the dreadful slaughter which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shown either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already noticed; the last circumstance, I say, which the prophet foretells, is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are described in the Scripture, in a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. [a] 'But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch. Thou shalt not be joined with them' (thy ancestors) 'in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people.' That king is justly forgotten, who has never remembered, that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, he ought to have no place amongst them. He was like unto the wild beasts of the field, and like them he shall be buried: and since he had no sentiments of humanity himself, he deserves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the sentence which God himself pronounceth against Belshazzar: and the malediction extends itself to his children, who were looked upon as his associates in the throne, and as the source of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers but the pleasing prospects and ideas of their future grandeur. [b] 'Prepare slaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not rise nor possess the land. For I will rise up against them,

[y] Isa. xiii. 14. [z] Ibid. [a] Isa. xiv. 19, 20. [b] Ibid. 21, 22.

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saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord.'

SECT. II. A DESCRIPTION OF THE TAKING OF BABYLON.—After having seen the predictions of every thing that was to happen to the impious Babylon, it is now time to come to the accomplishment of those prophecies; and to resume our narrative of the taking of that city.

As soon as Cyrus saw that the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finished, he began to think seriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence soon furnished him with as fit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed, that in the city a great festival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians, on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

[c] Belshazzar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other, and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. When flushed with wine, he ordered the gold and silver vessels which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought out; and, as an insult upon the God of Israel, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of those sacred vessels. God, who was provoked at such insolence and impiety, at the same instant made him sensible who it was that he affronted, by a sudden apparition of a hand, writing certain characters upon the wall. The king, terribly surprised and frighted at this vision, immediately sent for all his wise men, his diviners, and astrologers, that they might read the writing to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the * characters. It is probably in relation to this occurrence, that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon that she shall be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, 'Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astrologers,

[c] Dan. v. 1—29.

* The reason why they could not read this sentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not understand.

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the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee.' Isa. xlvii. 12, 13. The queen-mother (Nitocris, a princess of great merit) coming upon the noise of this prodigy into the banqueting-room, endeavoured to compose the mind of the king, her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, and the * flagrant abuse he made of his power, when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself empowered to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death wheresoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure. 'And thou his son (says he to the king) hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God, in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written, † MENE, TEKEL, [d] UPHARSIN. This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.' This interpretation, one would think, should have aggravated the consternation of the company; but they found means to dispel their fears, probably upon a persuasion, that the calamity was not denounced as present or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear of disturbing

[d] Or PERES.

* 'Whom he would he slew; and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he set up; and whom he would he put down.' Dan. v. 19.

† These three words signify, *number*, *weight*, *division*.

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the general joy of the present festival, they put off the discussion of serious matters to another time, and sat down again to their banquet, and continued their revellings to a very late hour.

[e] Cyrus, in the mean time, well informed of the confusion that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered into the city, and another part on that side where it went out; and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them that he marched under the guidance of the gods; in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both sides the city, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two forementioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadatas, and advanced without meeting any obstacle. The invisible guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and disorder of that riotous night subservient to his design, by leaving open the gates of brass, which were made to shut up the descents from the quays to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were sufficient to have defeated the whole enterprise. Thus did these two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors to know what noise it was they heard without, the soldiers rushed in, and quickly made themselves masters of it. And meeting the king, who came up to them sword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to succour him, they killed him, and put all those that attended him to the sword. The first thing the conquerors did afterwards, was to thank the gods for having at last punished that impious king. These words are Xenophon's, and are very worthy of attention,

[e] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 189—192.

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as they so perfectly agree with what the Scriptures have recorded of the impious Belshazzar.

The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from the beginning of the reign of Nabonassar. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished, just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished those predictions, which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important and the most incredible of them all, and yet the Scripture has set it down in the strongest terms, and marked it out with the greatest exactness; a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points; the proof of which still actually subsists, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be contested. What I mean is the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or traces should be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accomplishment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to speak of what followed the taking of Babylon.

A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538

SECT. III. THE COMPLETION OF THE PROPHECY WHICH FORETOLD THE TOTAL RUIN AND DESTRUCTION OF BABYLON.—This prediction we find recorded in several of the prophets, but particularly in Isaiah, in the xiiith chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verses, and in the 23d and 24th verses of the xivth chapter. I have already inserted it at large, page 428, &c. It is there declared that Babylon shall be utterly destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as set up their tents there; that the shepherd shall not come thither even to rest his flock; that it shall become a dwelling-place for the wild beasts, and a retreat for the birds of night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, so that no trace shall be left to show where Babylon had been. It is God himself who pronounced this sentence, and it is for the service of religion to show how exactly every article of it has been successively accomplished.

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I. In the first place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, or any other place; and did themselves destroy a good part of Babylon.

II. We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to embellish or even repair it, but that moreover they built * Seleucia in the neighbourhood, on purpose to draw away its inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted. Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold; 'It shall not be inhabited.' Its own masters endeavour to make it desolate. A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

III. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building † Ctesiphon, which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that from the time the curse was pronounced against that city, it seems as if those very persons that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies; and had all thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of solitude, though by indirect means, and without using any violence; that it might the more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

IV. She was so totally forsaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition she was reduced at the time when ‡ Pausanias wrote his remarks upon Greece. *Illa autem Babylon, omnium quas unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nihil habet reliqui.* Paus. *in Arcad.* page 509. A. D. 96.

V. The kings of Persia finding the place deserted, made a park of it, in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling-place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man; or for timorous animals, that flee before him. Instead of citizens, she was now

* Partem urbis Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit et Macedonum negligentia; maximè postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, stadiis tantùm trecentis à Babylone dissitam. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

In solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ à Nicatore intra nonagesimum (or quadragesimum) lapidem. Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

† Pro illâ Seleuciam et Ctesiphontem urbes Persarum inclitas fecerunt. S. Hieron. in cap. xiii. Isa.

‡ He wrote in the reign of Antoninus, successor to Adrian.

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inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, savage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkness. [f] 'Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces.'

St. Jerom has transmitted to us the following valuable remark, which he had from a Persian monk, that had himself seen what he related to him. *Didicimus à quodam fratre Elamitâ, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone, et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus ambitu tantùm contineri.* In cap. Isa. xiii. 22.

A. D. 400.

VI. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals, which were to be subservient to the pleasure of the Persian kings, abandoned the place: serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after, its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way, so that in *Theodoret's time there was nothing more than a very little stream of water left, which ran across the ruins, and not meeting with a slope, or free passage, naturally degenerated into a marsh.

[g] In the time of Alexander the Great, the river had quitted its ordinary channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; these outlets being badly stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work. But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who had declared, he would destroy even to the very remains and foot-

f Isa. xiii. 21, 22.

g Arrian. *de exped. Alex.* l. viii.

* Euphrates quondam urbem ipsam mediam dividebat: nunc autem fluvius conversus est in aliam viam, et per rudera minimus aquarum meatus fluit. Theodor. in cap. l. Jerem. ver. 38 and 39.

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steps of Babylon, [[h] 'I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant,'] defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. It is easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold: [i] 'I will make it pools of water.' And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood, should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

VII. By means of all these changes Babylon became an utter desert, and all the country round fell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the most able *geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood. In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled: [k] 'I will cut off from Babylon the name—I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.' I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every trace of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, the Lord, have abolished. 'I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.'

VIII. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought fit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. [l] 'The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass: and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.' But if we would take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world: it is the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be sepa-

[h] Isa. xiv. 22. [i] Ibid. xiv. 23. [k] Ibid. xiv. 23. [l] Ibid. xiv. 24.
* Nunc omnino destructa, ita ut vix ejus supersint rudera. Baudrand.

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rated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the saints and the reprobate. The Scriptures, that have foretold it, shall subsist till the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited, as it were, in the public archives of religion. 'The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, As I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.'

What I have said of this prophecy concerning Babylon is almost entirely taken out of an excellent treatise upon Isaiah, which is still in manuscript.

SECT. IV. WHAT FOLLOWED UPON THE TAKING OF BABYLON.—[m] CYRUS having entered the city in the manner we have described, put all to the sword that were found in the streets: he then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison which kept the citadel, being apprized that the city was taken and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the strongest place in the world.

The first thing he did, was to thank the gods for the success they had given him. And then having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal, and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. [n] After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overcome by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and for that purpose, to take a particular care to give their children a good education. This (says he) will necessarily engage us daily to make further

[m] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 192. [n] Pag. 197, 200.

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advances in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples: nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing amongst us, but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.

[o] Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications; but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependence upon, and mutually contribute to support, each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantage of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of business, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and so on, till by these different degrees and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not remain idle in the midst of all this motion, but was as it were the soul to the body of the state; which by this means he governed with as much ease as a father governs his private family.

[p] When he afterwards sent governors, called *satrapæ*, into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, nor the commanding officers of the troops maintained for the security of the country, to be dependent upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; in order that, if any of these *satrapæ*, elate with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his maladminis-

[o] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 202.

[p] Lib. viii. p. 229.

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tration within his own government. For there was nothing he so carefully avoided, as the trusting of any one man with absolute power, well knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent his having exalted one person so high, if all others are thereby abased and kept under.

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. [q] In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all such as distinguished themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any respect whatever. He infinitely preferred clemency to martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and desolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and useful. [r] He was sensible, that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preserving of good manners; but, in his opinion, the prince by his example was to be a living law to his people. [s] Nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unless he was more wise and virtuous than those he governed: [t] he was also persuaded, that the surest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of such as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or to say any thing before them contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.

[u] Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal; nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others. [x] 'I have prodigious riches (says he to his courtiers) I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use, and to consume it myself? That would be impossible even if I desired it. No: the chief end I aim at is to have it in my power to reward those who serve the public faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities.'

[y] Crœsus one day represented to him, that by continual largesses he would at last make himself poor, whereas he

q *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 209. r Page 204. s Page 205. t Page 204.
u Page 209 x Page 225 y Page 210.

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might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the world. 'And to what sum (replied Cyrus) do you think those treasures might have amounted?' Crœsus named a certain sum, which was immensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a short note to be written to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them, that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him than Crœsus had mentioned. 'Look here, (says Cyrus to him,) here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affection of my subjects.'

But much as he esteemed liberality, he laid a still greater stress upon kindness and condescension, affability and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary, as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

[z] But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was the worship of the gods, and a respect for religion. Upon this therefore he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of Magi, to sing daily a morning service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised amongst them in succeeding ages.

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians, who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed that by serving the gods as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: besides, they were sensible, it was the surest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus, on the other hand, was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments, being convinced, that whosoever sincerely fears and worships God, will at the same

[z] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 204.

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time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

[a] Cyrus being resolved to establish his chief residence at Babylon, a powerful city which could not be very well affected to him, thought it necessary to be more cautious than he had been hitherto, in regard to the safety of his person. The most dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the most likely for treasonable attempts upon their lives, are those of bathing, eating, and sleeping. He determined therefore to suffer nobody to be near him at those times, but such persons on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; because, as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and besides were generally despised on account of the meanness of their birth and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by every consideration to attach themselves solely to their master, on whose life their whole fortune depended, and on whose account alone it was, that they possessed either wealth or consequence. Cyrus therefore intrusted all the offices of his household to eunuchs: and this practice, which was not unknown before his time, from thenceforth became the general custom of all the Eastern countries.

It is well known, that in after-times it prevailed also amongst the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning all-powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. It was very natural for the prince, after having confided his person to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity, and merit, to intrust them also with the management of some public business, and by degrees to give himself up to them. These expert courtiers knew how to improve those favourable moments, when sovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men, and familiarize themselves with their officers. And by this policy having got possession of their master's minds and confidence, they came to possess great influence at court, to have the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of employments and honours, and to arrive themselves at the highest offices and dignities in the state.

[a] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 196.

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[b] But the good emperors, such as Alexander Severus, held the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures sold and attached only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; persons whose sole view was to get possession of the prince's mind, to conceal the knowledge of public business as much as possible from him, to preclude access to him from any person of real merit, and to keep him shut up and imprisoned, in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire ascendant and dominion over him: *Claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*

[c] When Cyrus had established his regulations in every thing relating to the government, he resolved to show himself publicly to his own people, and to his newly conquered subjects, in a solemn, august ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods, in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought fit to display all possible splendour and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the first time that prince ever aimed at procuring respect towards himself, not only by the attractions of virtue (says the historian) but by such an external pomp as was calculated to attract the multitude, and worked like a * charm or enchantment upon their imaginations. He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and allies to attend him, and gave each of them a dress after the Median fashion, that is to say, long robes, which hung down to the feet. These were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroidered with gold and silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers. It was on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the manner of the Medes,[d] and began to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more sparkling, and in painting their faces, in order to enliven their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the

[b] Lamprid. *in vitâ Alex. Sever.* [c] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 213—220.
[d] Ibid. p. 206.
* Ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγοητεύειν ᾤετο χρῆναι αὐτούς.

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whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and two thousand on the two sides of it ranged in the same order. The whole cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one side, and half on the other. As soon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquisite beauty were led out by four and four: these were to be sacrificed to Jupiter and the other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Magi. Next followed the horses that were to be sacrificed to the Sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: this was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorned in the same manner, to be offered to the Sun. After these followed a third, the horses of which were caparisoned with scarlet housings. Behind came the men who carried the sacred fire on a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself began to appear upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with a royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered. A little below him sat his master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the height of the latter appeared still more advantageously. As soon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipped him; whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others on by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many awful circumstances of majesty and splendour. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thousand guards began to march: the other two thousand moved at the same time, and placed themselves on each side of the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's

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household, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them followed two hundred led horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroidered furniture, and bits of gold. Next came the Persian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four abreast, closed the procession.

When they came to the fields consecrated to the gods, they offered their sacrifices first to Jupiter, and then to the Sun. To the honour of the first were burnt bulls, and to the honour of the second, horses. They likewise sacrificed some victims to the Earth, according to the appointment of the Magi; then to the demi-gods, the patrons and protectors of * Syria.

In order to afford the people some recreation after this grave and solemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot races. The place where they were was large and spacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out, about five † stadia, and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for nobody was so complete a horseman as he. The chariots ran but two at a time, one against another.

This kind of procession continued a long time afterwards amongst the Persians, except only that it was not always attended with sacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the same order.

[e] Some days after, Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment to all the chief officers, as well foreigners as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen any thing of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast he made every one a noble present: so that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude: and all-powerful as he was, master of all the East, and so many kingdoms,

e *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 220—224.
* Among the ancients Syria is often put for Assyria.
† A little above half a mile.

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he did not think it derogatory to his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.

ARTICLE III. THE HISTORY OF CYRUS, FROM THE TAKING OF BABYLON TO THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.—Cyrus finding himself master of all the East by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life; to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a constant application to the duties of his high station.

SECT. I. CYRUS TAKES A JOURNEY INTO PERSIA. AT HIS RETURN FROM THENCE TO BABYLON, HE FORMS A PLAN OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE WHOLE EMPIRE. DANIEL'S CREDIT AND POWER.—[f] When Cyrus judged he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon, he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him at the same time that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in copartnership with him, though he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. It is Cyaxares, who is called in Scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations. It appears, that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon.

A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538.

When they were arrived there, they concerted together a

f *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 227.

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scheme of government for the whole empire. [g] They divided it into a hundred and twenty provinces. [h] And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition, Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the couriers, that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible despatch. [i] The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most, and rendered him the greatest service in the war. [k] Over these governors were appointed three superintendents, who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account from time to time of every thing that passed in their respective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and instructions; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the affairs of the whole empire. Of these three, Daniel was made the chief. He highly deserved such a preference, not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the East, and had been displayed in a distinguished manner at Belshazzar's feast, but likewise on account of his great age, and consummate experience. For at that time it was full sixty-seven years, from the fourth of Nabuchodonosor, that he had been employed as prime minister of the kings of Babylon.

[l] As this distinction made him the second person in the empire, and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceived so great a jealousy of him, that they conspired to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it were on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask any thing whatsoever, for the space of thirty days, either of any god or any man, save of the king; and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and cast into the den of lions. But being miraculously preserved, and coming out safe and unhurt, his

g Dan. vi. 1. h *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 232. i Ibid. p. 230.
k Dan. vi. 2, 3. l Ibid. 4—27.

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accusers were thrown in, and immediately devoured by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.

[m] Towards the end of the same year, which was reckoned the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel, knowing by the computation he made, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, prayed earnestly to God, that he would vouchsafe to remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the sanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the angel Gabriel assured him in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance much more considerable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan, which God would procure to his Church, and which was to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, that were to elapse from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of four hundred and ninety years. For taking each day for a year, according to the language used sometimes in holy Scripture, those seventy weeks of years made up exactly four hundred and ninety years.

[n] Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, of two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. When he had furnished the garrisons with so many of them as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Æthiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously delivered from them, as we have just now related.

Perhaps in the same interval also were those famous pieces of gold coined, which are called Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which for their fineness and beauty were for

[m] Dan. ix. 1—27.

[n] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 233.

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several ages preferred to all other money throughout the whole East.

SECT. II. THE BEGINNING OF THE UNITED EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS AND MEDES. THE FAMOUS EDICT OF CYRUS. DANIEL'S PROPHECIES.—Here, properly speaking, begins the empire of the Persians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomannus, who was vanquished by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of two hundred and six years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674; and little remains to be said of the founder of this new empire.

CYRUS. Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyses likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the empire. A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536.

[o] The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently. Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time, when, by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, he became sole monarch of the whole empire.

In the first of these seven years precisely expired the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. There is no question but this edict was obtained by the care and solicitations of Daniel, who possessed great influence at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him this request, he showed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah,[p] wherein, above two hundred years before his birth, he was marked out by name as a prince appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and at the same time to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossessed by their ancient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper in

[o] Cic. l. i. *de Div.* n. 46.

[p] Isa. xliv. and xlv.

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this place to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be presumed God had endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blessed him with such an uninterrupted series of glorious victories and success.

[q] 'In the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel, (he is the' true 'God,) which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem.'

Cyrus at the same time restored to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nabuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god. Shortly after the Jews departed under the conduct of Zorobabel, to return into their own country.

[r] The Samaritans, who had long been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they so far prevailed by bribes and underhand dealings with the ministers and other officers concerned therein, as to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on very slowly.

[s] It seems to have been through grief at seeing the execution of this decree so long retarded, that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concerning

A. M. 3470. Ant. J. C. 534.

[q] Ezra i. 1—4. [r] Ibid. iv. 1—5. [s] Dan. x. 1—3.

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the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I shall soon speak.

* By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter, we have reason to conjecture, that he died soon after; and indeed his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for at this time he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives; and some suppose him to have been eighteen years of age at that time: from that early age he had given proofs of wisdom, more than human, in the judgment of Susannah. He was ever afterwards very much esteemed by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.

Daniel's wisdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. [t] Josephus speaks of a famous edifice built by him at † Susa, in the manner of a castle, which he says still subsisted in his time, finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace the Persian and Parthian kings were usually buried; and for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to the time of Josephus. It was a common tradition in those parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that ‡ city, and there they show his monument even to this day. It is certain, that he used to go thither from time to time, and he himself tells us, that [u] 'he did the king's business there,' that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

Reflections upon Daniel's Prophecies.—I have hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing

t *Antiq.* l. x. cap. 12.

u Dan. viii. 27.

* 'But go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.' Dan. xii. 13.

† So it ought to be read, according to St. Jerom, who relates the same fact; Comm. in Dan. viii. 2. and not Ecbatana, as it is now read in the text of Josephus.

‡ Now called Tuster.

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proof of the truth of our religion. [x] I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchadnezzar, and foretold in what manner, for the punishment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years restored again to his understanding and to his throne. It is well known the matter happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction: the king himself relates it in a declaration addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine; to speak of it, as having been sent into all the provinces, if nobody had seen it; and in the midst of Babylon, that was full of both Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of such importance, and so injurious to the king, the falsehood of which must have been notorious to all the world?

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which designate the succession of the four great empires, and which for that reason have an essential and necessary relation to the subject matter of this work, which is no other than the history of those very empires.

[y] The first of these prophecies has reference to the dream which Nebuchadnezzar had, of an image composed of different metals, gold, silver, brass, and iron; which image was broken in pieces, and beaten as small as dust by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude. This dream I have already [z] recited at large.

About fifty * years after, the same Daniel saw another vision very like that which I have just been speaking of: this was the vision of the four large beasts which came out of the sea. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings; the second was like a bear; the third was like a leopard, which had four heads; the fourth and last, still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet. From the midst of the ten horns, which this beast had, there came up a little one, which

[x] Dan. iv. [y] Ibid. ii. [z] Pag. 343, 344.

* This was the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon. Dan. vii.

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had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater than the other: the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of days, that is, the everlasting God, came, and sitting upon his throne, surrounded with a thousand millions of angels, pronounced an irreversible judgment upon the four beasts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of Man power over all the nations, and all the tribes, an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed, that the different metals of which the image was composed, and the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed, that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and the *Romans. This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but He only who is the master of times and monarchies, who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who by a supernatural revelation imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleases?†

[a] In the following chapter this prophet speaks with still greater clearness and precision. For after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beasts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plainest manner: The ram, which hath two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Persians; the goat, which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How

* Dan. viii.

* Some interpreters, instead of the Romans, substitute the kings of Syria and Egypt, Alexander's successors.

† 'He changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth and setteth up kings. He revealeth the deep and secret things; and the light dwelleth with him.' Dan. ii. 21, 22.

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did Daniel see that the Persian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Persians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foresee the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he so aptly describes, by saying, that 'he touched not the ground?' How did he learn, that Alexander should not have any successor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise the most powerful? * By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover, that Alexander would have no son to succeed him; that his empire would be dismembered and divided into four principal kingdoms; and his successors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly formed, several states would be established, of which some would be in the east, others in the west, some in the south, and others in the north?

The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less astonishing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign, † foretell, that the fourth of Cyrus's successors should gather ‡ together all his forces to attack the Grecian states? How could this prophet, who lived so long before the time of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the persecutions which Antiochus would bring upon the Jews; the manner of his abolishing the sacrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem; the profanation of that holy place, by setting up an idol therein; and the vengeance which God would inflict on him for it? [b] How could he, in the first year of the Persian empire, foretell the wars which Alexander's successors would wage with one another in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invasions of one another's territories, their insincerity in their treaties, and their alliances by marriage, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious designs?

[b] Dan. xi. 5—45.

* 'And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion: and his kingdom shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled.' Dan. xi. 3, 4. 'Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.' Dan. viii. 22.

† 'Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.' Dan. xi. 2.

‡ Xerxes.

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I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the conclusion which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel; so clear and express, that [c] Porphyry, a professed enemy of the Christian religion, could find no other way of disputing the divine original of them, than by pretending that they were written after the events, and were rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must desire the reader to remark what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put between the empires of the world and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former, every thing appears great, splendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majesty, seem to be their natural attendants. In them we easily discern those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror everywhere, and whom nothing could withstand. But then they are represented as wild beasts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to destroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors! How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires, as of their founders or governors!

In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us consider its origin and first rise, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find that weakness and meanness, if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been its striking characteristics. It is the leaven, the grain of mustard-seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet, in reality, there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The design of his reign is to save mankind; to make them eternally happy, and to form to himself a nation of saints and just persons, who may all of them be so many kings and conquerors. It is for their sakes only that the whole world doth subsist; and when the number of them shall be complete, [d] 'Then (says St. Paul) cometh the end and consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father;

[c] S. Hieron. *in Proœm. ad Com.* in Dan.

[d] 1 Cor. xv. 24.

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when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power.'

Can a writer, who sees in the prophecies of Daniel that the several empires of the world, after having subsisted during the time determined for them by the sovereign disposer of kingdoms, do all terminate and centre in the empire of Jesus Christ; can a writer, I say, amidst all these profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great and divine one, and not have it always in view, at least at a distance, as the end and consummation of all others?

SECT. III. THE LAST YEARS OF CYRUS. THE DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.—[e] Let us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and by those of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine seas, on the west by the Ægean sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia. He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months of the year at Babylon in the winter season, because of the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in the spring, and two months at Ecbatana, during the heat of the summer.

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Persia, for the seventh time after his accession to the whole monarchy: and this shows that he used to go regularly into Persia once a year. Cambyses had been now dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had elapsed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very last he * enjoyed a vigorous state of health, which was the fruit of the sober and temperate life which he had constantly led. And whereas they, who give themselves

[e] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 233, &c.

* Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cùm admodum senex esset, negat se unquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam, quàm adolescentia fuisset.—Cic. *de Senect.* n. 30.

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up to drunkenness and debauchery, often feel all the infirmities of age, even whilst they are young, Cyrus on the contrary, at a very advanced age, still enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the state, to be assembled about him; and, after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldest son, Cambyses, his successor, and left the other, whose name was Tanaoxares, several very considerable governments. He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them, that the main strength and support of the throne was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches; but a due respect for the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. 'I conjure you, therefore,' said he, 'my dear children, in the name of the gods, to respect and love one another, if you mean to retain any desire to please me in future. For I do not think you will esteem me to be no longer any thing, because you will not see me after my death. You never saw my soul to this instant: you must have known, however, by its actions, that it really existed. Do you believe, that honours would still be paid to those whose bodies are now but ashes, if their souls had no longer any being or power? No, no, my sons, I could never imagine, that the soul only lived whilst in a mortal body, and died when separated from it. But if I mistake, and nothing of me shall remain after death, at least fear the gods, who never die, who see all things, and whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to do, any thing contrary to religion and justice. Next to them, fear mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in obscurity, but have exposed you upon a great theatre to the view of the whole universe. If your actions are guiltless and upright, be assured they will augment your glory and power. As to my body, my sons, when life has forsaken it, enclose it neither in gold nor silver, nor any other matter whatsoever. RESTORE IT IMME-

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DIATELY TO THE EARTH. Can it be more happy than in being blended, and in a manner incorporated, with the benefactress and common mother of human kind?' After having given his hand to be kissed by all that were present, finding himself at the point of death, he added these last words: 'Adieu, dear children; may your lives be happy; carry my last remembrance to your mother. And for you, my faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this last farewell, and may you live in peace.' After having said this, he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people.

A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529.

The order given by Cyrus to RESTORE HIS BODY TO THE EARTH, is, in my opinion, worthy of observation. He would have thought it disgraced and injured, if enclosed in gold or silver. RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, says he. Where did that prince learn that it was from thence it derived its original? Behold one of those precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of the human race, to perpetuate that good, in some measure, even after his death.

Character and Eulogy of Cyrus.—Cyrus may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince, mentioned in profane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing men's tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art, as far as that age had carried it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and equal steadiness and prudence for executing the greatest projects.

It is very common for those heroes, who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonished, when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean actions they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealousy, and governed by interest;

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how disagreeable and even odious they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the slightest matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable and easy of access: and whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending, humble demeanour, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantages may result from a single word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a reason assigned at the same time that a command is given, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a refusal with expressions of concern and goodwill. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a sort of wealth which most sovereigns want, who are possessed of every thing but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendour and affluence with which they are surrounded. * Cyrus was beloved, because he himself had a love for others: for, has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing is more interesting than to see in Xenophon the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and sociably with persons of merit, though of an inferior station.

The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. [f] His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command to tell

f Plat. l. iii. *de Leg.* p. 694.

* Habes amicos, quia amicus ipse es. *Paneg. Trajan.*

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him whatever they thought. And though he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook any thing without asking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make some change in the army, or to form a new enterprise, he would always have every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own: so different was he from the person mentioned by [g] Tacitus, who thought it a sufficient reason for rejecting the most excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himself: *Consilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipse non afferret, inimicus.*

[h] Cicero observes, that during the whole time of Cyrus's government, he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word: *Cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit.* What a great encomium for a prince is comprehended in that short sentence! Cyrus must have been a very great master of himself, to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of sovereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure, as that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents, should ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his steadfast persuasion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people; [i] and that it was not by the splendour of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and to secure to them tranquillity and plenty. [k] He said himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to consider himself as a * shepherd, (the image under which both sacred and profane antiquity represented good kings;) and, that he ought to have the same vigilance, care, and goodness. 'It is his duty (says

[g] *Hist.* l. i. c. 26.
[h] Lib. i. epist. 2. *ad Q. fratrem.*
[i] *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 27.
[k] Ibid. l. viii. p. 210.

* 'Thou shalt feed my people,' said God to David. 2 Sam. v. 2. Ποιμένα λαῶν, Homer, in many places.

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he) to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to burden himself with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them; to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person for their defence and protection. This (says he) is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable, that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock.'

Indeed, to be the guardian of the commonwealth, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their sovereign, is but one and the same thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and foundation of the condition of princes is, not to belong to themselves: the very characteristic of their greatness is, that they are consecrated to the public good. They may properly be considered as light, which is placed on high, only to diffuse and shed its beams on every thing below. Are such sentiments as these derogatory to the dignity of the regal state?

It was by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus succeeded in founding such an extensive empire in so short a time; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conquests for many years; that he made himself so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; that after his death he was universally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not to be surprised, that Cyrus was so accomplished in every virtue, (it will easily be understood, that I speak only of pagan virtues,) because we know it was God himself, who had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious designs towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any sensible miracle, nor that he immediately made him such, as we admire him in the accounts

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we have of him in history. God gave him a happy disposition, and implanted in his mind the seeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart at the same time to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But above all he took care, that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great designs for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in Cyrus were owing to the mode in which he was educated, which confounding him, in some sort, with the rest of the subjects, and keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride, which is so natural to princes; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command; inured him to hardship and toil; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety; and, in a word, rendered him such as we have seen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate, an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more so to flattery.

It must be confessed, that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts that Heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation: That all good kings are the gift of God alone, and that such a gift includes many others; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears the most perfect resemblance to the Deity; and the noblest image of the Deity is a just, moderate, chaste, and virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view, than to establish the reign of justice and virtue. This is the portraiture which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great resemblance to that of Cyrus. [1] *Nullum est præstabilius et pulcrius Dei munus erga mortales, quàm castus, et sanctus, et Deo simillimus princeps.*

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, there seems to me to have been one circumstance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly, I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue tried by some sudden reverse of fortune. I

[1] *Paneg.*

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know indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piso, told him that the stings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity; and that the former put the soul to a much severer trial than the latter: [m] *Fortunam adhuc tantùm adversam tulisti; secundæ res acrioribus stimulis explorant animos.* And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon the soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her strength to bear up against the burden; whereas prosperity attacking the mind secretly or insensibly, leaves it all its weakness, and insinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtile: *Quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.*

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity; a greatness of mind, independent of every thing without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune; an intrepidity of soul which is animated at the sight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients improving even from crosses and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views and provides against every thing; and, lastly, a firmness of soul, that not only suffices to itself, but is capable of supporting others.

Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. [n] He himself informs us, that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident; and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us at the same time with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admired; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the apprehension of the changes and misfortunes that might happen:

[m] Tac. *Hist* l. i. c. 15.

[n] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 234.

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and this prudent fear was not only a ° preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.

There remains one point more to be examined, of great importance in appreciating this prince's reputation and character, upon which however I shall touch but lightly; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests. For if these were founded only upon ambition, injustice, and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked only among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to mankind,* who acknowledged no right but that of force; who looked upon the common rules of justice as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings; who set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions, than their incapacity of carrying them to an equal extent with their wishes; who sacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition; who made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction, like an inundation or a conflagration; and † who reigned as bears and lions would do, if they were masters.

This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes, whom the world admires; and by such ideas as these, we ought to correct the impression made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the sentiments of many deceived by false images of grandeur.

I do not know, whether I am not biassed in favour of Cyrus; but he seems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors, whom I have just now described. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the soul of all his undertakings; but he certainly reverenced the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, in which whoever unseasonably engages, renders himself accountable for all the blood that is shed. Now every war is of this sort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his neighbours.

° Οὐκ εἶα μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐκπεπταμένως.

* Id in summâ fortunâ æquius quod validius. Et sua retinere, privatæ domûs: ne alienis certare, regiam laudem esse. Tacit. *Annal.* l. xv. c. 1.

† Quæ alia vita esset, si leones ursique regnarent? Sen. *de Clem.* l. i. c. 26.

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[p] Cyrus, as we have seen, at the beginning of the war founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjustly oppressed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquests, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Crœsus, king of Lydia, who was master of the greatest part of the Lesser Asia; and over the king of Babylon, who was master of all Upper Asia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggressors.

With good reason therefore is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which cannot be such, unless justice is the basis and foundation of it: * *Cyrus à Xenophonte scriptus ad justi effigiem imperii.*

SECT. IV. WHEREIN HERODOTUS AND XENOPHON DIFFER IN THEIR ACCOUNTS OF CYRUS.—Herodotus and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in what may be considered as the groundwork and most essential part of Cyrus's history, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests; yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give a succinct account of what Herodotus relates as to these points.

[q] He tells us, as Justin does after him, that Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the son who was to be born of his daughter would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandane to a Persian of obscure birth and fortune, whose name was Cambyses. This daughter being delivered of a son, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to destroy the infant. He, instead of

[p] *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 25. [q] Herod. l. i. c. 107—130. Justin, l. i. c. 4, 6.
* Cic. l. i. *Epist.* 1. *ad Q. fratrem.*

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killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child, being miraculously preserved, and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards recognised by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Persia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast, and caused him to feed on the flesh of his own son. Several years after, young Cyrus, being informed by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, defeated him in a battle, and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.

[r] The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming so great a conqueror. This prince, according to him, carried his arms against the Scythians; and, after having attacked them, in the first battle, pretended to fly, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to seize the booty. When they had drunk largely and were asleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young prince, whom Cyrus refused to restore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to see himself a prisoner, killed himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians a second battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and killed above two hundred thousand of their men, together with their king Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, she flung it into a vessel full of blood, insulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words, * 'Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable.'

The account given by Herodotus of Cyrus's infancy and first adventures, has much more the air of a romance than of a

[r] Herod. l. i. c. 205—214. Justin, l. i. c. 8.

* Sacia te, inquit, sanguine, quem sitisti, cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti. Justin, l. i. c. 8.

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history. And, as to the manner of his death, what probability is there, that a prince, so experienced in war, and no less renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambuscade laid by a woman for him? [s] What the same historian relates concerning his impetuosity and passion, and his childish revenge upon the * river, in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and which he immediately caused to be cut by his army into three hundred and sixty channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, whose distinguishing characteristic was mildness and moderation. Besides, [t] is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardour of his troops in such an unprofitable work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river, instead of carrying it against his enemies?

But, what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between his narrative and the holy Scripture; where we see, that instead of Cyrus's having raised the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes, (as Herodotus relates,) those two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces, to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence, then, could so great a difference between these two historians proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us, that even at that time, those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleased him best, for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and readily gave credit to them. Xenophon was of a graver disposition, and less credulous; and in the very beginning of his history acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education, and character.

[s] Herod. l. i. c. 189.
* Gyndes.

[t] Sen. l. iii. 3. *de Ira*, c. 21.

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CHAPTER II. THE HISTORY OF CAMBYSES.

[u] As soon as Cambyses ascended the throne, he resolved to make war against Egypt, for a particular affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have received from Amasis: but it is more probable that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself, by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.

A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529.

[x] Cambyses, in order to carry on the war with success, made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Cypriots and Phœnicians furnished him with ships. As for his land army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnassus, who being the commander of some auxiliary Greeks, in the service of Amasis, and being some way or other dissatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyses, and gave him such intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. It was particularly by his advice, that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories bordered upon Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during their march through the desert that lay between those two countries: which agreement that prince fulfilled, by sending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyses could never have marched his army that way.

[y] Having made all these preparations, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. When he arrived upon the frontiers, he was informed that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammenitus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in gathering all his forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyses could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on the side he invaded it. Now Pelusium was so strong a place, that in all likelihood

[u] Herod. l. iii. c. 1—3. [x] Ibid. c. 4—9. Ibid. c. 10.

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it must have stopped him a great while. But according to Polyænus, to facilitate the capture of this city, [z] Cambyses invented the following stratagem. Being informed, that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which were looked upon as sacred by that nation; and then attacked the city by storm. The soldiers of the garrison not daring either to fling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of those animals, Cambyses became master of the place without opposition.

[a] When Cambyses had got possession of the city, Psammenitus advanced with a great army, to stop his progress; and a fierce battle ensued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks who were in Psammenitus's army, in order to be revenged of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, and in the presence of the two armies cut their throats, and drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Persians, enraged at so horrid a spectacle, fell upon them with such fury, that they quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, of which the greatest part were killed upon the spot. Those that could save themselves escaped to Memphis.

[b] On occasion of this battle Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance of which he himself was a witness. The bones of the Persians and Egyptians were still in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from one another. The skulls of the Egyptians were so hard, that a violent stroke of a stone would hardly break them; and those of the Persians so soft, that they might be pierced through with the greatest ease imaginable. The reason of this difference was, that the former, from their infancy, were accustomed to have their heads shaved, and go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always covered with their tiaras, which is one of their principal ornaments.

[c] Cambyses, having pursued the runaways to Memphis, sent a herald into the city, in a vessel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis stood, to summon the inhabitants to

Polyæn. l. vii. [a] Herod. l. iii. c. 11. [b] Ibid. c. 12. [c] Ibid. c. 13.

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surrender. But the people, transported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him to pieces, and all that were with him. Cambyses having soon after taken the place, fully revenged the indignity, causing ten times as many Egyptians, of the highest rank, as there had been persons massacred in the vessel, to be publicly executed. Among these was the eldest son of Psammenitus. As for the king himself, Cambyses was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind usage, endeavoured to raise new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a punishment for which he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign lasted but six months; after which all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. On the news of this success the Libyans, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all sent ambassadors with presents to Cambyses, to make their submission.

[d] From Memphis he went to the city of Sais, which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. As soon as he entered the palace, he caused the body of Amasis to be taken out of its tomb; and, after having exposed it to a thousand indignities in his own presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire, and to be burnt; which was a thing equally contrary to the customs of the Persians and Egyptians. The rage which this prince testified against the dead body of Amasis, shows to what a degree he hated his person. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, it seems to have been one of the chief motives that induced Cambyses to carry his arms into Egypt.

[e] The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved to make war in three different quarters; against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was obliged to lay aside, because the Phœnicians, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to aid him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.

[f] But, being determined to invade the other two nations, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who, under that character,

[d] Herod. l. iii. c. 16. [e] Ibid. c. 17, 19. [f] Ibid. c. 20—24.

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were to act as spies for him, and to learn the state and strength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They carried presents along with them, such as the Persians were used to make, as purple, golden bracelets, compound perfumes, and wine. These presents, amongst which there was nothing useful, or serviceable to life, except the wine, were despised by the Ethiopians; neither did they make much more account of his ambassadors, whom they took for what they really were, that is, for spies. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing, after his way, to make a present to the king of Persia; and taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarce lift it, he bent it in presence of the ambassadors, and told them: 'This is the present and the counsel the king of Ethiopia gives the king of Persia. When the Persians shall be able to use a bow of this bigness and strength, with as much ease as I have now bent it, then let them come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring more troops with them than Cambyses is master of. In the mean time, let them thank the gods for not having put into the hearts of the Ethiopians a wish to extend their dominions beyond their own country.'

[g] This answer having enraged Cambyses, he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering, that he neither had provisions nor any thing necessary for such an expedition: but he left the Grecians behind him, in his new-conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.

[h] As soon as he arrived at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, he detached fifty thousand of his men against the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage the country, and to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was situated there. But, after several days' march in the desert, a violent wind blowing from the south, brought such a vast quantity of sand upon the army, that the men were all overwhelmed, and buried under it.

In the mean time, Cambyses marched forwards like a madman againt the Ethiopians, notwithstanding his being destitute of all sorts of provisions; which quickly caused a terrible famine in his army. He had still time, says Herodotus, to remedy this evil: but Cambyses would have thought it a dishonour to

[g] Herod. l. iii. c. 25.

[h] Ibid. c. 25, 26.

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have desisted from his undertaking, and therefore he proceeded in his expedition. At first his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees: but, coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burthen. At last they were brought to such a cruel extremity, as to be obliged to eat one another; every tenth man upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions; a food, says Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itself: [i] *Decimum quemque sortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame sævius.* Notwithstanding all this, the king still persisted in his design, or rather in his madness, nor did the miserable desolation of his army make him sensible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid of his own person, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops (who would believe it?) there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and the camels were still reserved which were loaded with every thing that was requisite to set out a sumptuous table. [k] *Servabantur illi interim generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cùm sortirentur milites ejus quis malè periret, quis pejùs viveret.*

The remainder of his army, of which the greatest part was lost in this expedition, he brought back to Thebes; [l] where he succeeded much better in the war he declared against the gods, whom he found more easy to be conquered than men. Thebes was full of temples, whose riches and magnificence were almost incredible. All these Cambyses pillaged, and then set them on fire. The wealth of these temples must have been vastly great, since the very remains saved from the flames, amounted to an immense sum, three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. [m] He likewise carried away at this time the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of king Osymandyas, which was three hundred and sixty-five cubits in circumference, and in which were represented all the motions of the several constellations.

[n] From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he dismissed all the Greeks, and sent them to their respective homes: but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoic-

i *De Irâ*, l. iii. c. 20.
k Ibid.
l Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 43.
m Ibid. l. i. p. 46.
n Herod. l. iii. c. 27—29

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ings, he fell into a great rage, supposing this exultation to be on account of the ill success of his expedition. He therefore called the magistrates before him, to know the meaning of these public rejoicings; and, upon their telling him, that it was because they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death as imposters that insulted him and his misfortunes He then sent for the priests, who made him the same answer: upon which he replied, that since their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But, when instead of a god he saw a calf, he was strangely astonished, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and run it into the thigh of the beast; and then upbraiding the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute for a god, he ordered them to be severely scourged, and all the Egyptians in Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languished of his wound for some time, and then died.

[o] The Egyptians say, that after this fact, which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that ever was committed among them, Cambyses grew mad. But his actions showed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various instances: among the rest are these following.

[p] He had a brother, the only son of Cyrus besides himself, and born of the same mother: his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He accompanied Cambyses in his Egyptian expedition. But being the only person among all the Persians that could draw the bow which had been brought from the king of Ethiopia, Cambyses from hence conceived such a jealousy against him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after, dreaming that a messenger had arrived to inform him that Smerdis sat on the throne, he conceived a suspicion that his brother aspired to the kingdom, and sent after him into Persia Prexaspes, one of his chief confidants, with orders to put him to death, which were accordingly executed.

o Herod. l. iii. c. 30. p Ibid.

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[q] This murder was the cause of another still more criminal. Cambyses had with him in the camp his youngest sister, whose name was Meroe. Herodotus acquaints us after what a strange manner this sister became his wife. As the princess was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyses absolutely resolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Persian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them whether there was any law that would allow a brother to marry a sister. The judges, being unwilling on one hand directly to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper, should they contradict him, endeavoured to find out a salvo, and gave him this crafty answer: That they had no law which permitted a brother to marry his sister, but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. And this answer serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant soever it be to modesty and good order. This princess he carried with him in all his expeditions, and from her he gave the name of Meroe to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, for so far he advanced in his wild march against the Ethiopians. The circumstance that gave occasion to his murdering this princess, was as follows. One day Cambyses was diverting himself in seeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog; the lion having the better, another dog, brother to him that was engaged, came to his assistance, and helped him to master the lion. This incident highly delighted Cambyses, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her husband the reason of her weeping, confessed, that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not the same good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithstanding her being with child, such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she died of it. So abominable a marriage deserved no better an end.

[q] Herod. l. iii. c. 31, 32.

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[r] He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaspes, one of his principal officers and his chief confidant, to declare to him what his Persian subjects thought and said of him. 'They admire, sir,' says Prexaspes, 'a great many excellent qualities which they see in you, but they are somewhat mortified at your immoderate love of wine.' 'I understand you,' replied the king, 'that is, they pretend that wine deprives me of my reason. You shall be judge of that immediately.' Upon which he began to drink excessively, pouring it down in larger quantities than ever he had done at any time before. Then ordering Prexaspes's son, who was his chief cup-bearer, to stand upright at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and levelled it at him; and declaring that he aimed at his heart, let fly, and actually shot him in the heart. He then ordered his side to be opened, and showing Prexaspes the heart of his son, which the arrow had pierced, asked him, in an exulting and scoffing manner, if he had not a steady hand? The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining, after a stroke like this, was so mean-spirited as to reply, 'Apollo himself could not have shot better.' Seneca, who copied this story from Herodotus, after having shown his detestation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns still more the cowardly and monstrous flattery of the father: *Sceleratiùs telum illud laudatum est, quàm missum.*

[s] When Crœsus took upon him to advise Cambyses against his conduct, which disgusted every one, and laid before him the ill consequences that might result from it, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferred the execution, he caused them all to be put to death, because they had not obeyed his commands, though at the same time he expressed great joy that Crœsus was alive.

It was about this time that Oretes, one of Cambyses's satrapæ, who had the government of Sardis, after a very strange and extraordinary manner brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The story of this Polycrates is

[r] Herod. l. iii. c. 34, 35. Sen. l. iii. *de Irâ*, c. 14. [s] Herod. l iii. . 36.

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of so singular a nature, that the reader will not be displeased if I repeat it here.

[t] This Polycrates was a prince, who through the whole course of his life had been uniformly prosperous and successful in all his affairs, and had never met with the least disappointment or unfortunate accident to disturb his felicity. Amasis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally, thought himself obliged to send him a letter of admonition upon that subject. He declared to him, that he had alarming apprehensions concerning his condition; that such a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity was to be suspected; that some malignant, invidious god, who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly sooner or later bring ruin and destruction upon him; that, in order to prevent such a fatal stroke, he advised him to procure some misfortune to himself, by some voluntary loss, that he was persuaded would prove a sensible mortification to him.

The tyrant followed this advice. Having an emerald ring, which he highly esteemed, particularly for its curious workmanship, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys with his courtiers, he threw it into the sea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, some fishermen, having caught a fish of an extraordinary size, made a present of it to Polycrates. When the fish came to be opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His surprise was very great, and his joy still greater.

When Amasis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He writ another letter to Polycrates, telling him, that, to avoid the mortification of seeing his friend and ally fall into some grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendship and alliance. A strange, whimsical notion this! as if friendship was merely a name, or a title, destitute of all substance and reality.

[u] Be that as it will, the thing, however, did really happen as the Egyptian king apprehended. Some years after, about the time Cambyses fell sick, Oretes, who, as I said before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach which another satrap had made him in a private quarrel, of his not

[t] Herod. l. iii. c. 39—43. [u] Ibid. c. 120—125.

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having yet conquered the isle of Samos, which lay so near his government, and would be so commodious for his master; upon this resolved at any rate to destroy Polycrates, that he might get possession of the island. The way he took to effect his design was this. He wrote to Polycrates that, in consequence of information, upon which he could depend, Cambyses intended to destroy him by assassination, he designed to withdraw to Samos, and there to secure his treasure and effects; for which end he was determined to deposit them in the hands of Polycrates, and at the same time make him a present of one half of it, which would enable him to conquer Ionia and the adjacent islands, a project he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and passionately coveted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not rashly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himself more surely of the truth of the matter, and to that end sent a messenger of his own to Sardis. Oretes had caused eight large chests to be filled with stones almost to the top, but had covered the stones with pieces of gold coin. These chests were packed up, and appeared ready to be sent on board ship: but they were opened before the messenger, on his arrival, and he supposed that they were filled with gold. As soon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and seize his prey, set out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends; and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival, Oretes had him arrested, as an enemy to the state, and as such caused him to be hanged: in such an ignominious and shameful manner did he end a life which had been but one continued series of prosperity and good fortune.

[x] Cambyses, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt, in order to return into Persia. When he came into Syria, he found a herald there, sent from Susa to the army, to let them know that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, had been proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in the following manner:

[x] Herod. l. iii. c. 61.

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Cambyses, at his departure from Susa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patisithes, one of the chief of the Magi. This Patisithes had a brother extremely like Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and who perhaps for that reason was called by the same name. As soon as Patisithes was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been concealed from the public, knowing, at the same time, that Cambyses indulged his extravagance to such a degree, that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out, that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and immediately despatched heralds into all parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's accession, and to require all the subjects thereof to pay him their obedience.

[y] Cambyses caused the herald, that came with these orders into Syria, to be arrested; and having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexaspes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he who had usurped the throne, was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to destroy his own brother; and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the usurper. But, as he was mounting his horse for this expedition, his sword slipped out of its scabbard, and gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died soon after. The Egyptians, remarking that it was in the same part of the body where he had wounded their god Apis, considered this accident as a just judgment from heaven, which thus avenged the sacrilegious impiety of Cambyses.

[z] While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butos, which was famous in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana: understanding this of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria. For the town, where he lay sick of this wound, was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana. Of which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must die there, he

y Herod. l. iii. c. 62—64. z Ibid. c. 64—66.

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assembled all the chief of the Persians together, and representing to them the true state of the case, that it was Smerdis the Magian who had usurped the throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that impostor, nor to suffer the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. The Persians, thinking that he said all this merely out of hatred to his brother, paid no regard to it; but upon his death quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.

[a] Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. In Scripture he is called Ahasuerus. When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made an application directly to him, desiring him to hinder the building of the temple. And their application was not in vain. Indeed he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of some remains of respect for his memory, but in a great measure frustrated its intent, by the many discouragements under which he laid the Jews; so that the work went on very slowly during his reign.

CHAPTER III. THE HISTORY OF SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

THIS prince is called in Scripture Artaxerxes. He reigned little more than seven months. As soon as he was settled on the throne, by the death of Cambyses, [b] the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him, setting forth what a turbulent, seditious, and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter they obtained an order from the king, prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any farther in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was suspended till the second year of Darius, for about the space of two years. A. M. 3482. Ant. J. C. 522.

The Magian, sensible how important it was for him, that the imposture should not be discovered, affected, from the very beginning of his reign, never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there transact all his affairs by

[a] Ezra iv. 4, 6. [b] Ibid. 7—14.

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the intervention of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his most intimate confidants to his presence.

[c] And, the better to secure himself in the possession of the throne he had usurped, he studied from his first accession to gain the affections of his subjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military service for three years; and did so many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by most of the nations of Asia, except the Persians, on the revolution that happened soon afterwards.

[d] But these very precautions which he made use of to keep himself out of the way of being discovered either by the nobility or the people, did but make it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among the rest Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma, a daughter of Otanes, a noble Persian of the first quality. This nobleman sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really Smerdis the son of Cyrus, or some other man. She answered, that having never seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then by a second message desired her to inquire of Atossa (who could not but know her own brother) whether this were he or not. Whereupon she informed him that the present king, be he who he might, from the first day of his accesssion to the throne, had lodged his wives in separate apartments, so that they never could converse with one another, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa, to ask this question of her. He sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, when he was fast asleep, to feel whether he had any ears or not. For Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime, he told her, that if the person she lay with was Smerdis the Magian, he was unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to, and finding the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word to her father of it, whereby the whole fraud was discovered.

[e] Otanes immediately entered into a conspiracy with five

[c] Herod. l. iii. c. 67. [d] Ibid. c. 69. [e] Ibid. c. 70—73.

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more of the chief Persian nobility; and Darius, an illustrious Persian nobleman, whose father, Hystaspes, was governor of * Persia, coming very seasonably, as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the association, and vigorously promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great secresy, and the very day fixed, lest it should be discovered.

[f] While they were concerting their measures, an extraordinary occurrence, of which they had not the least expectation, strangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all suspicion, they had proposed to Prexaspes, and obtained a promise from him, that he would publicly declare before the people, who were to be assembled for that purpose, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. When the people were assembled, which was on the very same day, Prexaspes spoke from the top of a tower, and to the great astonishment of all present, sincerely declared all that had passed; that he had killed with his own hand Smerdis the son of Cyrus, by Cambyses's order; that the person who now possessed the throne was Smerdis the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed by compulsion and against his will. Having said this, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. It is easy to imagine, what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

[g] The conspirators, without knowing any thing of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were suffered to enter unsuspected. For the outer guard, knowing them to be persons of the first rank at court, did not so much as ask them any questions. But when they came near the king's apartment, and found the officers there unwilling to give them admittance, they drew their scimitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their passage. Smerdis the Magian, and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the affair of Prexaspes, hearing a sudden uproar, snatched up their arms, made the best defence they could, and wounded some of the conspirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed, the other fled into a distant room to save himself, but was

[f] Herod. l. iii. c. 74, 75.
[g] Ibid. c. 76—78.
* The province so called.

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pursued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having seized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark, Darius was afraid to strike, lest at the same time he should kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that restrained him, obliged him to run his sword through the Magian's body, though he should happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with so much dexterity and good fortune, that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.

[h] In the same instant, with their hands all smeared with blood, they went out of the palace, exposed the heads of the false Smerdis and his brother Patisithes, to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. Upon this the people grew so enraged, that they fell upon the whole sect to which the usurper belonged, and slew as many of them as they could find. For which reason, the day on which this was done, thenceforward became an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called 'The slaughter of the Magi;' nor durst any of that sect appear in public upon that festival.

[i] When the tumult and disorder, inseparable from such an event, were appeased, the lords, who had slain the usurper, entered into consultation among themselves what sort of government was most proper for them to establish. Otanes, who spoke first, declared directly against monarchy, strongly representing and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniences to which that form of government was liable; chiefly flowing, according to him, from the absolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the most virtuous man is almost unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded, by declaring for a popular government. Megabyzus, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had said against a monarchical government, confuted his reasons for a democracy. He represented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and passion. 'A king (said he) at least knows what he does; but the people neither know nor hear any thing, and blindly give themselves up to those that know how to manage them.' He

[h] Herod. l. iii. c. 79.

[i] Ibid. c. 80—83.

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therefore declared for an aristocracy, wherein the supreme power is confided to a few wise and experienced persons. Darius, who spoke last, showed the inconveniences of an aristocracy, otherwise called an oligarchy; wherein reign distrust, envy, dissensions, and ambition, the natural sources of faction, sedition, and murder: for which there is usually no other remedy than submitting to the authority of one man; and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the most commendable, the safest, and the most advantageous; inexpressibly great being the good that can be done by a prince, whose power is equal to the goodness of his inclinations. 'In short, (said he,) to determine this point by a fact which to me seems decisive and undeniable, to what form of government is owing the present greatness of the Persian empire? Is it not to that which I am now recommending?' Darius's opinion was embraced by the rest of the lords; and they resolved, that the monarchy should be continued on the same footing whereon it had been established by Cyrus.

[k] The next question was to know, which of them should be king, and how they should proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly they agreed to meet the next morning by sun-rising, on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city; and that he, whose horse first neighed, should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the Persians, they imagined, that taking this course, would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius's groom, hearing of the agreement, made use of the following artifice to secure the crown for his master. The night before he carried a mare to the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his master's horse. The lords assembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no sooner was Darius's horse come to the place where he had smelt the mare, than he fell a neighing; whereupon Darius was saluted king by the others, and placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a Persian by birth, and of the royal family of Achæmenes.

[l] The Persian empire being thus restored and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the

[k] Herod. l. iii. c. 84—87 [l] Ibid.

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new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges. They had access to his person whenever they would, and in all public affairs were allowed to deliver their opinions the first. And whereas the Persians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backwards, except the king, who wore his erect; these lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forwards, because, when they attacked the Magi, they had bent theirs in that manner, the better to know one another in the hurry and confusion. From that time forwards, the Persian kings of this family always had seven counsellors, honoured with the same privilege.

Here I shall conclude the history of the Persian empire, reserving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

Chapter IV. The MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, LYDIANS, MEDES, and PERSIANS.

I shall give in this place an account of the manners and customs of all these several nations conjointly, because they agree in several points; and if I was to treat them separately, I should be obliged to make frequent repetitions; and moreover, excepting the Persians, the ancient authors say very little of the manners of the other nations. I shall reduce what I have to say of them to these four heads:

I. Their government.

II. Their art of war.

III. Their arts and sciences: and

IV. Their religion.

After which I shall narrate the causes of the declension and ruin of the great Persian empire.

Article I. Of their Government.—After a short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I shall proceed to consider these four things: Their public council, wherein the affairs of state were considered; the administration of justice; their care of the provinces; and the good order observed in their finances.

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SECT. I. THEIR MONARCHICAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE RESPECT THEY PAID THEIR KINGS. THE MANNER OF EDUCATING THEIR CHILDREN.—Monarchical, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the most ancient, the most universal, the best adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and the least exposed to the revolutions and vicissitudes incident to states. For these reasons the wisest writers among the ancients, as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and, before them all, Herodotus, have been induced to prefer decidedly this form of government to all others. It is likewise the only form that was ever established among the eastern nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

[m] Those people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne, because in his person they respected the character of the Deity, whose image and vicegerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the supreme Governor of the world, and invested with his authority and power, in order to be the minister of his providence, and the dispenser of his goodness towards the people. In this manner did the pagans themselves in old times both think and speak: [n] *Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice suâ fungatur.*

These sentiments are very laudable and just. For certainly the most profound respect and reverence are due to the supreme power; because it cometh from God, and is appointed entirely for the good of the public: besides, it is evident, that an authority which is not respected according to the full extent of its commission, must thereby either become useless, or at least very much limited in the good effects which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganism this honour and homage, though just and reasonable in themselves, were often carried too far; the Christian being the only religion that has known how to keep within due bounds in this point. *We honour the emperor, said Tertullian, in the name of all the Christians: but in such a manner, as is lawful for us, and proper for him;

[m] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 125. *Ad Princ. indoc.* p. 780.
[n] Plin. *in Paneg. Traj.*
* Colimus Imperatorem, sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipsi expedit; ut hominem à Deo secundum, et quicquid est, à Deo consecutum, et solo Deo minorem. Tertul. *L. ad Scap*

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that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no superior but God alone. For this reason he calls the emperor in another place a second majesty, inferior to nothing but the first; [o] *Religio secundæ majestatis.*

Among the Assyrians, and more particularly among the Persians, the prince used to be styled, *The great king, the king of kings.* Two reasons might induce those princes to take that ostentatious title: the one, because their empire was formed of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head: the other, because they had several kings, their vassals, either in their court or dependent upon them.

[p] The crown was hereditary among them, descending from father to son, and generally to the eldest. When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, and all manner of public rejoicings; and his birthday was thenceforward an annual festival, and day of solemnity for all the Persians.

[q] The manner of educating the future master of the empire is admired by Plato, and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince's education.

He was never wholly committed to the care of the nurse, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition: but from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the household, some of the most approved merit and probity were chosen, to take care of the young prince's person and health, till he was seven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as soon as his strength would permit, and to exercise him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain some maturity, four of the wisest and most virtuous men of the state were appointed to be his preceptors. The first, says Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worship of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasdes; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second was to accustom

[o] *Apolog.* c. 35. [p] Plat. *in Alcib.* c. i. p. 121. Ibid.

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him to speak truth, and to administer justice. The third was to teach him not to suffer himself to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be truly a king, and always free, master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify his courage against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those that are born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his way, and was eminent in that part of education assigned to him. One was particularly distinguished for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing; another for his love of truth and justice; this for his moderation and abstinence from pleasures; that for a superior strength of mind, and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know whether such a diversity of masters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different interests in view, was well calculated to answer the end proposed; or whether it was possible, that four men should agree together in the same principles, and harmoniously pursue the same end. Probably the reason of having so many was, that they apprehended it impossible to find any one person possessed of all the qualities they judged necessary for giving a right education to the presumptive heir of the crown; so great an idea had they, even in those corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the same place, was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of officers that waited upon him with a servile submission; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure, and the inventing of new diversions, seemed to engross all attention; dangers which the most excellent disposition could never surmount. The corrupt manners of the nation therefore quickly debauched the prince, and drew him into the prevailing pleasures, against which no education is a sufficient defence.

The education here spoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes, in whose time lived Alcibiades, who is introduced in the dialogue from whence this observation is

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taken. For Plato, in another passage, which we shall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus nor Darius ever thought of giving the princes, their sons, a good education; and what we find in history concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, gives us reason to believe, that he was more attentive than his predecessors to the education of his children; but was not much imitated in that respect by his successors.

SECT. II. THE PUBLIC COUNCIL WHEREIN THE AFFAIRS OF STATE WERE CONSIDERED.—Absolute as the regal authority was among the Persians, yet was it, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the state; a council, which consisted of seven of the princes or chief lords of the nation, no less distinguished by their wisdom and abilities than by their illustrious birth. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into an association against Smerdis the Magian, and killed him.

The Scripture observes, that Ezra was sent into Judæa, in the name, and by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors: [r] 'Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king and of his seven counsellors.' The same Scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us, that these counsellors were well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted any thing, or determined any affair of importance without their advice. [*] *Interrogavit (Assuerus) sapientes, qui ex more regio ei semper aderant, et illorum faciebat cuncta consilio, scientium leges ac jura majorum.*

This last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place, the king there spoken of, that is, Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reigned in Persia, and one of the most deserving of praise, on account of his wisdom and prudence; though he had his failings. It is

r Ezra vii 14.
* Esth. i. 13. according to the Vulgate translation.

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to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are ascribed, which have ever since subsisted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of advice; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a number of assistants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding: by which proceeding he really showed a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and implies a great fund of merit. For a prince of slender talents and a narrow capacity, is generally full of himself; and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable he generally is: he thinks it want of respect to offer to discover any thing to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted, if you seem to doubt that he, who is supreme in power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice: *Illorum faciebat cuncta consilio.*

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and how jealous soever he might be of his prerogative, did not think he impaired or degraded it when he instituted that council; for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to * govern by the laws; to make them the rule of his will and desire; and to think nothing allowable for him which they prohibit.

In the third place, this council, which everywhere accompanied the king, *(ex more regio semper ei aderant,)* was a perpetual standing council, consisting of the greatest men and the best heads in the kingdom; who, under the direction of the sovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the source of public order, and the principle of all the wise regulations and transactions at home and abroad.

* Regimur à te, et subjecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus, sumus. Plin. *Paneg. Traj.*

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To this council the king transferred from himself several weighty cares, with which he must otherwise have been overburthened; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved on. It was by means of this standing council, that the great maxims of the state were preserved; the knowledge of its true interest perpetuated; affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and oversights prevented. For in a public and general council things are discussed by unsuspected persons; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in public matters are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration; because, though, as to the executive part, they move only in one particular sphere of business, yet they are obliged to inform themselves in all affairs relating to the public, that they may be able to deliver their opiniions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mentioned in Scripture, that the persons of which this council consisted, were thoroughly acquainted with the customs, laws, maxims, and rights of the kingdom, *scientium leges ac jura majorum.*

Two things, which, as the Scriptures inform us, were practised by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. [s] The first was, their having public registers, wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours conferred upon particular persons, were entered and recorded. [t] The second was, the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulations established, and services done by any particular persons, were exactly and circumstantially entered. These annals were carefully preserved, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past; might have a clear idea of the state of the kingdom, avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct; maintain an uniformity in the conduct of affairs; and, in short, acquire such light from the perusal of these books, as should qualify them to govern the state with wisdom.

[s] Ezra v. 17. and vi. 2.

[t] Ibid. iv. 15. and Esth. vi. 1

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SECT. III. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—To be king, and to be judge, is but one and the same thing. The throne is a tribunal, and the sovereign power is the highest authority for administering justice. 'God hath made you king over his people (said the queen of Sheba to Solomon) to the end that you should judge them, and render justice and judgment unto them.' God hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. His design, in making them independent, was to give them the more inviolable attachment to justice. That they might not excuse themselves on pretence of inability or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them masters of all the means requisite for the restraining injustice and oppression, that iniquity should tremble in their presence, and be incapable of hurting any persons whatsoever.

But what is that justice which God hath intrusted to the hands of kings, and whereof he hath made them depositaries? Why, it is nothing else but order; and order consists in observing an universal equity, and taking care that force do not usurp the place of law; that one man's property be not exposed to the violence of another; that the common ties of society be not broken; that artifice and fraud do not prevail over innocence and simplicity; that all things rest in peace under the protection of the laws; and the weakest among the people find sanctuary in the public authority.

[u] We learn from Josephus, that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons. And it was to qualify them for the due discharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them instructed, from their tenderest youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their public schools, as we have already mentioned in the history of Cyrus, they were taught equity and justice, in the same manner as rhetoric and philosophy are taught in other places.

These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reasonable, and absolutely necessary, that the prince be assisted in the execution of that august function, as he is in others: but to be assisted, is not to be deprived, or

[u] *Antiq. Judaic.* l. xi. c. 3.

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dispossessed. He continues judge, as long as he continues king. Though he communicates his authority, yet does he not resign or divide it. It is therefore absolutely necessary for him to bestow some time upon the study of equity and justice, not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himself with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing justice, and of passing sentence with precision upon important points. For this reason, the kings of Persia never ascended the throne till they had been for some time under the care and instruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that science whereof they were the only masters and professors, as well as of the religion of the country.

Now since to the sovereign alone is committed the right of administering justice, and that within his dominions there is no other power of administering it, than what is delegated by him, how greatly does it behove him to take care into what hands he commits a part of so valuable a trust; to know whether those he places so near the throne are worthy to partake of his prerogative; and industriously to keep all such at a distance from it, as he judges unworthy of that privilege? We find that in Persia their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. [x] One of their royal judges (for so they called them) having suffered himself to be corrupted by a bribe, was condemned by Cambyses to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat where he used to sit and give judgment, and where his son, who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place, whence he gave judgment, should remind him continually of his duty.

[y] Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men, into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years; so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion, that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which decided upon the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow-citizens.

[z] Amongst them, it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death, nor for the prince to inflict

x Herod. l. v. c. 25. y Xenoph. *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 7. z Herod. l. i. c. 137.

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capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice: nor was it just, in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. [a] Upon this principle it was that Darius, having condemned a judge to death for some prevarication in his office, and afterwards calling to mind the important services he had rendered both to the state and the royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment of its going to be executed, [b] and acknowledged, that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.

But one important and essential rule which they observed in their judgments, was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without confronting him with his accuser to his face, and without giving him time, and all other means, necessary for defending himself against the articles laid to his charge: and in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the very same punishment upon the accuser, as the other was to have suffered, had he been found guilty. [c] Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the just rigour which ought to be exercised on such occasions. One of the king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place possessed by one of his best officers, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer; and to that end, sent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king, from the great influence he had with his majesty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without farther examination. For such is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light; they make it their business to bar up from the innocent all access to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themselves. The officer was imprisoned; but he desired of the king, before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The

[a] Herod. l. vii. c. 194.

[b] Γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς, ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἴη, ἤλυσε.

[c] Diod. l. xv. p. 333—336.

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king did so: and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had written against him, he was cleared, and his innocence fully justified by the three commissioners that sat upon his trial; and all the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuser, who had thus attempted to abuse the favour and confidence of his royal master. The prince, who was well informed, and knew that one of the true signs of a wise government is to have the subjects stand more in fear of the * laws than of informers, would have thought, that to act otherwise than he did, would have been a direct violation of the most common rules of natural equity and humanity; it would have been † opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge; it would have been exposing the honest simplicity of good and faithful subjects to the cruel malice of detestable informers, and arming the latter with the sword of public authority: in a word, it would have been divesting the throne of the most noble privilege belonging to it, namely, that of being a sanctuary for innocence and justice, against violence and calumny.

[d] There is upon record a still more memorable example of firmness and love of justice, in another king of Persia, before Artaxerxes; in him, I mean, whom the Scripture calls Ahasuerus, and who is thought to be the same as Darius, the son of Hystaspes, from whom Haman had, by his earnest solicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Persian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Esther, opened his eyes, he made haste to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the impostor who had deceived him, but which is more, by a public acknowledgment of his error, which should be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them, that far from debasing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure to them both the more respect. After declaring, that it is but too common for calumniators to impose, by their misrepresentations and craftiness, on the goodness of

[d] Esth. c. iii. &c.

* Non jam delatores, sed leges timentur. Plin. *in Paneg. Traj.*

† Princeps, qui delatores non castigat, irritat. Sueton. *in vit. Domit.* c. ix.

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their princes, whom their natural sincerity induces to judge favourably of others; he is not ashamed to acknowledge, that he had been so unhappy as to suffer himself to be prejudiced by such means against the Jews, who were his faithful subjects, and the children of the most high God, to whose goodness he and his ancestors were indebted for the throne.

[e] The Persians were not only enemies of injustice, as we have now shown; but also abhorred lying, which always was deemed amongst them a mean and infamous vice. What they esteemed most pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon trust, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life seemed to them idle, ignominious, servile, and the more despicable, as it tends to make people liars.

SECT. IV. THE CARE OF THE PROVINCES.—It seems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magistrates and judges is closely inspected; and the very sight of the throne capable of keeping the subjects in awe. The case is otherwise with respect to the provinces, where the distance from the sovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occasion many misdemeanours on the part of the magistrates and officers, as well as great licentiousness and disorder on that of the people. In this the Persian policy exerted itself with the greatest care; and, we may also say, with the greatest success.

The Persian empire was divided into * a hundred and twenty-seven governments, the governors whereof were called satrapæ. Over them were appointed three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their several provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the same to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus, in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. These satrapæ were, by the very design of their office, each in his respective district, to have the same care and regard for the interests of the people, as for those of the prince: for it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought to be

[e] Herod. l. i. c. 138.

* Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 229, 232.

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admitted between these two interests, which are necessarily linked together; since neither the people can be happy, unless the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince truly powerful, unless his people be happy.

These satrapæ being the most considerable persons in the kingdom, Cyrus assigned them certain funds and revenues proportioned to their station and the importance of their employments. He was willing they should live nobly in their respective provinces, that they might gain the respect of the nobility and common people within their jurisdiction; and that for that reason their retinue, their equipage, and their table, should be answerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himself was their model in this respect, as he desired they should be likewise to all persons of distinguished rank within the extent of their authority: so that the same order which reigned in the prince's court, might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the satrapæ, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent, as far as possible, all abuses which might be made of so extensive an authority as that of the satrapæ, the king reserved to himself alone the nomination of them, and chose that the governors of places, the commanders of the troops, and other such like officers, should depend immediately upon the prince himself; from whom alone they were to receive their instructions, in order that, if the satrapæ were inclined to abuse their power, they might be sensible those officers were so many overseers and censors of their conduct. And, to make this correspondence, by letters, the more sure and expeditious, the king caused post-houses to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers, who travelled night and day, and made wonderful despatch. But I shall speak more particularly on this article at the end of the section, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

The care of the provinces, however, was not entirely left to the satrapæ and governors: the king himself took cognizance of them in his own person, being persuaded, that the governing only by others, is but to govern by halves. An officer of the household was ordered to repeat these words to the king every morning, when he awakened him: [f] "Rise, sir, and think of

[f] Plut. *ad Princ. indoct.* p. 780.

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discharging the duties for which Oromasdes has placed you upon the throne.' Oromasdes was the principal god, anciently worshipped by the Persians. A good prince, says Plutarch in relating this custom, has no occasion for an officer to give him this daily admonition: his own heart, and the love he has for his people, are sufficient monitors.

[g] The king of Persia thought himself obliged, according to the ancient custom established in that country, from time to time personally to visit all the provinces of his empire; being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people see their common father; to * reconcile the dissensions and mutual animosities of rival cities; to calm commotions or seditions among the people, and that not so much by the severity of power, as by the authority of reason; to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates; and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity; in a word, like a beneficent planet, to shed his salutary influences universally, or rather, like a kind of divinity, to be present everywhere, to see, to hear, and inspect every thing, without rejecting any man's petition or complaint.

When the king was not able to visit the provinces himself, he sent, in his stead, some of the great men of the kingdom, such as were the most eminent for wisdom and virtue. These persons were generally called the eyes and ears of the prince, because by their means he saw and was informed of every thing. When these, or any other of his great ministers, or the members of his council, were said to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should lie still and be idle, but act by their means; and to the ministers, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of the whole body politic.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king, when he

[g] Xenoph. *in Oeconom.* p. 828.

* Reconciliare æmulas civitates, tumentesque populos non imperio magis quàm ratione compescere, intercedere iniquitatibus magistratuum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit; postremò velocissimi sideris more omnia invisere, omnia audire, et undecumque invocatum, statim, velut numen, adesse et adsistere. Plin. *in Panegyr. Traj.*

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went his progress in person, or the commissioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of admiration, and shows how well they understood, in those days, wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. The attention of the king and his ministers was not employed upon great objects alone, as war, the revenue, justice, and commerce; but matters of less importance, as the security and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient habitation of the inhabitants, the repairs of high roads, bridges, causeways, the keeping of woods and forests from being laid waste and destroyed, and above all, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting all sorts of trades, even to the lowest and meanest of handicraft employments; every thing, in short, came within the sphere of their policy, and was thought to deserve their care and inspection. And indeed, whatever belongs to the subjects, as well as the subjects themselves, is a part of the trust committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the commonweal is universal. * It extends itself to all matters, and takes in every thing: it is the support of private persons, as well as of the public. Every province, every city, every family, has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attention and regard.

[h] I have already said, that agriculture was one of the principal objects on which the Persians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed, one of the prince's first cares was, to make husbandry flourish; and those satrapæ, whose provinces were the best cultivated, had the most of his favour. And, as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of government, so were there likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and economy. For these two employments had a near relation; the business of the one being to guard the country, and the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both almost with the same degree of affection; because both concurred, and were equally necessary for the public good. For if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and

[h] Xenoph. *Oecon.* p. 827—830.

* Is, cui curæ sunt universæ, nullam non reip. partem tanquam sui nutrit. Senec. l. *de Clem.* c. xiii.

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protection of armies for their defence and security; so neither can the soldiers on the other hand be fed and maintained without the labour of the husbandmen, who cultivate the ground. It was with good reason, therefore, that the prince, since it was impossible for himself to see into every thing, caused an exact account to be given him, how every province and district was cultivated; that he might know, whether each country brought forth abundantly such fruits as it was capable of producing; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, as to inform himself, whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the superintendents and overseers, whose provinces or districts were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence of those idle persons, who suffered their grounds to lie barren or untilled. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a spirit of industry amongst his subjects, which is the surest means of preventing that increase of drones and idle fellows, that are such a burden upon the public, and a dishonour to the state.

[i] Xenophon, in the next passage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a speaker, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he represents as the employment of all others the most worthy of man, the most ancient, and the most suitable to his nature; as the common nurse of all ages and conditions of life; as the source of health, strength, plenty, riches, and a thousand sober delights and honest pleasures; as the mistress and school of sobriety, temperance, justice, religion; and, in a word, of all kinds of virtues both civil and military. After which he relates the fine saying of Lysander the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth, that he himself had planted several of the trees he was looking at, exclaimed, that the world had reason to extol the happiness of Cyrus, whose virtue was as eminent as his fortune; and who, in the midst of the greatest affluence, splendour, and magnificence, had yet preserved a

[i] Xenophon. *Oecon.* p. 830--833.

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taste so pure and so conformable to right reason. [k] *Cùm Cyrus respondisset, Ego ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum meâ manu sunt satæ: tum Lysandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram, et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse:** RECTÈ VERÒ TE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI TUÆ FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST. How much is it to be wished, that our young nobility, who in the time of peace do not know how to employ themselves, had the like taste for planting and agriculture, which surely, after such an example as that of Cyrus, should be thought no dishonour to their quality; especially if they would consider, that for several ages it was the constant employment of the bravest and most warlike people in the world! The reader may easily perceive, that I mean the ancient Romans.

The Invention of Posts and Couriers.—I promised to give some account in this place of the invention of posts and couriers. [l] This invention is ascribed to Cyrus; nor, indeed, can I find any mention of such an establishment before his time. As the Persian empire, after his last conquest, was of a vast extent, and Cyrus required that all his governors of provinces, and his chief commanders of his troops, should write to him, and give an exact account of every thing that passed in their several districts and armies; in order to render that correspondence the more sure and expeditious, and to enable himself to receive speedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and to send his orders thereupon with expedition, he caused post-houses to be built, and messengers to be appointed, in every province. Having computed how far a good horse, with a brisk rider, could go in a day, without being spoiled, he had stables built in proportion, at equal distances from each other, and had them furnished with horses, and grooms to take care of them. At each of these places he likewise appointed a post-master, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horses that had performed their stage, and to find

[k] Cic. *de senect. num.* 59.

[l] Xen. *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 232.

* In the original Greek there is still a greater energy. Δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Κύρε, εὐδαίμων εἶναι· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς. Thou art worthy, Cyrus, of that happiness thou art possessed of; because, with all thy affluence and prosperity, thou art also virtuous.

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fresh ones. Thus the post went continually night and day, with extraordinary speed: nor did either rain or snow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the season, interrupt its progress. [m] Herodotus speaks of the same sort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.

These couriers were called in the Persian language Ἄγγαροι.* The superintendency of the posts became a considerable employment. [n] Darius, the last of the Persian kings, had it before he came to the crown. Xenophon takes notice, that this establishment subsisted still in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is related in the book of Esther, concerning the edict published by Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews; which edict was carried through that vast empire with a rapidity that would have been impossible, without these posts erected by Cyrus.

We are justly surprised to find, that this establishment of posts and couriers, first invented in the East by Cyrus, and continued for so many ages afterwards by his successors, especially considering of what usefulness it was to the government, should never have been imitated in the West, particularly by people so expert in politics as the Greeks and the Romans.

It is more astonishing, that, where this invention was put in execution, it was not farther improved, and that the use of it was confined only to affairs of state, without considering the many advantages the public might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correspondence, as well as the business of merchants and tradesmen of all kinds; by forwarding the affairs of private persons; the despatch of journeys which required haste; the easy communication between families, cities, and provinces; and by the safety and conveniency of remitting money from one country to another. It is well known what difficulty people at a distance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news, or to treat of

m Herod. l. viii. c. 98.

n Plut. l. i. *de fortun. Alex.* p. 326, and *in vit. Alex.* p. 674, ubi pro Ἀσγάνδης, legendum Ἀστάνδης.

* Ἄγγαροι is derived from a word which in that language signifies *a service rendered by compulsion.* It is from thence the Greeks borrowed their verb ἀγγαρεύειν, *compellere, cogere:* and the Latins, *angariare.* According to Suidas they were likewise called *astendæ.*

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any affairs together, being obliged either to send a servant on purpose, which could not be done without great charge and loss of time; or to wait for the departure of some other person, that was going into the province or country, whither they had letters to send; which method was liable to numberless disappointments, accidents, and delays.

At present we enjoy this general conveniency at a small expense; but we do not thoroughly consider the advantage of it: the want whereof would make us fully sensible of our happiness in this respect. France is indebted for it to the university of Paris, which I cannot forbear observing here: I hope the reader will excuse the digression. The university of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of scholars resorting to her from all the provinces, and even from the neighbouring kingdoms, did, for their sakes and conveniency, establish messengers, whose business was, not only to bring clothes, silver, and gold for the students, but likewise to carry bags of law proceedings, informations, and inquests; to conduct all sorts of persons, indifferently, to or from Paris, finding them both horses and diet; as also to carry letters, parcels, and packets for the public, as well as the university.

In the university registers of the Four Nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, these messengers are often styled *Nuntii volantes*, to signify the great speed and despatch they were obliged to make.

The state, then, is indebted to the university of Paris for the invention and establishment of these messengers and letter carriers. And it was at her own charge and expense that she erected these offices; to the satisfaction both of our kings and the public. She has moreover maintained and supported them since the year 1576, against all the various attempts of the farmers, which has cost her immense sums. For there never were any ordinary royal messengers, till Henry III. first established them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the same cities as the university had theirs in, and granting them the same rights and privileges as the kings, his predecessors, had granted the messengers of the university.

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The university never had any other fund or support than the profits arising from the post-office. And it is upon the foundation of the same revenue, that king Louis XV., now on the throne, by his decree of the council of state, of the 14th of April, 1719, and by his letters patent, bearing the same date, registered in parliament, and in the chamber of accounts, has ordained, that in all the colleges of the said university the students shall be taught gratis; and has to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the university an eight-and-twentieth part of the revenue arising from the general lease or farm of the posts and messengers of France; which eight-and-twentieth part amounted that year to the sum of one hundred and eighty-four thousand livres, or thereabouts.*

It is not therefore without reason, that the university, to whom this regulation has restored a part of her ancient lustre, reckons Louis XV. as a kind of new founder, whose bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and shameful necessity of receiving wages for her labours; which in some measure dishonoured the dignity of her profession, as it was contrary to that noble, disinterested spirit which becomes it. And, indeed, the labour of masters and professors who instruct others, ought not to be given for nothing; but neither ought it to be sold. ° *Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.*

SECT. V. ADMINISTRATION OF THE REVENUES.—The prince is the sword and buckler of the state; by him are the peace and tranquillity thereof secured. But to enable him to defend it, he has occasion for arms, soldiers, arsenals, fortified towns, and ships; and all these things require great expenses. It is moreover just and reasonable, that the king have wherewithal to support the dignity of the crown, and the majesty of the empire; as also to enable him to ensure reverence and respect to his person and authority. These are the two principal reasons that have given occasion for the exacting of tribute and imposition of taxes. As the public advantage, and the necessity of defraying the expenses of the state, have been the first causes of these burdens, so ought they likewise to be

° Quintil. l. xii. c. 7.
* About 8500*l.* sterling.

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the constant standard of their use. Nor is there any thing in the world more just and reasonable than such impositions; since every private person ought to think himself very happy, that he can purchase his peace and security at the expense of so slender a contribution.

[p] The revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in the levying of taxes imposed upon the people, and partly in their being furnished with several of the products of the earth in kind; as corn, and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. [q] Strabo relates, that the satrap of Armenia sent regularly every year to the king of Persia, his master, twenty thousand young colts. By this we may form a judgment of the other levies in the several provinces. The tributes, however, were only exacted from the conquered nations: for the natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all impositions. Nor was the custom of imposing taxes, and of determining the sums each province was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius; at which time the pecuniary impositions, as near as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to near forty-four millions French money.*

[r] The place wherein was kept the public treasure, was called in the Persian language *Gaza*. There were treasuries of this kind at Susa, at Persepolis, at Pasargada, at Damascus, and other cities. The gold and silver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occasion. The money chiefly used by the Persians was of gold; and called *Darick*, from the name of † Darius, who first caused them to be coined, with his image on one side, and an archer on the reverse. The Darick is sometimes also called *Stater aureus*, because the weight of it, like that of the *Attic Stater*, was two drachms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty drachms of silver, and consequently were worth ten livres of French money.

[p] Herod. l. iii. c. 89—97.
[q] Lib. xi. p. 530.
[r] Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 12.

* About two millions sterling.

† Darius the Mede, otherwise called Cyaxares, is supposed to have been the first who caused this money to be coined.

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[s] Besides these tributes, which were paid in money, there was another contribution made in kind, by furnishing victuals and provisions for the king's table and household, grain, forage, and other necessaries for the subsistence of his armies, and horses for the remounting of his cavalry. This contribution was imposed upon the sixscore satrapies, or provinces, each of them furnishing such a part as they were severally taxed at. Herodotus observes, that the province of Babylon, the largest and wealthiest of them all, did alone furnish the whole contribution for the space of four months, and consequently bore a third part of the burden of the whole imposition, whilst all the rest of Asia together did but contribute the other two-thirds.

By what has been already said on this subject, we see the kings of Persia did not exact all their taxes and impositions in money, but were content to levy a part of them in money, and to take the rest in such products and commodities as the several provinces afforded; which is a proof of the great wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt they had observed how difficult it often is for the people, especially in countries at a distance from commerce, to convert their goods into money, without suffering great losses; whereas nothing can tend so much to render the taxes easy, and to shelter the people from vexation and trouble as well as expense, as the taking in payment from each country such fruits and commodities as that country produces; by which means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

[t] There were likewise certain districts assigned and set apart for the maintaining of the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and so on for the rest of her vestments: and these districts, which were of a great extent, since one of them contained as much ground as a man could walk over in a day; these districts, I say, took their names from their particular use, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly called, one the queen's girdle, another the queen's veil, and so on. In Plato's time, the same custom continued among the Persians.

[u] The manner in which the king gave pensions in those

[s] Herod. l. iii. c. 91—97, and l. i. c. 192.
[t] Plut. *in Alcib.* i. p. 123.
[u] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 127.

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days to such persons as he had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have observed concerning the queen. We read, that the king of Persia assigned the revenues of four cities to Themistocles; one of which was to supply him with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his clothes and furniture. [x] Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the same manner towards Pytharchus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a particular consideration, and to whom he gave the revenue of seven cities. In following times, we find many instances of a like nature.

ARTICLE II. OF THEIR WAR.—The people of Asia in general were naturally of a warlike disposition, and did not want courage; but in time they suffered themselves to be enervated by luxury and pleasure. I must, however, except the Persians, who, even before Cyrus, and still more during his reign, had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The situation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one reason of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a point of no little importance for the forming of good soldiers. But the good education which the Persians gave their youth, was the chief cause of the courage and martial spirit of that people.

With respect therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we must make some distinction between the different nations of Asia. So that in the following account of military affairs, whatever perfection and excellence may be found in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Persians, as they were in Cyrus's reign; the rest belongs to the other nations of Asia, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians likewise after they had degenerated from their ancient valour, which happened not long after Cyrus, as will be shown in the sequel.

I. *Their Entrance upon Military Discipline.*—[y] The Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises. Generally speaking, they served in the armies from the age of twenty to

[x] Athen. l. i. p. 30. [y] Strab. l. xv. p. 734. Am. Mar. l. xxiii. sub finem.

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fifty years. And whether in peace or war, they always wore swords, as our gentlemen do, which was never practised among the Greeks or the Romans. They were obliged to enlist themselves at the time appointed; and it was esteemed a crime to desire to be dispensed with in that respect, as will be seen hereafter, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes [z] to two young noblemen, whose fathers had desired as a favour, that their sons might be permitted to stay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.

[a] Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, who were called 'The Immortals,' because this body consisted always of the same number, which was ten thousand; for as soon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place. The establishment of this body probably began with the ten thousand men sent for by Cyrus out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished from all the other troops by the richness of their armour, and still more by their courage. [b] Quintius Curtius mentions also this body of men, and another body besides, consisting of fifteen thousand, designed in like manner to be a guard to the king's person: the latter were called 'Doryphori,' or 'Spearmen.'

II. *Their Armour.*—The ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scimitar, *acinaces*, as it is called in Latin; a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; a javelin, or half pike, having a sharp-pointed iron at the end.

It seems that they carried two javelins, or lances, one to fling, and the other to use in close fight. They made great use of the bow, and of the quiver in which they carried their arrows. The sling was not unknown amongst them; but they did not set much value upon it.

It appears from several passages in ancient authors, that the Persians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they called tiaras; this is particularly said of Cyrus the younger, [c] and of his army. And yet the same authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we must conclude, that this custom had changed according to the times.

The foot for the most part wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artificially fitted to their bodies, that they were

[z] Herod. l. iv. and vi. Sen. *de Ira*, l. iii. c. 16 and 17.
[a] Herod. l. vii c. 83. [b] Lib. iii. c. 3. [c] Xen. *de exped. Cyr.* l. i. p. 263.

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no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or greaves which covered the arms, thighs, and legs of the horsemen. Their horses themselves for the most part had their faces, chests, and flanks covered with brass. These were what are called *equi cataphracti*, barbed horses.

Authors differ very much about the form and fashion of the shields. At first they made use of very small and light ones, made only of twigs of osier, *gerra*. But it appears from several passages, that they had also shields of brass, which were of a great length.

We have already observed, that in the first ages the light-armed soldiers, that is, the archers and those who used missile weapons, composed the bulk of the armies amongst the Persians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience, that such troops were only fit for skirmishing or fighting at a distance, and who thought it most advantageous to come directly to close fight, made a change in his army, and reduced those light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the rest of the army.

III. *Chariots armed with Scythes.*—[d] Cyrus introduced a considerable change likewise with respect to the chariots of war. These had been in use a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the sacred writings. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast, with two men in each; one of distinguished birth and valour, who fought, and another who was engaged only in driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little service; since, for the equipping of three hundred chariots, were required twelve hundred horses, and six hundred men, of which there were but three hundred who really fought, the other three hundred, though all men of merit and distinction, and capable of doing great service if otherwise employed, serving only as charioteers or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots, and doubled the number of the fighting-men that rode in them, by enabling the drivers also to fight as well as the others.

He caused the wheels of the chariots to be made stronger,

[a] Xen. *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 152.

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that they should not be so easily broken; and the axletrees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and steady. At each end of the axletree he caused scythes to be fastened that were three feet long, and placed horizontally; and caused other scythes to be fixed under the same axletree with their edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men, or horses, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots should overturn. [e] It appears from several passages in authors, that in aftertimes, besides all this, they added two long iron spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they armed the hinder part of the chariot with several rows of sharp knives to hinder any one from mounting behind.

These chariots were in use for many ages in all the eastern countries. They were looked upon as the principal strength of the armies, as the most certain cause of the victory, and as an apparatus the most capable of all other to strike the enemy with consternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the inconveniences of them were discovered, and at length they were laid aside. For, in order to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary to fight in vast and extensive plains, where the soil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gullies, woods, nor vineyards.

In aftertimes several methods were invented to render these chariots absolutely useless. [f] It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately stopped their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes in the battle which Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of slingers, archers, and spearmen, who, spreading themselves on all sides, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances upon them, and at the same time fall a shouting so loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horses, and often made them turn upon their own forces. [g] At other times they would render the chariots useless and incapable of acting, only by marching over the space which separated the two armies, with an extraordinary swiftness, and advancing suddenly upon the enemy. For the strength and

[e] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 41. [f] Ibid. [g] Plut. *in Syl.* p. 463

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execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their course, which was what gave that impetuosity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and insignificant. It was after this manner, that the Romans under Sylla, at the battle of Chæronea, defeated and put to flight the enemy's chariots, raising loud peals of laughter, and crying out to them, as if they had been at the games of the Circus, to send more.

IV. *Their Discipline in Peace as well as War.*—Nothing can be imagined more perfect than the discipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The method used by that great prince in peace, as is fully related in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, in order to form his troops, by frequent exercises, to inure them to fatigue by keeping them continually employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battles by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and resolution by exhortations, praises, and rewards; all this, I say, is a perfect model for all who have the command of troops, to which, generally speaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely pernicious; for a relaxation of discipline, which usually ensues, enervates the vigour of the soldiers; and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies, infinitely sharpen and excite. * A wise foresight of the future ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever may be needful in time of war.

Whenever the Persian armies marched, every thing was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactness as on a day of battle; not a soldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the custom amongst all the nations of Asia, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp surrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being surprised by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage against their inclinations. [h] They usually contented themselves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of these ditches; though sometimes they fortified them with strong palisadoes, and long stakes driven into the ground.

[h] Diod. l. i. p. 24, 25.

* ———————— Metuensque futuri,
In pace, ut sapiens, aptârit idonea bello. Hor. *Satyr*. ii. 1, 2.

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By what has been said of their discipline in time of peace, and in the marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of that which was preserved on a day of battle. Nothing can be more deserving our admiration than the accounts we have of it in several parts of the *Cyropædia*. No single family could be better regulated, or pay a more speedy and exact obedience to the first signal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accustomed them to that prompt obedience, on which the success of all enterprises depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At first he had used some severity, which is necessary in the beginning, in order to establish good discipline; but this severity was always accompanied with reason, and tempered with kindness. The example of their * leader, who was the first upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his injunctions, and softened the rigour of his commands. The unalterable rule he laid down to himself, of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refusing every thing to favour, was a sure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. † For there is nothing more discouraging to persons of that profession, even to those who love their prince and their country, than to see the rewards, to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have spilt, entitle them, conferred upon others. Cyrus had the art of inspiring even his common soldiers with a zeal for discipline and order, by first inspiring them with a love for their country, for their honour, and their fellow-citizens; and, above all, by endearing himself to them by his bounty and liberality. These are the true and only methods of establishing and supporting military discipline in its full force and vigour.

V. *Their Order of Battle.*—As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little else but field expeditions; for which reason that wise prince found out, by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to decide a victory, than a numerous and good

* Dux, cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adesse: laudem strenuis, solatium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere. Tacit. *Annal.* l. xiii. c. 35.

† Cecidisse in irritum labores, si præmia periculorum soli assequantur, qui periculis non affuerunt. Tacit. *Hist.* l. iii. c. 53.

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cavalry; and the gaining of one single pitched battle was often attended with the conquest of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we see, that having found the Persian army entirely destitute of that important and necessary succour, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying that defect; and by his great application and activity, succeeded in forming a body of Persian cavalry, which became superior to that of his enemies, in goodness at least, if not in number. [i] There were several breeds of horses in Persia and Media; but in the latter province, those of a place called Nisea, were the most esteemed; and it was from thence the king's stable was furnished. We shall now examine what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbra may serve to give us a just notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to show how far their ability extended either in the use of arms, or the disposition of armies.

They knew, that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition the flanks of the foot were covered, and the horse were at liberty to act and extend themselves, as occasion should require.

They likewise understood the necessity of drawing out an army into several lines, in order to support one another; because otherwise, as one single line might easily be pierced through and broken, it would not be able to rally, and consequently the army would be left without resource. For which reason they formed the first line of foot heavily armed, * twelve men deep, who, on the first onset, made use of the half-pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came close together, engaged the enemy body to body with their swords, or scimitars.

The second line consisted of such men as were lightly armed, whose manner of fighting was to fling their javelins over the heads of the first. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were flung with great violence.

[i] Herod. l. vii. c. 40. Strab. l. xi. p. 520.
* Before Cyrus's time it was of twenty-four men.

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The design of them was to put the enemy into disorder, before they came to close fight.

The third line consisted of archers, whose bows being bent with the utmost force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. These archers were sometimes mixed with slingers, who slung great stones with a terrible force; but, in aftertime, the Rhodians, instead of stones, made use of leaden bullets, which the slings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, formed of men armed in the same manner as those of the first, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the support of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in case they gave way. It served likewise for a rear-guard, and a body of reserve to repulse the enemy, if they should happen to penetrate so far.

They had besides moving towers, carried upon huge waggons, drawn by sixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whose business was to discharge stones and javelins. These were placed in the rear of the whole army behind the body of reserve, and served to support their troops, when they were driven back by the enemy; and to favour their rallying when in disorder.

They made great use too of their chariots armed with scythes, as we have already observed. These they generally placed in the front of the battle, and some of them they occasionally stationed on the flanks of the army, when they had any reason to fear their being surrounded.

This is nearly the extent to which the ancients carried their knowledge in the military art with respect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find they had any skill in choosing advantageous posts, in seasonably possessing themselves of a favourable spot, of bringing the war into a close country; of making use of defiles and narrow passes, either to molest the enemy in their march, or to cover themselves from their attacks; or laying artful ambuscades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wise delays; of not suffering a superior enemy to force them to a decisive action, and of reducing him to the necessity of preying upon himself through the want of forage and provisions. Neither do we see, that

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they had much regard to the defending of their right and left with rivers, marshes, or mountains; and by that means of making the front of a smaller army equal to that of another much more numerous; and of putting it out of the enemy's power to surround or take them in flank.

Yet in Cyrus's first campaign against the Armenians, and afterwards against the Babylonians, there seem to have been some beginnings, some essays, as it were, of this art; but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in those days. Time, reflection, and experience, made the great commanders in after-ages acquainted with these precautions and subtilties of war; and we have already shown, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what use Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations, made of them.

VI. *Their Manner of attacking and defending strong Places.*—The ancients both devised and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as also from the force and the variety of engines then in use, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

1. *Their Way of attacking places.*—The first method of attacking a place was by blockade. They invested the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper distances, were made redoubts and places of arms; or else they thought it sufficient to surround it completely by a deep trench, which they strongly fenced with palisadoes, to hinder the besieged from making a sally, as well as to prevent succours or provisions from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the sieges related in ancient history; as that of * Troy, which lasted ten years; that of Azotus by Psammeticus, which lasted twenty-nine; that of Nineveh, where we have seen that Sardanapalus defended himself for the space of seven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where they had laid in a stock of provisions for twenty years, if he had not used a different method for taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of scaling, which was done by

* Homer makes no mention of the battering-ram, or any warlike engine.

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raising a great number of ladders against the walls, by means whereof a great many files of soldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of scaling impracticable, or at least ineffectual, they made the walls of their city extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flanked, still considerably higher, that the ladders of the besiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out some other way of getting to the top of the ramparts; and this was by building moving towers of wood, still higher than the walls, and by approaching them with those wooden towers. On the top of these towers, which formed a kind of platform, was placed a competent number of soldiers, who, with darts and arrows, and the assistance of their balistæ and catapultæ, scoured the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders; and then from a lower stage of the tower, they let down a kind of drawbridge, which rested upon the wall, and gave the soldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely shortened the length of their sieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and opened themselves a passage into the places besieged. This battering-ram was a vast beam of timber, with a strong head of iron or brass at the end of it; which was pushed with the utmost force against the walls. Of these there were several kinds.

They had still a fourth method of attacking places, which was, that of sapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways; that is, either by carrying on a subterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and so opening themselves a passage into it; or else, after they had sapped the foundation of the wall, and put supporters under it, by filling the space with all sorts of combustible matter, and then setting that matter on fire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

2. *Their Manner of defending places.* With respect to the fortifying and defending of towns, the ancients made use of all the fundamental principles and essential rules now practised in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made deep and sloping ditches, and fenced them round with palisadoes, to make the enemy's ascent or descent

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the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with stone or brick-work, that the battering-ram should not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them should be equally impracticable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions derive their origin, for the flanking of the curtains; they invented with much ingenuity different machines for the shooting of arrows, throwing of darts and lances, and hurling of great stones with vast force and violence; they had their parapets and battlements in the walls for the soldiers' security, and their covered galleries, which went quite round the walls, and served as casemates; their intrenchments behind the breaches, and necks of the towers; they made their sallies too, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers, and to set their engines on fire; as also their countermines to render useless the mines of the enemy; and lastly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in case of extremity, to serve as the last resource to a garrison upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these methods of defending places against those that besieged them, were known in the art of fortification as it was practised among the ancients; and they are the very same as are now in use among the moderns, allowing for such alteration as the difference of arms has occasioned.

I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortified towns; as also to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine, that, because new names are now given to the same things, the things themselves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gunpowder, cannon indeed have been substituted in the place of the battering-ram; and musket-shot in the room of balistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, javelins, slings, and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are changed? By no means. The ancients made as much of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanic powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

VII. *The condition of the Persian forces after Cyrus's time.*—I have already observed, more than once, that we must not judge of the merit and courage of the Persian troops at all

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times, by what we see of them in Cyrus's reign. I shall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, on that subject. He observes, that, after the death of that prince, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the great advantages that result from severity, discipline, skill in drawing up an army, order in marching and encamping; and, in short, that happiness of conduct which puts those great bodies in motion without disorder or confusion. Full of a vain ostentation of their power and greatness; and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary, when they had drawn together immense numbers of people, who fought indeed with resolution enough, but without order, and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons, who formed the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to such a height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same pleasures and delights in the army, as in the king's court; so that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in short, all the equipage and utensils so voluptuous a life requires. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, was overburdened with the additional load of vast multitudes of such as did not fight. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert: their orders never reached them in time; and in action every thing went on at random, as it were, without the possibility of any commander's being able to remedy this disorder. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; because such a vast body of people, greedy not only of the necessaries of life, but of such things also as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed every thing that could be met with in a very short time; nor indeed is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

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However, with all this vast train, the Persians astonished those nations that were not better acquainted with military affairs than themselves; and many of those that were more expert, were yet overcome by them, being either weakened by their own dissensions, or overpowered by the numbers of the enemy. And by this means Egypt, proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of her Sesostris, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the lesser Asia, and even such Greek colonies as the luxury of Asia had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robust and active, by wrestling and other exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies indeed were but small; but they were like strong, vigorous bodies, that seem to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part; at the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that one would have thought all the soldiers had been actuated by one soul; so perfect an harmony was there in all their motions.

ARTICLE III. ARTS AND SCIENCES.—I do not pretend to give an account of the Eastern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the Old Testament. Those precious fragments are sufficient to let us know the origin of poesy; its true design; the use that was made of it by those inspired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfections and sing the wonderful works of God, as also the dignity and sublimity of style which ought to accompany it, adapted to the majesty of the subjects on which it treats. The discourses of Job's friends, who lived in the East, as he himself did, and who were distinguished among the Gentiles as much by their learning as their birth, may likewise give us some notion of the eloquence that prevailed in those early ages.

What the Egyptian priests said of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular, according to [k] Plato, that

[k] *In Timæo*, p. 22.

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they were but children in antiquity, is very true with respect to arts and sciences, the invention of which they have falsely ascribed to chimerical persons, much posterior to the deluge. [1] The holy Scripture informs us, that before that epocha, God had discovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents; of spinning wool and flax, and weaving it into stuffs and linen; of forging and polishing iron and brass, and rendering them subservient to numberless uses that are necessary and convenient for life and society.

We learn from the same Scriptures, that very soon after the deluge, human industry had made several discoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of spinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with stuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it gilding wood and other materials. 3. The secret of casting metals; as brass, silver, or gold; and of making all sorts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of representing any kind of different objects; and of making an infinite variety of vessels of those metals, for use and ornament. 4. The art of painting, or carving upon wood, stone, or marble: and, 5. to name no more, that of dyeing their silks and stuffs, and giving them the most exquisite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Asia that men first settled after the deluge, it is easy to conceive that Asia must have been the cradle, as it were, of arts and sciences, the remembrance of which had been preserved by tradition; and which were afterwards revived again, and restored by means of men's wants and necessities.

SECT. I. ARCHITECTURE.—The building of the tower of Babel, and shortly after, of those famous cities Babylon and Nineveh, which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of the palaces of the kings and noblemen, divided into sundry halls and apartments, and adorned with every thing that either decency or conveniency could require; the regularity and symmetry of the pillars and vaulted roofs, raised and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickness of their ramparts; the height and strength of their towers; the convenience of their quays on the banks of the great rivers; and the

[1] Gen. iv.

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boldness of the bridges thrown over them: all these things, I say, with many other works of the like nature, show to what a pitch of perfection architecture was carried in those ancient times.

I know not, however, whether in those ages this art rose to that degree of perfection, which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy; or whether those vast structures in Asia and Egypt, so much boasted of by the ancients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity, as they were for their magnitude and extent. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite; but we never hear of an Asiatic or Egyptian order: which gives us reason to doubt whether the symmetry, measures, and proportions of pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly observed in those ancient structures.

SECT. II. MUSIC.—It is no wonder, if, in a country like Asia, addicted to pleasure, to luxury, and to voluptuousness, music, which gives the chief zest to such enjoyments, was in high esteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal styles of ancient music, which the modern has still preserved, namely, the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, sufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin; or at least, where it was improved and brought to perfection. [m] We learn from holy Scripture, that in Laban's time instrumental music was much in use in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Mesopotamia; since, among the other reproaches he makes to his son-in-law Jacob, he complains, that, by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family 'with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp.' [n] Amongst the booty that Cyrus ordered to be set apart for his uncle Cyaxares, mention is made of two * female musicians, very skilful in their profession, who accompanied a lady of Susa, and were taken prisoners with her.

To determine to what degree of perfection music was carried by the ancients, is a question which very much puzzles the learned. It is the harder to be decided, because, to determine justly upon it, it seems necessary we should have several

[m] Gen. xxxi. 27. [n] *Cyrop.* l. iv. p. 113.

* Μουσουργοὺς δύο τὰς κρατίστας.

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pieces of music composed by the ancients, with their notes, that we might examine it both with our eyes and our ears. But, unhappily, it is not with music in this respect as with ancient sculpture and poetry, of which we have so many noble monuments remaining; whereas, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their composition in the other science, by which we can form a certain judgment, and determine whether the music of the ancients was as perfect as ours.

It is generally allowed, that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments in concert.

It is also agreed, that they excelled in what relates to the *rhythmus*. What is meant by rhythmus, is the assemblage, or union of various times in music, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To understand this definition, it is to be observed, that the music we are here speaking of was always set and sung to the words of certain verses, in which the syllables were distinguished into long and short; that the short syllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former was reckoned to make up but one time, whilst the latter made up two; and consequently the sound which answered to this, was to continue twice as long as the sound which answered to the other; or, which is same thing, it was to consist of two times, or measures, whilst the other comprehended but one; that the verses which were sung, consisted of a certain number of feet formed by the different combination of these long and short syllables; and that the rhythmus of the song regularly followed the march of these feet. As these feet, of what nature or extent soever, were always divided into equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called ἄρσις, elevation or raising; and the latter θέσις, depression or falling: so the rhythmus of the song, which answered to every one of those feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally, by what we now call a 'beat,' and a rest or intermission. The scrupulous regard the ancients had to the quantity of their syllables in their vocal music, made their rhythmus much more perfect and regular than ours: for our poetry is not formed upon the measure of long and short syllables; but nevertheless a skilful musician amongst us, may

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in some sort express, by the length of the sounds, the quantity of every syllable. This account of the rhythmus of the ancients I have copied from one of the dissertations of Monsieur Burette; which I have done for the benefit of young students, to whom this little explanation may be of great use for the understanding of several passages in ancient authors. I now return to my subject.

The principal point in dispute among the learned, concerning the music of the ancients, is to know whether they understood music in several parts, that is, a composition consisting of several parts, and in which all those different parts form each by itself a complete piece, and at the same time have an harmonious connection, as in our counterpoint, whether simple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever else relates to the music of the ancients, I refer him to the learned dissertations of the above-mentioned M. Burette, inserted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy des Belles Lettres*; which show the profound erudition and exquisite taste of that writer.

Sect. III. Physic.—We likewise discover in those early times the origin of physic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were very rude and imperfect. [o] Herodotus, and after him Strabo, observe, that it was a general custom among the Babylonians to expose their sick persons to the view of passengers, in order to learn of them, whether they had been afflicted with the like distemper, and by what remedies they had been cured. From hence several people have pretended that physic is nothing else but a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made upon the nature of different diseases, and upon such things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It must be confessed, that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not sufficient. The famous Hippocrates made great use of it in his practice; but he did not entirely rely upon it. [p] The custom in those days was, for all persons that had been sick,

[o] Herod. l. i. c. 197. Strab. l. xvi. p. 746.
[p] Plin. l. xxix. c. 1. Strab. l. viii. p. 374.

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and were cured, to put up a tablet in the temple of Æsculapius, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had restored them to their health. That celebrated physician caused all these inscriptions and memorials to be copied out, and derived great advantage from them.

[q] Physic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great use and esteem. Æsculapius, who flourished at that time, is reckoned the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great skill in medicinal preparations and chirurgical operations: for in those days these several branches were not separated from one another, but were all included together under one profession.

[r] The two sons of Æsculapius, Podalirius and Machaon, who commanded a certain number of troops at the siege of Troy, were no less excellent physicians than brave officers; and rendered as much service to the Grecian army by their skill in medicine, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity. [s] Nor did Achilles himself, nor even Alexander the Great in aftertimes, think the knowledge of this science improper for a general, or beneath his dignity. On the contrary, he learnt it himself of Chiron, the centaur, and afterwards instructed his friend Patroclus in it, who did not disdain to exercise the art, in healing the wound of Eurypilus. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately assuaged the pain, and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physic which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and almost the only branch of the science used in those early times. [t] Virgil speaking of a celebrated physician, who was instructed in his art by Apollo himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples: *Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi maluit.* It was nature herself that offered those innocent and salutary remedies, and seemed to invite mankind to make use of them. [u] Their gardens, fields, and woods, supplied them gratuitously with an infinite plenty and variety. [x] As yet no use was made

[q] Diod. l. v. p. 341.
[s] Plut. *in Alex.* p. 668.
[u] Plin. l. xxvi. c. 1.
[r] Hom. *Iliad.* l. x. v. 821—847.
[t] *Æn.* l. xii. v. 396.
[x] Ibid. l. xxiv. c. 1.

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of minerals, treacles, and other compositions, since discovered by closer and more inquisitive researches into nature.

[y] Pliny says, that physic, which had been brought by Æsculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay in a manner buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its ancient honour and credit. This may be true with respect to Greece; but in Persia we find it to have been always cultivated, and constantly held in great reputation. [z] The great Cyrus, as is observed by Xenophon, never failed to take a certain number of excellent physicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard. He further remarks, that in this, Cyrus only followed a custom that had been anciently established among their generals; [a] and he also informs us that the younger Cyrus acted in the same manner.

It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that it was Hippocrates who carried this science to its highest perfection. And though it be certain that several improvements and new discoveries have been made since his time, yet is he still looked upon by the ablest physicians, as the first and chief master of that art, and as the person whose writings ought to be the chief study of those that would distinguish themselves in that profession.

Men thus qualified, who, to the study of the most celebrated physicians, as well ancient as modern, as also to the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of simples, the principles of natural philosophy, and the constitution and contexture of human bodies, have added a long practice and experience, together with their own serious reflections; such men as these, in a well-ordered state, deserve to be highly rewarded and distinguished, as the Holy Spirit itself signifies to us in the sacred writings: [b] 'The skill of the physician shall lift up his head; and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration;' since all their labours, lucubrations, and watchings, are devoted

[y] Lib. xxix. c. 9.
[z] *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 29, and l. viii. p. 212.
[a] *De exped. Cyr.* l. ii. p. 311.
[b] Ecclus. xxxviii. 3.

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to the people's health, which of all human blessings is the dearest and most valuable. And yet this blessing is what mankind are the least careful to preserve. They do not only destroy it by riot and excess, but through a blind credulity they foolishly intrust it with persons of no credit or experience,* who impose upon them by their impudence and presumption, or seduce them by their flattering assurances of infallible recovery.

SECT. IV. ASTRONOMY.—However desirous the Grecians were to be esteemed the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The † advantageous situation of Babylon, which was built upon a wide extensive plain, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seemed to be intended for an observatory; all these circumstances were strong motives to engage this people to a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies, and the regular course of the stars. ‡The Abbé Renaudot, in his dissertation upon the sphere, observes, that the plain which in Scripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same as is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almamon, the seventh of the Habbassides, in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caused the astronomical observations to be made, which for several ages directed all the astronomers of Europe; and that the sultan Gelaleddin Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides, caused similar observations to be made near three hundred years afterwards in the same place: from whence it appears, that this place was always reckoned one of the properest in the world for astronomical observations.

* Palàm est, ut quisque inter istos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illico vitæ nostræ necisque fieri—Adeò blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dulcedo. Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.

† Principio Assyrii propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cùm cœlum ex omni parte patens et apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt. Cic. lib. i. *de Divin.* n. 2.

‡ *Memoirs of the Academy des Belles Lettres*, vol. i. part ii. p. 3.

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The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection for want of the help of telescopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our astronomical researches more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a grave and credible author, according to Pliny, [c] speaks of observations made for the space of seven hundred and twenty years, and imprinted upon squares of brick; which, if it be true, must reach back to a very early antiquity. [d] Those of which Callisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's train, makes mention, and of which he gave Aristotle an account, include 1903 years, and consequently must commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.

We are certainly under great obligations, which we ought to acknowledge, to the labours and curious inquiries of those who have contributed to the discovery or improvement of so useful a science; a science, not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular course of the stars, and of the wonderful, constant, and uniform proportion of days, months, seasons, and years, but even to religion itself; with which, as Plato shows, [e] the study of that science has a very close and necessary connection; as it directly tends to inspire us with great reverence for the Deity, who with infinite wisdom presides over the government of the universe, and is present and attentive to all our actions. But at the same time we cannot sufficiently deplore the misfortune of those very philosophers, who, although by their successful * application and astronomical inquiries, they came very near the Creator, were yet so unhappy as not to find him, because they did not serve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.

SECT. V. JUDICIAL ASTROLOGY.—As to the Babylonian

[d] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. vii. c. 56. [d] Porphyr. *apud Simplic.* in l. ii. *de Cœlo.*
[e] *In Epinom.* p. 989—992.

* Magna industria, magna solertia: sed ibi Creatorem scrutati sunt positum non longè à se, et non invenerunt—quia quærere neglexerunt. August. *de verb. Evan. Matth. Serm.* lxviii. c. 1.

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and other Eastern philosophers, the study of the heavenly bodies was so far from leading them, as it ought to have done, to the knowledge of Him who is both their Creator and Ruler, that for the most part it carried them into impiety, and the extravagancies of judicial astrology. So we term that deceitful and presumptuous science, which teaches to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the stars, and to foretell events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects: a science justly looked upon as madness and folly by all the most sensible writers among the pagans themselves. [f] *O deliratationem incredibilem!* cries Cicero, in refuting the extravagant opinions of those astrologers, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country that first gave rise to this science; who, in consequence of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors upon all past events, for the space only of four hundred and seventy thousand years, pretended to know assuredly, by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets at the instant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the constitution of his body, his actions, and, in a word, all the events and the duration of his life. He exposes a thousand absurdities of this opinion, the very ridiculousness of which should excite contempt; and asks, why of all that vast number of children that are born in the same moment, and without doubt exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two whose lives and fortunes resemble each other? He puts this further question, whether that great number of men that perished at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the same death, were all born under the same constellations?

It is hardly credible, that so absurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and imposture, [g] *fraudulentissima artium*, as Pliny calls it, should ever acquire so much credit as this has done, throughout the whole world, and in all ages. What has supported and brought it into so great vogue, continues that author, is the natural curiosity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them: *Nullo non avido futura de se sciendi;* attended with a superstitious credulity, which finds itself agreeably flattered by the

[f] Lib. ii. *de Div.* n. 87, 99.

[g] Plin. *Proœm.* l. xxx.

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pleasing and magnificent promises of which those fortune-tellers are never sparing. *Ita blandissimis desideratissimisque promissis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus.*

[h] Modern writers, and among others two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendi and Rohault, have inveighed against the folly of that pretended science with the same energy, and have demonstrated it to be equally void of principles and experience.

As for its principles. The heaven, according to the system of the astrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts; which parts are taken not according to the poles of the world, but according to those of the zodiac. These twelve parts or portions of heaven have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, and so of the rest: the most important and decisive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the ascendant, because it is ready to ascend and appear above the horizon, when a man comes into the world. The planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixed: the aspects of these planets, which are only certain distances from one another, are likewise either happy or unhappy. I say nothing of several other hypotheses, which are all equally fanciful; and I ask, whether any man of common sense can accede to them upon the bare word of these impostors, without any proofs, or even without the least shadow of probability? The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the stars no influence during the nine months of pregnancy? Or is it possible, considering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be sure of hitting the precise, determinate moment, without the least variation of more or less, which is sufficient to overthrow all? A thousand other objections of the same kind might be made, which are altogether unanswerable.

As for experience, they have still less reason to flatter themselves with having that on their side. This can only consist in observations founded upon events that have always come to pass in the same manner, whenever the planets were found in

[h] Gassendi, *Phys.* sect. ii. l. 6. Rohault, *Phys.* part ii. c. 27.

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the same situation. Now it is unanimously agreed by all astronomers, that several thousands of years must pass, before any such situation of the stars, as they would imagine, can twice happen; and it is very certain, that the state in which the heavens will be to-morrow, has never yet been since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the two philosophers above mentioned, particularly Gassendi, who has more copiously treated this subject. But such, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole structure of judicial astrology is built.

But what is astonishing, and argues an absolute subversion of all reason, is, that certain freethinkers, who obstinately harden themselves against the most convincing proofs of religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest and most certain prophecies upon the word of God, do sometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of these astrologers and impostors.

St. Austin, in several passages of his writings, informs us, that this stupid and sacrilegious credulity is a * just chastisement from God, who frequently punisheth the voluntary blindness of men, by inflicting a still greater blindness; and who suffers evil spirits, that they may keep their servants still faster in their nets, sometimes to foretell things which do really come to pass, but of which the expectation very often serves only to torment them.

God, who alone foresees future contingencies and events, because he alone is the sovereign disposer and director of them, † does often in Scripture laugh to scorn the ignorance of the so-much boasted Babylonish astrologers, calling them forgers of lies and falsehoods. He moreover defies all their false gods

* His omnibus consideratis, non immeritò creditur, cùm astrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent, occulto instinctu fieri spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas et noxias opiniones de astralibus fatis inserere humanis mentibus atque firmare, non horoscopi notati et inspecti aliquâ arte, quæ nulla est. *De Civ. Dei*, l. v. c. 7.

† 'Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble: the fire shall burn them: they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame.' Isa. xlvii. 11—14.

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to foretell any thing whatsoever, and consents, if they do, that they should be worshipped as gods. Then addressing himself to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumstances of the miseries with which she shall be overwhelmed above two hundred years after that prediction; while none of her prognosticators, who had flattered her with the assurances of her perpetual grandeur, which they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgment, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment. Indeed, how should they? since at the very time of its execution, when [i] Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, the Chaldeans, the soothsayers, and, in a word, all the pretended sages of the country, were not able so much as to read the writing. Here then we see astrology and magic convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were most in vogue, and on an occasion when it was certainly their interest to display all their science and power.

ARTICLE IV. RELIGION.—The most ancient and general idolatry in the world, was that wherein the sun and moon were the objects of divine worship. This idolatry was founded upon a mistaken gratitude; which, instead of ascending up to the Deity, stopped short at the veil which concealed him, while it indicated his existence. With the least reflection or penetration, they might have discerned the Sovereign who commanded, from the * minister who did but obey.

In all ages mankind have been sensibly convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man: and adoration supposes God to be both attentive to man's desires, and capable of fulfilling them. But the distance of the sun and of the moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore foolish men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their † hands upon their mouths, and then lifting them up to those false gods, in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to them, but that they could not. This was

[i] Dan. v.

* Among the Hebrews the ordinary name for the sun signifies *minister*.

† Superstitiosus vulgus manum ori admovens, osculum labiis pressit. Minuc. p. 2. From thence is come the word *adorare*; that is to say, ad os manum admovere.

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that impious custom so prevalent throughout all the East, from which Job esteemed himself happy to have been preserved: * 'When I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness; my heart hath not been secretly enticed, nor my mouth kissed my hand.'

[k] The Persians adored the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest veneration. To him they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with horses of the greatest beauty and value, as we have seen in Cyrus's stately cavalcade. (This same ceremony was practised by the Babylonians; [l] from whom some impious kings of Judah borrowed it, and brought it into Palestine.) Sometimes they likewise sacrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known amongst them by the name of Mithra.

[m] By a natural consequence of the worship they paid to the sun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire, always invoked it first in their sacrifices, [n] carried it with great respect before the king in all his marches; intrusted the keeping of their sacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the Magi; and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, if it had been suffered to go out. [o] History informs us, that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Persians, demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved till that time, which occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country. [p] The Persians likewise honoured the water, the earth, and the winds, as so many deities.

The cruel ceremony of making children pass through the fire, was undoubtedly a consequence of the worship paid to that element; for this fire-worship was common to the Babylonians and Persians. The Scripture positively says of the people of Mesopotamia, who were sent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that 'they caused their children to pass through the fire.' It is well known how common this barbarous custom became in many provinces of Asia.

[k] Herod. l. i. c. 131. [l] 2 Kings xxiii. 11. Strab. l. xv. p. 732. [m] Ibid.
[n] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 215. Am. Mar. l. xxiii.
[o] Zonar. *Annal.* vol. ii. [p] Herod. l. i. c. 131.
* The text is in the form of an oath, 'If I beheld,' &c. Job xxxi. 26, 27.

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[q] Besides these, the Persians had two gods of a very different nature, namely, Oromasdes and Arimanius. The former they looked upon as the author of all the blessings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I shall give a fuller account of these deities hereafter.

[r] The Persians erected neither statues nor temples, nor altars to their gods; but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places. [s] It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himself of that religious duty, when he made the pompous and solemn procession already spoken of. * It is supposed to have been through the advice and instigation of the Magi, that Xerxes, the Persian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, esteeming it injurious to the majesty of the Deity to shut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world should be reckoned as a house or a temple.

† Cicero thinks, that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wisely than the Persians, in that they erected temples to their gods within their cities, and thereby assigned them a residence in common with themselves, which was well calculated to inspire the people with sentiments of religion and piety. Varro was not of the same opinion: [t] (St. Austin has preserved that passage of his works.) After having observed, that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues for above a hundred and seventy years, he adds, that, if they had still preserved that ancient custom, their religion would have been the purer and freer from corruption: *Quod si adhuc mansisset, castiùs dii observarentur;* and he strengthens his opinion by the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifices to any private or domestic interest. This was a fine way of attaching all private individuals to the public good,

[q] Plut. *in lib. de Isid. et Osirid.* p. 369. *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 233.

[r] Herod. l. i. c. 131.

[t] Lib. iv. *de Civ. Dei*, c. 31.

* Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammâsse templa Græciæ dicitur, quòd parietibus includerent deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset et domus. Cic. l. ii. *de Legib.*

† Meliùs Græci atque nostri, qui, ut augerent pietatem in deos, easdem illos urbes, quas nos, incolere voluerunt. Adfert enim hæc opinio religionem utilem civitatibus. Ibid.

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by teaching them that they ought never to sacrifice for themselves alone, but for the king and the whole state, wherein every man was comprehended with the rest of his fellow-citizens.

The Magi, in Persia, were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to divine worship; and it was to them the people had recourse, in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what day, to what gods, and after what manner, they were to offer their sacrifices. As these Magi were all of one tribe, and as none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any stranger in these matters, without the king's permission. It was granted in favour of Themistocles, [u] and was, according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great consideration for him.

This knowledge and skill in religious matters, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, θεῶν θεραπείαν, gave the Magi great authority both with the prince and people, who could offer no sacrifice without their presence and ministration.

* It was even requisite that the king, before he came to the crown, should have received instruction for a certain time from some of the Magi, and have learned of them both the art of reigning, and that of worshipping the gods after a proper manner. Nor did he determine any important affair of the state, when he was upon the throne, without first consulting them; for which reason † Pliny says, that even in his time they were looked upon in all the Eastern countries as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who styled themselves the kings of kings.

They were the sages, the philosophers, and men of learning, in Persia; as the Gymnosophists and Brachmans were amongst the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great

[u] *In Them.* p. 126.

* Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse, qui non antè Magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit. Cic. *de Divin.* l. i. n. 91.

† In tantum fastigii adolevit (auctoritas Magorum) ut hodieque etiam in magnâ parte gentium prævaleat, et in oriente regum regibus imperet. Plin. l. xxx. c. 1.

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reputation made people come from the most distant countries to be instructed by them in philosophy and religion; and we are assured it was from them that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that doctrine, by which he acquired so much veneration and respect among the Greeks, excepting only the tenet of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debased the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

It is generally agreed, that Zoroaster was the original author and founder of this sect; but authors are considerably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. [x] What Pliny says upon this head, may reasonably serve to reconcile that variety of opinions, as is very judiciously observed by Dr. Prideaux. We read in that author, that there were two persons named Zoroaster, between whose lives there might be the distance of six hundred years. The first of them was the founder of the Magian sect, about the year of the world 2900; and the latter, who certainly flourished between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the East, and the end of Darius's, son of Hystaspes, was the restorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the Eastern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal sects; that of the Sabians, who adored images; and that of the Magi, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rise among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of astronomy, and their particular application to the study of the seven planets, which they believed to be inhabited by as many intelligences, who were to those orbs what the soul of man is to his body, were induced to represent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by so many images, or statues, in which they imagined those pretended intelligences, or deities, were as really present as in the planets themselves. In time, the number of their gods considerably increased; this image-worship from Chaldea spread itself throughout all the East; from thence passed into Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the western nations.

To this sect of the Sabians was diametrically opposite that of the Magi, which also took its rise in the same Eastern

[x] *Hist. Nat.* l. xxx. c. 1.

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countries. As the Magi held images in utter abhorrence, they worshipped God only under the form of fire; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtilty, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the most perfect symbol of the Deity. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, and where they have remained even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; one the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols. The good god they named Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil god Ahraman. The former is by the Greeks called Oromasdes, and the latter Arimanius. [y] And therefore, when Xerxes prayed that his enemies might always resolve to banish their best and bravest citizens, as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromasdes, their good god.

Concerning these two gods, they had this difference of opinion; that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity; others contended, that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his peculiar world: that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world with all the wicked.

The second Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform some articles in the religion of the Magian sect, which for several ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians; but which, since the death of Smerdis who usurped the throne, and his chief confederates, and the massacre of their adherents and followers, had fallen into great contempt. It is thought this reformer made his first appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion, was, that whereas before they had held as a fundamental tenet the existence of two supreme principles; the first light, which was

[y] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 126.

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the author of all good; and the other darkness, the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness; and who, out of these two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleasure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author of all evil: that these two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works. After which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishment of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this they shall remain separate for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that sect, which still subsists in Persia and India, do, without any variation after so many ages, still hold even to this day.

It is needless to inform the reader, that almost all these tenets, though altered in many circumstances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy Scriptures; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroasters were well acquainted, it being easy for both of them to have had an intercourse or personal acquaintance with the people of God: the first of them in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people were carried captive, and where Zoroaster might have conversed with Daniel

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himself, who was in very great power and credit in the Persian court.

Another reformation, made by Zoroaster in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he caused temples to be built, wherein their sacred fire was carefully and constantly preserved; which he pretended himself to have brought down from heaven. Over this the priests kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguished.

Whatever relates to the sect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in Dean Prideaux's connection of the Old and New Testament, &c. from whence I have taken only a short extract.

Their Marriages, and the Manner of Burying the Dead.— Having said so much of the religion of the Eastern nations, which is an article I thought myself obliged to enlarge upon, because I look upon it as an essential part of their history, I shall be forced to treat of their other customs with the greater brevity. Amongst which, the marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

[z] There is nothing more horrible, or that gives us a stronger idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the public prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorized by law, but even commanded by the religion of the country, upon a certain annual festival, celebrated in honour of the goddess Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whose temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel, or place of debauchery. [a] This wicked custom was still in being and very prevalent when the Israelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admonish them against so scandalous an abomination.

Nor had the Persians any better notion of the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution, than the Babylonians. [b] I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their seraglios, and of which they were as jealous as if they had had but one wife, keeping them all shut up in separate apartments under a strict guard of eunuchs, without suffering them to have

[z] Herod. l. i. c. 199. [a] Baruch vi. 42, 43. [b] Herod. l. i. c. 135.

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any communication with one another, much less with persons without doors. [c] It strikes one with horror to read how far they carried their neglect and contempt of the most common laws of nature. Even incest with a sister was allowed amongst them by their laws, or at least authorized by their Magi, those pretended sages of Persia, as we have seen in the history of Cambyses. Nor did even a father respect his own daughter, or a mother the son of her own body. [d] We read in Plutarch, that Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who strove in all things to please the king her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent passion for one of his own daughters, called Atossa, was so far from opposing his unlawful desire, that she herself advised him to marry her, and make her his lawful wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which taught the contrary. 'For,' says she to him, carrying her flattery to a monstrous excess, 'Are not you yourself set by God over the Persians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?'

This detestable custom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, being become master of Persia, by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an express law to suppress it. These enormities may serve to teach us from what an abyss the Gospel has delivered us; and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes.

I shall finish this article by saying a word or two upon their manner of burying the dead. [e] It was not the custom of the Eastern nations, and especially of the Persians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to consume their bodies in the flames. [f] Accordingly we find that * Cyrus, when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he makes use of; by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent, from whence he sprung, and to which he ought to return. [g] And when Cambyses had offered

[c] Philo. *lib. de Special. leg.* p. 778. Diog. Laer. *in Proœm.* p. 6.
[d] *In Artax.* p. 1023. [e] Herod. l. iii. c. 16.
[f] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 238. [g] Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

* Ac mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturæ genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur. Cic. lib. ii. *de Leg.* n. 56.

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a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis, king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of the * latter to wrap up their dead in wax, in order to keep them the longer from corruption.

I thought proper to give a fuller account in this place of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel. The treatise of † Barnabas Brisson, president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, save a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with erudite observations, which cost him little, and yet often do him great honour.

ARTICLE V. THE CAUSES OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, AND OF THE CHANGE THAT HAPPENED IN THEIR MANNERS.—When we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his successors, we can hardly believe they were the same people: and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners in any state is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

Among many other causes that brought about the declension of the Persian empire, the four following may be looked upon as the principal: Their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths, and engagements.

SECT. I. LUXURY AND MAGNIFICENCE.—What made the Persian troops in Cyrus's time to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life to which they were accustomed from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary

* Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant: Persæ jam cerâ circumlitos condiunt, ut quàm maximè permaneant diuturna corpora. Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. i. n. 108.

† Barnab. Brissonius, *de regio Persarum principatu*, &c. Argentorati, an. 1710.

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drink, bread and roots for their food, the ground, or something as hard, to lie upon, inuring themselves to the most painful exercises and labours, and esteeming the greatest dangers as nothing. The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous, and woody, might somewhat contribute to their hardiness; for which reason Cyrus [h] would never consent to the project of transplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate. The excellent education bestowed upon the ancient Persians, of which we have already given a sufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and caprice of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates, and regulated upon principles of the public good; this excellent education prepared them for observing, in all places and at all times, a most exact and severe discipline. Add to this, the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to surpass all his subjects in regularity, was the most abstemious and sober in his manner of life, the plainest in his dress, the most inured and accustomed to hardships and fatigues, as well as the bravest and most intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from soldiers so formed and so trained up? By them, therefore, we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipse the glory they had acquired, but carefully preserve that simplicity, sobriety, temperance, and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know, whether Cyrus himself did not at that very time sow the first seeds of that luxury, which soon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, which we have already described at large, and on which he first showed himself in public to his new-conquered subjects, he thought proper, in order to heighten the splendour of his regal dignity, to make a pompous display of all the magnificence and show, that was best calculated to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things he changed his own apparel, as also that of his officers, giving them all garments made after the fashion of the Medes, richly shining with gold and

[h] Plut. *in Apophth.* p. 172.

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purple, instead of their Persian clothes, which were very plain and simple.

This prince seemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, the natural inclination all men have to value and esteem what pleases the eye and makes a fine show, the anxiety they have to distinguish themselves above others by false merit, easily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general, predominant taste for extravagance and luxury.

[1] This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess, as was little better than downright madness. The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars; and, with what an equipage such a troop must be attended, is easy to judge. All his generals and officers followed his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for so doing was, that the sight of what they held most dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to fight with the greater resolution; but the true reason was the love of pleasure, by which they were overcome and enslaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.

Another instance of their folly was, that even in the army they carried their luxury and extravagance with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible, than they did in their cities. [k] The most exquisite meats, the rarest birds, and the costliest dainties, must needs be found for the prince in what part of the world soever he was encamped. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number; * instruments of luxury, says a certain historian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.

I do not see what reason Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last years of his life. It must be owned indeed, that the station of kings requires a suitable grandeur and magnificence, which may on certain occasions be carried even to a degree of pomp and splendour. But princes, possessed of a real and solid merit, have a thousand ways of compensating

[i] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* l. iv. p. 91—99.

[k] Senec. l. iii. *de Ira*, c. 20.

* Non belli sed luxuriæ apparatum—Aciem Persarum auro purpurâque fulgentem intueri jubebat Alexander, prædam, non arma gestantem. Q. Curt.

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what they may seem to lose by retrenching some part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found by experience, that a king is more sure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct, than by the greatness of his expenses; and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person, than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for pomp and expense first prevailed at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain, indisputable maxim, that wherever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms; and the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate the truth of this maxim.

What then is that subtle, secret poison, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleasure, and is capable of enervating at the same time both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? It is not very difficult to comprehend why it has this terrible effect. When men are accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for suffering the rigour of the seasons; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without sleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniencies and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements, that endear it to them, and which by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and hinder

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them from exposing themselves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all those things wherein they place their felicity.

SECT. II. THE ABJECT SUBMISSION AND SLAVERY OF THE PERSIANS.—We are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And indeed, what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number, but the vigour and courage of their armies, and as it was finely said by one of the ancients,[1] 'from the day a man loseth his liberty, he loseth one half of his ancient virtue.' He is no longer concerned for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien; and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent to the success of public affairs, to the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not altered or improved. It may truly be said, that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; nor did he think, that a despotic power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of slaves. His tent was always open; and free access was allowed to every one that desired to speak to him. He did not live retired, but was visible, accessible, and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observed and rewarded merit; invited to his table not only the generals of his army, not only the principal officers, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies of soldiers. *The simplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently. His aim was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may truly be called the art of governing and commanding.

[1] Hom. *Odyss.* P. v. 322.

* Tantas vires habet frugalitas Principis, ut tot impendiis, tot erogationibus sola sufficiat. Plin. *in Paneg. Traj.*

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In reading Xenophon, we observe with pleasure, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting and raillery; but at the same time that amiable cheerfulness and gayety which enlivened their entertainments, from which all pomp and luxury were banished, and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity, which was so far from lessening their respect for the prince, that it gave such a life and spirit to it, as nothing but a real affection and tenderness could produce. I may venture to say, that by such a conduct as this a prince doubles and trebles his army at a small expense. Thirty thousand men of this sort are preferable to millions of such slaves as these very Persians became afterwards. In time of action, on a decisive day of battle, this truth is most evident, and the prince is more sensible of it than any body else. At the battle of Thymbra, when Cyrus's horse fell under him, Xenophon takes notice of what importance it is to a commander to be loved by his soldiers. The danger of the king's person became the danger of the army; and the troops on that occasion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the same manner, under the greatest part of his successors. Their only care was to support the pomp of sovereignty. I must confess, their outward ornaments and ensigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered, and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads, and encircled by a superb diadem, a golden sceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and splendid court, a multitude of officers and guards; these things must needs conduce to heighten the splendour of royalty; but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality, who loses all his merit and his dignity when he puts off his ornaments?

Some of the Eastern kings, conceiving that they should thereby procure the greater reverence to their persons, generally kept themselves shut up in their palaces, and seldom showed themselves to their subjects. We have already seen that Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his accession to the

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throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common in all the Eastern countries. But it is a great mistake, to imagine that a prince cannot descend from his grandeur, by a sort of familiarity, without debasing or lessening his greatness. Artaxerxes did not think so; and [m] Plutarch observes, that that prince, and queen Statira, his wife, took a pleasure in being visible and of easy access to their people; and by so doing were but the more respected.

Among the Persians no subject whatsoever was allowed to appear in the king's presence without prostrating himself before him: and this law, which [n] Seneca with good reason calls a Persian slavery, *Persicam servitutem*, extended also to foreigners. We shall find afterwards, that several Grecians refused to comply with it, looking upon such a ceremony as derogatory to men born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some of them, less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great reluctance; and we are told, that one of them, in order to cover the shame of such a servile prostration, [o] purposely let fall his ring when he came near the king, that he might have occasion to bend his body on another account. But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to hesitate or deliberate about a homage, which the kings exacted from them with the utmost rigour.

What the Scripture relates of two sovereigns, [p] whereof the one commanded all his subjects, on pain of death, to prostrate themselves before his image; and the other under the same penalty suspended all acts of religion, with regard to all the gods in general, except to himself alone; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran all together on the first signal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king exclusively of all the powers of heaven: all this shows to what an extravagant excess the Eastern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and servitude.

So great was the distance between the Persian king and his subjects, that the latter, of what rank or quality soever, whether satrapæ, governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king,

[m] *In Artax.* p. 1013.
[n] Lib. iii. *de Benef.* c. 12. and l. iii. *de Irâ*, c. 17.
[o] Ælian. l. i. *Var. Histor.* c. xxi.
[p] Nebuchad. Dan. iii. Darius the Mede, Dan. vi.

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were looked upon only as slaves; whereas the king himself was always considered, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, but as a kind of divinity. [q] In a word, the peculiar character of the Asiatic nations, and of the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude and slavery; which made [r] Cicero say, that the despotic power which some were endeavouring to establish in the Roman commonwealth, was an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.

It was, therefore, this arrogant haughtiness of the princes on one hand, and this abject submission of the people on the other, which, according to [s] Plato, were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by dissolving all the ties wherewith a king is united to his subjects, and the subjects to their king. Such a haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former; and such an abject state of slavery leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Persian kings governed only by threats and menaces, and the subjects neither obeyed nor marched, but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men, so dispirited and depressed by habitual slavery as the Persians were, and reduced to such an abject servitude; which, to use the words of [t] Longinus, is a kind of imprisonment, wherein a man's soul may be said in some sort to grow little and contracted?

I am unwilling to say it; but I do not know, whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute to introduce among the Persians both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject submission and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have several times mentioned, that the Persians (till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a shameful prostitution of it by any mean behaviour or servile compliances) first bent the knee before their prince, and stooped to a posture of adoration.

[q] Plut. *in Apophth.* p. 213.
[s] Lib. iii. *de Leg.* p. 697.
[r] Lib. x. *Epist. ad Attic.*
[t] Cap. xxxv.

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Nor was this an effect of chance: for Xenophon intimates clearly enough, that [u] Cyrus, who desired to have that homage paid him, had appointed persons on purpose to begin it; whose example was accordingly followed by the multitude. In these little tricks and stratagems, we no longer discern that nobleness and greatness of soul which had ever been conspicuous in that prince till this occasion: and I should be apt to think, that being arrived at the utmost pitch of glory and power, he could no longer resist those violent attacks wherewith prosperity is always assaulting even the best of princes, [x] *secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant*; and that at last pride and vanity, which are almost inseparable from sovereign power, forced him, and in a manner tore him, from himself and his own naturally good inclinations: [y] *Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus.*

SECT. III. THE WRONG EDUCATION OF THEIR PRINCES ANOTHER CAUSE OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.—It is [z] Plato still, the prince of philosophers, who makes this reflection; and we shall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in question, how solid and judicious it is, and how inexcusable Cyrus's conduct was in this respect.

Never had any man more reason than Cyrus to be sensible how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience. [a] What he most earnestly recommended to his officers, in that fine discourse which he made to them after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the same manner as they knew they were educated in Persia, and to preserve themselves in the practice of the same manners as were observed there.

Would one believe, that a prince, who spoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himself wholly

[u] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 215.
[x] Sallust.
[y] Tacit. *Annal.* l. vi. c. 48.
[z] Lib. iii. *de Leg.* p. 694, 695.
[a] *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 200.

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about his conquests, he left that care entirely to women, that is, to princesses, brought up in a country where pomp, luxury, and voluptuousness reigned in the highest degree; for the queen his wife was of Media. And in the same taste and manner were the two young princes, Cambyses and Smerdis, educated. Nothing they asked was ever refused them: all their desires were anticipated. The great maxim was, that their attendants should cross them in nothing, never contradict them, nor ever make use of reproofs or remonstrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their presence, but to praise and commend what they said and did. Every one cringed and stooped and bent the knee before them; and it was thought essential to their greatness to place an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. It is Plato that informs us of all these particulars: for Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says not one word of the manner in which these princes were brought up, though he gives us so ample an account of the education of their father.

What surprises me the most is, that Cyrus did not, at least, take them along with him in his last campaigns, in order to draw them out of that soft and effeminate course of life, and to instruct them in the art of war; for they must needs have been of sufficient years: but perhaps the women opposed his design, and overruled him.

Whatever the obstacle was, the effect of the education of these princes was such as might be expected from it. Cambyses came out of that school what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excesses of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the causing of his own brother to be murdered in consequence of a dream; in a word, a furious, frantic madman, who by his ill conduct brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

'His father,' says Plato, 'left him at his death vast provinces, immense riches, with innumerable forces by sea and land: but he had not given him the means for preserving them, by teaching him the right use of such power.'

This philosopher makes the same reflections with regard to

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Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the son of a king, had not been brought up in the same effeminate manner as princes were; but ascended the throne with a long habit of industry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferior to that of Cyrus, by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than he, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predecessor in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his son Xerxes was little better than a second Cambyses.

From all this Plato, after having shown what numberless rocks and quicksands, almost unavoidable, lie in the way of persons bred in the arms of wealth and greatness, concludes, that one principal cause of the declension and ruin of the Persian empire was the bad education of their princes; because those first examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of rule to, all their successors, under whom every thing still degenerated more and more, till at last their luxury exceeded all bounds and restraints.

SECT. IV. THEIR BREACH OF FAITH AND WANT OF SINCERITY.—[b] We are informed by Xenophon, that one of the causes both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was their want of public faith. Formerly, says he, the king, and those that governed under him, thought it an indispensable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to observe all treaties into which they had entered, with the solemnity of an oath; and that even with respect to those that had rendered themselves most unworthy of such treatment, through their perfidiousness and insincerity: and it was by this sound policy and prudent conduct, that they gained the absolute confidence, both of their own subjects, and of all their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the historian to the Persians, which undoubtedly belongs chiefly to the reign of the great Cyrus; [c] though Xenophon applies it likewise to that of the younger Cyrus, whose grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith upon any pretence whatsoever, with regard

[b] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 239.

[c] *De exped. Cyr.* l. i. p. 267.

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either to any word he had given, any promise made, or any treaty he had concluded. These princes had a just idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged, that, if probity and truth were banished from the rest of mankind, they ought to find a sanctuary in the heart of a king; who, being the bond and centre, as it were, of society, should also be the protector and avenger of faith engaged; which is the very foundation whereon the other depends.

Such sentiments as these, so noble and so worthy of persons born for government, did not last long. A false prudence, and a spurious, artificial policy, soon succeeded in their place. Instead of faith, probity, and true merit, says Xenophon, [d] which heretofore the prince used to cherish and distinguish, all the chief offices of the court began to be filled with those pretended zealous servants of the king, who sacrifice every thing to his humour and supposed interests; * who hold it as a maxim, that falsehood and deceit, perfidiousness and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the shortest and surest expedients to give success to his enterprises and designs; who look upon a scrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of pusillanimity, incapacity, and want of understanding; and whose opinion, in short, is, that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer considerations of state, before the exact observation of treaties, though concluded in never so solemn and sacred a manner.

The Asiatic nations, continues Xenophon, soon imitated their prince, who became their example and instructor in double-dealing and treachery. They soon gave themselves up to violence, injustice, and impiety: and from thence proceeds that strange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as also the contempt they conceived for their sovereigns, which is both the natural consequence and usual punishment of the little regard princes pay to the most sacred and awful solemnities of religion.

Surely the oath by which treaties are sealed and ratified,

[d] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 239.

* Ἐπὶ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη, συντομωτάτην ὁδὸν ἄνετο εἶναι διὰ τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν τε, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν· τὸ δὲ ἁπλῶν τε καὶ ἀληθὲς, τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἠλιθίῳ εἶναι. *De exped. Cyr.* l. i. p. 292.

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and the Deity invoked not only as present, but as guarantee of the conditions stipulated, is a most sacred and august ceremony, very proper for the subjecting of earthly princes to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge them; and for the keeping of all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to stand in fear of the Supreme Being, how shall they be able to secure their respect and reverence to themselves? When once that fear comes to be extinguished in the subjects as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and on what foundation shall the throne be established? [e] Cyrus had good reason to say, that he looked upon none as good servants and faithful subjects, but such as had a sense of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: nor is it at all astonishing that the contempt which an impious prince, who has no regard to the sanctity of oaths, shows of God and religion, should shake the very foundations of the firmest and best-established empires, and sooner or later occasion their utter destruction. Kings, says [f] Plutarch, when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of their subjects' unfaithfulness and disloyalty: but they do them wrong; and forget that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by showing no regard to justice and fidelity, which on all occasions they sacrificed without scruple to their own particular interests.

[e] *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 204.

[f] Plut. *in Pyrrh.* p. 390.

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BOOK THE FIFTH.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

ORIGIN AND FIRST SETTLEMENT

OF THE SEVERAL

STATES AND GOVERNMENTS

OF

GREECE.

Of all the countries of antiquity, none have been so highly celebrated, or furnished history with so many valuable monuments and illustrious examples, as Greece. In what light soever she is considered, whether for the glory of her arms, the wisdom of her laws, or the study and improvement of arts and sciences, all these she carried to a high degree of perfection; and it may truly be said, that in all these respects she has in some measure been the school of mankind.

It is impossible not to be very much interested in the history of such a nation; especially when we consider that it has been transmitted to us by writers of the most consummate merit, many of whom distinguished themselves as much by their swords as by their pens; and were as great commanders and able statesmen, as excellent historians. I confess it is a vast advantage to have such men for guides; men of an exquisite judgment and consummate prudence; of a refined and perfect taste in every respect; and who furnish not only the facts and thoughts, as well as the expressions wherewith they are to be represented; but, what is much more important, the proper

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reflections that are to accompany those facts; and which are the most useful improvements resulting from history. These are the rich sources from whence I shall draw all that I have to say, after I have previously inquired into the first origin and establishment of the Grecian states. As this inquiry must be dry, and not capable of affording much delight to the reader, I shall be as brief as possible. But before I enter upon that, I think it necessary to draw a kind of short plan of the situation of the country, and of the several parts that compose it.

ARTICLE I. A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT GREECE.—ANCIENT GREECE, which is now the south part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the east by the Ægean sea, now called the Archipelago; on the south by the Cretan, or Candian sea; on the west by the Ionian sea; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace.

The constituent parts of ancient Greece are, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Greece properly so called, Thessaly, and Macedonia.

EPIRUS. This province is situate to the west, and divided from Thessaly and Macedonia by Mount Pindus, and the Acroceraunian mountains.

The principal inhabitants of Epirus are, the MOLOSSIANS, whose chief city is Dodona, famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter. The CHAONIANS, whose principal city is Oricum. The THESPROTIANS, whose city is Buthrotum, where was the palace and residence of Pyrrhus. The ACARNANIANS, whose city is Ambracia, which gives its name to the gulf. Near to this stood Actium, famous for the victory of Augustus Cæsar, who built over-against that city, on the other side of the gulf, a city named Nicopolis. There were two little rivers in Epirus, very famous in fabulous story, Cocytus and Acheron.

Epirus must have been very well peopled in former times; as [a] Polybius relates, that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, destroyed seventy cities in that country, the greatest part of which belonged to the Molossians; and that he carried away from thence no less than a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners.

[a] Apud Strab. l. vii. p. 322.

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PELOPONNESUS. This is a peninsula, now called the Morea, joined to the rest of Greece only by the Isthmus of Corinth, that is but six miles broad. It is well known, that several princes have attempted in vain to cut through this Isthmus.

The parts of Peloponnesus are ACHAIA, properly so called, whose chief cities are Corinth, Sicyon, Patræ, &c. ELIS, in which is Olympia, called also Pisa, seated on the river Alpheus, upon the banks of which the Olympic games used to be celebrated. MESSENIA, in which are the cities of Messene, Pylos, the birthplace of Nestor and Corona. ARCADIA, in which was Cyllene, the mountain where Mercury was born, the cities of Tegea, Stymphalus, Mantinea, and Megalopolis, Polybius's native place. LACONIA, wherein stood Sparta, or Lacedæmon, and Amyclæ; mount Taygetus; the river Eurotas, and the cape of Tenarus. ARGOLIS, in which was the city of Argos, called also Hippium, famous for the temple of Juno; Nemea, Mycenæ, Nauplia, Trœzene, and Epidaurus, wherein was the temple of Æsculapius.

GREECE, properly so called. The principal parts of this country were ÆTOLIA, in which were the cities of Chalcis, Calydon, and Olenus. DORIS. The LOCRI OZOLÆ. Naupactus, now called Lepanto, famous for the defeat of the Turks in 1571. PHOCIS. Anticyra. Delphi, at the foot of mount Parnassus, famous for the oracles delivered there. In this country also was mount Helicon. BŒOTIA. Mount Cithæron. Orchomenus. Thespia. Chæronæa, illustrious as being Plutarch's native country. Platææ, famous for the defeat of Mardonius. Thebes. Aulis, famous for its port, from whence the Grecian army set sail for the siege of Troy. Leuctra, celebrated for the victory of Epaminondas. ATTICA. Megara. Eleusis. Decelia. Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Persian army. Athens, whose ports were Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerus. The mountain Hymettus, famous for its excellent honey. LOCRIS.

THESSALY. The most remarkable towns of this province were, Gomphi, Pharsalia, near which Julius Cæsar defeated Pompey. Magnesia. Methone, at the siege of which Philip lost his eye. Thermopylæ, a narrow strait, famous for the vigorous resistance of three hundred Spartans against Xerxes's

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numerous army, and for their glorious defeat. Phthia. Thebes. Larissa. Demetrias. The delightful valleys of Tempe, near the banks of the river Peneus. Olympus, Pelion, and Ossa, three mountains celebrated in fabulous story for the battle of the giants.

MACEDONIA. I shall mention only a few of the principal towns of this country. Epidamnus, or Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. Apollonia. Pella, the capital of the country, and the native place of Philip, and of his son Alexander the Great. Ægæ. Ædessa. Pallene. Olynthus, from whence the Olynthiacs of Demosthenes took their name. Torone. Acanthus. Thessalonica, now called Salonichi. Stagira, the place of Aristotle's birth. Amphipolis. Philippi, famous for the victory gained there by Augustus and Antony over Brutus and Cassius. Scotussa. Mount Athos; and the river Strymon.

The Grecian Isles.—There is a great number of islands contiguous to Greece, that are very famous in history. In the Ionian sea, Corcyra, with a town of the same name, now called Corfu. Cephalene and Zacynthus, now Cephalona and Zante. Ithaca, the country of Ulysses, and Dulichium. Near the promontory Malea, over-against Laconia, is Cythera. In the Saronic gulf, are Ægina, and Salamis, so famous for the sea-fight between Xerxes and the Grecians. Between Greece and Asia lie the Sporades; and the Cyclades, the most noted of which are Andros, Delos, and Paros, whence the finest marble was dug. Higher up in the Ægean sea is Eubœa, now Negropont, separated from the main land by a small arm of the sea, called Euripus. The most remarkable city of this isle was Chalcis. Towards the north is Scyrus, and a good deal higher Lemnos, now called Stalimene; and still further Samothrace. Lower down is Lesbos, whose principal city was Mitylene, from whence the isle has since taken the name of Metelin. Chios, now Scio, renowned for excellent wine; and, lastly, Samos. Some of these last-mentioned isles are reckoned to belong to Asia.

The island of Crete, or Candia, is the largest of all the isles contiguous to Greece. It has to the north the Ægean sea, or the Archipelago; and to the south the African ocean. Its principal towns were, Gortyna, Cydon, Gnossus; its mountains,

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Dicte, Ida, and Corycus. Its labyrinth is famous over all the world.

The Grecians had colonies in most of these isles.

They had likewise settlements in Sicily, and in part of Italy toward Calabria,[b] which places are for that reason called Græcia Magna.

[c] But their grand settlement was in Asia Minor, and particularly in Æolis, Ionia, and Doris. The principal towns of Æolis are Cumæ, Phocæa, Elea. Of Ionia, Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon and Ephesus. Of Doris, Halicarnassus and Cnidos.

They had also a great number of colonies dispersed up and down in different parts of the world, whereof I shall give some account as occasion shall offer.

ARTICLE II. DIVISION OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY INTO FOUR SEVERAL AGES.—The Grecian history may be divided into four different ages, marked out by so many memorable epochas, all which together include the space of 2154 years.

The first age extends from the foundation of the several petty kingdoms of Greece (beginning with that of Sicyon, which is the most ancient) to the siege of Troy, and comprehends about a thousand years, namely, from the year of the world 1820 to the year 2820.

The second extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, at which period the Grecian history begins to be intermixed with that of the Persians, and contains the space of six hundred sixty-three years, from the year of the world 2820 to the year 3483.

The third extends from the beginning of the reign of Darius to the death of Alexander the Great, which is the finest part of the Grecian history, and takes in the term of one hundred and ninety-eight years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3681.

The fourth and last age commences from the death of Alexander, at which time the Grecians began to decline, and continues to their final subjection by the Romans. The epocha of the utter ruin and downfall of the Greeks may be

[b] Strab. l. vi. p. 253. [c] Plin. l. vi. c. 2.

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dated, partly from the taking and destruction of Corinth by the consul L. Mummius, in 3858, partly from the extinction of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ in Asia by Pompey, in the year of the world 3939, and of the kingdom of the Lagidæ in Egypt by Augustus, *anno mun.* 3974. This last age includes in all two hundred and ninety-three years.

Of these four ages, I shall in this place only touch upon the first two, in a very succinct manner, just to give the reader some general notion of that obscure period; because those times, at least a great part of them, have more of fable in them than of real history, and are wrapt up in such darkness and obscurity, as are very hard, if not impossible, to penetrate: and I have often declared already, that such a dark and laborious inquiry, though very useful for those that are anxious to make deep researches into history, does not come within the plan of my design.

ARTICLE III. THE PRIMITIVE ORIGIN OF THE GRECIANS.—In order to arrive at any certainty with respect to the first origin of the Grecian nations, we must necessarily have recourse to the accounts we have of it in holy Scripture.

[d] Javan or Ion, (for in the Hebrew the same letters differently pointed form these two different names,) the son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, was certainly the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks, though he has been looked upon as the father of the Ionians only, which were but one particular nation of Greeks. But the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, Arabians, and others, give no other appellation to the whole body of the Grecian nations, than that of Ionians. [e] And for this reason Alexander, in the predictions of Daniel, is mentioned under the name of the king of Javan.*

[f] Javan had four sons, Elishah, Tarshish, Chittim, and Dodanim. As Javan was the original father of the Grecians in general, without doubt his four sons were the heads and founders of the chief tribes and principal branches of that

[d] Gen. x. 2. [e] Dan. viii. 21. [f] Gen. x. 4.

* Hircus caprarum rex Græciæ; in the Hebrew, rex Javan.

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nation, which became in succeeding ages so renowned for arts and arms.

Elishah is the same as Ellas, as it is rendered in the Chaldee translation, and the word Ἕλληνες, which was used as the common appellation of the whole people, in the same manner as the word Ἑλλὰς was of the whole country, has no other derivation. The very ancient city of Elis, in Peloponnesus, the Elysian fields, the river Elissus, or Ilissus, have long retained the marks of their being derived from Elishah, and have contributed more to preserve his memory, than the historians themselves of the nation, who were inquisitive after foreign affairs, and but little acquainted with their own original; as they had little or no knowledge of the true religion, and did not carry their inquiries so high. Upon which account, they themselves derived the words Hellenes and Iones from another fountain, as we shall see in the sequel; for I think myself obliged to give some account of their opinions also in this respect.

Tarshish was the second son of Javan. He settled as his brethren did, in some part of Greece, perhaps in Achaia, or the neighbouring provinces, as Elishah did in Peloponnesus.

It is not to be doubted but that Chittim was the father of the Macedonians, according to the authority of the first book of the Maccabees,[g] in the beginning of which it is said, that Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, went out of his country, which was that of Cetthim,* [or Chittim] to make war against Darius, king of Persia. And in the eighth chapter, speaking of the Romans and their victories over the last kings of Macedonia, Philip and Perseus,† the two last-mentioned princes are called kings of the Chittims.

Dodanim. It is very probable, that Thessaly and Epirus were the portion of this fourth son of Javan. The impious worship of Jupiter of Dodona, as well as the city Dodona‡ itself, are proofs that some remembrance of Dodanim had remained with the people, who derived their first establishment and origin from him.

g 1 Macc. i. 1.
* Egressus de terrâ Cethim.
† Philippum et Perseum Cetheorum regem. ver. v.
‡ Δωδώνη ἀπὸ Δωδώνυ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Εὐρώπης. Stephanus.

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This is all that can be said with any certainty concerning the origin of the Grecian nations. The holy Scripture, whose design is not to satisfy our curiosity, but to nourish and improve our piety, after scattering these few rays of light, leaves us in utter darkness concerning the rest of their history; which therefore can be collected only from profane authors.

If we may believe [h] Pliny, the Grecians were so called from the name of an ancient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition. Homer, in his poems, calls them Hellenes, Danai, Argives, and Achaians. It is observable, that the word *Græcus* is not once used in Virgil.

The exceeding rusticity of the first Grecians would appear incredible, if we could call in question the testimony of their own historians upon that point. But a people so vain of their origin as to adorn it by fiction and fables, would never think of inventing any thing in its disparagement. [i] Who would imagine that the people, to whom the world is indebted for all her knowledge in literature and the sciences, should be descended from mere savages, who knew no other law than force, were ignorant even of agriculture, and fed on herbs and roots like the brute beasts? And yet this appears plainly to be the case, from the divine honours they decreed to the person[k] who first taught them to feed upon acorns, as a more delicate and wholesome nourishment than herbs. There was still a great distance from this first improvement to a state of urbanity and politeness. Nor did they indeed arrive at the latter, till after a long process of time.

The weakest were not the last to understand the necessity of living together in society, in order to defend themselves against violence and oppression. At first they built single houses at a distance from one another; the number of which insensibly increasing, formed in time towns and cities. But the bare living together in society was not sufficient to polish such a people. Egypt and Phœnicia had the honour of doing this. [l] Both these nations contributed to instruct and civilize the Grecians, by the colonies they sent among them. The latter taught them navigation, writing, and commerce; the

[h] Lib. iv. c. 7. [i] Pausan. l. viii. p. 455, 456. [k] Pelasgus.
[l] Herod. l. ii. c. 58, and l. v. c. 58—60. Plin. l. v. c. 12, and l. vii c. 56.

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former the knowledge of their laws and polity, gave them a taste for arts and sciences, and initiated them into her mysteries.

[m] Greece, in her infant state, was exposed to great commotions and frequent revolutions; because, as the people had no settled correspondence, and no superior power to give laws to the rest, every thing was determined by force and violence. The strongest invaded the lands of their neighbours, which they thought more fertile and delightful than their own, and dispossessed the lawful owners, who were obliged to seek new settlements elsewhere. As Attica was a dry and barren country, its inhabitants had not the same invasions and outrages to fear, and therefore consequently kept themselves in possession of their ancient territories; for which reason they took the name of αὐτόχθονες, that is, men born in the country where they lived, to distinguish themselves from the rest of the nations, that had almost all transplanted themselves from place to place.

Such were in general the first beginnings of Greece. We must now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the establishment of the several different states whereof the whole country consisted.

ARTICLE IV. THE DIFFERENT STATES INTO WHICH GREECE WAS DIVIDED.—In those early times kingdoms were but inconsiderable, and of very small extent, the title of kingdom being often given to a single city, with a few leagues of land depending upon it.

SICYON. The most ancient kingdom of Greece was that of Sicyon; whose beginning is placed by [n] Eusebius thirteen hundred and thirteen years before the first Olympiad. Its duration is believed to have been a thousand years.

A. M. 1915. Ant. J. C. 2089.

ARGOS. The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponnesus, began a thousand and eighty years before the first Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The first king of it was INACHUS. His successors were, his son PHORONEUS; APIS; ARGUS, from whom the country took its name; and

A. M. 2148. Ant. J. C. 1856.

[m] Thucyd. lib. i. p. 2.

[n] Euseb. *in Chron.*

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after several others, GELANOR, who was dethroned and expelled his kingdom by DANAUS, the Egyptian. The successors of this last were LYNCEUS, the son of his brother Ægyptus, who alone, of fifty brothers, escaped the cruelty of the Danaides; then ABAS, PRŒTUS, and ACRISIUS. A. M. 2530. Ant. J. C. 1474.

Of Danae, daughter to the last, was born Perseus, who having, when he was grown up, unfortunately killed his grandfather Acrisius, and not being able to bear the sight of Argos, where he committed that involuntary murder, withdrew to Mycenæ, and there fixed the seat of his kingdom.

MYCENÆ. Perseus then translated the seat of the kingdom from Argos to Mycenæ. He left several sons behind him; among others Alcæus, Sthenelus, and Electryon. Alcæus was the father of Amphitryon; Sthenelus of Eurystheus; and Electryon of Alcmena. Amphitryon married Alcmena, upon whom Jupiter begat Hercules.

Eurystheus and Hercules came into the world the same day; but as the birth of the former was by Juno's management antecedent to that of the latter, Hercules was forced to be subject to him, and was obliged by his order to undertake the twelve labours, so celebrated in fabulous history.

The kings who reigned at Mycenæ, after Perseus, were, ELECTRYON, STHENELUS, and EURYSTHEUS. The last, after the death of Hercules, declared open war against his descendants, apprehending they might some time or other attempt to dethrone him; which, as it happened, was done by the Heraclidæ; for, having killed Eurystheus in battle, they entered victorious into Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of the country. But, as this happened before the time determined by fate, a plague ensued, which, with the direction of an oracle, obliged them to quit the country. Three years after this, being deceived by the ambiguous expression of the oracle, they made a second attempt, which likewise proved fruitless. This was about twenty years before the taking of Troy.

ATREUS, the son of Pelops, uncle by the mother's side to Eurystheus, was the latter's successor. And in this manner the crown came to the descendants of Pelops, from whom

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Peloponnesus which before was called Apia, derived its name. The bloody hatred of the two brothers, Atreus and Thyestes, is known to all the world.

PLISTHENES, the son of Atreus, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Mycenæ, which he left to his son AGAMEMNON, who was succeeded by his son ORESTES. The kingdom of Mycenæ was filled with enormous and horrible crimes, from the time it came into the family of Pelops.

TISAMENES and PENTHILUS, sons of Orestes, reigned after their father, and were at last driven out of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ.

ATHENS. CECROPS, a native of Egypt, was the founder of
A. M. 2448. Ant. J. C. 1556. this kingdom. Having settled in Attica, he divided all the country subject to him into twelve districts. He it was who established the Areopagus.

This august tribunal, in the reign of his successor CRANAUS, adjudged the famous difference between Neptune and Mars. In his time happened Deucalion's flood. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more ancient, and happened a thousand and twenty years before the first Olympiad, and consequently in the year of the world 2208.

AMPHICTYON, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy between twelve nations, which assembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, there to offer their common sacrifices, and to consult together upon their affairs in general, as also upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was called the assembly of the Amphictyons.

The reign of ERECHTHEUS is remarkable for the arrival of Ceres in Attica, after the rape of her daughter Proserpine, as also for the institution of the mysteries at Eleusis.

The reign of ÆGEUS, the son of Pandion, is the most
A. M 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284. illustrious period of the history of the heroes. In his time are placed the expedition of the Argonauts; the celebrated labours of Hercules; the war of Minos, second king of Crete, against the Athenians; the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

THESEUS succeeded his father Ægeus. Cecrops had divided Attica into twelve boroughs, or twelve districts, separated from each other. Theseus brought the people to understand the

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advantages of common government, and united the twelve boroughs into one city or body politic, in which the whole authority was united.

CODRUS was the last king of Athens; he devoted himself to die for his people.

After him the title of king was extinguished among the Athenians. MEDON, his son, was set at the head of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, that is to say, president or governor. The first Archontes were for life; but the Athenians, growing weary of a government which they still thought bore too great a resemblance to royal power, made their Archontes elective every ten years, and at last reduced it to an annual office. A. M. 2934. Ant. J. C. 1070.

THEBES. Cadmus, who came by sea from the coast of Phœnicia, that is, from about Tyre and Sidon, seized upon that part of the country, which was afterwards called Bœotia. He built there the city of Thebes, or at least a citadel, which from his own name he called Cadmea, and there fixed the seat of his power and dominion. A. M. 2549. Ant. J. C. 1455.

The fatal misfortune of Laius, one of his successors, and of Jocasta his wife, of Œdipus their son, of Eteocles and Polynices, who were born of the incestuous marriage of Jocasta with Œdipus, have furnished ample matter for fabulous narration and theatrical representations.

SPARTA, or LACEDÆMON. It is supposed, that LELEX, the first king of Laconia, began his reign about 1516 years before the Christian æra.

TYNDARUS, the ninth king of Lacedæmon, had, by Leda, Castor and Pollux, who were twins, besides Helena, and Clytemnestra the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Having survived his two sons, the twins, he began to think of choosing a successor, by looking out for a husband for his daughter Helena. All the suitors to this princess bound themselves by oath to abide by, and entirely to submit to, the choice which the lady herself should make, who determined in favour of Menelaus. She had not lived above three years with her husband, before she was carried off by Alexander or Paris, son of Priam, king of the Trojans; which rape was the cause of the Trojan war. Greece did not properly begin to know or

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experience her united strength, till the famous siege of that city, where Achilles, the Ajaxes, Nestor, and Ulysses, gave Asia sufficient reason to forebode her future subjection to their posterity. The Greeks took Troy after a ten years' siege, much about the time that Jephtha governed the people of God, that is, according to Archbishop Usher, in the year of the world 2820, and 1184 years before Jesus Christ. This epocha is famous in history, and should carefully be remembered, as well as that of the Olympiads.

An Olympiad is the revolution of four complete years, from one celebration of the Olympic games to the other. We have elsewhere given an account of the institution of these games, which were celebrated every four years, near the town of Pisa, otherwise called Olympia.

The common æra of the Olympiads begins in the summer of the year of the world 3228, 776 years before Jesus Christ, from the games in which Corebus won the prize in the foot race.

Fourscore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ reentered Peloponnesus, and seized Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, began to reign together, and from their time the sceptre always continued jointly in the hands of the descendants of those two families. Many years after this, Lycurgus instituted that body of laws for the Spartan state, which rendered both the legislator and republic so famous in history: I shall speak of them at large in the sequel.

CORINTH. Corinth began later than the other cities I have been speaking of, to be governed by kings of its own. It was at first subject to those of Argos and Mycenæ: at last, Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, made himself master of it. But his descendants were dispossessed of the throne by the Heraclidæ, about 110 years after the siege of Troy.

A. M. 2628. Ant. J. C. 1376.

The regal power, after this, came to the descendants of Bacchis, under whom the monarchy was changed into an aristocracy, that is, the reins of the government were in the hands of the elders, who annually chose from among themselves a chief magistrate, whom they called Prytanis. At last Cypselus having gained the people, usurped the supreme authority,

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which he transmitted to his son Periander; who held a distinguished rank among the Grecian sages, on account of the love he bore to learning, and the protection and encouragement he gave to learned men.

MACEDONIA. It was a long time before the Greeks paid any great attention to Macedonia. Her kings, living retired in woods and mountains, seemed not to be considered as a part of Greece. They pretended, that their kings, of whom CARANUS was the first, were descended from Hercules. Philip, and his son Alexander, raised the glory of this kingdom to a very high pitch. It had subsisted 471 years before the death of Alexander, and continued 155 more, till Perseus was defeated and taken by the Romans; in all 626 years. A. M. 3191. Ant. J. C. 1813.

ARTICLE V. COLONIES OF THE GREEKS SENT INTO ASIA MINOR.—We have already observed, that fourscore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponnesus, after having defeated the Pelopidæ, that is, Tisamenes and Penthilus, sons of Orestes; and that they divided the kingdoms of Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon, among themselves.

So great a revolution as this changed almost the whole face of the country, and made way for several very famous transmigrations. To understand these the better, and to have the clearer idea of the situation of many of the Grecian nations, as also of the four dialects, or different idioms of speech, that prevailed among them, it will be necessary to look a little farther back into history.

[o] Deucalion, who reigned in Thessaly, and under whom happened the flood that bears his name, had by Pyrrha his wife two sons, Hellen and Amphictyon. The latter, having driven Cranaus out of Athens, reigned there in his place. Hellen, if we may believe the historians of his country, gave the name of Hellenes to the Greeks: he had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus.

Æolus, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and besides Thessaly had Locris and Bœotia added to his dominions.

[o] Strab. l. viii. p. 383, &c. Pausan. l. vii. p. 396, &c

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Several of his descendants went into Peloponnesus with Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, from whom Peloponnesus took its name, and settled themselves in Laconia.

The country contiguous to Parnassus, fell to the share of Dorus, and from him was called Doris.

Xuthus, compelled by his brothers, upon some private quarrel, to quit his country, retired into Attica, where he married the daughter of Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion.

An involuntary murder, committed by Achæus, obliged him to retire to Peloponnesus, which was then called Egialæa, of which one part was from him called Achaia. His descendants settled at Lacedæmon.

Ion, having signalized himself by his victories, was invited by the Athenians to govern their city, and gave his name to the country; for the inhabitants of Attica were likewise called Ionians. The number of the citizens increased to such a degree, that the Athenians were obliged to send a colony of the Ionians into Peloponnesus, who likewise gave their name to the country they possessed.

Thus all the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, though composed of different people, were united under the names of Achæans and Ionians.

The Heraclidæ, fourscore years after the taking of Troy, resolved seriously to recover Peloponnesus, which, they imagined, of right belonged to them. They had three principal leaders, sons of Aristomachus, namely, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus: the last dying, his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, succeeded him. The success of their expedition was as happy as the motive was just, and they recovered the possession of their ancient domain. Argos fell to Temenus, Messenia to Cresphontes, and Laconia to the two sons of Aristodemus.

Such of the Achæans as were descended from Æolus, and had hitherto inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who accompanied the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, after some wandering, settled in that part of Asia Minor which from them took the name of Æolis, where they founded

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Smyrna, and eleven other cities; but the city of Smyrna came afterwards into the hands of the Ionians. The Æolians became likewise possessed of several cities of Lesbos.

As for the Achæans of Mycenæ and Argos, being compelled to abandon their country to the Heraclidæ, they seized upon that of the Ionians, who dwelt at that time in a part of Peloponnesus. The latter fled at first to Athens, their original country, from whence they some time afterwards departed under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, both sons of Codrus, and seized upon that part of the coast of Asia Minor which lies between Caria and Lydia, and from them was named Ionia; here they built twelve cities, Ephesus, Clazomenæ, Samos, &c.

[p] The power of the Athenians, who had then Codrus for their king, being very much augmented by the great number of refugees that had fled into their country, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppose the progress of their power, and for that reason made war upon them. The latter were worsted in a battle, but still remained masters of Megaris, where they built Megara, and settled the Dorians in that country in the room of the Ionians.

[q] One part of the Dorians continued in the country after the death of Codrus, another went to Crete; the greatest number settled in that part of Asia Minor which from them was called Doris, where they built Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and other cities, and made themselves masters of the island of Rhodes, Cos, &c.

The Grecian Dialects.—It will now be more easy to understand what we have to say concerning the several Grecian dialects. These were four in number: the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and the Æolic. They were in reality four different languages, each of them perfect in its kind, and used by a distinct nation; but yet all derived from, and grounded upon, the same original tongue. And this diversity of languages can no ways appear wonderful in a country where the inhabitants consisted of different nations, that did not depend upon one another, but had each its particular territories.

1. The Attic dialect is that which was used in Athens, and the country round about. This dialect has been chiefly used

[p] Strab. l. viii. p. 393. [q] Ibid. p. 653.

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by Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Demosthenes.

2. The Ionic dialect was almost the same with the ancient Attic; but after it had passed into several towns of Asia Minor, and into the adjacent islands, which were colonies of the Athenians, and of the people of Achaia, it received a sort of new tincture, and did not come up to that perfect delicacy, which the Athenians afterwards attained. Hippocrates and Herodotus writ in this dialect.

3. The Doric was first in use among the Spartans, and the people of Argos; it passed afterwards into Epirus, Libya, Sicily, Rhodes, and Crete. Archimedes and Theocritus, both of them Syracusans, and Pindar, followed this dialect.

4. The Æolic dialect was at first used by the Bœotians and their neighbours, and then in Æolis, a country in Asia Minor, between Ionia and Mysia, which contained ten or twelve cities, that were Grecian colonies. Sappho and Alcæus, of whose works very little remains, wrote in this dialect. We find also a mixture of it in the writings of Theocritus, Pindar, Homer, and many others.

ARTICLE VI. THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT ALMOST GENERALLY ESTABLISHED THROUGHOUT GREECE.—The reader may have observed, in the little I have said about the several settlements of Greece, that the primordial ground of all those different states was monarchical government, the most ancient of all forms, the most universally received and established, the most proper to maintain peace and concord; and which, as [r] Plato observes, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exercise over their families.

But, as the state of things degenerated by degrees, through the injustice of usurpers, the severity of lawful masters, the insurrections of the people, and a thousand accidents and revolutions, that happened in those states; a totally different spirit seized the people, which prevailed all over Greece, kindled a violent desire of liberty, and brought about a general change of government everywhere, except in Macedonia; so that

[r] Plat. l. iii. *de Leg.* p. 680.

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monarchy gave way to a republican government, which however was diversified into almost as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, there still remained a kind of tincture or leaven of the ancient monarchical government, which from time to time inflamed the ambition of many private citizens, and made them desire to become masters of their country. In almost every one of these petty states of Greece, some private persons arose, who without any right to the throne, either by birth or election of the citizens, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence; and who, without any respect for the laws, or regard to the public good, exercised a sovereign authority, with a despotic empire and arbitrary sway. In order to support their unjust usurpations in the midst of distrusts and alarms, they thought themselves obliged to prevent imaginary, or to suppress real conspiracies, by the most cruel proscriptions; and to sacrifice to their own security all those, whom merit, rank, wealth, zeal for liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to a suspicious and tottering government, which found itself hated by all, and was sensible it deserved to be so. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment, that rendered these men so odious, under the appellation of * Tyrants, and which furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

All these cities and districts of Greece, that seemed so entirely disjoined from one another by their laws, customs, and interests, were nevertheless formed and combined into one sole, entire, and united body; whose strength increased to such a degree, as to make the formidable power of the Persians under Darius and Xerxes tremble; and which even then, perhaps, would have entirely overthrown the Persian greatness, had the Grecian states been wise enough to preserve that union and concord among themselves, which afterwards rendered them invincible. This is the scene which I am now to open, and which certainly merits the reader's whole attention.

We shall see, in the following volumes, a small nation,

* This word originally signified no more than king, and was anciently the title of lawful princes.

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confined within a country not equal to the fourth part of France, disputing for dominion with the most powerful empire then upon the earth; and we shall see this handful of men, not only making head against the innumerable army of the Persians, but dispersing, routing, and cutting them to pieces, and sometimes reducing the Persian pride so low, as to make them submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered, as glorious for the conquerors.

Among the cities of Greece, there were two that particularly distinguished themselves, and acquired an authority and a kind of superiority over the rest solely by their merit and conduct; these two were Lacedæmon and Athens. As these cities make a considerable figure, and act an illustrious part in the ensuing history, before I enter upon particulars, I think I ought first to give the reader some idea of the genius, character, manners, and government of their respective inhabitants. Plutarch, in the lives of Lycurgus and Solon, will furnish me with the greatest part of what I have to say upon this head.

ARTICLE VII. THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT. LAWS ESTABLISHED BY LYCURGUS.—There is perhaps nothing in profane history better attested, and at the same time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta, and the discipline established in it by Lycurgus. [s] This legislator was the son of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. It would have been easy for Lycurgus to have ascended the throne after the death of his eldest brother, who left no son behind him; and in fact he was king for some days. But, as soon as his sister-in-law was found to be with child, he declared, that the crown belonged to her son, if she had one; and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom only as his guardian. In the mean time, the widow gave him secretly to understand, that if he would promise to marry her when he was king, she would destroy the fruit of her womb. So detestable a proposal struck Lycurgus with horror; however, he concealed his indignation, and amusing the woman with different pretences, so managed it, that she went her full time, and was delivered. As soon as the child was born, he proclaimed him king, and

[s] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 40.

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took care to have him brought up and educated in a proper manner. This prince, on account of the joy which the people testified at his birth, was named Charilaus.

[t] The state was at this time in great disorder; the authority, both of the kings and the laws, being absolutely despised and disregarded. No curb was strong enough to restrain the audaciousness of the people, which every day increased more and more.

Lycurgus formed the bold design of making a thorough reformation in the Spartan government; and to be the more capable of making wise regulations, he thought fit to travel into several countries, in order to acquaint himself with the different manners of other nations, and to consult the most able and experienced persons in the art of government. He began with the island of Crete, whose harsh and austere laws are very famous; from thence he passed into Asia, where quite different customs prevailed; and, last of all, he went into Egypt, which was then the seat of science, wisdom, and good counsels.

[u] His long absence only made his country the more desirous of his return; and the kings themselves importuned him to that purpose, being sensible how much they stood in need of his authority to keep the people within bounds, and in some degree of subjection and order. When he came back to Sparta, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being persuaded, that a few particular laws would produce no great effect.

But before he put this design in execution, he went to Delphi, to consult the oracle of Apollo; where, after having offered his sacrifices, he received that famous answer, in which the priestess called him 'A friend of the gods, and rather a god than a man.' And as for the favour he desired of being able to frame a set of good laws for his country, she told him, the god had heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to establish would be the most excellent state in the world.

On his return to Sparta, the first thing he did was to bring over to his designs the leading men of the city, whom he made acquainted with his views; and when he was assured of their

[t] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 41. [u] Ibid. p. 42.

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approbation and concurrence, he went into the public market-place, accompanied with a number of armed men, in order to astonish and intimidate those who might desire to oppose his undertaking.

The new form of government which he introduced into Sparta, may be reduced to three principal institutions.

1. INSTITUTION. *The Senate.*—[x] Of all the new regulations or institutions made by Lycurgus, the greatest and most considerable was that of the senate; which, by tempering and balancing, as Plato observes, the too absolute power of the kings, by an authority of equal weight and influence with theirs, became the principal support and preservation of that state. For whereas before, it was ever unsteady, and tending one while towards tyranny, by the violent proceedings of the kings; at other times towards democracy, by the excessive power of the people; the senate served as a kind of counterpoise to both, which kept the state in a due equilibrium, and preserved it in a firm and steady situation; the twenty-eight * senators, of which it consisted, siding with the kings, when the people were grasping at too much power; and on the other hand espousing the interests of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

Lycurgus having thus tempered the government, those that came after him thought the power of the thirty, that composed the senate, still too strong and absolute; and therefore, as a check upon them, they devised the authority of the † Ephori, about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. The Ephori were five in number, and remained but one year in office. They were all chosen out of the people; and in that respect considerably resembled the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority extended to the arresting and imprisoning the persons of their kings, as it happened in the case of Pausanias. The institution of the Ephori began in the reign of Theopompus; whose wife reproaching him, that he would leave to his children the regal authority in a worse condition than he had received it; on the contrary, said he, I shall leave

[x] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 42.
* This council consisted of thirty persons, including the two kings.
† The word signifies comptroller or inspector.

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it to them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and lasting.

The Spartan government then was not purely monarchical. The nobility had a great share in it, and the people were not excluded. Each part of this body politic, in proportion as it contributed to the public good, found in it their advantage; so that in spite of the natural restlessness and inconstancy of man's heart, which is always thirsting after novelty and change, and is never cured of its disgust to uniformity, Lacedæmon persevered for many ages in the exact observance of her laws.

2. INSTITUTION. *The Division of the Lands, and the Prohibition of Gold and Silver Money.*—[y] The second and the boldest institution of Lycurgus, was the division of the lands, which he looked upon as absolutely necessary for establishing peace and good order in the commonwealth. The greater part of the people were so poor, that they had not one inch of land of their own, whilst a small number of individuals were possessed of all the lands and wealth of the country: in order therefore to banish insolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two other distempers of the state, still greater and more ancient than those, I mean extreme poverty and excessive wealth, he persuaded the citizens to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in a perfect equality, and that no preeminence or honours should be given but to virtue and merit alone.

This scheme, extraordinary as it was, was immediately executed. Lycurgus divided the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, which he distributed among the inhabitants of the country; and the territories of Sparta into nine thousand parts, which he distributed among an equal number of citizens. It is said, that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and passing through the lands of Laconia in the time of harvest, and observing, as he went along, the perfect equality of the sheaves of reaped corn, he turned towards those that were with him, and said smiling, 'Does not Laconia look like the possession of several brothers, who have just been dividing their inheritance amongst them?'

[y] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 44.

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After having divided their immovables, he undertook likewise to make the same equal division of all their movable goods and chattels, that he might utterly banish from among them all manner of inequality. But perceiving that this would meet with more opposition if he went openly about it, he endeavoured to effect it by sapping the very foundation of avarice. For first he cried down all gold and silver money, and ordained that no other should be current than that of iron; which he made so very heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to carry home a sum of ten * minæ, and a whole chamber to keep it in.

The next thing he did was to banish all useless and superfluous arts from Sparta. But if he had not done this, most of them would have sunk of themselves, and disappeared with the gold and silver money; because the tradesmen and artificers would have found no vent for their commodities; and this iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian states, who were so far from esteeming it, that it became the subject of their banter and ridicule.

3. INSTITUTION. *The Public Meals.*—Lycurgus, being desirous to make war still more vigorously upon effeminacy and luxury, and utterly to extirpate the love of riches, made a third regulation, which was that of public meals. [z] That he might entirely suppress all the magnificence and extravagance of expensive tables, he ordained, that all the citizens should eat together of the same common victuals, which were prescribed by law, and expressly forbade all private eating at their own houses.

By this institution of public and common meals, and this frugality and simplicity in eating, it may be said that he made riches in some measure change their very nature, by putting them out of a † condition of being desired or stolen, or of enriching their possessors: for there was no way left for a man to use or enjoy his opulence, or even to make any show of it; since the poor and the rich ate together in the same place, and none were allowed to appear at the public eating-

[z] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 45.

* Five hundred livres French, about 20*l.* English.

† Τὸν πλῆθον ἄσυλον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄζηλον, καὶ ἄπληστον ἀπειργάσατο. Plut.

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rooms, after having taken care to fill themselves with other diet; because every body present took particular notice of any one that did not eat and drink, and the whole company were sure to reproach him with the delicacy and intemperance that made him despise the common food and public table.

The rich were extremely enraged at this regulation; and it was upon this occasion, that in a tumult of the people, a young man, named Alcander, struck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. The people, provoked at such an outrage, delivered the young man into Lycurgus's hands, who knew how to revenge himself in a proper manner: for by the extraordinary kindness and gentleness with which he treated him, he made the violent and hot-headed youth in a little time become very moderate and wise.

The tables consisted of about fifteen persons each; where none could be admitted without the consent of the whole company. Each person furnished every month a bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a small sum of money for preparing and cooking the victuals. Every one, without exception of persons, was obliged to be at the common meal: and a long time after the making of these regulations, king Agis, at his return from a glorious expedition, having taken the liberty to dispense with that law, in order to eat with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and punished.

The very children were present at these public tables, and were carried thither as to a school of wisdom and temperance. There they were sure to hear grave discourses upon government, and to see nothing but what tended to their instruction and improvement. The conversation was often enlivened with ingenious and sprightly raillery; but never intermixed with any thing vulgar or disgusting; and if their jesting seemed to make any person uneasy, they never proceeded any farther. Here their children were likewise trained up and accustomed to great secresy: as soon as a young man came into the dining-room, the oldest person of the company used to say to him, pointing to the door, 'Nothing spoken here, must ever go out there.'

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[a] The most exquisite of all their dishes was what they called their 'black broth;' and the old men preferred it to every thing that was set upon the table. Dionysius the tyrant, when he was at one of these meals, was not of the same opinion; and what was a ragout to them, was to him very insipid. I do not wonder at it, said the cook, for the seasoning is wanting. What seasoning? replied the tyrant. Running, sweating, fatigue, hunger, and thirst; these are the ingredients, says the cook, with which we season all our food.

4. OTHER ORDINANCES.—[b] When I speak of the ordinances of Lycurgus, I do not mean written laws: he thought proper to leave very few of that kind, being persuaded, that the most powerful and effectual means of rendering communities happy, and people virtuous, is by the good example, and the impression made on the mind by the manners and practice of the citizens: for the principles thus implanted by education remain firm and immovable, as they are rooted in the will, which is always a stronger and more durable tie than the yoke of necessity; and the youth that have been thus nurtured and educated, become laws and legislators to themselves. These are the reasons why Lycurgus, instead of leaving his ordinances in writing, endeavoured to imprint and enforce them by practice and example.

He looked upon the education of youth as the greatest and most important object of a legislator's care. His grand principle was, that children belonged more to the state than to their parents; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their humours and caprice, but would have the state intrusted with the care of their education, in order to have them formed upon fixed and uniform principles, which might inspire them betimes with the love of their country and of virtue.

[c] As soon as a boy was born, the elders of each tribe visited him; and if they found him well made, strong, and vigorous, they ordered him to be brought up, and assigned him one of the * nine thousand portions of land for his inheritance; if, on

a Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. v. n. 98. b Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 47. c Ibid. p. 49.

* I do not comprehend, how they could assign to every one of these children one of the nine thousand portions, appropriated to the city, for his inheritance. Was the number of citizens always the same? Did it never exceed nine thousand? It

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the contrary, they found him to be deformed, tender, and weakly, so that they could not expect that he would ever have a strong and healthful constitution, they condemned him to perish, and caused the infant to be exposed.

Children were early accustomed not to be nice or difficult in their eating; not to be afraid in the dark, or when they were left alone; not to give themselves up to peevishness and ill-humour, to crying and bawling; [d] to walk barefoot, that they might be inured to fatigue; to lie hard at nights; to wear the same clothes winter and summer, in order to harden them against cold and heat.

[e] At the age of seven years they were put into the classes, where they were brought up all together under the same discipline. * Their education, properly speaking, was only an apprenticeship of obedience; the legislator having rightly considered, that the surest way to have citizens submissive to the law and to the magistrates, (in which the good order and happiness of a state chiefly consists,) was to teach children early, and to accustom them from their tender years, to be perfectly obedient to their masters and superiors.

[f] While they were at table, it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys by proposing them questions. They would ask them, for example, Who is the most worthy man in the town? What do you think of such or such an action? The boys were obliged to give a quick or ready answer, which was also to be accompanied with a reason and a proof, both couched in few words: for they were accustomed betimes to the laconic style, that is, to a close and concise way of speaking and writing. Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value, and their language, on the contrary, very pithy and short; and a great deal of sense comprised in few words.

[g] As for literature, they only learned as much as was necessary. All the sciences were banished out of their country: their study tended only to know how to obey, to bear hardship

is not said in this case, as in the division of the holy land, that the portions allotted to a family always continued in it, and could not be entirely alienated.

d Xen. *de Lac. rep.* p. 677.
e Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 50.
f Ibid. p. 51.
g Ibid. p. 52.
* Ὥστε τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μαλίστην τὼπειθείας.

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and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. The superintendent of their education was one of the most honourable men of the city, and of the first rank and condition, who appointed over every class of boys masters of the most approved wisdom and probity.

[h] There was one kind of theft only (and that too more a nominal than a real one) which the boys were allowed, and even ordered, to practise. They were taught to slip, as cunningly and cleverly as they could, into the gardens and public halls, in order to steal away herbs or meat; and if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. We are told, that one of them, having stolen a young fox, hid it under his robe, and suffered, without uttering a complaint, the animal to gnaw into his belly, and tear out his very bowels, till he fell dead upon the spot. This kind of theft, as I have said, was but nominal, and not properly a robbery; since it was authorized by the law and the consent of the citizens. The intent of the legislator in allowing it, was to inspire the Spartan youth, who were all designed for war, with greater boldness, subtilty, and address; to inure them betimes to the life of a soldier; to teach them to live upon a little, and to be able to shift for themselves. But I have already treated this matter more at large elsewhere.*

[i] The patience and constancy of the Spartan youth most conspicuously appeared in a certain festival, celebrated in honour of Diana, surnamed Orthia, where the children before the eyes of their parents, and in presence of the whole city, [k] suffered themselves to be whipped, till the blood ran down upon the altar of this cruel goddess, where sometimes they expired under the strokes, and all this without uttering the least cry, or so much as a groan or a sigh: and even their own fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and wounds and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution. Plutarch assures us, that he had seen with his own eyes a great many children lose their lives at the celebration of these cruel rites. Hence it is, that

[h] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 50. Idem *in institut. Lacon.* p. 237.
[i] Plut. p. 51. [k] Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. ii. n. 34.
* *Of the Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres*, &c. vol. iii. p. 471.

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[l] Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, *Patiens Lacedæmon;* and another author makes a man who had received three strokes of a stick without complaining, say, *Tres plagas Spartanâ nobilitate concoxi.*

[m] The most usual occupation of the Lacedæmonians was hunting, and other bodily exercises. They were forbidden to exercise any mechanic art. The Elotæ, who were a sort of slaves, tilled their land for them, and paid them a certain proportion of the produce.

[n] Lycurgus was willing that his citizens should enjoy a great deal of leisure: they had large common-halls, where the people used to meet to converse together: and though their discourses chiefly turned upon grave and serious topics, yet they seasoned them with a mixture of wit and facetious humour, both agreeable and instructive. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees, always together, always about their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and of the public good was their predominant passion: they did not imagine they belonged to themselves, but to their country. Pædaretus, having missed the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank of distinction in the city, went home extremely pleased and satisfied, saying, 'He was overjoyed there were three hundred men in Sparta more worthy than himself.'

[o] At Sparta every thing tended to inspire the love of virtue and the hatred of vice; the actions of the citizens, their conversations, and even their public monuments and inscriptions. It was hard for men, brought up in the midst of so many living precepts and examples, not to become virtuous, as far as heathens were capable of virtue. It was to preserve these happy dispositions, that Lycurgus did not allow all sorts of persons to travel, lest they should bring home foreign manners, and return infected with the licentious customs of other countries, which would necessarily create in a little time an aversion for the mode of life and maxims of Lacedæmon. Neither would he suffer any strangers to remain in the city, who did not come thither to some useful or profitable end, but out of

[l] Ode vii. l. 1.
[m] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 54.
[n] Ibid. p. 55.
[o] Ibid. p. 56.

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mere curiosity; being afraid they should bring along with them the defects and vices of their own countries; and being persuaded, at the same time, that it was more important and necessary to shut the gates of a city against depraved and corrupt manners, than against infectious distempers. Properly speaking, the very trade and business of the Lacedæmonians was war: every thing with them tended that way: arms were their only exercise and employment: their life was much less hard and austere in the camp, than in the city; and they were the only people in the world, to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment; because then the reins of that strict and severe discipline which prevailed at Sparta, were somewhat relaxed, and the men were indulged in a little more liberty. [p] With them the first and most inviolable law of war, as Demaratus told Xerxes, was, never to fly, or turn their backs, whatever superiority of numbers the enemy's army might consist of; never to quit their post; never to deliver up their arms; in a word, either to conquer or to die. [q] This maxim was so important and essential in their opinion, that when the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, they obliged him to leave their city immediately; because they understood, that in one of his poems he had said, 'It was better for a man to throw down his arms, than to expose himself to be killed.'

* Hence it is, that a mother recommended to her son, who was going to make a campaign, that he should return either with or upon his shield: and that another, hearing that her son was killed in fighting for his country, answered very coldly, [r] 'I brought him into the world for no other end.' This temper of mind was general among the Lacedæmonians. After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was so fatal to the Spartans, the parents of those that died in the action congratulated one another upon it, and went to the temples to thank the gods that their children had done their duty; whereas the relations of those who survived the defeat, were inconsolable. If any of the Spartans fled in battle, they were dishonoured and disgraced

[p] Herod. l. vii. c. 104.
[q] Plut. *in Lacon. institut.* p. 239.
[r] Cic. lib. i. *Tusc. Quæst.* n. 102. Plut. *in vit. Ages.* p. 612.
* Ἄλλη προσαναδιδοῦσα τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, καὶ παρακελευομένη· Τέκνον (ἔφη) ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς. Plut. *Lacon. apophthegm.* p. 241. Sometimes they that were slain were brought home upon their shields.

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for ever. They were not only excluded from all posts and employments in the state, from all assemblies and public diversions, but it was reckoned scandalous to make any alliances with them by marriage; and a thousand affronts and insults were publicly offered them with impunity.

[s] The Spartans never went to fight without first imploring the help of the gods by public sacrifices and prayers; and when that was done, they marched against the enemy with a perfect confidence and expectation of success, as being assured of the divine protection; and, to make use of Plutarch's expressions, 'As if God were present with, and fought for them, ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ συμπαρόντος.'

[t] When they had broken and routed their enemy's forces, they never pursued them further than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory; after which they retired, as thinking it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces and destroy an enemy that yielded and fled. And this proved as useful as it was honourable to the Spartans: for their enemies, knowing that all who resisted them were put to the sword, and that they spared none but those that fled, generally chose rather to fly than to resist.

[u] When the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by practice, and the form of government he had established seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself; as * Plato says of God, that after he had finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced, when he saw it revolve and perform its first motions with so much justness and harmony; so the Spartan legislator, pleased with the greatness and beauty of his laws, felt his joy and satisfaction redouble, when he saw them, as it were, walk alone, and go forward so happily.

But desiring, as far as depended on human prudence, to render them immortal and unchangeable, he signified to the people, that there was still one point remaining to be performed, the most essential and important of all, about which he would go and consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time he made them all take an oath, that till his return they would

[s] Plut *in vit. Lyc.* p. 53. [t] Ibid. p. 54. [u] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 57.

* This passage of Plato is in his *Timæus*, and gives us reason to believe that this philosopher had read what Moses says of God when he created the world: Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valdè bona. Gen. i. 31.

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inviolably maintain the form of government which he had established. When he was arrived at Delphi, he consulted the god, to know whether the laws he had made were good and sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy and virtuous. The priestess answered, that nothing was wanting to his laws; and that, as long as Sparta observed them, she would be the most glorious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta: and then, thinking he had fulfilled his ministry, he voluntarily died at Delphi, by abstaining from all manner of sustenance. His notion was, that even the death of great persons and statesmen should not be useless and unprofitable to the state, but a kind of supplement to their ministry, and one of their most important actions, which ought to do them as much or more honour than all the rest. He therefore thought, that in dying thus he should crown and complete all the services which he had rendered his fellow-citizens during his life; since his death would engage them to a perpetual observation of his institutions, which they had sworn to observe inviolably till his return.

Although I represent Lycurgus's sentiments upon his own death in the light wherein Plutarch has transmitted them to us, I am very far from approving them: and I make the same declaration with respect to several other facts of the like nature, which I sometimes relate without making any reflections upon them, though I think them very unworthy of approbation. The pretended wise men among the heathens had, as well concerning this article as several others, but very faint and imperfect notions; or, to speak more properly, remained in great darkness and error. They laid down this admirable principle, which we meet with in many of their writings, * That man, placed in the world as in a certain post by his general, cannot abandon it without the express command of him upon whom he depends, that is, of God himself. At other times,

* Vetat Pythagoras, injussu imperatoris, id est Dei, de præsidio et statione vitæ decedere. Cic. *de senect.* n. 73.

Cato sic abiit è vitâ, ut causam moriendi noctum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis Deus injussu hinc nos suo demigrare. Cùm verò causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sæpe multis; næ ille, medius fidius, vir sapiens, lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit. Nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vetant: sed, tanquam à magistratu aut ab aliquâ potestate legitimâ, sic à Deo evocatus atque emissus, exierit. Id. 1. *Tusc. Quæst.* n. 74.

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they looked upon man as a criminal condemned to a melancholy prison, from whence indeed he might desire to be released, but could not lawfully attempt to be so, but by the course of justice, and the order of the magistrate; and not by breaking his chains, and forcing the gates of his prison. These notions are beautiful, because they are true: but the application they made of them was wrong; by taking that for an express order of the Deity, which was the pure effect of their own weakness or pride, by which they were led to put themselves to death, either that they might deliver themselves from the pains and troubles of this life, or immortalize their names, as was the case with Lycurgus, Cato, and a number of others.

Reflections upon the Government of Sparta, and upon the Laws of Lycurgus.

1. *Things commendable in the Laws of Lycurgus.*—There must needs have been (to judge only by the event) a great fund of wisdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus; since, as long as they were observed in Sparta, (which was above five hundred years,) it was a most flourishing and powerful city. It was not so much (says Plutarch, speaking of the laws of Sparta) the government and polity of a city, as the conduct and regular behaviour of a wise man, who passes his whole life in the exercise of virtue: or rather, continues the same author, as the poets feign, that Hercules, only with his lion's skin and club, went from country to country to purge the world of robbers and tyrants; so Sparta, with a slip of * parchment and an old coat, gave laws to all Greece, which willingly submitted to her dominion; suppressed tyrannies and unjust authority in cities; put an end to wars, as she thought fit, and appeased insurrections; and all this generally without moving a shield or a sword, and only by sending a simple ambassador amongst them, who no sooner appeared, than all the people

* This was what the Spartans called *scytale*, a thong of leather or parchment, which they twisted round a staff in such a manner, that there was no vacancy or void space left upon it. They wrote upon this thong, and when they had written, they untwisted it; and sent it to the general for whom it was intended. This general, who had another stick of the same size with that on which the thong was twisted and written upon, wrapt it round that staff in the same manner, and by that means found out the connection and arrangement of the letters, which otherwise were so displaced and out of order, that there was no possibility of their being read Plut. *in vit. Lys.* p. 444.

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submitted, and flocked about him like so many bees about their monarch: so much respect did the justice and good government of this city imprint upon the minds of all their neighbours.

1. The nature of the Spartan government.

We find at the end of Lycurgus's life a reflection made by Plutarch, which of itself comprehends a great encomium upon that legislator. He there says, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all those who have treated of the establishment of a political state of government, took their plans from the republic of Lycurgus; with this difference, that they confined themselves wholly to words and theory: but Lycurgus, without dwelling upon ideas and speculative projects, did really and effectually institute an inimitable polity, and form a whole city of philosophers.

In order to succeed in this undertaking, and to establish the most perfect form of a commonwealth that could be, he melted down, as it were, and blended together, what he found best in every kind of government, and most conducive to the public good; thus tempering one species with another, and balancing the inconveniencies to which each of them in particular is subject, with the advantages that result from their being united together. Sparta had something of the monarchical form of government, in the authority of her kings; the council of thirty, otherwise called the senate, was a true aristocracy; and the power vested in the people of nominating the senators, and of giving sanction to the laws, resembled a democratical government. The institution of the Ephori afterwards served to rectify what was amiss in those previous establishments, and to supply what was defective. Plato, in more places than one, admires Lycurgus's wisdom in his institution of the senate, which was equally advantageous both to the kings and the people; * because by this means, the law became the only supreme mistress of the kings, and the kings never became tyrants over the law.

2. Equal division of the lands: gold and silver banished from Sparta.

The design formed by Lycurgus of making an equal distribution of the lands among the citizens, and of entirely banishing from Sparta all luxury, avarice, lawsuits, and dissensions, by abolishing the use of gold and silver, would appear to us a scheme of a

* Νόμος ἐπειδὴ κύριος ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι τύραννοι νόμων. Plat. *Epist.* viii.

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commonwealth finely conceived in speculation, but utterly impracticable in execution, did not history assure us, that Sparta actually subsisted in that condition for many ages.

When I place the transaction I am now speaking of among the laudable part of Lycurgus's laws, I do not pretend it to be absolutely unexceptionable; for I think it can scarce be reconciled with that general law of nature, which forbids the taking away one man's property to give it to another; and yet this is what was really done upon this occasion. Therefore in this affair of dividing the lands, I consider only so much of it as was truly commendable in itself, and worthy of admiration.

Can we possibly conceive, that a man could persuade the richest and most opulent inhabitants of a city to resign all their revenues and estates, to level and confound themselves with the poorest of the people; to subject themselves to a new way of living, both severe in itself, and full of restraint; in a word, to debar themselves of the use of every thing wherein the happiness and comfort of life is thought to consist? And yet this is what Lycurgus actually effected in Sparta.

Such an institution as this would have been less wonderful, had it subsisted only during the life of the legislator; but we know that it lasted many ages after his decease. Xenophon, in the encomium he has left us of Agesilaus and Cicero, in one of his orations, observes, that Lacedæmon was the only city in the world that preserved her discipline and laws for so considerable a term of years unaltered and inviolate. [x] *Soli*, said the latter, speaking of the Lacedæmonians, *toto orbe terrarum septingentos jam annos ampliùs unis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* I believe, however, that in Cicero's time the discipline of Sparta, as well as her power, was very much relaxed and diminished: but all historians agree, that it was maintained in all its vigour till the reign of Agis, under whom Lysander, though incapable himself of being blinded or corrupted with gold, filled his country with luxury and the love of riches, by bringing into it immense sums of gold and silver, which were the fruit of his victories, and thereby subverting the laws of Lycurgus.

But the introduction of gold and silver money was not the

[x] *Pro Flac.* n. lxiii.

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first wound given by the Lacedæmonians to the institutions of their legislator. It was the consequence of the violation of another law still more fundamental. Ambition was the vice that preceded, and made way for avarice. The desire of conquests drew on that of riches, without which they could not propose to extend their dominions. The main design of Lycurgus, in the establishing his laws, and especially that which prohibited the use of gold and silver, was, as [y] Polybius and Plutarch have judiciously observed, to curb and restrain the ambition of his citizens; to disable them from making conquests, and in a manner to force them to confine themselves within the narrow bounds of their own country, without carrying their views and pretensions any further. Indeed, the government which he established, was sufficient to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was not calculated for the raising her to a dominion over other cities.

[z] The design, then, of Lycurgus was not to make the Spartans conquerors. To remove such thoughts from his fellow-citizens, he expressly forbid them, though they inhabited a country surrounded with the sea, to meddle with maritime affairs; to have any fleets, or ever to fight upon the sea. They were religious observers of this prohibition for many ages, and even till the defeat of Xerxes: but upon that occasion they began to think of making themselves masters at sea, that they might be able to keep so formidable an enemy at the greater distance. But having soon perceived, that these maritime, remote commands, corrupted the manners of their generals, they laid that project aside without any difficulty, as we shall observe, when we come to speak of king Pausanias.

[a] When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with shields and lances, it was not to enable them to commit wrongs and outrages with impunity, but only to defend themselves against the invasions and injuries of others. He made them indeed a nation of warriors and soldiers; but it was only that, under the shadow of their arms, they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, by being content with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and by being persuaded,

[y] Polyb. l. vi. p. 491.
[a] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 59.
[z] Plut. *in moribus Laced.* p. 239.

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that no city or state, any more than individuals, can ever hope for solid and lasting happiness but from virtue only. [b] Men of a depraved taste, (says Plutarch further on the same subject,) who think nothing so desirable as riches, and a large extent of dominion, may give the preference to those vast empires that have subdued and enslaved the world by violence: but Lycurgus was convinced, that a city had occasion for nothing of that kind, in order to be happy. His policy, which has justly been the admiration of all ages, had no further views than to establish equity, moderation, liberty, and peace; and was an enemy to all injustice, violence, and ambition, and the passion of reigning and extending the bounds of the Spartan commonwealth.

Such reflections as these, which Plutarch agreeably intersperses in his lives, and in which their greatest and most essential beauty consists, are of infinite use towards the giving us true notions, wherein consists the solid and true glory of a state that is really happy; as also to correct those false ideas which we are apt to form of the vain greatness of those empires which have swallowed up kingdoms, and of those celebrated conquerors who owe all their fame and grandeur to violence and usurpation.

The long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly very wonderful: but the means he made use of to succeed therein are no less worthy of admiration. The principal of these was the extraordinary care he took to have the Spartan youth brought up in an exact and severe discipline: for, (as Plutarch observes,) the religious obligation of an oath, which he exacted from the citizens, would have been a feeble tie, had he not by education infused his laws, as it were, into the minds and manners of the children, and made them suck in almost with their mother's milk an affection for his institutions. This was the reason why his principal ordinances subsisted above five hundred years, having sunk into the very temper and hearts of the people, like a * strong and good dye, that penetrates thoroughly. Cicero makes the same remark, and ascribes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their own natural disposition

3. The excellent education of their youth.

[b] Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 59. et *in vit. Agesil.* p. 614.

* Ὥσπερ βαφῆς ἀκράτου καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς καταψαμένης. Plut. *Ep.* iii.

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as to their excellent education: [c] *Cujus civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus, non solùm naturâ corroborata, verùm etiam disciplinâ putatur.* All this shows of what importance it is to a state to take care that their youth be brought up in a manner proper to inspire them with a love for the laws of their country.

[d] The great maxim of Lycurgus, which Aristotle repeats in express terms, was, that as children belong to the state, their education ought to be directed by the state, and the views and interests of the state only considered therein. It was for this reason he enacted that they should be educated all in common, and not left to the humour and caprice of their parents, who generally, through a soft and blind indulgence, and a mistaken tenderness, enervate at once both the bodies and minds of their children. At Sparta, from their tenderest years, they were inured to labour and fatigue by the exercises of hunting and racing, and accustomed betimes to endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold; and, what is difficult to make mothers believe, all these hard and laborious exercises tended to procure them health, and make their constitutions the more vigorous and robust, able to bear the hardships and fatigues of war; for which they were all designed from their cradles.

4. Obedience.

But the most excellent thing in the Spartan education was, its teaching young people so perfectly well how to obey. It is from hence the poet Simonides gives that city such a * magnificent epithet, which denotes that they alone knew how to subdue the passions of men, and to render them pliant and submissive to the laws, in the same manner as horses are taught to obey the spur and the bridle, by being broken and trained while they are young. For this reason, Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, † that they might learn there the noblest and greatest of all sciences, that is, how to command, and how to obey.

5. Respect towards the aged.

One of the lessons oftenest and most strongly inculcated upon the Lacedæmonian youth, was, to entertain great reverence and respect to old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occasions, by saluting

[c] *Orat. pro Flac.* n. 63. [d] Lib. viii. *Politic.*

* Δαμασίμβροτος, that is to say, 'Tamer of men.'

† Μαθησομένους τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν.

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them, by making way for them, and giving them place in the streets, [c] by rising up to show them honour in all companies and public assemblies; but above all, by receiving their advice, and even their reproofs, with docility and submission: by these characteristics a Lacedæmonian was known wherever he came; if he had behaved otherwise, it would have been looked upon as a reproach to himself, and a dishonour to his country. An old man of Athens going into the theatre once to see a play, none of his own countrymen offered him a seat; but when he came near the place where the Spartan ambassadors and their retinue were sitting, they all rose up out of reverence to his age, and seated him in the midst of them. * Lysander therefore had reason to say, that old age had no where so honourable an abode as in Sparta, and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.

2. *Things blamable in the Laws of Lycurgus.*—In order to perceive more clearly the defects in the laws of Lycurgus, we have only to compare them with those of Moses, which we know were dictated by more than human wisdom. But my design in this place is not to enter into a strict detail of the particulars wherein the laws and institutions of Lycurgus are faulty: I shall content myself with making only some slight reflections, which probably the reader has already anticipated, as he must have been justly disgusted by the mere recital of some of those ordinances.

1. The choice made of the children that were either to be brought up or exposed.

To begin, for instance, with that ordinance relating to the choice they made of their children, which of them were to be brought up, and which exposed to perish; who would not be shocked at the unjust and inhuman custom of pronouncing sentence of death upon all such infants as had the misfortune to be born with a constitution that appeared too weak and delicate to undergo the fatigues and exercises to which the commonwealth destined all her subjects? Is it then impossible, and without example, that children, who are tender and weak in their infancy, should ever alter as they grow up, and become in time of a robust

[c] Plut. *in Lacon. Institut.* p. 237.

* Lysandrum Lacedæmonium dicere aiunt solitum: Lacedæmone esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis. Cic. *de sen.* n. 63. Ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κάλλιστα γηρῶσι. Plut. *in Mor.* p. 795.

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and vigorous constitution? Or suppose it were so, can a man no way serve his country, but by the strength of his body? Is there no account to be made of his wisdom, prudence, counsel, generosity, courage, magnanimity, and, in a word, of all the qualities that depend upon the mind and the intellectual faculties? [f] *Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quærimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.* Did Lycurgus himself render less service, or do less honour to Sparta, by establishing his laws, than the greatest generals did by their victories? Agesilaus was of so small a stature, and so mean in person, that at the first sight of him the Egyptians could not help laughing; and yet, little as he was, he made the great king of Persia tremble upon the throne of half the world.

But, what is yet stronger than all I have said, has any other person a right or power over the lives of men, than He from whom they received them, even God himself? And does not a legislator visibly usurp the authority of God, whenever he arrogates to himself such a power without his commission? That precept of the decalogue, which was only a renewal of the law of nature, 'Thou shalt not kill,' universally condemns all those among the ancients who imagined they had a power of life and death over their slaves, and even over their own children.

2. Their care confined only to the body.

The great defect in Lycurgus's laws (as Plato and Aristotle have observed) is, that they tended only to form a nation of soldiers. All that legislator's thoughts seemed wholly bent upon the means of strengthening the bodies of the people, without any concern for the cultivation of their minds. Why should he banish from his commonwealth all arts and sciences, which, besides many other * advantages, have this most happy effect, that they soften our manners, polish our understandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; such, in a word, as qualifies us for company and society, and makes the ordinary intercourse of life agreeable? Hence it came to pass, that there was something of a rough-

[f] Cicer. l. i. *de offic.* n. 79. Ibid. n. 76.

* Omnes artes quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet. Cic. *Orat. pro Arch.*

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ness and austerity in the temper and behaviour of the Spartans, and many times even something of ferocity, a failing that proceeded chiefly from their education, and that rendered them disagreeable and offensive to all their allies.

It was an excellent practice in Sparta, to accustom their youth betimes to suffer heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and by several severe and laborious exercises to *bring the body into subjection to reason, whose faithful and diligent minister it ought to be in the execution of all her orders and injunctions; which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all sorts of hardships and fatigues. But was it rational in them to carry their severities so far, as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? And was it not utterly barbarous and brutal in the fathers and mothers to see the blood trickling from the wounds of their children, nay, even to see them expiring under the lashes, without concern?

3. Their barbarous cruelty towards their children.

Some people admire the courage of the Spartan mothers, who could hear the news of the death of their children slain in battle, not only without tears, but even with a kind of joy and satisfaction. For my part, I should think it much better that nature should show herself a little more on such occasions, and that the love of one's country should not utterly extinguish the sentiments of maternal tenderness. One of our generals in France, who in the heat of battle was told that his son was killed, spoke much more properly on the subject: 'Let us at present think,' said he, 'how to conquer the enemy; to-morrow I will mourn for my son.'

4. The mothers' inhumanity.

Nor can I see what excuse can be made for that law, imposed by Lycurgus upon the Spartans, which enjoined the spending the whole of their time, except when they were engaged in war, in idleness and inaction. He left all the arts and trades entirely to the slaves and strangers that lived amongst them, and put nothing into the hands of the citizens but the lance and the shield. Not to mention the danger there was in suffering the number of slaves, that were necessary for tilling the land, to increase to

5. Their excessive leisure.

* Exercendum corpus, et ita afficiendum est, ut obedire consilio rationique possit in exequendis negotiis et labore tolerando.—Lib. i. *de offic.* n. 79.

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such a degree as to become much greater than that of their masters, which was often an occasion of seditions and riots among them; how many disorders must men necessarily fall into, that have so much leisure upon their hands, and have no daily occupation or regular labour. This is an inconvenience even now but too common among our nobility, and which is the natural effect of their injudicious education. Except in the time of war, most of our gentry spend their lives in a most useless and unprofitable manner. They look upon agriculture, arts, and commerce, as beneath them, and derogatory to their gentility. They seldom know how to handle any thing but their swords. As for the sciences, they take but a very small tincture of them; just so much as they cannot well be without; and many have not the least knowledge of them, nor any manner of taste for books or reading. We are not to wonder then, if gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual visits and frivolous discourse, make up their whole occupation. What a life is this for men that have any parts or understanding!

6. Their cruelty towards the Helots.

Lycurgus would be utterly inexcusable if he gave occasion, as he is accused of having done, for all the rigour and cruelty exercised towards the Helots in his republic. These Helots were slaves employed by the Spartans to till the ground. It was their custom not only to make these poor creatures drunk, and expose them before their children, in order to give them an abhorrence for so shameful and odious a vice, but they treated them also with the utmost barbarity, and thought themselves at liberty to destroy them by any violence or cruelty whatsoever, under pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain occasion related by [g] Thucydides, two thousand of these Helots disappeared at once, without any body's knowing what was become of them. Plutarch pretends, this barbarous custom was not practised till after Lycurgus's time, and that he had no hand in it.

7. Modesty and decency entirely neglected.

But that wherein Lycurgus appears to be most culpable, and what most clearly shows the prodigious enormities and gross darkness in which the Pagans were plunged, is the little regard he showed for modesty

[g] Lib. iv.

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and decency, in what concerned the education of girls, and the marriages of young women; which was without doubt the source of those disorders that prevailed in Sparta, as Aristotle has wisely observed. When we compare these indecent and licentious institutions of the wisest legislator that ever profane antiquity could boast, with the sanctity and purity of the evangelical precepts, what a noble idea does it give us of the dignity and excellence of the Christian religion!

Nor will it give us a less advantageous notion of this pre-eminence, if we compare the most excellent and laudable part of Lycurgus's institutions with the laws of the Gospel. It is, we must own, a wonderful thing, that a whole people should consent to a division of their lands, which set the poor upon an equal footing with the rich; and that by a total exclusion of gold and silver, they should reduce themselves to a kind of voluntary poverty. But the Spartan legislator, when he enacted these laws, had the sword in his hand; whereas the Christian legislator says but a word, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit,' and thousands of the faithful, through all succeeding generations, renounce their goods, sell their lands and estates, and leave all to follow Jesus Christ, their master, in poverty and want.

ARTICLE VIII. THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS. THE LAWS OF SOLON. THE HISTORY OF THAT REPUBLIC FROM THE TIME OF SOLON TO THE REIGN OF DARIUS THE FIRST.—I have already observed, that Athens was at first governed by kings. But they had little more than the name; for their whole power being confined to the command of the armies, vanished in time of peace. Every man was master in his own house, where he lived in an absolute state of independence. Codrus, the last king of Athens, having devoted himself to die for the public good, his sons Medon and Nileus quarrelled about the succession. The Athenians took this occasion to abolish the regal power, though it did not much incommode them; and declared, that Jupiter alone was king of Athens;* at the very same time that the Jews, weary of the theocracy,

* Codrus was contemporary with Saul.

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that is, of having the true God for their king, would absolutely have a man to reign over them.

Plutarch observes, that Homer, when he enumerates the ships of the confederate Grecians, gives the name of 'people' to none but the Athenians; from whence it may be inferred, that the Athenians even then had a great inclination to a democratical government, and that the chief authority was at that time vested in the people.

In the place of their kings they substituted a kind of governors for life, under the title of Archons. But this perpetual magistracy appeared still in the eyes of this free people, as too lively an image of regal power, of which they were desirous of abolishing even the very shadow; for which reason, they first reduced that office to the term of ten years, and then to that of one; and this they did with a view of resuming the authority the more frequently into their own hands, which they never transferred to their magistrates but with regret.

Such a limited power as this was not sufficient to restrain those turbulent spirits, who were grown excessively jealous of their liberty and independence, very tender and apt to be offended at any thing that seemed to encroach upon their equality, and always ready to take umbrage at whatever had the least appearance of dominion or superiority. From hence arose continual factions and quarrels; there was no agreement or concord among them, either about religion or government.

Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, it being very happy for her that she could preserve herself from ruin in the midst of those long and frequent dissensions, with which she had to struggle.

Misfortunes instruct. Athens learned, at length, that true liberty consists in a dependence upon justice and reason. This happy subjection could not be established, but by a legislator. She therefore pitched upon Draco, a man of

A. M. 3380. Ant. J. C. 624. acknowledged wisdom and integrity. It does not appear that Greece had, before his time, any written laws. He published some, whose rigour, anticipating, as it were, the Stoical doctrine, was so great, that it punished the smallest offence, as well as the most enormous crimes, equally with death. These laws of Draco, written,

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says Demades, not with ink, but with blood, had the same fate as usually attends all violent extremes. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compassion for the accused, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate than criminal, and the apprehensions the accusers and witnesses were under of rendering themselves odious to the people; all these motives, I say, concurred to produce a remissness in the execution of the laws; which by that means, in process of time, became as it were abrogated through disuse: and thus an excessive rigour paved the way for impunity.

The danger of relapsing into their former disorders, made them have recourse to fresh precautions: for they were willing to slacken the curb and restraint of fear, but not to break it. In order therefore to find out mitigations, which might make amends for what they took away from the letter of the law, they cast their eyes upon one of the wisest and most virtuous persons of his age, I mean Solon; whose singular qualities, and especially his great mildness, had acquired him the affection and veneration of the whole city. A. M. 3400. Ant. J. C. 604.

His chief application had been to the study of philosophy, and especially to that part of it which we call politics, and which teaches the art of government. His extraordinary merit gave him one of the first ranks among the seven sages of Greece, who rendered the age we are speaking of so illustrious. [h] These sages often paid visits to one another. One day that Solon went to Miletus to see Thales, the first thing he said to him was, that he wondered why he had never chosen to have either wife or children. Thales made him no answer then; but a few days after he contrived that a stranger should come into their company, and pretend that he was just arrived from Athens, from whence he had set out about ten days before. Solon asked him, if there was no news at Athens when he came away. The stranger, who had been taught his lesson, replied, that he had heard of nothing but the death of a young gentleman, whose funeral was attended by all the town, because, as they said, he was the son of the worthiest man in the city, who was then absent. Alas! cried Solon, interrupting the man's story, how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied!

h Plut. *in Solon*. p. 81, 82.

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But, pray, what is the gentleman's name? I heard his name, replied the stranger, but I have forgotten it: I only remember, that the people talked much of his wisdom and justice. Every answer afforded new cause of anxiety and terror to the inquiring father, who was so justly alarmed. Was it not, said he at length, the son of Solon? The very same, replied the stranger. Solon at these words rent his clothes, and beat his breast, and expressing his sorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himself to the most sensible affliction. Thales, seeing this, took him by the hand, and said to him with a smile: Comfort yourself, my friend; all that has been told to you is a mere fiction. Now you see the reason why I never married: it is because I am unwilling to expose myself to such trials and afflictions.

Plutarch has given us a large refutation of Thales's reasoning, which tends to deprive mankind of the most natural and reasonable attachments in life, in lieu of which the heart of man will not fail to substitute others of an unjust and unlawful nature, which will expose him to the same pains and inconveniences. The remedy, says this historian, against the grief that may arise from the loss of goods, of friends, or of children, is not to throw away our estates, and reduce ourselves to poverty, to make an absolute renunciation of all friendship, or to confine ourselves to a state of celibacy; but upon all such accidents and misfortunes, to make a right use of our reason.

[i] Athens, after some interval of tranquillity and peace, which the prudence and courage of Solon had procured, who was as great a warrior as he was a statesman, relapsed into her former dissensions about the government of the commonwealth, and was divided into as many parties as there were different sorts of inhabitants in Attica. For those that lived upon the mountains, were fond of popular government; those in the low-lands were for an oligarchy; and those that dwelt on the sea-coasts were for having a mixed government, compounded of those two forms blended together; and these hindered the other two contending parties from getting any ground of each other. Besides these, there was a fourth party which consisted only of the poor, who were grievously harassed and oppressed by the rich, on account of their debts, which they were not able

[i] Plut. *in Solon*. p. 85, 86.

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to discharge. This unhappy party was determined to choose themselves a chief, who should deliver them from the inhuman severity of their creditors, and make an entire change in the form of their government, by making a new division of the lands.

In this extreme danger, all the wise Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, who was obnoxious to neither party, because he had never sided either with the injustice of the rich, or the rebellion of the poor; and they solicited him very earnestly to take the management of affairs, and to endeavour to put an end to these differences and disorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him so dangerous a commission: however, he was at last chosen Archon, and was constituted supreme arbiter and legislator, with the unanimous consent of all parties; the rich liking him, as he was rich; and the poor, because he was honest. He now had it in his power to make himself king: several of the citizens advised him to it; and even the wisest among them, not thinking it was in the power of human reason to bring about a favourable change consistent with the laws, were not unwilling that the supreme power should be vested in one man, who was so eminently distinguished for his prudence and justice. But, notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made to him, and all the solicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refusal of the diadem as an effect of pusillanimity and meanness of spirit, he was still firm and unchangeable in his purpose, and thought only of settling a form of government in his country, that should be the parent of a just and reasonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain disorders and evils which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations or changes, than such as he thought he could persuade the citizens to comply with, by the influence of reason, or bring them into, by the weight of his authority; wisely mixing, as he himself said, authority and power with reason and justice. Wherefore, when one afterwards asked him, if the laws, which he had made for the Athenians, were the best that could be given them; 'Yes,' said he, 'the best they were capable of receiving.'

The soul of popular states is equality. But, for fear of disgusting the rich, Solon durst not propose any equality of lands and wealth; whereby Attica, as well as Laconia, would

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have resembled a paternal inheritance, divided among a number of brethren. However, he went so far as to put an end to the slavery and oppression of those poor citizens, whose excessive debts and accumulated arrears had forced them to sell their persons and liberty, and reduce themselves to a state of servitude and bondage. An express law was made, which declared all debtors discharged and acquitted of all their debts.

[k] This affair drew Solon into a troublesome scrape, which gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he first determined to cancel the debts, he foresaw, that such an edict, which had something in it contrary to justice, would be extremely offensive. For which reason, he endeavoured in some measure to rectify the tenour of it, by introducing it with a specious preamble, which set forth a great many very plausible pretexts, and gave a colour of equity and reason to the law, which in reality it had not. But in order hereto, he first disclosed his design to some particular friends, whom he used to consult in all his affairs, and concerted with them the form and the terms, in which this edict should be expressed. Now, before it was published, his friends, who were more interested than faithful, secretly borrowed large sums of money of their rich acquaintance, which they laid out in purchasing of lands, as knowing they would not be affected by the edict. When the edict was published, the general indignation, that was raised by such a base and flagrant knavery, fell upon Solon, though in fact he had no hand in it. But it is not enough for a man in office to be disinterested and upright himself; all that surround and approach him, ought to be so too; wife, relations, friends, secretaries, and servants. The faults of others are charged to his account: all the wrongs, all the rapine, that may be committed either through his negligence or connivance, are justly imputed to him because it is his business, and one of the principal designs of his being put into such trust, to prevent those corruptions and abuses.

This ordinance at first pleased neither of the two parties; it disgusted the rich, because it abolished the debts; and dissatisfied the poor, because it did not ordain a new division of the lands, as they had expected, and as Lycurgus had actually

[k] Plut. *in Solon*. p. 87.

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effected at Sparta. But Solon's influence at Athens fell very short of that which Lycurgus had acquired in Sparta; for he had no other authority over the Athenians, than what the reputation of his wisdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity, had procured him.

However, in a little time afterwards this ordinance was generally approved, and the same powers as before were continued to Solon.

He repealed all the laws that had been made by Draco, except those against murder. The reason of his doing this, was the excessive rigour of those laws, which inflicted death alike upon all sorts of offenders; so that they who were convicted of sloth and idleness, or they that had stolen only a few herbs, or a little fruit, out of a garden, were as severely punished as those that were guilty of murder or sacrilege.

He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich; for which reason he distributed all the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to the difference of their incomes and revenues, and according to the value and estimation of each particular man's estate. Those that were found to have five hundred measures per annum, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the first rank; those that had three hundred, were placed in the second; and those that had but two hundred, made up the third.

[1] All the rest of the citizens, whose income fell short of two hundred measures, were comprised in a fourth and last class, and were never admitted into any employments. But, in order to make them amends for this exclusion from offices, he left them a right to vote in the assemblies and judgments of the people; which at first seemed to be a matter of little consequence, but in time became extremely advantageous, and made them masters of all the affairs of the city: for most of the lawsuits and differences were ultimately referred to the people, to whom an appeal lay from all the judgments of the magistrates; and in the assemblies of the people the greatest and most important affairs of the state, relating to peace or war, were also determined.

[1] Plut. *in Solon*. p. 88.

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The Areopagus, so called from the * place where its assemblies were held, had been a long time established. Solon restored and augmented its authority, leaving to that tribunal, as the supreme court of judicature, a general inspection and superintendency over all affairs, as also the care of causing the laws (of which he made that body the guardian) to be observed and put in execution. Before his time, the citizens of the greatest probity and worth were made the judges of the Areopagus. Solon was the first that thought it convenient that none should be honoured with that dignity, except such as had passed through the office of Archon. [m] Nothing was so august as this senate; and its reputation for judgment and integrity became so very great, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal.

Nothing was regarded or attended to here, but truth alone; and to the end that no external objects might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, or in the dark; and the orators were not allowed to make use of any exordium, digression, or peroration.

Solon, to prevent as much as possible the abuse which the people might make of the great authority he left them, created a second council, consisting of four hundred men, a hundred out of every tribe; and ordered all causes and affairs to be brought before this council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were proposed to the general assembly of the people; to the judgment of which the sentiments of the other were to submit, and to which alone belonged the right of giving a final sentence and decision. It was upon this subject that Anacharsis (whom the reputation of the sages of Greece had brought from the heart of Scythia) said one day to Solon, I wonder you should empower wise men only to deliberate and debate upon affairs, and leave the determination and decision of them wholly to fools.

Upon another occasion, when Solon was conversing with him upon some other regulations he had in view, Anacharsis,

[m] Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1. Lucian. *in Hermot.* p. 595. Quintil. l. vi. c. 1.

* This was a hill near the citadel of Athens, called Areopagus, that is to say, *the hill of Mars;* because it was there Mars had been tried for the murder of Halirrothius, the son of Neptune.

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astonished that he could expect to succeed in his designs of restraining the avarice and injustice of the citizens by written laws, answered him in this manner: 'Give me leave to tell you, that these written laws are just like spider's webs: the weak and small may be caught and entangled in them; but the rich and powerful will break through them, and despise them.'

Solon, who was an able and prudent man, was very sensible of the inconveniences that attend a democracy, or popular government: but, having thoroughly studied, and being perfectly well acquainted with, the character and disposition of the Athenians, he knew it would be a vain attempt to take the sovereignty out of the people's hands; and that if they parted with it at one time, they would soon resume it at another by force and violence. He therefore contented himself with limiting their power by the authority of the Areopagus and the council of four hundred; judging that the state, being supported and strengthened by these two powerful bodies, as by two good anchors, would not be so liable to commotions and disorders as it had been, and that the people would enjoy more tranquillity.

I shall mention only some of the laws which Solon made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgment of the rest. [n] In the first place, every particular person was authorized to espouse the quarrel of any one that was injured and insulted; so that the first comer might prosecute the offender, and bring him to justice for the outrage he had committed.

The design of this wise legislator by this ordinance was, to accustom his citizens to have a fellow-feeling of one another's sufferings and misfortunes, as they were all members of one and the same body.

[o] By another law, those persons, that in public differences and dissensions did not declare themselves of one party or other, but waited to see how things would go, before they determined, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual banishment, and to have all their estates confiscated. Solon had learnt, from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich, the powerful, and even the wise and virtuous, are usually

[n] Plut. *in Solon*. p. 88.

[o] Ibid. p. 89.

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the most backward to expose themselves to the inconveniences which public dissensions and troubles produce in society; and that their zeal for the public good does not render them so vigilant and active in the defence of it, as the passions of the factious render them industrious to destroy it; that the right side being thus abandoned by those that are capable of giving more weight, authority, and strength to it, by their union and concurrence, becomes unable to grapple with the audacious and violent enterprises of a few daring innovators. To prevent this misfortune, which may be attended with the most fatal consequences to a state, Solon judged it proper to force the well affected, by the fear of greater inconveniences to themselves, to declare at the very beginning of any commotion, for the party that was in the right, and to animate the spirit and courage of the best citizens by engaging with them in the common danger. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man almost as an enemy and a traitor, that should appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at, the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and sure resource against the sudden enterprises of wicked and profligate citizens.

[p] Solon abolished the giving of portions in marriage with young women, unless they were only daughters; and ordered that the bride should carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of clothes, and some household goods of little value: for he would not have matrimony become a traffic, and a mere commerce of interest; but desired, that it should be regarded as an honourable fellowship and society, in order to raise subjects to the state, to make the married pair live agreeably and harmoniously together, and to give continual testimony of mutual love and tenderness to each other.

Before Solon's time, the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills; the wealth of the deceased always devolved upon his children and family. Solon's law allowed every one that was childless, to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit; preferring by that means friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint, and rendering every man truly master of his own fortune, by leaving him at liberty to bestow it where

[p] Plut. *in Solon.* p. 89.

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he pleased. This law however did not authorize indifferently all sorts of donations: it justified and approved of none but those that were made freely and without any compulsion; without having the mind distempered and intoxicated by potions or charms, or perverted and seduced by the allurements and caresses of a woman; for this wise lawgiver was justly persuaded, that there is no difference to be made between being seduced and being forced, looking upon artifice and violence, pleasure and pain, in the same light, when they are made use of as means to impose upon men's reason, and to captivate the liberty of their understandings.

[q] Another regulation he made was to lessen the rewards of the victors at the Isthmian and Olympic games, and to fix them at a certain value, *viz.* a hundred drachmas, which make about two pounds, for the first sort; and five hundred drachmas, or about ten pounds, for the second. He thought it a shameful thing, that athletæ and wrestlers, a sort of people not only useless, but often dangerous to the state, should have any considerable rewards allotted them, which ought rather to be reserved for the families of those persons who died in the service of their country; it being very just and reasonable, that the state should support and provide for such orphans, who probably might come in time to follow the good examples of their fathers.

In order to encourage arts, trades, and manufactures, the senate of the Areopagus was charged with the care of inquiring into the ways and means that every man made use of to gain his livelihood; and of chastising and punishing all those who led an idle life. Besides the forementioned view of bringing arts and trades into a flourishing condition, this regulation was founded upon two other reasons still more important.

1. Solon considered, that such persons as have no fortune, and make use of no methods of industry to gain their livelihood, are ready to employ all manner of unjust and unlawful means for acquiring money; and that the necessity of subsisting some way or other disposes them for committing all sorts of misdemeanours, rapine, knaveries, and frauds; from which springs up a school of vice in the bosom of the commonwealth; and

[q] Plut. p. 91. Diog. Laert. *in Solon*, p. 37.

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such a leaven gains ground, as does not fail to spread its infection, and by degrees corrupt the manners of the public.

In the second place, the most able statesmen have always looked upon these indigent and idle people as a troop of dangerous, restless, and turbulent spirits, eager after innovation and change, always ready for seditions and insurrections, and interested in revolutions of the state, by which alone they can hope to change their own situation and fortune. It was for all these reasons, that in the law we are speaking of, Solon declared, that a son should not be obliged to support his father in old age or necessity, if the latter had not taken care to have his son brought up to some trade or occupation: all children that were spurious and illegitimate, were exempted from the same duty: for it is evident, says Solon, that whoever thus contemns the dignity and sanctity of matrimony, has never had in view the lawful end we ought to propose to ourselves in having children, but only the gratification of a loose passion. Having then satisfied his own desires, he has no proper right over the persons who may spring from this disgraceful intercourse, upon whose lives, as well as births, he has entailed an indelible infamy and reproach.

[r] It was prohibited to speak any ill of the dead; because religion directs us to account the dead as sacred, justice requires us to spare those that are no more, and good policy should hinder hatred from becoming immortal.

It was also forbidden to affront or give ill language to any body in the temples, in courts of judicature, in public assemblies, and in the theatres, during the time of representation: for to be no where able to govern our passions and resentments, argues too untractable and licentious a disposition; as, on the other hand, to restrain them at all times, and upon all occasions, is a virtue beyond the strength of mere human nature, and a perfection reserved for the evangelical law.

Cicero observes, that this wise legislator of Athens, whose laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law against parricide; and being asked the reason why he had not, he answered: * 'That to make laws against, and ordain punish-

[r] Plut. *in Solon*. p. 89.

* Sapienter fecisse dicitur, cùm de eo nihil sanxerit, quod antea commissum non erat; ne, non tam prohibere, quàm admonere, videretur. *Pro Rosc. Amer*. n. 70.

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ments for a crime that hitherto had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it.' I omit several of his laws concerning marriage and adultery, in which there are remarkable and manifest contradictions, and a great mixture of light and darkness, knowledge and error, which we generally find even among the very wisest of the heathens, who had no established principles.

After Solon had published his laws, and engaged the people by public oath to observe them religiously, at least for the term of a hundred years, he thought proper to remove from Athens, in order to give them time to take root, and to gather strength by custom; as also to rid himself of the trouble and importunity of those who came to consult him about the meaning of his laws, and to avoid the complaints and ill-will of others: for, as he said himself, in great undertakings it is hard (if not impossible) to please all parties. He was absent ten years, in which interval of time we are to place his journeys into Egypt, into Lydia, to visit king Crœsus, and into several other countries. [s] At his return he found the whole city in commotion and trouble; the three old factions were revived, and had formed three different parties. A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559.

Lycurgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low-lands; Megacles, son of Alcmæon, was the leader of the inhabitants upon the sea-coast; and Pisistratus had declared for the mountaineers, to whom were joined the handicraftsmen and labourers who lived by their industry, and who were particularly hostile to the rich: of these three leaders the two latter were the most powerful and considerable.

[t] Megacles was the son of that Alcmæon whom Crœsus had extremely enriched for a particular service which he had done him. He had likewise married a lady, who had brought him an immense portion: her name was Agarista, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Clisthenes was the richest and most opulent prince at this time in Greece. In order to be able to choose a worthy son-in-law, and to know his temper, manners, and character, from his own experience, Clisthenes invited all the young noblemen of Greece to come and spend a year with him at his house; for this was an ancient

[s] Plut. *in Solon.* p. 94. [t] Herod. l. vi. c. 125—131

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custom in that country. Several youths accepted the invitation, and came from different parts, to the number of thirteen. Nothing was seen every day but races, games, tournaments, magnificent entertainments, and conversations upon all sorts of topics. One of the gentlemen, who had hitherto surpassed all his competitors, lost the princess, by having made use of some indecent gestures and postures in his dancing, with which her father was extremely offended. Clisthenes, at the end of the year, declared for Megacles, and sent the rest of the noblemen away, loaden with civilities and presents. Such was Megacles.

[u] Pisistratus was a well-bred man, of a gentle and insinuating behaviour, ready to succour and assist the * poor; prudent and moderate towards his enemies; a most artful and accomplished dissembler; and one who had all the exterior of virtue, even beyond the most virtuous; who seemed to be the most zealous stickler for equality among the citizens, and who absolutely declared against all innovations and change.

It was not very hard for him to impose upon the people with all this artifice and address. But Solon quickly saw through his disguise, and perceived the drift of all his seeming virtue and fair pretences: however, he thought fit to observe measures with him in the beginning, hoping, perhaps, by gentle methods to bring him back to his duty.

[x] It was at this time † Thespis began to change the Grecian tragedy: I say change; because it was invented long before. This novelty drew all the world after it. Solon went among the rest for the sake of hearing Thespis, who acted himself, according to the custom of the ancient poets. When the play was ended, he called to Thespis, and asked him, 'Whether he was not ashamed to utter such lies before so many people?' Thespis made answer, 'That there was no harm in lies of that sort, and in poetical fictions, which were only made for diver-

[u] Plut. *in Solon*. p. 95. [x] Ibid.

* We are not here to understand such as begged or asked alms; for in those times, says Isocrates, there was no citizen that died of hunger, or dishonoured his city by begging. *Orat. Areop.* p. 309.

† Tragedy was in being a long time before Thespis; but it was only a chorus of persons that sung, and said opprobrious things to one another. Thespis was the first that improved this chorus by the addition of a character, who, in order to give the rest time to take breath, and to recover their spirits, recited an adventure of some illustrious person And this recital gave occasion afterwards for introducing the subjects of tragedies.

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sion.' 'No,' replied Solon, giving a great stroke with his stick upon the ground; 'but if we suffer and approve of lying for our own diversion, it will quickly find its way into our serious engagements, and all our business and affairs.'

[y] In the mean time Pisistratus still pushed on his point; and, in order to accomplish it, made use of a stratagem that succeeded as well as he could expect. [z] He gave himself several wounds; and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he caused himself to be carried in a chariot into the market-place, where he inflamed the populace, by giving them to understand that his enemies had treated him in that manner, and that he was the victim of his zeal for the public good.

An assembly of the people was immediately convened; and there it was resolved, in spite of all the remonstrances Solon could make against it, that fifty guards should be allowed Pisistratus for the security of his person. He soon augmented the number as much as he thought fit, and by their means made himself master of the citadel. All his enemies betook themselves to flight, and the whole city was in great consternation and disorder, except Solon, who loudly reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and folly, and the tyrant with his treachery. Upon his being asked what it was that gave him so much firmness and resolution? 'It is,' said he, 'my old age.' He was indeed very old, and did not seem to risk much, as the end of his life was very near: though it often happens, that men grow fonder of life, in proportion as they have less reason and right to desire it should be prolonged. But Pisistratus, after he had subdued all, thought his conquest imperfect till he had gained Solon: and as he was well acquainted with the means that are proper to conciliate an old man, he spared no caresses; omitted nothing that could tend to soften and win upon him, and showed him all possible marks of friendship and esteem, doing him all manner of honour, having him often about his person, and publicly professing a great veneration for his laws; which in truth he both observed himself, and caused to be observed by others. Solon, seeing it was impossible either to bring Pisistratus by fair means to renounce this usurpation, or to depose him by

[y] Herod. l. i. c. 59—64.

[z] Plut *in Solon.* p. 95—96.

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force, thought it a point of prudence not to exasperate the tyrant by rejecting the advances he made him, and hoped, at the same time, that by entering into his confidence and counsels, he might at least be capable of conducting and turning into a proper channel a power which he could not abolish, and of mitigating the mischief and calamity that he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not survive the liberty of his country two years complete: for Pisistratus made himself master of Athens, under the Archon Comias, the first year of the 51st Olympiad; and Solon died the year following, under the Archon Hegestratus, who succeeded Comias.

The two parties, the heads of which were Lycurgus and Megacles, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of Athens. He was, however, soon recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. But a difference, that arose upon occasion of this match, having embroiled them afresh, the Alcmæonidæ had the worst, and were obliged to retire. Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself. His artifices acquired him his power, and his moderation maintained him in it; and without doubt his * eloquence, which even in Tully's judgment was very great, rendered him very acceptable to the Athenians, who were but too apt to be affected with the charms of oratory, as it made them forget the care of their liberty. An exact submission to the laws distinguished Pisistratus from most other usurpers; and the mildness of his government was such as might make many a lawful sovereign blush. For which reason, the character of Pisistratus has been thought worthy of being set in opposition to that of other tyrants. Cicero, doubting what use Cæsar would make of his victory at Pharsalia, wrote to his dear friend Atticus, † 'We do not yet know, whether the destiny of Rome will have us groan under a Phalaris, or live under a Pisistratus.'

This tyrant, indeed, if we are to call him so, always showed

* Pisistratus dicendo tantum valuisse dicitur, ut ei Athenienses regium imperium oratione capti permitterent. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

Quis doctior iisdem temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia literis instructior fuisse traditur, quàm Pisistrati? Cic. *de Orat.* l. iii. n. 137.

† Incertum est Phalarimne, an Pisistratum, sit imitaturus. *Ad Attic.* l. vii. ep. xix.

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himself very popular and moderate; [a] and had such a command of his temper, as to bear reproaches and insults with patience, when he had it in his power to revenge them with a word. [b] His gardens and orchards were open to all the citizens; in which he was afterwards imitated by Cimon. [c] It is said, he was the first who opened a public library in Athens, which after his time was much augmented, and at last carried into Persia by Xerxes, when he took the city. But Seleucus Nicanor, a long time afterwards, caused it to be brought back to Athens. [d] Cicero thinks also, it was Pisistratus who first made the Athenians acquainted with the poems of Homer; who arranged the books in the order in which we now find them, whereas before they were confused, and not digested; and who first caused them to be publicly read at the feasts called Panathenæa. [e] Plato ascribes this honour to his son Hipparchus.

[f] Pisistratus died in tranquillity, and transmitted to his sons the sovereign power, which he had usurped thirty years before; seventeen of which he had reigned in peace.

His sons were Hippias and Hipparchus. Thucydides adds a third, whom he calls Thessalus. They seem to have inherited from their father an affection for learning and learned men. Plato, who attributes to [g] Hipparchus what we have said concerning the poems of Homer, adds, that he invited to Athens the famous poet Anacreon, who was of Teos, a city of Ionia; and that he sent a vessel of fifty oars on purpose for him. He likewise entertained at his house Simonides, another famous poet of the isle of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, to whom he gave a large pension, and made very rich presents. The design of these princes in inviting men of letters to Athens was, says Plato, to soften and cultivate the minds of the citizens, and to infuse into them a relish and love for virtue, by giving them a taste for learning and the sciences. Their care extended even to the instructing of the peasants and country people, by erecting, not only in the streets of the city,

A. M. 3478. Ant. J. C. 526.

[a] Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.
[b] Athen. l. xii. p. 532.
[c] Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 17.
[d] Lib. iii. *de Orat.* n. 137.
[e] *In Hipparch.* p. 228.
[f] Arist. lib. v. *de Rep.* c. 12.
[g] *In Hipparch.* p. 228, 229.

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but in all the roads and highways, statues of stone, called Mercuries, with grave sentences and moral maxims carved upon them; in which manner those silent monitors gave instructive lessons to all passengers. Plato seems to suppose that Hipparchus had the authority, or that the two brothers reigned together. [h] But Thucydides shows, that Hippias, as the eldest of the sons, succeeded his father in the government.

Be this as it may, their reign in the whole, after the death of Pisistratus, was only of eighteen years' duration: it ended in the following manner.

[i] Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship. Hipparchus, angry with the former for a personal affront he pretended to have received from him, endeavoured to revenge himself upon his sister, by putting a public affront upon her, obliging her shamefully to retire from a solemn procession, in which she was to carry one of the sacred baskets, alleging, that she was not in a fit condition to assist at such a ceremony. Her brother, and still more his friend, being stung to the quick by so gross and outrageous an affront, took from that moment a resolution to attack the tyrants. And to do it the more effectually, they waited for the opportunity of a festival, which they judged would be very favourable for their purpose: this was the feast of the Panathenæa, in which the ceremony required that all the tradesmen and artificers should be under arms. For the greater security, they admitted only a very small number of the citizens into their secret; conceiving, that upon the first motion all the rest would join them. The day being come, they went betimes into the market-place, armed with daggers. Hippias came out of the palace, and went to the Ceramicus, which was a place without the city, where the company of guards then were, to give the necessary orders for the ceremony. The two friends having followed him thither, saw one of the conspirators talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend they were betrayed. They could have executed their design that moment upon Hippias; but were willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of the affront they had received. They therefore returned into the city,

[h] Lib. vi. p. 446.

[i] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446—450.

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where meeting with Hipparchus, they killed him; but being immediately apprehended, themselves were slain, and Hippias found means to dispel the storm.

After this affair, he no longer observed any measures, and reigned like a true tyrant, putting to death a vast number of citizens. To guard himself for the future against a like enterprise, and to secure a safe retreat for himself, in case of any accident, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by a foreign support, and to that end gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampsacus.

[k] In the mean time, the Alcmæonidæ, who from the beginning of the revolution had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus, and who saw their hopes frustrated by the bad success of the last conspiracy, did not however lose courage, but turned their views another way. As they were very rich and powerful, they got themselves appointed by the Amphictyons, who constituted the general council of Greece, to superintend the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, for the sum of three hundred talents, or three hundred thousand * crowns. As they were naturally generous, and had besides their reasons for being so on this occasion, they added to this sum a great deal of their own money, and made the whole front of the temple all of Parian marble, at their particular expense; whereas by the contract made with the Amphictyons, it was only to have been made of common stone.

The liberality of the Alcmæonidæ was not altogether a free bounty; neither was their magnificence towards the god of Delphi a pure effect of religion: policy was the chief motive. They hoped by this means to acquire great influence in the temple, and it happened according to their expectation. The money, which they plentifully poured into the hands of the priestess, rendered them absolute masters of the oracle, and of the pretended god who presided over it, and who for the future, becoming their echo, did no more than faithfully repeat the words they dictated to him, and gratefully lent them the assistance of his voice and authority. As often therefore as any Spartan came to consult the priestess, whether upon his

[k] Herod. i. v. c. 62—96.
* About 40,000*l.* sterling.

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own affairs, or upon those of the state, no promise was ever made him of the god's assistance, but upon condition that the Lacedæmonians should deliver Athens from the yoke of tyranny. This order was so often repeated to them by the oracle, that they resolved at last to make war against the Pisistratidæ, though they were under the strongest engagements of friendship and hospitality with them; herein preferring * the will of God, says Herodotus, to all human considerations.

The first attempt of this kind miscarried; and the troops they sent against the tyrant were repulsed with loss. Notwithstanding, a little time after they made a second, which seemed to promise no better success than the first; because most of the Lacedæmonians, seeing the siege they had laid before Athens likely to continue a great while, retired, and left only a small number of troops to carry it on. But the tyrant's children, who had been clandestinely conveyed out of the city, in order to be put in a safe place, being taken by the enemy, the father, to redeem them, was obliged to come to an accommodation with the Athenians, by which it was stipulated, that

A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.

he should depart out of Attica in five days' time. Accordingly, he actually retired within the time limited, and settled at Sigæum, a town in Phrygia, seated at the mouth of the river Scamander.

[l] Pliny observes, that the tyrants were driven out of Athens the same year the kings were expelled Rome. Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Their names were infinitely respected at Athens in all succeeding ages, and almost held in equal reverence with those of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour that had never been conferred on any man before. The very sight of these statues, exposed to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and detestation of tyranny, and daily renewed their sentiments of gratitude to those generous defenders of their liberty, who had not scrupled to purchase it with their lives, and to seal it with their blood.

[m] Alexander the Great, who knew how dear the memory of

[l] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 4. [m] Ibid. c. 8.

* Τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόσθυτερα ἐποιεῦντο, ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρων.

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these men was to the Athenians, and how far they carried their zeal in this respect, thought he did them a sensible pleasure in sending back to them the statues of those two great men, which he found in Persia after the defeat of Darius, and which Xerxes had formerly carried thither from Athens. Pausanias ascribes this action to Seleucus Nicanor, one of the successors of Alexander; and adds, that he also sent back to the Athenians their public library, which Xerxes had carried off with him into Persia. [n] Athens, at the time of her deliverance from tyranny, did not confine her gratitude solely to the authors of her liberty, but extended it even to a woman who had signalized her courage on that occasion. This woman was a courtezan, named Leæna, who by the charms of her beauty, and skill in playing on the harp, had particularly captivated Harmodius and Aristogiton. After their death, the tyrant, who knew they had concealed nothing from this woman, caused her to be put to the torture, in order to make her declare the names of the other conspirators. But she bore all the cruelty of their torments with an invincible constancy, and expired in the midst of them; showing the world, that her sex is more courageous, and more capable of keeping a secret, than some men imagine. The Athenians would not suffer the memory of so heroic an action to be lost: and, to prevent the lustre of it from being sullied by the consideration of her character as a courtezan, they endeavoured to conceal that circumstance, by representing her, in the statue which they erected to her honour, under the figure of a lioness without a tongue.

[o] Plutarch, in the life of Aristides, relates a circumstance which does great honour to the Athenians, and shows to what a pitch they carried their gratitude to their deliverer, and their respect for his memory. They had learned that the granddaughter of Aristogiton lived at Lemnos, in very mean and poor circumstances, nobody being willing to marry her upon account of her extreme indigence and poverty. The people of Athens sent for her, and, marrying her to one of the most rich and considerable men of their city, gave her an estate in land in the town of Potamos for her portion.

[n] Plin. l. vii. c. 28. and l. xxxiv. c. 8.

[o] Page 335.

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Athens seemed, in recovering her liberty, to have also recovered her pristine courage. During the reigns of her tyrants, she had acted with indolence and indifference, as knowing what she did was not for herself, but for them. But after her deliverance from their yoke, the vigour and activity she exerted was of a quite different kind; because then her labours were her own.

Athens, however, did not immediately enjoy a perfect tranquillity. Two of her citizens, Clisthenes, one of the Alcmæonidæ, and Isagoras, who were men of the greatest power in the city, by contending with each other for superiority, created two considerable factions. The former, who had gained the people on his side, made an alteration in the form of their establishment, and instead of four tribes, whereof they consisted before, divided that body into ten tribes, to which he gave the names of the ten sons of Ion, whom the Greek historians make the father and first founder of the nation. Isagoras, seeing himself inferior in credit to his rival, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta, obliged Clisthenes to depart from Athens, with seven hundred families of his adherents. But they soon returned with their leader, and were restored to all their estates and fortunes.

The Lacedæmonians, stung with spite and jealousy against Athens, because she took upon her to act independent of their authority; and repenting also that they had delivered her from her tyrants upon the credit of an oracle, of which they had since discovered the imposture, began to think of reinstating Hippias, one of the sons of Pisistratus; and to that end sent for him from Sigæum, whither he had retired. They then communicated their design in an assembly of the deputies of their allies, whose assistance and concurrence they were anxious to secure, in order to render their enterprise successful.

The deputy of Corinth spoke first on this occasion, and expressed great astonishment that the Lacedæmonians, who were themselves avowed enemies of tyranny, and professed the greatest abhorrence for all arbitrary government, should desire to establish it elsewhere: he exposed to their view, in the fullest light, all the cruel and horrid effects of tyrannical

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government, which his own country, Corinth, had but very lately felt by woful experience. The rest of the deputies applauded his discourse, and were of his opinion. Thus the enterprise came to nothing; and had no other effect than to discover the base jealousy of the Lacedæmonians, and to cover them with shame and confusion.

Hippias, defeated of his hopes, retired into Asia to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured by every method to engage in a war against Athens; representing to him, that the taking of so rich and powerful a city would render him master of all Greece. Artaphernes hereupon required of the Athenians that they would reinstate Hippias in the government; to which they made no other answer, than by a downright and absolute refusal. This was the original ground and occasion of the wars between the Persians and the Greeks, which will be the subject of the following volumes.

ARTICLE IX. ILLUSTRIOUS MEN, WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.—I begin with the poets, as the most ancient.

HOMER, the most celebrated and illustrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the least knowledge, either with respect to the country where he was born, or the time in which he lived. Among the seven cities of Greece that contended for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna seems to have the best title to that glorious distinction.

[p] Herodotus tells us, that Homer wrote four hundred years before his time, that is, three hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy: for Herodotus flourished seven hundred and forty years after that expedition. A. M. 3160. Ant. J. C. 844.

Some authors have pretended that he was called Homer, because he was born blind. Velleius Paterculus rejects this story with contempt. * 'If any man,' says he, 'believes that Homer was born blind, he must be so himself, and even have lost all his senses.' Indeed, according to the observation of

[p] Lib. ii. c. 53.

* Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est. Paterc. l. i. c. 5.

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[q] Cicero, Homer's works are rather pictures than poems, so perfectly does he paint to the life, and set the images of every thing he undertakes to describe before the eyes of the reader: and he seems to have been intent upon introducing all the most delightful and agreeable objects that nature affords into his writings, and making them in a manner pass in review before his readers.

* What is most astonishing in this poet is, that being the first, at least of those that are known, who applied himself to that kind of poetry which is the most sublime and difficult of all, he should however soar so high and with such rapidity, as to carry it at once to the utmost perfection; which seldom or never happens in other arts, but by slow degrees, and after a long series of years.

The kind of poetry we are speaking of is the Epic Poem, so called from the Greek word ἔπος; because it is an action related by the poet. The subject of this poem must be great, instructive, serious, containing only one principal event, to which all the rest must refer and be subordinate; and this principal action must have passed in a certain space of time, which must not exceed a year at most.

Homer has composed two poems of this kind, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey:* the subject of the first is the anger of Achilles, so pernicious to the Greeks, when they besieged Ilion or Troy; and that of the second is the voyages and adventures of Ulysses, after the taking of that city.

It is remarkable, that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poem comparable to his; and that whoever have attempted any works of that kind, have all taken their plan and ideas from Homer, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only succeeded in proportion to their success in copying him. The truth is, Homer was an original genius, and fit for others to be formed upon: [r] *Fons ingeniorum Homerus.*

[q] *Tuscul. Quæst.* l. v. n. 114.

[r] Plin. l. xvii. c. 5.

* Clarissimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, sine exemplo maximum: qui magnitudine operis, et fulgore carminum, solus appellari Poëta meruit. In quo hoc maximum est, quòd neque ante illum, quem ille imitaretur; neque post illum, qui imitari eum possit, inventus est: neque quenquam alium, cujus operis primus auctor fuerit, in eo perfectissimum, præter Homerum et Archilochum reperiemus. Vell. Pater. l. i. c. 5.

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All the greatest men and the most exalted geniuses that have appeared for these two thousand and five or six hundred years, in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere; those whose writings we are still forced to admire; who are still our masters, and who teach us to think, to reason, to speak, and to write; all these, says * Madam Dacier, acknowledge Homer to be the greatest of poets, and look upon his poems as the model on which all succeeding poets should form their taste and judgment. After all this, can there be any man so conceited of his own talents, be they never so great, as reasonably to presume, that his decisions should prevail against such an universal concurrence of judgment in persons of the most distinguished abilities and characters?

So many testimonies, so ancient, so uniform, and so universal, entirely justify Alexander the Great's favourable judgment of the works of Homer, which he looked upon as the most excellent and valuable production of the human mind; [s] *pretiosissimum humani animi opus.*

[t] Quintilian, after having made a magnificent encomium upon Homer, gives us a just idea of his character and manner of writing in these few words: *Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superaverit. Idem lætus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copiâ tum brevitate mirabilis.* In great things, what a sublimity of expression; and in little, what a justness and propriety! Diffusive and concise, pleasant and grave, equally admirable both for his copiousness and his brevity.

HESIOD. The most common opinion is, that he was contemporary with Homer. It is said, he was born at Cumæ, a town of Æolis, but that he was brought up at Ascra, a little town in Bœotia, which has since passed for his native country. [u] Thus Virgil calls him the old man of Ascra. We know little or nothing of this poet, but by the few remaining poems which he has left, all in hexameter verse; which are, 1st, *The Works and Days;* 2dly, *The Theogony*, or the genealogy of the gods; 3dly, *The Shield of Hercules:* of which last some doubt whether it was written by Hesiod.

[s] Plin. l. vii. c. 29. [t] Quin. l. x. c. 1. [u] *Eclog.* vi. v. 70.

* In Homer's life, which is prefixed to her translation of the *Iliad.*

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1. In the first of these poems, entitled *The Works and Days*, Hesiod treats of agriculture, which requires, besides a great deal of labour, a due observation of times, seasons, and days. This poem is full of excellent sentences and maxims for the conduct of life. He begins it with a short, but lively description of two sorts of disputes; the one fatal to mankind, the source of quarrels, discords, and wars; and the other infinitely useful and beneficial to men, as it sharpens their wits, excites a noble and generous emulation among them, and prepares the way for the invention and improvement of arts and sciences. He then makes an admirable description of the four different ages of the world; the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age. The persons who lived in the golden age, are those whom Jupiter, after their death, turned into so many * Genii, or spirits, and then appointed them as guardians over mankind, giving them a commission to go up and down the earth, invisible to the sight of men, and to observe all their good and evil actions.

This poem was Virgil's model in composing his Georgics, as he himself acknowledges in this verse:

Ascræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.[x]
And sing the Ascræan verse to Roman swains.

The choice made by these two illustrious poets of this subject for the exercise of their muse, shows in what honour the ancients held agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, the two innocent sources of the wealth and plenty of a country. It is much to be deplored that in afterages a taste so agreeable to nature, and so well adapted to the preservation of innocence of manners, should have gone to decay. Avarice and luxury have entirely depressed it. [y] *Nimirum alii subiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, et avaritiæ tantùm artes coluntur.*

2. *The Theogony* of Hesiod, and the poems of Homer, may be looked upon as the surest and most authentic archives and monuments of the theology of the ancients, and the opinion they had of their gods. For we are not to suppose, that these poets were the inventors of the fables which we read in their

[x] *Geor.* l. ii. v. 176
* Δαίμονες.
[y] Plin. *in Proœm.* l. xiv.

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writings. They only collected and transmitted to posterity the traces of the religion which they found established, and which prevailed in their time and country.

3. *The Shield of Hercules* is a separate fragment of a poem, wherein it is pretended that Hesiod celebrated the most illustrious heroines of antiquity: and it bears that title, because it contains, among other things, a long description of the shield of Hercules, concerning whom the same poem relates a particular adventure.

The poetry of Hesiod, in those places that are susceptible of ornament, is very elegant and delightful, but not so sublime and lofty as that of Homer. Quintilian reckons him the chief in the middle manner of writing. [z] *Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.*

ARCHILOCHUS. The poet Archilochus, born in Paros, inventor of the Iambic verse, lived in the time of Candaules, king of Lydia. He has this advantage in common with Homer, according to Velleius Paterculus, that he carried at once that kind of poetry which he invented, to a very great perfection. The feet which gave their name to these verses, and which at first were the only sort used, are composed of one short and one long syllable. The Iambic verse, such as it was invented by Archilochus, seems very proper for a vehement and energetic style: accordingly we see, that Horace, speaking of this poet, says, that it was his anger, or rather his rage, that armed him with his Iambics, for the exercising and exerting of his vengeance. A. M. 3280. Ant. J. C. 724.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.[a]

And * Quintilian says, he had an uncommon force of expression, was full of bold thoughts, and of those strokes that are concise, but keen and piercing; in a word, his style was strong and nervous. The † longest of his poems were said to be the best. The world have passed the same judgment upon the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero; the latter of whom says the same of his friend Atticus's letters.

[z] Lib. i. c. 5.

[a] *Art. Poët.*

* Summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cùm validæ tum breves vibrantesque sententiæ, plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum. Quin. l. x. c. 1.

† Ut Aristophani Archilochi iambus, sic epistola longissima quæque optima videtur. Cic. *Epist.* xi. l. 16. *ad Atticum.*

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[b] The verses of Archilochus were extremely biting and licentious; witness those he writ against Lycambes, his father-in-law, which drove him to despair. For this double * reason, his poetry, how excellent soever it was reckoned in other respects, was banished out of Sparta, as being more likely to corrupt the hearts and morals of young people, than to be useful in cultivating their understanding. We have only some very short fragments remaining of this poet. Such a niceness in a heathen people, with regard to the quality of the books which they thought young persons should be permitted to read, is highly worth our notice, and will rise up in condemnation against many Christians.

HIPPONAX. This poet was of Ephesus, and signalized himself some years after Archilochus, in the same kind of poetry, and with the same force and vehemence. He was † ugly, little, lean, and slender. Two celebrated sculptors, who were brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, (some call the latter Anthermus,) diverted themselves at his expense, and represented him in a ridiculous form. It is dangerous to attack satiric poets. Hipponax retorted their pleasantry with such keen strokes of satire, that they hanged themselves out of mortification: others say they only quitted the city of Ephesus, where Hipponax lived. His malignant pen did not spare even those to whom he owed his life. How monstrous was this! Horace ‡ joins Hipponax with Archilochus, and represents them as two poets equally dangerous. In the *Anthologia* [c] there are three or four epigrams, which describe Hipponax as terrible even after his death. They admonish travellers to avoid his tomb, as a place from whence a dreadful hail perpetually pours, Φεῦγε τὸν

[b] Hor. *Epod. Od.* vi. *et Epist.* xix. l. i. [c] *Anthol.* l. iii.

* Lacedæmonii libros Archilochi è civitate suâ exportari jusserunt, quòd eorum parùm verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. Noluerunt enim eâ liberorum suorum animos imbui, ne plùs moribus noceret, quàm ingeniis prodesset. Itaque maximum poëtam, aut certè summo proximum, quia domum sibi invisum obscænis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio mulctârunt. Vel. Pat. l. vi. c. 3.

† Hipponacti notabilis vultûs fæditas erat: quamobrem imaginem ejus lasciviâ jocorum ii proposuere ridentium circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum distrinxit in tantum, ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eos impulisse: quod falsum est. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

‡ In malos asperrimus
Parata tollo cornua:
Qualis Lycambæ spretus infido gener
Aut acer hostis Bupalo. *Epod.* vi.

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χαλαζεπῆ τάφον, τὸν φρικτόν. *Fuge grandinantem tumulum, horrendum.*

It is thought he invented the Scazon verse, in which the Spondee is used instead of the Iambus in the sixth foot of the verse that bears that name.

STESICHORUS. He was of Himera, a city in Sicily, and excelled in Lyric poetry, as did those other poets of whom we are going to speak. Lyric poetry is that, the verses of which, digested into odes and stanzas, were sung to the lyre, or to other such like instruments. Stesichorus flourished betwixt the 37th and 47th Olympiad. [d] Pausanias, after many other fables, relates, that Stesichorus having been punished with the loss of sight for his satirical verses against Helen, did not recover it, till he had retracted his invectives, by writing another ode contrary to the first; which latter kind of ode is since called *Palinodia*. Quintilian * says, that he sung of wars and illustrious heroes, and that he supported upon the lyre all the dignity and majesty of epic poetry.

ALCMAN. He was of Lacedæmon, or, as some will have it, of Sardis in Lydia, and lived much about the same time as Stesichorus. Some make him the first author of amorous verses.

ALCÆUS. He was born at Mitylene in Lesbos: it is from him that the Alcaic verse derived its name. He was a professed enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, and particularly to Pittacus, against whom he perpetually inveighed in his verses. [e] It is said of him, that being once in a battle, he was seized with such fear and terror, that he threw down his arms, and ran away. † Horace has thought fit to give us the same account of himself. Poets do not value themselves so much upon prowess as upon wit. ‡ Quintilian says, that the style of Alcæus was close, magnificent, and chaste; and to complete his character, adds, that he very much resembled Homer.

SIMONIDES. This poet was a native of Ceos, an island in the

[d] Paus. *in Lacon.* p. 200. [e] Herod. l. v. c. 95.

* Stesichorum, quàm sit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces, et epici carminis onera lyrâ sustinentem. L. x. c. 1.

† Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relictâ non bene parmula. Hor. *Od.* vii. l. 2.

‡ In eloquendo brevis et magnificus et diligens, plerumque Homero similis.

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Ægean sea. He continued to flourish at the time of Xerxes's expedition. He * excelled principally in elegy. The invention of local memory is ascribed to him, of which I have spoken elsewhere.† At twenty-four years of age he disputed for, and carried, the prize of poetry.

[f] The answer he gave a prince who asked him what God was, is much celebrated. That prince was Hiero, king of Syracuse. The poet desired a day to consider the question proposed to him. On the morrow he asked two days; and whenever he was called upon for his answer, he still doubled the time. The king, surprised at this behaviour, demanded his reason for it. It is, replied Simonides, because the more I consider the question, the more obscure it seems: *Quia quanto diutiùs considero, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.* The answer was wise, if it proceeded from the high idea which he conceived of the Divine Majesty, which ‡ no understanding can comprehend, nor any tongue express.

[g] After having travelled through many cities of Asia, and amassed considerable wealth by celebrating, in his verses, the praises of those who were capable of rewarding him well, he embarked for the island of Ceos, his native country. The ship was cast away. Every one endeavoured to save what they could. Simonides did not incumber himself with any thing; and when he was asked the reason for it, he replied, 'I carry all I have about me:' *Mecum, inquit, mea sunt cuncta.* Several of the company were drowned, being overwhelmed by the weight of the things they attempted to save, and those who got to shore were plundered by thieves. All that escaped went to Clazomenæ, which was not far from the place where the vessel was lost. One of the citizens, who loved learning, and had read the poems of Simonides with great admiration, was

[f] Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* l. i. n. 15.

[g] Phædr. l. iv.

* Sed me relictis, Musa procax, jocis
Ceæ retractes munera nœniæ. Horat.
Mœstius lacrymis Simonideis. Catull.

† *Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres.*

‡ Certè hoc est Deus, quod et cùm dicitur, non potest dici: cùm æstimatur, non potest æstimari; cùm comparatur, non potest comparari; cùm definitur, ipsâ definitione crescit. S. Aug. *serm. de temp.* cix.

Nobis ad intellectum pectus angustum est. Et ideo sic eum (Deum) dignè æstimamus, dum inæstimabilem dicimus. Eloquar quemadmodum sentio. Magnitudinem Dei qui se putat nôsse, minuit: qui non vult minuere, non novit. Minut. Felix.

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exceedingly pleased, and thought it an honour to receive him into his house. He supplied him abundantly with necessaries, whilst the rest were obliged to beg through the city. The poet, upon meeting them, did not forget to observe how justly he had answered them in regard to his effects: *Dixi, inquit, mea mecum esse cuncta; vos quod rapuistis, perit.*

He was reproached with having dishonoured poetry by his avarice, in making his pen venal, and not composing any verses till he had agreed on the price to be paid for them. [h] In Aristotle, we find a proof of this, which does him no honour. A person who had won the prize in the chariot races, desired Simonides to compose a song of triumph upon that subject. The poet, not thinking the reward sufficient, replied, that he could not treat it well. This prize had been won by mules, and he pretended that animal did not afford the proper matter for praise. Greater offers were made him, which ennobled the mule; and the poem was made. Money has long had power to bestow nobility and beauty:

Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat.

As this animal is generated between a she-ass and a horse, the poet, as Aristotle observes, considered them at first only on the base side of their pedigree. But money made him take them in the other light, and he styled them 'illustrious foals of rapid steeds:' Χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων.

SAPPHO. She was of the same place, and lived at the same time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verse took its name from her. She composed a considerable number of poems, of which there are but two remaining: these are sufficient to satisfy us that the praises given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic softness, numbers, harmony, and infinite graces of her poetry, are not without foundation. As a further proof of her merit, she was called the Tenth Muse; and the people of Mitylene engraved her image upon their money. It were to be wished, that the purity of her manners had been equal to the beauty of her genius; and that she had not dishonoured her sex by her vices and irregularities.

ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He lived in the 72d Olympiad. [i] Anacreon spent a great part of

[h] *Rhet.* l. iii. c. 2. [i] Herod. l. iii. c. 121.

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his time at the court of Polycrates, that fortunate tyrant of Samos; and not only shared in all his pleasures, but was of his council. [k] Plato tells us, that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a vessel of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote him a most obliging letter, entreating him to come to Athens, where his excellent works would be esteemed and relished as they deserved. It is said, the only study of this poet was joy and pleasure: and those remains we have of his poetry sufficiently confirm it. We see plainly in all his verses, that his hand writes what his heart feels and dictates. It is impossible to express the elegance and delicacy of his poems: nothing could be more estimable, had their object been more noble.

THESPIS. He was the first inventor of Tragedy. I defer speaking of him, till I come to give some account of the tragic poets.

Of the seven Wise Men of Greece.—These men are too famous in antiquity to be omitted in this present history. Their lives are written by Diogenes Laertius.

THALES, *the Milesian.* If Cicero* is to be believed, Thales was the most illustrious of the seven wise men. It was he that laid the first foundations of philosophy in Greece, and gave rise to the sect called the Ionic sect; because he, the founder of it, was of Ionia.

[l] He held water to be the first principle of all things; and that God was that intelligent being, by whom all things were formed from water. The first of these opinions he had borrowed from the Egyptians, who, seeing the Nile to be the cause of the fertility of all their lands, might easily imagine from thence, that water was the principle of all things.

He was the first of the Greeks that studied astronomy. He had exactly foretold the time of the eclipse of the sun that happened in the reign of Astyages, king of Media, of which mention has been made already.

He was also the first that fixed the term and duration of the solar year among the Grecians. By comparing the bigness of the sun's body with that of the moon, he thought he had discovered, that the body of the moon was in solidity but the 720th

[k] *In Hippar.* p. 228, 229. [l] Lib. i. *de Nat. Deor.* n. 25.

* Princeps Thales, unus è septem cui sex reliquos concessisse primas ferunt. Lib. iv. *Acad. Quæst.* n. 118

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part of the sun's body, and consequently, that the solid body of the sun was above 700 times bigger than the solid body of the moon. This computation is very far from the truth; as the sun's solidity exceeds, not only 700 times, but many millions of times, the moon's magnitude or solidity. But we know, that in all these matters, and particularly in that of which we are now speaking, the first observations and discoveries were very imperfect.

[m] When Thales travelled into Egypt, he discovered an easy and certain method for taking the exact height of the pyramids, by observing the time when the shadow of our body is equal in length to the height of the body itself.

[n] To show that philosophers were not so destitute as some people imagined, of that sort of talents and capacity which is proper for business; and that they would be as successful as others in growing rich, if they thought fit to apply themselves to that pursuit, he bought the fruit of all the olive-trees in the territory of Miletus before they were in blossom. The profound knowledge he had of nature had probably enabled him to foresee that the year would be extremely fertile. It proved so in fact; and he made a considerable profit by his bargain.

He used to thank the gods for three things; that he was born a reasonable creature, and not a beast; a man, and not a woman; a Greek, and not a Barbarian. Upon his mother's pressing him to marry when he was young, he told her, it was then too soon; and after several years were elapsed, he told her, it was then too late.

As he was one day walking, and very attentively contemplating the stars, he chanced to fall into a ditch. Ha! says a good old woman that was by, how will you perceive what passes in the heavens, and what is so infinitely above your head, if you cannot see what is just at your feet, and before your nose?

He was born the first year of the 35th, and died the first year of the 58th Olympiad: consequently he lived to be above ninety years of age. A. M. 3457. Ant. J. C. 547.

SOLON. His life has been already related at length.

CHILO. He was a Lacedæmonian: very little is related of

[m] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12.

[n] Cic. l. i. *de Divin.* n. 111.

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him. Æsop asking him one day, how Jupiter employed himself? 'In humbling those,' says he, 'that exalt themselves, and exalting those that abase themselves.'

He died of joy at Pisa, upon seeing his son win the prize at boxing, in the Olympic games. He said, when he was dying, that he was not conscious to himself of having committed any fault during the whole course of his life, (an opinion well becoming the pride and blindness of a heathen philosopher;) unless it was once, when he made use of a little dissimulation and evasion, in giving judgment in favour of a friend: in which action he did not know, whether he had done well or ill. He died about the 52d Olympiad.

PITTACUS. He was of Mitylene, a city of Lesbos. Joining with the brothers of Alcæus, the famous Lyric poet, and with Alcæus himself, who was at the head of the exiled party, he drove the tyrant who had usurped the government out of that island.

The inhabitants of Mitylene being at war with the Athenians, gave Pittacus the command of the army. To spare the blood of his fellow-citizens, he offered to fight Phrynon, the enemy's general, in single combat. The challenge was accepted. Pittacus was victorious, and killed his adversary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, with unanimous consent conferred the sovereignty of the city upon him; which he accepted, and behaved himself with so much moderation and wisdom, that he was always respected and beloved by his subjects.

In the mean time Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not spare Pittacus in his verses, notwithstanding the mildness of his government and temper, but inveighed severely against him. The poet fell afterwards into Pittacus's hands, who was so far from taking revenge, that he gave him his liberty, and showed by that act of clemency and generosity, that he was only a tyrant in name.

After having governed ten years with great equity and wisdom, he voluntarily resigned his authority, and retired. * He used to say, that the proof of a good government was to engage the subjects, not to be afraid of their prince, but to be

* Εἰ τὰς ὑπηκόους ὁ ἄρχων παρασκευάσει φοβεῖσθαι μὴ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Plut. in *Conv. sept. sap.* p. 152.

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afraid for him. It was a maxim with him, that no man should ever give himself the liberty of speaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. He died in the 52d Olympiad.

Bias. We know but very little of Bias. He obliged Alyattes, king of Lydia, by a stratagem, to raise the siege of Priene, where he was born. The city was hard pressed with famine; upon which he caused two mules to be fattened, and contrived a way to have them pass into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in astonished the king, who thereupon sent deputies into the city, upon pretence of offering terms of peace, but really to observe the state of the town and people. Bias guessing their errand, had ordered the granaries to be filled with great heaps of sand, and those heaps to be covered over with corn. When the deputies returned, and made report to the king, of the great plenty of provisions they had seen in the city, he hesitated no longer, but concluded a treaty, and raised the siege. * One of the maxims Bias particularly taught and recommended, was, to do all the good we can, and ascribe all the glory of it to the gods.

Cleobulus. We know as little of him as of the former. He was born at Lindos, a town in the isle of Rhodes; or, as some will have it, in Caria. He invited Solon to come and live with him, when Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty of Athens.

Periander. He is numbered among the wise men, though he was a tyrant of Corinth. When he had first made himself master of that city, he writ to Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, to know what measures he should take with his new-acquired subjects. The latter, without any other answer, led the messenger into a field of wheat, where in walking along he beat down with his cane all the ears of corn that were higher than the rest. Periander perfectly well understood the meaning of this enigmatical answer, which was a tacit intimation to him, that, in order to secure his own life, he should cut off the most powerful of the Corinthian citizens. ° But, if we may believe Plutarch, Periander did not relish so cruel advice.

P He writ circular letters to all the wise men, inviting them

° *In Conv. sept. sap.* P Diog. Laert. *in vit. Periand.*

* Ὅ, τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν πράττῃς, εἰς θεὸν ἀνάπεμπε.

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to pass some time with him at Corinth, as they had done the year before at Sardis with Crœsus. Princes in those days thought themselves much honoured, when they could have such guests in their houses. [q] Plutarch describes an entertainment, which Periander gave these illustrious guests; and observes, at the same time, that the decent simplicity of it, adapted to the taste and character of the persons entertained, did him much more honour than the greatest magnificence could have done. The subject of their discourse at table was sometimes grave and serious, and sometimes pleasant and gay. One of the company proposed this question: which is the most perfect popular government? that, answered Solon, Where an injury done to any private citizen is such to the whole body: that, says Bias, Where the law has no superior: that, says Thales, Where the inhabitants are neither too rich, nor too poor: that, says Anacharsis, Where virtue is honoured, and vice detested: says Pittacus, Where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the wicked: says Cleobulus, Where the citizens fear blame, more than punishment: says Chilo, Where the laws are more regarded, and have more authority than the orators. From all these opinions, Periander concluded, that the most perfect popular government would be that which came nearest to aristocracy, where the sovereign authority is lodged in the hands of a few men of honour and virtue.

Whilst these wise men were assembled together at Periander's court, a courier arrived from Amasis king of Egypt, with a letter for Bias, with whom that king kept a close correspondence. The purport of this letter was to consult him how he should answer a proposal made him by the king of Ethiopia, of his drinking up the sea; in which case the Ethiopian king promised to resign to him a certain number of cities in his dominions: but if he did not do it, then he, Amasis, was to give up the same number of his cities to the king of Ethiopia. It was usual in those days for princes to propound such enigmatical and puzzling questions to one another. Bias answered him directly, and advised him to accept the offer on the condition that the king of Ethiopia would stop all the rivers that flow into the sea; for the business was only to

[q] *In Conv. sept. sap.*

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drink up the sea, and not the rivers. We find an answer to the same effect ascribed to Æsop.

I must not here forget to take notice, that these wise men, of whom I have been speaking, were all lovers of poetry, and composed verses themselves, some of them a considerable number, upon subjects of morality and policy, which are certainly topics well worthy of the Muses. [r] Solon, however, is reproached for having written some licentious verses; which may teach us what judgment we ought to form of these pretended wise men of the pagan world.

Instead of some of these seven wise men which I have mentioned, some people have substituted others; as Anacharsis, for example, Myso, Epimenides, Pherecydes. The first of these is the most known in story.

ANACHARSIS. Long before Solon's time the Nomad Scythians were in great reputation for their simplicity, frugality temperance, and justice. [s] Homer calls them a very just nation. Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and of the royal family. A certain Athenian, once having reproached him with his country: My country, you think, replied Anacharsis, is no great honour to me; and you, Sir, are no great honour to your country. His good sense, profound knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. He writ a treatise in verse upon the art military, and composed another tract on the laws of Scythia.

He used to make visits to Solon. It was in a conversation with him that he compared laws to cobwebs, which entangle only little flies, whilst wasps and hornets break through them.

Being inured to the austere and poor life of the Scythians, he set little value upon riches. Crœsus invited him to come and see him, and without doubt hinted to him, that he was able to mend his fortune. 'I have no occasion for your gold,' said the Scythian in his answer; 'I came into Greece only to enrich my mind, and improve my understanding; I shall be very well satisfied, if I return into my own country, not with an addition to my wealth, but with an increase of knowledge and virtue.' However, Anacharsis accepted the invitation, and went to that prince's court.

[r] Plut. *in Solon*. p. 79.

[s] *Iliad*. lib. N. v. 6.

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[t] We have already observed that Æsop was much surprised and dissatisfied at the cold and indifferent manner in which Solon viewed the magnificence of the palace, and the vast treasures of Crœsus; because it was the master, and not the house, that the philosopher wished to have reason to admire. 'Certainly,' says Anacharsis to Æsop on that occasion, 'you have forgotten your own fable of the fox and panther. The latter, as her highest merit, could only show her fine skin, beautifully marked and spotted with different colours: the fox's skin, on the contrary, was very plain, but contained within it a treasure of subtilties and stratagems of infinite value. This very image,' continued the Scythian, 'shows me your own character. You are affected with a splendid outside, whilst you pay little or no regard to what is truly the man, that is, to that which is in him, and consequently properly his.'

ÆSOP. I join Æsop with the wise men of Greece; not only because he was often amongst them,* but because he taught true wisdom with far more art than they do who teach it by rules and definitions.

Æsop was by birth a Phrygian. He had abundance of wit; but was terribly deformed: he was short, hunch-backed, and horridly ugly in face, having scarce the figure of a man; and for a very considerable time almost without the use of speech. As to his condition of life, he was a slave; and the merchant who had bought him, found it very difficult to get him off his hands, so extremely were people shocked at his unsightly figure and deformity.

The first master he had sent him to labour in the field; whether it was that he thought him incapable of any better employment, or only to remove so disagreeable an object out of his sight.

He was afterwards sold to a philosopher named Xanthus. I should never have done, should I relate all the strokes of wit, the sprightly repartees, and the arch and humorous circumstances of his words and behaviour. One day his master

[t] Plut. *in Conv. sept. sap.* p. 155.

* Æsopus ille è Phrygiâ fabulator, haud immeritò sapiens existimatus est: cùm quæ utilia monitu suasuque erant, non severè, non imperiosè præcepit et censuit, ut philosophis mos est, sed festivos delectabilesque apologos commentus, res salubriter ac prospicienter animadversas, in mentes animosque hominum, cum audiendi quadam illecebrâ induit. Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* l. ii. c. 29.

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designing to treat some of his friends, ordered Æsop to provide the best of every thing he could find in the market. Æsop bought nothing but tongues, which he desired the cook to serve up with different sauces. When dinner came, the first and second courses, the side dishes, and the removes, were tongues. Did I not order you, says Xanthus in a violent passion, to buy the best victuals the market afforded? And have I not obeyed your orders? says Æsop. Is there any thing better than a tongue? Is not the tongue the bond of civil society, the key of sciences, and the organ of truth and reason? By means of the tongue cities are built, and governments established and administered: with that men instruct, persuade, and preside in assemblies: it is the instrument by which we acquit ourselves of the chief of all our duties, the praising and adoring the gods. Well then, replied Xanthus, thinking to catch him, go to market again to-morrow, and buy me the worst of every thing: the same company will dine with me, and I have a mind to diversify my entertainment. Æsop the next day provided nothing but the very same dishes; telling his master that the tongue was the worst thing in the world. It is, says he, the instrument of all strife and contention, the fomenter of lawsuits, and the source of divisions and wars; it is the organ of error, of lies, calumny, and blasphemy.

Æsop found it very difficult to obtain his liberty. One of the first uses he made of it was to go to Crœsus, who, on account of his great reputation and fame, had been long desirous to see him. The strange deformity of Æsop's person shocked the king at first, and much abated the good opinion he had conceived of him. But the beauty of his mind soon shone forth through the coarse veil that covered it; and Crœsus found, as Æsop said on another occasion, that we ought not to consider the form of the vessel, but the quality of the liquor it contains.

[u] He made several voyages into Greece, either for pleasure, or upon the affairs of Crœsus. Being at Athens a short time after Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty, and abolished the popular government, and observing that the Athenians

[u] Phædr. l. i. fab. 2.

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bore this new yoke with great impatience, he repeated to them the fable of the frogs who demanded a king from Jupiter.

It is doubted whether the fables of Æsop, such as we have them, are all his, at least in regard to the expression. Great part of them are ascribed to Planudes, who wrote his life, and lived in the 14th century.

Æsop is reckoned the author and inventor of this simple and natural manner of conveying instruction by tales and fables; in which light Phædrus speaks of him:

Æsopus auctor quam materiam reperit,
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.

But the * glory of this invention is really due to the poet Hesiod; an invention which does not seem to be of any great importance, or extraordinary merit, and yet has been much esteemed and made use of by the greatest philosophers and ablest politicians. [x] Plato tells us, that Socrates, a little before he died, turned some of Æsop's fables into verse: [y] and Plato himself earnestly recommends it to nurses to instruct their children in it betimes, in order to form their manners, and to inspire them early with the love of wisdom.

Fables could never have been so universally adopted by all nations, as we see they have, if there was not a vast fund of useful truths contained in them, and agreeably concealed under that plain and negligent disguise, in which their peculiar character consists. The Creator certainly designing to instruct mankind, by the very prospect of nature, has endowed the brute part of it with various instincts, inclinations, and properties, to serve as so many pictures in miniature to man of the several duties incumbent upon him; and to point out to him the good or evil qualities he ought to acquire or avoid. Thus has he given us, for instance, a lively image of meekness and innocence in the lamb; of fidelity and friendship in the dog; and on the contrary, of violence, rapaciousness, and

[x] Plat. *in Phæd.* p. 60. [y] Lib. ii. *de Rep.* p. 378.

* Illæ quoque fabulæ, quæ, etiamsi originem non ab Æsopo acceperunt (nam videtur earum primus auctor Hesiodus,) nomine tamen Æsopi maximè celebrantur, ducere animos solent, præcipuè rusticorum et imperitorum: qui et simpliciùs quæ ficta sunt audiunt, et capti voluptate facilè iis quibus delectantur consentiunt. Quintil. l. v. c. 12.

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cruelty in the wolf, the lion, and the tiger; and so of the other species of animals; and all this he has designed, not only as instruction, but as a secret reproof to man, if he should be indifferent about those qualities in himself, which he cannot forbear esteeming or detesting, even in the brutes themselves.

This is a dumb language which all nations understand; it is a sentiment engraven in nature, which every man carries about with him. Æsop was the first of all the profane writers who laid hold of and unfolded it, made happy applications of it, and attracted men's attention to this sort of simple and natural instruction, which is within the reach of all capacities, and equally adapted to persons of all ages and conditions. He was the first that, in order to give body and substance to virtues, vices, duties, and maxims of society, did, by an ingenious artifice and innocent fiction, invent the method of clothing them with graceful and familiar images borrowed from nature, by giving language to brute beasts, and ascribing sense and reason to plants and trees, and all sorts of inanimate creatures.

The fables of Æsop are void of all ornament; but abound with good sense, and are adapted to the capacity of children, for whom they are more particularly composed. Those of Phædrus are in a style somewhat more elevated and diffused, but at the same time have a simplicity and elegance, that very much resemble the Attic spirit and style in the plain way of writing, which was the finest and most delicate kind of composition in use among the Grecians. Monsieur de la Fontaine, who was very sensible that the French tongue is not susceptible of the same elegant simplicity, has enlivened his fables with a sprightly and original turn of thought and expression, peculiar to himself, which no other person has yet been able to imitate.

It is not easy to conceive, why *Seneca asserts as a fact, that the Romans to his time had never tried their pens in this kind of composition. Were the fables of Phædrus unknown to him?

[z] Plutarch relates the manner of Æsop's death. He went to Delphi, with a great quantity of gold and silver, to offer, in

[z] *De serâ Numinis vindictâ*, p. 556, 557.

* Non audeo te usque eò producere, ut fabellas quoque et Æsopeos logos, INTENTATUM ROMANIS INGENIIS OPUS, solitâ tibi venustate connectas Senec. *de Consol. ad Polyb.* c. 27.

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the name of Crœsus, a great sacrifice to Apollo, and to give each inhabitant a * considerable sum. A quarrel, which arose between him and the people of Delphi, occasioned him, after the sacrifice, to send back the money to Crœsus, and to inform him, that those for whom it was intended had rendered themselves unworthy of his bounty. The inhabitants of Delphi caused him to be condemned as guilty of sacrilege, and to be thrown down from the top of a rock. The god, offended by this action, punished them with a plague and famine; so that to put an end to those evils, they caused it to be signified in all the assemblies of Greece, that if any one, for the honour of Æsop, would come and claim vengeance for his death, they would give him satisfaction. [a] At the third generation, a man from Samos presented himself, who had no other relation to Æsop than being descended from the persons who had bought that fabulist. The Delphians made this man satisfaction, and thereby delivered themselves from the pestilence and famine that distressed them.

The Athenians, those excellent judges of true glory, erected a noble statue to this learned and ingenious slave; to let all the people know, says [b] Phædrus, that the ways of honour were open indifferently to all mankind, and that it was not to birth, but merit, they paid so honourable a distinction.

Æsopo ingentem statuam posuere Attici,
Servumque collocârunt æternâ in basi,
Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam,
Nec generi tribui, sed virtuti gloriam.

[a] Herod. l. ii. c. 134. [b] Lib. ii.

* Four minæ, equal to 240 livres, or about 8*l.* 10*s*

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BOOK THE SIXTH.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAPTER I. THE HISTORY OF DARIUS, INTERMIXED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

[a]BEFORE Darius came to be king, he was called Ochus. At his accession he took the name of Darius, which, according to Herodotus, in the Persian language signifies an Avenger, or a man that defeats the schemes of another; probably because he had punished and put an end to the insolence of the Magian impostor. He reigned thirty-six years. Darius.

SECT. I. DARIUS'S MARRIAGES. THE IMPOSITION OF TRIBUTES. THE INSOLENCE AND PUNISHMENT OF INTAPHERNES. THE DEATH OF ORETES. THE STORY OF DEMOCEDES A PHYSICIAN. THE JEWS PERMITTED TO CARRY ON THE BUILDING OF THEIR TEMPLE. THE GENEROSITY OF SYLOSON REWARDED.—Before Darius was elected king, he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whose name is not known. Artabarzanes, the eldest of the three sons whom he had by her, afterwards disputed the empire with Xerxes.

[a] Herod l. vi. c. 98. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.

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[b] When Darius was seated in the throne, the better to secure himself therein, he married two of Cyrus's daughters, Atossa and Artistona. The former had been wife to Cambyses, her own brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, during the time he possessed the throne. Artistona was still a virgin when Darius married her; and of all his wives was the person he most loved. He likewise married Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, who was Cambyses's brother, as also Phedyma, daughter to Otanes, by whose management the imposture of the Magian was discovered. By these wives he had a great number of children of both sexes.

A. M. 3483. Ant. J. C. 521.

We have already seen, that the seven conspirators who put the Magian to death, had agreed among themselves, that he whose horse, on a day appointed, first neighed, at the rising of the sun, should be declared king; and that Darius's horse, by an artifice of his groom, procured his master that honour. [c] The king, desiring to transmit to future ages his gratitude for this signal service, caused an equestrian statue to be set up, with this inscription: 'Darius, the son of Hystaspes, acquired the kingdom of Persia by means of his horse (whose name was inserted) and of his groom, Oebares.' There is in this inscription, in which we see the king is not ashamed to own himself indebted to his horse and his groom for so transcendent a benefaction as the regal diadem, when it was his interest, one would think, to have it considered as the fruits of a superior merit: there is, I say, in this inscription, a simplicity and sincerity strikingly characteristic of those ancient times, and extremely remote from the pride and vanity of our own.

[d] One of the first cares of Darius, when he was settled in the throne, was to regulate the state of the provinces, and to put his finances into good order. Before his time, Cyrus and Cambyses had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered nations such free gifts only as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops when they had occasion for them. But Darius perceived that it was impossible for him to preserve all the nations subject to him in peace and security, without keeping up regular forces;

[b] Herod. l. iii. c. 88. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. c. 89--97.

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and equally impossible to maintain these forces, without assigning them a certain pay; or to be able punctually to give them that pay, without laying taxes and impositions upon the people.

In order therefore the better to regulate the administration of his finances, he divided the whole empire into twenty districts or governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain sum to the satrap appointed for that purpose. The natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all imposts. Herodotus gives an exact enumeration of these provinces, which may very much contribute to give us a just idea of the extent of the Persian empire.

In Asia it comprehended all that now belongs to the Persians and Turks; in Africa, it took in Egypt and part of Nubia; as also the coasts of the Mediterranean as far as the kingdom of Barca; in Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia. But it must be observed, that in this vast extent of country, there were several nations which were only tributary, and not properly subjects to Persia; as is the case at this day with respect to the Turkish empire.

[e] History observes, that Darius, in imposing these tributes, showed great wisdom and moderation. He sent for the principal inhabitants of every province; such as were best acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and were interested in giving him a true and impartial account. He then asked them, if such and such sums, which he proposed to each of them for their respective provinces, were not too great, or did not exceed what they were able to pay; his intention being, as he told them, not to oppress his subjects, but only to require such aids from them as were proportioned to their incomes, and absolutely necessary for the defence of the state. They all answered, that the sums he proposed were very reasonable, and such as would not be burthensome to the people. The king, however, was pleased to abate one-half, choosing rather to keep a great deal within bounds, than to risk a possibility of exceeding them.

But notwithstanding this extraordinary moderation on the king's part, as there is something odious in all imposts, the

[e] Plut. *in Apophthegm.* p. 172.

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Persians, who had given the surname of father to Cyrus, and of master to Cambyses, thought fit to characterise Darius by that of * merchant.

The several sums levied by the imposition of these tributes or taxes, as far as we can infer from the calculation of Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted in the whole to about forty-four millions per annum French, or something less than two millions English money.

[f] After the death of the Magian impostor, it was agreed, that the Persian noblemen who had conspired against him, should, besides several other marks of distinction, have the liberty of free access to the king's presence at all times, except when he was alone with the queen. Intaphernes, one of those noblemen, being refused admittance into the king's apartment at a time when the king and queen were in private together, in a violent rage attacked the officers of the palace, abused them outrageously, cutting their faces with his scimitar. Darius highly resented so heinous an insult; and at first apprehended it might be a conspiracy amongst the noblemen. But when he was well assured of the contrary, he caused Intaphernes, with his children, and all that were of his family, to be seized, and had them all condemned to death, confounding, through a blind excess of severity, the innocent with the guilty. In these unhappy circumstances, the wife of the criminal went every day to the gates of the palace, crying and weeping in the most lamentable manner, and never ceasing to implore the king's clemency with all the pathetic eloquence of sorrow and distress. The king could not resist so moving a spectacle, and besides her own, granted her the pardon of any one of her family whom she should choose. This gave the unhappy lady great perplexity, who desired, no doubt, to save them all. At last, after a long deliberation, she determined in favour of her brother.

This choice, wherein she seemed not to have followed the sentiments which nature should dictate to a mother and a wife, surprised the king; and when he desired she might be asked

f Herod. l. iii. c. 118, 119.

* Κάπηλος signifies something still more mean and contemptible; but I do not know how to express it in our language. It may signify a broker or a retailer, any one that buys to sell again.

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the reason of it, she made answer, that by a second marriage the loss of a husband and children might be retrieved; but that, her father and mother being dead, there was no possibility of recovering a brother. Darius, besides the life of her brother, granted her the same favour for the eldest of her children.

8 I have already related, in this volume, by what an instance of perfidiousness Oretes, one of the king's governors in Asia Minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. So black and detestable a crime did not go unpunished. Darius found out, that Oretes strangely abused his power, making no account of the blood of those persons, who had the misfortune to displease him. This satrap carried his insolence so far, as to put to death a messenger sent him by the king, because the orders he had brought him were disagreeable. Darius, who did not yet think himself well settled in the throne, would not venture to attack him openly; for the satrap had no less than a thousand soldiers for his guard, not to mention the forces he was able to raise from his government, which included Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. The king therefore thought fit to proceed in a secret manner to rid himself of so dangerous a servant. With this commission he intrusted one of his officers, of approved fidelity and attachment to his person. The officer, under pretence of other business, went to Sardis, where, with great dexterity, he sounded the dispositions of the people. To pave the way to his design, he first gave the principal officers of the governor's guard letters from the king, which contained nothing but general orders. A little while after he delivered them other letters, in which their orders were more express and particular. And as soon as he found himself perfectly sure of the disposition of the troops, he then read them a third letter, wherein the king in plain terms commanded them to put the governor to death; and this order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiscated to the king; and all the persons belonging to his family and household were removed to Susa. Among the rest there was a celebrated physician of Crotona, whose name was Democedes. This physician's story is very singular, and happened to be the occasion of some considerable events.

8 Herod. l. iii. c. 120—128.

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[h] Not long after the forementioned transaction, Darius chanced to have a fall from his horse in hunting, by which he wrenched one of his feet in a violent manner, and put his heel out of joint. The Egyptians were then reckoned the most skilful in physic; for which reason the king had several physicians of that nation about him. * These undertook to cure the king, and exerted all their skill on so important an occasion: but they were so awkward in the operation, and in the handling and managing the king's foot, that they put him to incredible pain; so that he passed seven days and seven nights without sleeping. Democedes was mentioned on this occasion by some person, who had heard him extolled at Sardis as a very able physician. He was sent for immediately, and brought to the king in the condition he was in, with his irons on, and in a very poor apparel; for he was at that time actually a prisoner. The king asked him, whether he had any knowledge of physic? At first he denied he had, fearing, that if he should give any proofs of his skill, he should be detained in Persia, and by that means be for ever debarred from returning to his own country, for which he had an exceeding affection. Darius, displeased with his answer, ordered him to be put to the torture. Democedes found it was necessary to own the truth; and therefore offered his service to the king. The first thing he did, was to apply gentle fomentations to the part affected. This remedy had a speedy effect: the king recovered his sleep; and in a few days was perfectly cured, both of the sprain and the dislocation. To recompense the physician, the king made him a present of two pair of golden chains. Upon which Democedes asked him, whether he meant to reward the happy success of his endeavours by doubling his misfortunes? The king was pleased with that saying; and ordered his eunuchs to conduct Democedes to his wives, that they might see the person to whom he was indebted for his recovery. They all made him very magnificent presents; so that in one day's time he became extremely rich.

[i] Democedes was a native of Crotona, a city of Græcia Magna in the lower Calabria in Italy, from whence he had

h Herod. l. iii. c. 129, 130. i Ibid. c. 131.

* Anciently the same persons practised both as physicians and surgeons.

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been obliged to fly, on account of the ill treatment he received from his father. He first went to *Egina, where, by several successful cures, he acquired great reputation; the inhabitants of this place settled on him a yearly pension of a talent. The talent contained sixty minæ, and was worth about three thousand livres French money. Some time after he was invited to Athens; where they augmented his pension to five thousand † livres per annum. After this he was received into the family of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who gave him a pension of ‡ two thousand crowns. It redounds much to the honour of cities, or princes, by handsome pensions and salaries, to engage such persons in their service as are of public benefit to mankind; and even to induce foreigners of worth and merit to come and settle among them. The Crotonians from this time had the reputation of having the ablest physicians; and next after them, the people of Cyrene in Africa. The Argives were at the same time reputed to excel in music.

[k] Democedes, after performing this cure upon the king, was admitted to the honour of eating at his table, and came to have great influence at Susa. At his intercession, the Egyptian physicians were pardoned, who had all been condemned to be hanged for having been less skilful than the Grecian physician; as if they were obliged to answer for the success of their remedies, or that it was a crime not to be able to cure a king. This is a strange abuse, though too common an effect of unlimited power, which is seldom guided by reason or equity, and which, being accustomed to see every thing give way implicitly to its authority, expects that its commands, of what nature soever, should be instantly performed! We have seen something of this kind in the history of Nebuchadnezzar, who pronounced a general sentence of death upon all his magicians, because they could not divine what it was he had dreamed in the night, which he himself had forgotten. Democedes procured also the enlargement of several of those persons who had been imprisoned with him. He lived in the greatest affluence, and was in the highest esteem and favour with the king. But he was at a great distance from his own country,

[k] Herod. l. iii. c. 132.
* An island between Attica and Peloponnesus.
† A hundred minæ. ‡ Two talents.

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and his thoughts and desires were continually bent upon Greece.

[1] He had the good fortune to perform another cure, which contributed to raise his credit and reputation still higher. Atossa, one of the king's wives, and daughter to Cyrus, was attacked with a cancer in her breast. As long as the pain was moderate, she bore it with patience, not being able to prevail on herself, out of modesty, to discover her disorder. But at last she was constrained to it, and sent for Democedes; who promised to cure her, and at the same time requested that she would be pleased to grant him a certain favour he should beg of her, entirely consistent with her honour. The queen engaged her word, and was cured. The favour desired by the physician was to procure him a journey into his own country; and the queen was not unmindful of her promise. * It is worth while to take notice of such events, which, though not very considerable in themselves, often give occasion to the greatest enterprises of princes, and are even the secret springs and distant causes of them.

As Atossa was conversing one day with Darius, she took occasion to represent to him, that, as he was in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous constitution, capable of enduring the fatigues of war, and had numerous armies at command, it would be for his honour to form some great enterprise, and let the Persians see they had a man of courage for their king. You have hit my thoughts, replied Darius; for I was meditating an attack upon the Scythians. I had much rather, says Atossa, you would first turn your arms against Greece. I have heard great things said in praise of the women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, Athens, and Corinth; and should be very glad to have some of them in my service. Besides, you have a person here that might be very useful to you in such an enterprise, and could give you a perfect knowledge of the country: the person I mean is Democedes, who hath cured both you and me. This was enough for the king, and the affair was resolved upon immediately. Fifteen Persian noblemen were appointed to accompany Democedes into Greece, and to examine with him

[1] Herod. l. iii. c. 135—137.

* Non sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex queis magnarum sæpe rerum motus oriuntur. Tac. l. iv. c. 32.

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all the maritime places as thoroughly as possible. The king strictly charged those persons, above all things, to keep a watchful eye upon the physician, that he did not give them the slip, and to bring him back with them to the Persian court.

Darius, in giving such an order, plainly showed he did not understand the proper methods for engaging men of abilities and merit to reside in his dominions, and for attaching them to his person. To pretend to do this by authority and compulsion, is the sure way of suppressing all knowledge and industry, and of driving away the liberal arts and sciences, which must be free and unconfined, like the genius from whence they spring. For one man of genius that will be kept in a country by force, thousands will be driven away, who would probably have chosen to reside in it, if they could enjoy their liberty, and meet with kind treatment.

When Darius had formed his design of sending into Greece, he acquainted Democedes with it, laid open his views to him, and told him the occasion he had for his service in conducting the Persian noblemen thither, particularly to the maritime towns, in order to observe their situation and strength: at the same time earnestly desiring him, that, when that was done, he would return back with them to Persia. The king permitted him to carry all his movables with him, and give them, if he pleased, to his father and brothers, promising, at his return, to give him as many of greater value; and signified to him further, that he would order the galley in which he was to sail, to be laden with very rich presents, for him to bestow as he thought fit on the rest of his family. The king's intention appeared, by this manner of speaking, to be undisguised and without artifice: but Democedes was afraid it might be a snare laid for him, to discover whether he intended to return to Persia or not; and therefore, to remove all suspicion, he left his own goods behind him at Susa, and only took with him the presents designed for his family.

The first place the commissioners landed at was Sidon in Phœnicia, where they equipped two large vessels for themselves, and put all they had brought along with them on board a transport. After having passed through, and carefully examined the chief cities of Greece, they went to Tarentum in

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Italy. Here the Persian noblemen were taken up as spies; and Democedes, taking advantage of this arrest, made his escape from them, and fled to Crotona. When the Persian lords had recovered their liberty, they pursued him thither, but could not prevail upon the Crotonians to deliver up their fellow-citizen. The city moreover seized the loaded vessel; and the Persians having lost their guide, laid aside the thoughts of going through the other parts of Greece, and set out for their own country. Democedes let them know, at their departure, that he was going to marry the daughter of Milo, a famous wrestler of Crotona, whose name was very well known to the king. This voyage of the Persian noblemen into Greece, was attended with no immediate consequence; because, on their return home, they found the king engaged in other affairs.

[m] In the third year of this king's reign, which was but the second according to the Jewish computation, the Samaritans gave the Jews new trouble. In the preceding reigns, they had procured an order to prohibit the Jews from proceeding any farther in building of the temple of Jerusalem. But, upon the earnest exhortation of the prophets, and the express order of God, the Israelites had lately resumed the work, which had been interrupted for several years, and carried it on with great vigour. The Samaritans had recourse to their ancient practices, to prevent them. To this end they applied to Tatnai, whom Darius had made governor of the provinces of Syria and Palestine. They complained to him of the audacious proceeding of the Jews, who, of their own authority, and in defiance of the prohibitions to the contrary, presumed to rebuild their temple; which must necessarily be prejudicial to the king's interests. Upon this representation of theirs, the governor thought fit to go himself to Jerusalem. And being a person of great equity and moderation, when he had inspected the work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a stop to it without any further deliberation; but inquired of the Jewish elders what license they had for entering upon a work of that nature. The Jews hereupon producing the edict of Cyrus, he would not of

A. M. 3485. Ant. J. C. 519.

[m] Ezr. v.

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himself ordain any thing in contradiction to it, but sent an account of the matter to the king, and desired to know his pleasure. He gave the king a true representation of the matter, acquainting him with the edict of Cyrus, which the Jews alleged in their justification, and desired him to order the registers to be consulted, to know whether Cyrus had really published such an edict, and to be pleased to send him instructions how he was to act in the affair. [n] Darius having commanded the registers to be examined, the edict was found at Ecbatana, in Media, the place where Cyrus was at the time of its being granted. Now Darius having a great respect for the memory of that prince, confirmed his edict, and caused another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referred to, and ratified. This motive of regard to the memory of Cyrus, had there been nothing else to influence the king, would be very laudable: but the Scripture informs us, that it was God himself who influenced the mind and heart of the king, and inspired him with a favourable disposition to the Jews. The truth of this appears pretty plain from the edict itself. In the first place it ordains, that all the victims, oblations, and other expenses of the temple, be abundantly furnished the Jews, as the priests should require: in the second place it enjoins the priests of Jerusalem, when they offered their sacrifices to the God of heaven, to pray for the preservation of the life of the king, and the princes his children; and lastly, it goes so far as to denounce imprecations against all princes and people, that should hinder the carrying on of the building of the temple, or that should attempt to destroy it: by all which Darius evidently acknowledges, that the God of Israel is able to overturn the kingdoms of the world, and to dethrone the most mighty and powerful princes.

By virtue of this edict, the Jews were not only authorized to proceed in the building of their temple, but all the expenses thereof were also to be furnished to them out of the taxes and imposts of the province. What must have become of the Jews, when the crimes of disobedience and rebellion were laid to their charge, if at such a juncture their superiors had only hearkened to their enemies, and not given them leave to justify themselves!

[n] Ezr. vi.

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The same prince, some time after, gave a still more signal proof of his love for justice, and of his abhorrence of informers, a detestable race of men, by their very nature and condition enemies to all merit and all virtue. It is pretty obvious that I mean the famous edict, published by this prince against Haman, in favour of the Jews, at the request of Esther, whom the king had taken to his bed in the room of Vasthi, one of his wives. According to archbishop Usher, this Vasthi is the same person as is called by profane writers Atossa; and the Ahasuerus of the holy Scriptures the same as Darius: but according to others, it is Artaxerxes. The fact is well known, being related in the sacred history: I have given, however, a brief account of it in this volume.

Such actions of justice do great honour to a prince's memory; as do also those of gratitude, of which Darius, on a certain occasion, gave a very laudable instance. [o] Syloson, brother to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, had once made Darius a present of a suit of clothes, of a curious red colour, which extremely pleased Darius's fancy, and would never suffer him to make any return for it. Darius at that time was but a private gentleman, an officer in the guards of Cambyses, whom he accompanied to Memphis, in his Egyptian expedition. When Darius was on the throne of Persia, Syloson went to Susa, presented himself at the gates of his palace, and caused himself to be announced as a Grecian, to whom his majesty was under some obligation. Darius, surprised at such a message, and curious to know the truth of it, ordered him to be brought in. When he saw him, he remembered him, and acknowledged him to have been his benefactor; and was so far from being ashamed of an adventure which might seem not to be much for his honour, that he ingenuously applauded the gentleman's generosity, which proceeded from no other motive than that of doing a pleasure to a person from whom he could have no expectations; and then proposed to make him a considerable present of gold and silver. But money was not the thing Syloson desired: the love of his country was his predominant passion. The favour he required of the king was, that he would settle him at Samos, without shedding the blood

[o] Herod. l. iii. c. 139, 149.

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of his citizens, by driving out the person that had usurped the government since the death of his brother. Darius consented, and committed the conduct of the expedition to Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who undertook it with joy, and performed it with success.

SECT. II. REVOLT AND REDUCTION OF BABYLON.—[q] In the beginning of the fifth year of Darius, Babylon revolted, and could not be reduced till after a twenty months' siege. This city, formerly mistress of the East, grew impatient of the Persian yoke, especially after the removing of the imperial seat to Susa, which very much diminished Babylon's wealth and grandeur. The Babylonians, taking advantage of the revolution that happened in Persia, first on the death of Cambyses, and afterwards on the massacre of the Magians, made secretly for four years together all kinds of preparations for war. When they thought the city sufficiently stored with provisions for many years, they set up the standard of rebellion; which obliged Darius to besiege them with all his forces. Now God continued to accomplish those terrible threatenings he had denounced against Babylon: that he would not only humble and bring down that proud and impious city, but depopulate and lay it waste with fire and blood, utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal solitude. In order to fulfil these predictions, God permitted the Babylonians to rebel against Darius, and by that means to draw upon themselves the whole force of the Persian empire: and they themselves were the first to put these prophecies in execution, by destroying a great number of their own people, as will be seen presently. It is probable that the Jews, of whom a considerable number remained at Babylon, went out of the city before the siege was formed, as the prophets [r] Isaiah and Jeremiah had exhorted them long before, and Zachariah very lately, in the following terms: 'Thou, Sion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon, flee from the country, and save thyself.'

A. M. 3488. Ant. J. C. 516.

The Babylonians, to make their provisions last the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the greater vigour, took the

[q] Herod. l. iii. c. 150—160.
[r] Isa. xlviii. 20. Jer. l. 8. li. 6, 9, 45. Zech. ii. 6, 9.

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most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was heard of; which was, to destroy all such of their own people as were unserviceable on this occasion. For this purpose they assembled together all their wives and children, and strangled them. Only every man was allowed to keep his best beloved wife, and one servant-maid to do the business of the family.

After this cruel execution, the unhappy remainder of the inhabitants, thinking themselves out of all danger, both on account of their fortifications, which they looked upon as impregnable, and the vast quantity of provisions they had laid up, began to insult the besiegers from the tops of their walls, and to provoke them with opprobrious language. The Persians, for the space of eighteen months, did all that force or stratagem were capable of, to make themselves masters of the city; nor did they forget to make use of the same means as had so happily succeeded with Cyrus some years before; I mean that of turning the course of the river. But all their efforts were fruitless; and Darius began almost to despair of taking the place, when a stratagem, till then unheard of, opened the gates of the city to him. He was strangely surprised one morning to see Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of his court, and son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven lords that made the association against the Magians; to see him, I say, appear before him all over blood, with his nose and ears cut off, and his whole body disfigured with wounds. Starting up from his throne, he cried out, 'Who is it, Zopyrus, that has dared to treat you thus?' 'You yourself, O king,' replied Zopyrus. 'The desire I had of rendering you service has put me into this condition. As I was fully persuaded that you never would have consented to this method, I took counsel alone of the zeal which I have for your service.' He then opened to him his design of going over to the enemy; and they settled every thing together that was proper to be done. The king could not see him set out upon this extraordinary project without the utmost affliction and concern. Zopyrus approached the walls of the city; and having told them who he was, was soon admitted. They then carried him before the governor, to whom he laid open his misfortune, and the cruel treatment he had met with from Darius, for having dissuaded him from con-

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tinuing any longer before a city, which it was impossible for him to take. He offered the Babylonians his service, which could not fail of being highly useful to them, since he was acquainted with all the designs of the Persians, and since the desire of revenge would inspire him with fresh courage and resolution. His name and person were both well known at Babylon: the condition in which he appeared, his blood and his wounds, testified for him; and, by proofs not to be suspected, confirmed the truth of all he advanced. They therefore placed implicit confidence in whatsoever he told them, and gave him moreover the command of as many troops as he desired. In the first sally he made, he cut off a thousand of the besiegers: a few days after he killed double the number; and on the third time, four thousand of their men lay dead upon the spot. All this had been before agreed upon between him and Darius. Nothing was now talked of in Babylon but Zopyrus: the whole city strove who should extol him most, and they had not words sufficient to express their high value for him, and how happy they esteemed themselves in having gained so great a man. He was now declared generalissimo of their forces, and intrusted with the care of guarding the walls of the city. Darius approaching with his army at the time agreed on between them, Zopyrus opened the gates to him, and made him by that means master of a city, which he never could have been able to take either by force or famine.

As powerful as this prince was, he found himself incapable of making a sufficient recompense for so great a service; and he used often to say, that he would with pleasure sacrifice a hundred Babylons, if he had them, to restore Zopyrus to the condition he was in before he inflicted that cruel treatment upon himself. He settled upon him, during life, the whole revenue of this opulent city, of which he alone had procured him the possession, and heaped all the honours upon him that a king could possibly confer upon a subject. Megabyzus, who commanded the Persian army in Egypt against the Athenians, was son to this Zopyrus; and that Zopyrus, who went over to the Athenians as a deserter, was his grandson.

No sooner was Darius in possession of Babylon, than he ordered the hundred gates to be pulled down, and all the walls

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of that proud city to be entirely demolished, that she might never be in a condition to rebel more against him. If he had pleased to make use of all the rights of a conqueror, he might upon this occasion have exterminated all the inhabitants. But he contented himself with causing three thousand of those who were principally concerned in the revolt to be impaled, and granted a pardon to all the rest. And, in order to hinder the depopulation of the city, he caused fifty thousand women to be brought from the several provinces of his empire, to supply the place of those whom the inhabitants had so cruelly destroyed at the beginning of the siege. Such was the fate of Babylon; and thus did God execute his vengeance on that impious city, for the cruelty she had exercised towards the Jews, in falling upon a free people without any reason or provocation; in destroying their government, laws, and worship; in forcing them from their country, and transporting them to a strange land; where they imposed a most grievous yoke of servitude upon them, and made use of all their power to crush and afflict an unhappy nation, favoured however by God, and having the honour to be styled his peculiar people.

SECT. III. DARIUS PREPARES FOR AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS. A DIGRESSION UPON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT NATION.

A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 514.

—[s] After the reduction of Babylon, Darius made great preparations for war against the Scythians, who inhabited that large tract of land which lies between the Danube and the Tanais. His pretence for undertaking this war was, to be revenged of that nation for the * invasion of Asia by their ancestors: a very frivolous and sorry pretext; and a very ridiculous ground for reviving an old quarrel, which had ceased a hundred and twenty years before. Whilst the Scythians were employed in that irruption, which lasted eight and twenty years, the Scythians' wives married their slaves. When the husbands were on their return home, these slaves went out to meet them with a numerous army, and disputed their entrance into their country. After some battles, fought with nearly equal loss on both sides,

[s] Herod. l. iv. c. 1. Justin, l. ii. c. 5.

* Mention is made of this before, in chap. iii vol. i. p. 359.

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the masters considering that it was doing too much honour to their slaves to put them upon the foot of soldiers, marched against them in the next encounter with whips in their hands, to make them remember their proper condition. This stratagem had the intended effect: for not being able to bear the sight of their masters thus armed, they all ran away.

I design in this place to imitate Herodotus, who in writing of this war takes occasion to give an ample account of all that relates to the customs and manners of the Scythians. But I shall be much more brief in my account of this matter than he is.

A Digression concerning the Scythians.—Formerly there were Scythians both in Europe and Asia, most of them inhabiting those parts that lie towards the North. I design now chiefly to treat of the first, namely, of the European Scythians.

Historians, in the accounts they have left us of the manners and character of the Scythians, relate things of them that are entirely opposite and contradictory to one another. One while they represent them as the justest and most moderate people in the world: another while they describe them as a fierce and barbarous nation, which carried its cruelty to such excesses, as are shocking to human nature. This contrariety is a manifest proof, that those different characters are to be applied to different nations in that vast and extensive tract of country; and that, though they were all comprehended under one and the same general denomination of Scythians, we ought not to confound them or their characters together.

[t] Strabo has quoted authors, who mention some Scythians dwelling upon the coast of the Euxine sea, that cut the throats of all strangers who came amongst them, fed upon their flesh, and made pots and drinking-vessels of their sculls, when they had dried them. [u] Herodotus, in describing the sacrifices which the Scythians offered to the god Mars, says, they used to offer human victims. Their manner * of making treaties, according to this author's account, was very strange and particular. [x] They first poured wine into a large earthen vessel,

[t] Strabo, l. vii. p. 298. [u] Herod. l. iv. c. 62. [x] Ibid. l. iv. c. 70.

* This custom was still practised by the Iberians, who were originally Scythians, in the time of Tacitus, who makes mention of it. *Ann.* l. xii. c. 47.

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and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let some of their blood run into the wine, and stained likewise their armour therein; after which they themselves, and all that were present, drank of that liquor, uttering the heaviest imprecations against the person that should violate the treaty.

[y] But what the same historian relates, concerning the ceremonies observed at the funeral of their kings, is still more extraordinary. I shall only mention such of those ceremonies, as may serve to give us an idea of the cruel barbarity of this people. When their king died, they embalmed his body, and wrapped it up in wax; this done, they put it into an open chariot, and carried it from city to city, exposing it to the view of all the people under his dominion. When this circuit was finished, they laid the body down in the place appointed for the burial of it, and there they made a large grave, in which they interred the king, and with him one of his wives, his chief cup-bearer, his great chamberlain, his master of horse, his chancellor, and his secretary of state, who were all put to death for that purpose. To these they added several horses, a great number of drinking vessels, and a certain part of all the furniture belonging to their deceased monarch: after which they filled up the grave, and covered it with earth. This was not all. When the anniversary of his interment came, they cut the throats of fifty more of the dead king's officers, and of the same number of horses, and, having first prepared their bodies for the purpose, by embowelling them and stuffing them with straw, they placed the officers on horseback round the king's tomb, probably to serve him as guards. These ceremonies in all appearance took their rise from a notion they might have of their king's being still alive: and upon this supposition they judged it necessary, that he should have his court and ordinary officers still about him. Whether employments, which terminated in this manner, were much sought after, I will not determine.

It is now time to pass to the consideration of their manners and customs, milder and more humane; though possibly in another sense they may appear to be equally savage. The

[y] Herod. l. iv. c. 71, 72.

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account I am going to give of them is chiefly taken from [z] Justin. According to this author, the Scythians lived in great innocence and simplicity. They were ignorant indeed of all arts and sciences, but then they were equally unacquainted with vice. They did not make any division of their lands amongst themselves, says Justin: it would have been in vain for them to have done it; since they did not apply themselves to cultivate them. Horace, in one of his odes, of which I shall insert a part by and by, tells us, that some of them did cultivate a certain portion of land allotted to them for one year only, at the expiration of which they were relieved by others, who succeeded them on the same conditions. They had no houses, nor settled habitation; but wandered continually with their cattle and their flocks from country to country. Their wives and children they carried along with them in waggons, covered with the skins of beasts, which were all the houses they had to dwell in. Justice * was observed and maintained amongst them through the natural temper and disposition of the people, and not by any compulsion of laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted. No crime was more severely punished among them than theft; and that with good reason. For their herds and flocks, in which all their riches consisted, being never shut up, how could they possibly subsist, if theft had not been most rigorously punished? They coveted neither silver nor gold, like the rest of mankind; and made milk and honey their principal diet. They were strangers to the use of linen or woollen manufactures; and to defend themselves from the violent and continual cold of their climate, they made use of nothing but the skins of beasts.

I said before, that these manners of the Scythians might appear to some people very wild and savage. And indeed, what can be said for a nation that has lands, and yet does not cultivate them; that has herds of cattle, of which they content themselves with eating the milk, and neglect the flesh? The wool of their sheep might supply them with warm and comfortable clothes, and yet they use no other raiment than the skins of animals. But, that which is the greatest demonstration of

[z] Lib. ii. c. 2.
* Justitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.

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their ignorance and savageness, according to the general opinion of mankind, is their utter neglect of gold and silver, which have always been had in such great request in all civilized nations.

But, oh! how happy was this ignorance; how vastly preferable this savage state to our pretended politeness! * This contempt of all the conveniences of life, says Justin, was attended with such an honesty and uprightness of manners, as hindered them from ever coveting their neighbours' goods. For the desire of riches can only take place, where riches can be made use of. And would to God, says the same author, we could see the same moderation prevail among the rest of mankind, and the like indifference to the goods of other people! The world would not then have seen wars perpetually succeeding one another in all ages, and in all countries: nor would the number of those that are cut off by the sword, exceed that of those who fall by the irreversible decree and law of nature.

Justin finishes his character of the Scythians with a very judicious reflection. † It is a surprising thing, says he, that a happy natural disposition, without the assistance of education, should have inspired the Scythians with such a wisdom and moderation, as the Grecians could not attain to, neither by the institutions of their legislators, nor the rules and precepts of all their philosophers; and that the manners of a barbarous nation should be preferable to those of a people so much improved and refined by the polite arts and sciences. So much more happy effects were produced by the ignorance of vice in the one, than by the knowledge of virtue in the other!

[a] The Scythian fathers thought, with good reason, that they left their children a valuable inheritance, when they left them in peace and union with one another. One of their kings,

[a] Plut. *de garrul.* p. 511.

* Hæc continentia illis morum quoque justitiam indidit, nihil alienum concupiscentibus. Quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido est, ubi et usus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus similis moderatio et abstinentia alieni foret! profectò non tantum bellorum per omnia secula terris omnibus continuaretur: neque plus hominum ferrum et arma, quàm naturalis fatorum conditio raperet.

† Prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longâ sapientium doctrinâ præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quàm in his cognitio virtutis!

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whose name was Scylurus, finding himself draw near his end, sent for all his children, and giving to each of them, one after another, a bundle of arrows tied fast together, desired them to break them. Each used his endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the bundle, and giving them the arrows one by one, they were very easily broken. Let this image, says the father, be a lesson to you of the mighty advantage that results from union and concord. [b] In order to strengthen and enlarge these domestic advantages, the Scythians used to admit their friends into the same terms of union with them as their relations. Friendship was considered by them as a sacred and inviolable alliance, which differed but little from that which nature has put between brethren, and which they could not infringe without being guilty of a heinous crime.

Ancient authors seem to have vied with each other who should most extol the innocence of manners that reigned among the Scythians, by magnificent encomiums. That of Horace I shall transcribe at large. That poet does not confine it entirely to the Scythians, but joins the Getæ with them, who were their near neighbours. It is in that beautiful ode, where he inveighs against the luxury and irregularities of the age in which he lived. After having told us, that peace and tranquillity of mind is not to be procured either by immense riches, or sumptuous buildings, he adds, 'A hundred times happier are the Scythians, who roam about in their itinerant houses, their waggons; and happier even are the frozen Getæ. With them the earth, without being divided by landmarks, produceth her fruits, which are gathered in common. There each man's tillage is but of one year's continuance; and when that term of his labour is expired, he is relieved by a successor who takes his place, and manures the ground on the same conditions. There the innocent step-mothers form no cruel designs against the lives of their husbands' children by a former wife. The wives do not pretend to domineer over their husbands on account of their fortunes, nor are to be corrupted by the insinuating language of spruce adulterers. The greatest portion of the maiden, is her father's and mother's virtue, her inviolable attachment to her husband, and her perfect disregard of all

[b] Lucian. *in Tex.* p. 51.

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other men. They dare not be unfaithful, because they are convinced that infidelity is a crime, and its reward is death.'*

When we consider the manners and character of the Scythians without prejudice, can we possibly forbear to look upon them with esteem and admiration? Does not their manner of living, as to the exterior part of it at least, bear a great resemblance to that of the patriarchs, who had no fixed habitation; who did not till the ground; who had no other occupation than that of feeding their flocks and herds; and who dwelt in tents? Can we believe this people were much to be pitied, for not understanding, or rather for despising, the use of gold and silver? † Is it not to be wished that those metals had for ever lain buried in the bowels of the earth, and that they had never been dug from thence to become the causes and instruments of almost every crime. What advantage could gold or silver be of to the Scythians, who valued nothing but what the necessities of men actually require, and who took care to set narrow bounds to those necessities? It is no wonder, that, living as they did, without houses, they should make no account of those arts that were so highly valued in other places, as architecture, sculpture, and painting: or that they should despise fine clothes and costly furniture, since they found the skins of beasts sufficient to defend them against the inclemency of the seasons. After all, can we truly say, that these pretended advantages contri-

* Campestres meliùs Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas ritè trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ;
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt!
Nec cultura placet longior annuâ,
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquali recreat sorte vicarius.
Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens.
Nec dotata regit virum
Conjux, nec nitido fidit adultero.
Dos est magna parentium
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere castitas:
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium est mori.

Hor. lib. iii. *Od.* 21.

† Aurum irrepertum, et sic meliùs situm
Cùm terra celat, spernere fortior,
Quàm cogere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextrâ.

Hor. lib. iii. *Od.* 3.

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bute to the real happiness of life? Were those nations that had them in the greatest plenty, more healthful or robust than the Scythians? Did they live to a greater age than they? Or did they spend their lives in greater freedom and tranquillity, or a greater exemption from cares and troubles? Let us acknowledge, to the shame of ancient philosophy; the Scythians, who did not particularly apply themselves to the study of wisdom, carried it however to a greater height in their practice, than either the Egyptians, Grecians, or any other civilized nation. They did not give the name of goods or riches to any thing, but what, humanly speaking, truly deserved that title; as health, strength, courage, the love of labour and liberty, innocence of life, sincerity, an abhorrence of all fraud and dissimulation, and, in a word, all such qualities as render a man more virtuous and more valuable. If to these happy dispositions, we add the knowledge and love of the true God and of our Redeemer, without which the most exalted virtues are of no value, they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with those of the present age, we are tempted to believe, that the pencils which drew so beautiful a picture, were not free from partiality and flattery; and that both Justin and Horace have decked them with virtues that did not belong to them. But all antiquity agrees in giving the same testimony of them; and Homer in particular, whose opinion ought to be of great weight, calls them 'the most just and upright of men.'

But at length (who could believe it?) luxury, which might be thought to thrive only in an agreeable and delightful soil, penetrated into this rough and uncultivated region; and breaking down the fences, which the constant practice of several ages, founded in the nature of the climate and the genius of the people, had set against it, did at last effectually corrupt the manners of the Scythians, and bring them, in that respect, upon a level with the other nations, where it had long been predominant. It is [c] Strabo that acquaints us with this particular, which is very worthy of our notice: he lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. After having greatly commended the simplicity, frugality, and innocence of the ancient Scythians,

[c] Lib. vii. p. 301.

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and their extreme aversion to all deceit and even dissimulation, he owns, that their intercourse in later times with other nations had extirpated those virtues, and planted the contrary vices in their stead. One would think, says he, that the natural effect of such an intercourse with civilized and polite nations would only have been that of rendering them more humanized and courteous, by softening that air of savageness and ferocity, which they had before: but, instead of that, it introduced a total ruin of their ancient manners, and transformed them into quite different creatures. It is undoubtedly with reference to this change that Athenæus[d] says, the Scythians abandoned themselves to voluptuousness and luxury, at the same time that they suffered self-interest and avarice to prevail amongst them.

Strabo, in making the remark I have been mentioning, does not deny, but that it was to the Romans and Grecians this fatal change of manners was owing. Our example, says he, has perverted almost all the nations of the world; by carrying the refinements of luxury and pleasure amongst them, we have taught them insincerity and fraud, and a thousand kinds of shameful and infamous arts to get money. It is a miserable talent, and a very unhappy distinction for a nation, through its ingenuity in inventing modes, and refining upon every thing that tends to nourish and promote luxury, to become the corrupter of all its neighbours, and the author, as it were, of their vices and debauchery.

It was against these Scythians, but at a time when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmost vigour, that Darius turned his arms. This expedition I am now going to relate.

SECT. IV. DARIUS'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS. —[e] I have already observed, that the pretence used by Darius, for undertaking this war against the Scythians, was the irruption formerly made by that people into Asia: but in reality he had no other end than to satisfy his own ambition, and to extend his conquests.

His brother Artabanes, for whom he had a great regard, and who, on his side, had no less zeal for the true interests of

[d] Lib. xii. p. 524.

[e] Herod. l. iv. c. 83—96

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the king his brother, thought it his duty on this occasion to speak his sentiments with all the freedom that an affair of such importance required. 'Great prince,' says he to him,* 'they who form any great enterprise, ought carefully to consider, whether it will be beneficial or prejudicial to the state; whether the execution of it will be easy or difficult; whether it be likely to augment or diminish their glory; and lastly, whether the thing designed be consistent with, or contrary to, the rules of justice. For my own part, I cannot perceive, sir, even though you were sure of success, what advantage you can propose to yourself in undertaking a war against the Scythians. Consider the vast distance between them and you; and the prodigious space of land and sea that separates them from your dominions: besides, they are a people that dwell in wild and uncultivated deserts; that have neither towns nor houses; that have no fixed settlement, or place of habitation; and that are destitute of all manner of riches. What have your troops to gain from such an expedition? or, to speak more properly, what have they not rather to lose?

'Accustomed as the Scythians are to remove from country to country, if they should think proper to fly before you, not out of cowardice or fear, for they are a very courageous and warlike people, but only with a design to harass and ruin your army by continual and fatiguing marches; what will become of us in such an uncultivated, barren, and naked country, where we shall neither find forage for our horses, nor provision for our men? I am afraid, sir, that through a false notion of glory, and the insinuations of flatterers, you may be hurried into a war, which may turn to the dishonour of the nation. You now enjoy the sweets of peace and tranquillity in the midst of your people, where you are the object of their admiration, and the author of their happiness. You are sensible the gods have placed you upon the throne to be their coadjutor, or, to speak more properly, to be the dispenser of their bounty, rather than the minister of their power. You pride yourself upon being the protector, the guardian, and the father of

* Omnes qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, æstimare debent, an, quod inchoatur, reipublicæ utile, ipsis gloriosum, aut promptum effectu, aut certe non arduum sit. Tacit. *Hist.* l. ii. c. 76.

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your subjects: and you often declare to us, because you really believe so, that you look upon yourself as invested with sovereign power, only to make your people happy. What exquisite joy must it be to so great a prince as you are, to be the source of so many blessings; and under the shadow of your name to preserve such infinite numbers of people in so desirable a tranquillity! Is not the glory of a king who loves his subjects, and is beloved by them; who, instead of waging war against neighbouring or distant nations, makes use of his power to keep them in peace and amity with each other; is not such a glory infinitely preferable to that of ravaging and spoiling a country, of filling the earth with slaughter and desolation, with horror, consternation, and despair? But there is one motive more, which ought to have a greater influence upon you than all others, I mean that of justice. Thanks to the gods, you are not of the number of those princes, who* acknowledge no other law than that of force, and who imagine that they have a peculiar privilege annexed to their dignity, which private persons have not, of invading other men's properties. † You do not make your greatness consist in being able to do whatever you will, but in willing only what may be done without infringing the laws, or violating justice. To speak plain, shall one man be reckoned unjust, and a robber, for seizing on a few acres of his neighbour's estate; and shall another be reckoned just and great, and have the title of hero, because he seizes upon and usurps whole provinces? Permit me, sir, to ask you, what title have you to Scythia? What injury have the Scythians done you? What reason can you allege for declaring war against them? The war indeed, in which you have been engaged against the Babylonians, was at the same time both just and necessary: the gods have accordingly crowned your arms with success. It belongs to you, sir, to judge whether that which you are now going to undertake, be of the same nature.'

Nothing but the generous zeal of a brother, truly concerned for the glory of his prince and the good of his country, could

* Id in summâ fortunâ æquius, quod validius: et sua retinere, privatæ domûs: de alienis certare, regiam laudem esse. Tacit. *Annal.* l. xxv. c. 1.

† Ut felicitatis est quantum velis posse, sic magnitudinis velle quantum possis. Plin. *in Panegyr. Traj.*

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inspire such a freedom: as, on the other hand, nothing but a perfect moderation in the prince could make him capable of bearing with it. Darius, * as Tacitus observes of another great emperor, had the art of reconciling two things which are generally incompatible, the sovereignty and liberty. Far from being offended at the freedom used by his brother, he thanked him for his good advice, though he did not follow it; for he had taken his resolution. He departed from Susa at the head of an army of seven hundred thousand men; and his fleet, consisting of six hundred ships, was chiefly manned with Ionians, and other Grecian nations that dwelt upon the sea-coasts of Asia Minor and the Hellespont. He marched his army towards the Thracian Bosphorus, which he passed upon a bridge of boats: after which, having made himself master of all Thrace, he came to the banks of the Danube, otherwise called the Ister, where he had ordered his fleet to join him. In several places on his march he caused pillars to be erected with magnificent inscriptions, in one of which he suffered himself to be called, 'the best and handsomest of all men living.' What vanity! what a littleness of soul was this!

And yet if this prince's faults had terminated only in sentiments of pride and vanity, perhaps they would appear more excusable than they do, at least they would not have been so pernicious to his subjects. [f] But how shall we reconcile Darius's disposition, which seemed to be so exceeding humane and gentle, with his barbarous and cruel behaviour towards Oebazus, a venerable old man, whose merit, as well as quality, entitled him to respect? This nobleman had three sons, who were all preparing themselves to attend the king in this expedition against the Scythians. Upon Darius's departure from Susa, the good old father begged as a favour of him, that he would please to leave him one of his sons at home, to be a comfort to him in his old age. 'One,' replied Darius, 'will not be sufficient for you; I will leave you all the three:' and immediately he caused them all to be put to death.

[g] When the army had passed the Danube upon a bridge of

[f] Herod. l. iv. c. 84. Senec. *de Irâ*, c. 16. [g] Herod. l. iv. c. 99, 101.

* Nerva Cæsar res olim dissociabiles miscuit, principatum et libertatem. Tacit. *in vit. Agric.* c. iii.

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boats, the king was for having the bridge broken down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving so considerable a detachment of his troops as was necessary to guard it. But one of his officers represented to him, that it might be proper to keep that, as a necessary resource, in case the war with the Scythians should prove unfortunate. The king acquiesced, and committed the guarding of the bridge to the care of the Ionians, who built it; giving them leave at the same time to go back to their own country, if he did not return in the space of two months: he then proceeded on his march to Scythia.

[h] As soon as the Scythians were informed that Darius was marching against them, they immediately entered into consultation upon the measures necessary to be taken. They were very sensible, that they were not in a condition to resist by themselves so formidable an enemy. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring nations, and desired their assistance, alleging, that the danger was general, and concerned them all, and that it was their common interest to oppose an enemy, whose views of conquest were not confined to one nation. Some returned favourable answers to their demand; others absolutely refused to enter into a war which, they said, did not regard them; but they had soon reason to repent their refusal.

[i] One wise precaution taken by the Scythians, was to place their wives and children in safety, by sending them in carriages to the most northern parts of the country; and with them likewise they sent all their herds and flocks, reserving nothing to themselves but what was necessary for the support of their army. Another precaution of theirs was to fill up all their wells, and stop up their springs, and to consume all the forage in those parts through which the Persian army was to pass. This done, they marched, in conjunction with their allies, against the enemy, not with a view of giving him battle, for they were determined to avoid that, but to draw him into such places as suited best their interest. Whenever the Persians seemed disposed to attack them, they still retired farther up into the country; and thereby drew them on from place to place, into

[h] Herod. l. iv. c. 102, 118, 119. [i] Ibid. c. 120, 125.

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the territories of those nations that had refused to enter into alliance with them, whose lands became a prey to the two armies of the Persians and Scythians.

[k] Darius, weary of these tedious and fatiguing pursuits, sent a herald to the king of the Scythians, whose name was Indathyrsus, with this message in his name: 'Prince of the Scythians, wherefore dost thou continually fly before me? Why dost thou not stop somewhere or other, either to give me battle if thou believest thyself able to encounter me, or, if thou thinkest thyself too weak, to acknowledge thy master, by presenting him with earth and water?' The Scythians were a high-spirited people, extremely jealous of their liberty, and professed enemies to all slavery. Indathyrsus sent Darius the following answer: 'If I fly before thee, prince of the Persians, it is not because I fear thee: what I do now, is no more than what I am used to do in time of peace. We Scythians have neither cities nor lands to defend: if thou hast a mind to force us to come to an engagement, come and attack the tombs of our fathers, and thou shalt find what manner of men we are. As to the title of master, which thou assumest, keep it for other nations than the Scythians. For my part, I acknowledge no other master than the great Jupiter, one of my own ancestors, and the goddess Vesta.'

[l] The farther Darius advanced into the country, the greater hardships his army was exposed to. Just when it was reduced to the last extremity, there came a herald from the Scythian prince, who was commissioned to present to Darius a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The king desired to know the meaning of those gifts. The messenger answered, that his orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more; and that it was left to the Persian king to find out the meaning. Darius concluded at first, that the Scythians thereby consented to deliver up the earth and water to him, which were represented by the mouse and frog; as also their cavalry, whose swiftness was represented by the bird; together with their own persons and arms, signified by the arrows. But Gobryas, one of the seven lords that had deposed the Magian impostor, expounded the enigma in the following manner: 'Know,' says he to the

[k] Herod. l. iv. c. 126, 127. [l] Ibid. c. 128, 132.

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Persians, ‘ that unless you can fly in the air like birds, or hide yourselves in the earth like mice, or dive under the water like frogs, you shall in no wise be able to avoid the arrows of the Scythians.’

[m] And, indeed, the whole Persian army, marching in a vast, uncultivated, and barren country, completely destitute of water, was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin : nor was Darius himself exempt from the common danger. He owed his preservation to a camel, which was loaded with water, and followed him with great difficulty through that wild and desert country. The king afterwards did not forget his benefactor : to reward him for the service he had done him, and the fatigues he had undergone, on his return to Asia, he settled a certain district of his own upon him for his peculiar use and subsistence, for which reason the place was called Gaugamele, that is, in the Persian tongue, ‘ the Camel’s habitation.’ It was near the same place that Darius Codomannus received a second overthrow by Alexander the Great.

[n] Darius deliberated no longer, finding himself under an absolute necessity of quitting his rash enterprise. He began then to think in earnest of returning home ; and saw but too plainly, that there was no time to be lost. As soon therefore as night came, the Persians, to deceive the enemy, lighted a great number of fires, as usual ; and leaving the old men and the sick behind them in the camp, together with all their asses, which made a sufficient noise, they set out upon their march, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians did not perceive they were gone till the next morning; whereupon they immediately sent a considerable detachment to the Danube : this detachment being perfectly well acquainted with the roads of the country, arrived at the bridge a great while before the Persians. The Scythians had sent expresses beforehand to persuade the Ionians to break the bridge, and to return to their own country ; and the latter had promised to do it, but without designing to execute their promise. The Scythians now pressed them to it more earnestly, and represented to them, that the time prescribed by Darius for staying there was

[m] Strabo, l. vii. p. 305. and l. xvi. p. 737. [n] Herod. l. iv. c. 134, 140.

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elapsed; that they were at liberty to return home, without either violating their word or their duty; that they now had it in their power to throw off for ever the yoke of their subjection, and make themselves a happy and free people; and that the Scythians would render Darius incapable of forming any more enterprises against any of his neighbours.

The Ionians entered into consultation upon the affair. Miltiades the Athenian, who was prince, or, as the Greeks call it, tyrant, of the Chersonesus of Thrace, at the mouth of the Hellespont, was one of those that accompanied Darius, and furnished him with ships for his enterprise. Having* the public interest more at heart than his private advantage, he was of opinion, that they should comply with the request of the Scythians, and embrace so favourable an opportunity of recovering the liberty of Ionia: all the other commanders acquiesced in his sentiments, except Hystiæus the tyrant of Miletus. When it came to his turn to speak, he represented to the Ionian generals, that their fortune was linked with that of Darius; that it was under that prince's protection that each of them was master in his own city; and if the power of the Persians should sink or decline, the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose their tyrants, and recover their freedom. All the other chiefs were influenced by his opinion; and, as is usual in most cases, the consideration of private interest prevailed over the public good. They resolved therefore to wait for Darius: but, in order to deceive the Scythians, and hinder them from undertaking any thing, they declared to them, that they had resolved to retire, pursuant to their request; and, the better to carry on the fraud, they actually began to break one end of the bridge, exhorting the Scythians at the same time to do their part, to return speedily back to meet the common enemy, to attack and defeat them. The Scythians being too credulous, retired, and were deceived a second time.

° They missed Darius, who had taken a different route from that in which they expected to come up with him. He arrived by night at the bridge over the Danube; and finding it broken down, he no longer doubted but the Ionians were gone, and

° Herod. l. iv. c. 141, 144.

* Amicior omnium libertati quàm suæ dominationi fuit. Corn. Nep.

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that consequently he should be ruined. He made his people call out with a loud voice for Hystiæus, the Milesian, who at last answered, and put the king out of his anxiety. They entirely repaired the bridge; so that Darius repassed the Danube, and came back into Thrace. There he left Megabyzus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country, and entirely reduce it to his obedience. After which he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest of his troops, and went to Sardis, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following, in order to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.

[p] Megabyzus continued some time in Thrace; whose inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they had the discretion to unite their forces, and to choose one chief commander. Some of them had very particular customs. In one of their districts, when a child came into the world, all the relations expressed great sorrow and affliction, bitterly weeping at the prospect of the misery which the new-born infant had to experience. While, on the other hand, on the death of any of their family, they all rejoiced, because they looked upon the deceased person as happy only from that moment wherein he was delivered for ever from the troubles and calamities of this life. In another district, where polygamy was in fashion, when a husband died, it was a great dispute among his wives which of them was best beloved. She in whose favour the contest was decided, had the privilege of being sacrificed by her nearest relation upon the tomb of her husband, and of being buried with him; whilst all the other wives envied her happiness, and thought themselves in some sort dishonoured.

[q] Darius, on his return to Sardis, after his unhappy expedition against the Scythians, having learnt for certain that he owed both his own safety and that of his whole army to Hystiæus, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for that prince to his court, and desired him freely to ask any favour in recompense of his service. Hystiæus hereupon desired the king to give him Mircina of Edonia,

[p] Herod. l. v. c. 1.

[q] Ibid. c. 11 and 23.

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a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, together with the liberty of building a city there. His request was readily granted; and he returned to Miletus, where he caused a fleet of ships to be equipped, and then set out for Thrace. Having taken possession of the territory granted him, he immediately set about the execution of his project in building a city.

[r] Megabyzus, who was then governor of Thrace for Darius, immediately perceived how prejudicial that undertaking would be to the king's affairs in those quarters. He considered, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it abounded in timber fit for building of ships; that it was inhabited by different nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who were able to furnish great numbers of men for land and sea-service; that, if once those people were under the guidance of a leader so skilful and enterprising as Hystiæus, they might become so powerful both by sea and land, that it would be no longer possible for the king to keep them in subjection; especially considering that they had a great many gold and silver mines in that country, which would enable them to carry on any projects they might think fit to form. At his return to Sardis, he represented all these things to the king, who was convinced by his reasons, and therefore sent for Hystiæus to come to him at Sardis, pretending to have some great designs in view, wherein he wanted the assistance of his counsel. When he had brought him to his court by this means, he carried him to Susa, making him believe that he set an extraordinary value upon a friend of such fidelity and understanding; two qualifications that rendered him very dear to him, and of which he had given such memorable proofs in the Scythian expedition; giving him to understand at the same time, that he should be able to find something for him in Persia, which would make him ample amends for all that he could leave behind him. Hystiæus, pleased with so honourable a distinction, and finding himself likewise under a necessity of complying, accompanied Darius to Susa, and left Aristagoras to govern at Miletus in his room.

[s] Whilst Megabyzus was still in Thrace, he sent several Persian noblemen to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, to require

[r] Herod. l. v. c. 23 and 25. [s] Ibid. c. 17 and 21.

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him to give earth and water to Darius his master: this was the usual form of one prince's submitting to another. Amyntas readily complied with that request, and paid all imaginable honours to the envoys. Towards the end of an entertainment which he made for them, they desired that the ladies might be brought in, which was a thing contrary to the custom of the country: however, the king would not venture to refuse them. The Persian noblemen, being heated with wine, and thinking they might use the same freedom as in their own country, did not observe a due decorum towards those princesses. The king's son, whose name was Alexander, could not see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, without great resentment and indignation. Wherefore, upon some pretence or other, he contrived to send the ladies out of the room, as if they were to return again presently, and had the precaution to get the king, his father, also out of the company. In this interval he caused some young men to be drest like women, and to be armed with poniards under their garments. These pretended ladies came into the room instead of the others; and when the Persians began to treat them, as they had before treated the princesses, they drew out their poniards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the noblemen, but every one of their attendants. The news of this slaughter soon reached Susa; and the king appointed commissioners to take cognizance of the matter: but Alexander, by the power of bribes and presents, stifled the affair, so that nothing came of it.

[t] The Scythians, to be revenged of Darius for invading their country, passed the Danube, and ravaged all that part of Thrace that had submitted to the Persians, as far as the Hellespont. Miltiades, to avoid their fury, abandoned the Chersonesus: but after the enemy retired, he returned thither again, and was restored to the same power he had before over the inhabitants of the country.

SECT. V. DARIUS'S CONQUEST OF INDIA.—About the same time, that is, in the thirteenth year of Darius's reign, this prince having an ambition to extend his dominion eastwards, first resolved, in order to facilitate his con-

A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.

[t] Herod. l. vi. c. 40.

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quests, to get a proper knowledge of the country. [u] To this end, he caused a fleet to be built and fitted out at Caspatyra, a city upon the Indus, and did the same at several other places on the same river, as far as the frontiers of * Scythia. The command of this fleet was given to † Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a town of Caria, who was perfectly well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down that river, and get all the knowledge he possibly could of the country on both sides, quite down to the mouth of the river; to pass from thence into the Southern Ocean, and to steer his course afterwards to the west, and so return back that way to Persia. Scylax, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed quite down the river Indus, entered the Red Sea by the straits of Babelmandel; and after a voyage of thirty months from the time of his setting out from Caspatyra, he arrived in Egypt at the same port [x] from whence Necho, king of Egypt, had formerly sent the Phœnicians, who were in his service, with orders to sail round the coasts of Africa. Very probably this was the same port where now stands the town of Suez, at the farther end of the Red Sea. From thence Scylax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius an account of all his discoveries. Darius afterwards entered India with an army, and subjected all that vast country. The reader will naturally expect to be informed of the particulars of so important a war. But Herodotus says not one word about it: he only tells us, [y] that India made the twentieth province, or government, of the Persian empire, and that the annual revenue accruing from hence to Darius was three hundred and sixty talents of gold, which amount to near eleven millions of livres French money, something less than five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

SECT. VI. THE REVOLT OF THE IONIANS.—[z] Darius, after his return to Susa from his Scythian expedition, had given his brother Artaphernes the government of Sardis, and made Otanes commander in Thrace, and

A. M. 3500. Ant. J. C. 504.

[u] Herod. l. iv. c. 44. [x] Ibid. c. 42. [y] Ibid. l. iii. c. 94. [z] Ibid. l. v. c. 25.

* Asiatic Scythia is meant.

† There is a geographical treatise entitled Περίπλους, and composed by one Scylax of Caryandia, who is thought to be the same person spoken of in this place. But that opinion is attended with some difficulties, which have given occasion to many learned dissertations.

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the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of Megabyzus.

[a] From a small spark, kindled by a sedition at Naxus, a great flame arose, which gave occasion to a considerable war. Naxus was the most important island of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea, now called the Archipelago. In this sedition, the principal inhabitants having been overpowered by the populace, who were the greater number, many of the richest families were banished out of the island. Hereupon they fled to Miletus, and implored the assistance of Aristagoras, to reinstate them in their native place. He was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hystiæus, to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law, and whom Darius had carried along with him to Susa. Aristagoras promised to give these exiles the assistance they desired.

But not being powerful enough himself to execute what he had promised, he went to Sardis, and communicated the affair to Artaphernes. He represented to him that this was a very favourable opportunity for reducing Naxus under the power of Darius; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades would fall of themselves into his hands, one after another; that in consequence the isle of Eubœa, (now Negropont,) which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near them, would be easily conquered, which would give the king a free passage into Greece, and the means of subjecting all that country; and, in short, that a hundred ships would be sufficient for the effectual execution of this enterprise. Artaphernes was so pleased with the project, that instead of one hundred vessels, which Aristagoras required, he promised him two hundred, in case he obtained the king's consent to the expedition.

The king, charmed with the mighty hopes with which he was flattered, very readily approved the enterprise, though founded only upon injustice and a boundless ambition, as also upon perfidiousness on the part of Aristagoras and Artaphernes. No consideration gave him a moment's pause. The most injurious project is formed and accepted without the least reluctance or scruple: motives of advantage and convenience

[a] Herod. l. v. c. 28 and 34.

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solely determine. The isle lies convenient for the Persians: this is conceived a sufficient title, and a warrantable ground to reduce it by force of arms. And, indeed, most of the other expeditions of this prince had no better principle.

As soon as Artaphernes had obtained the king's consent to this project, he made the necessary preparations for executing it. The better to conceal his design, and to surprise the people of Naxus, he spread a report that this fleet was going towards the Hellespont; and the spring following he sent the number of ships he had promised to Miletus under the command of Megabates, a Persian nobleman of the royal family of Achæmenes. But being directed in his commission to obey the orders of Aristagoras, the high-spirited Persian could not bear to be under the command of an Ionian, especially one who treated him in a haughty and imperious manner. This pique occasioned a breach between the two generals, which rose so high, that Megabates, to be revenged of Aristagoras, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design formed against them. Upon which they made such preparations for their defence, that the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the capital of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire.

[b] This project having thus miscarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristagoras, and entirely ruined his credit with Artaphernes. The Ionian instantly foresaw that this accident would be attended, not only with the loss of his government, but with his utter ruin. The desperate situation to which he was reduced, made him think of revolting from the king, as the only expedient whereby he could possibly save himself. No sooner had he formed this design, than a messenger came to him from Hystiæus, who gave him the same counsel. Hystiæus, who had now been some years at the Persian court, being disgusted with the manners of that nation, and having an ardent desire to return to his own country, thought this the most likely means of accomplishing his wish, and therefore gave Aristagoras that counsel. He flattered himself, that in case any troubles arose in Ionia he could prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them: and, in fact, the thing happened according

[b] Herod. l. v. c. 35, 36.

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to his expectation. As soon as Aristagoras found his design seconded by the orders of Hystiæus, he imparted them to the principal persons of Ionia, whom he found extremely well disposed to enter into his views. He therefore deliberated no longer, but being determined to revolt, applied himself wholly in making preparations for it.

The people of Tyre, having been reduced to slavery when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppression for the space of seventy years. But after the expiration of that term, they were restored, according to * Isaiah's prophecy, to the possession of their ancient privileges, with the liberty of having a king of their own; which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. It seems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in consideration of the services he expected to receive from that city (which was so powerful by sea) in reducing the Ionians to their ancient subjection. This was in the 19th year of Darius's reign.

A. M. 3502. Ant. J. C. 502.

[c] The next year, Aristagoras, in order to engage the Ionians to adhere the more closely to him, reinstated them in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he divested himself of his power, and resigned it into the hands of the people. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his influence, and perhaps by the fear that they would be forced to it whether they would or no, he prevailed upon all the other tyrants to do the same in every city. They complied the more readily, as the Persian power, since the check it received in Scythia, was the less able to protect them against the Ionians, who were naturally fond of liberty and a state of independence, and professed enemies to all tyranny. Having united them all in this manner in one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he set up the standard of rebellion against the king, and made great preparations by sea and land for supporting a war against him.

[d] To enable himself to carry on the war with more vigour,

[c] Herod. l. v. c. 37, 38. [d] Ibid. c. 38, 41, 49, and 51.

* And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire. Isa. xxiii. 17.

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Aristagoras went in the beginning of the following year to Lacedæmon, in order to bring that city into his interest, and engage it to furnish him with succours. Cleomenes was at this time king of Sparta. He was the son of Anaxandrides by a second wife, whom the Ephori had obliged him to marry, because he had no issue by the first. He had by her three sons besides Cleomenes, namely, Doriæus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus, the two last of which ascended the throne of Lacedæmon in their turns. Aristagoras then addressed himself to Cleomenes, and the time and place for an interview between them being agreed on, he waited upon him, and represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that Sparta being the most powerful city of Greece, it would be for her honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the Ionians to their liberty; that the Persians, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the Lacedæmonians; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Susa, the metropolis of the Persian empire, and the place of the king's residence: he showed him, at the same time, a plan of all the nations and towns through which they were to pass, engraven upon a little plate of brass which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes desired three days' time to consider of his proposals. That term being expired, he asked the Ionian how far it was from the Ionian Sea to Susa, and how much time it required to go from the one place to the other. Aristagoras, without considering the effect his answer was likely to have upon Cleomenes, told him, that from Ionia to Susa was about three months' * journey. Cleomenes was so amazed at this proposal, that he immediately ordered him to depart from Sparta before sunset. Aristagoras nevertheless followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to win him

* According to Herodotus's computation, who reckons the parasanga, a Persian measure, to contain 30 stadia, the distance from Sardis to Susa is 450 parasangas, or 13,500 stadia, which make 675 French leagues; (for 20 stadia are generally reckoned to one of our common leagues.) So that by travelling 150 stadia per day, which make seven leagues and a half, French measure, it is ninety days' journey from Sardis to Susa. If they set out from Ephesus, it would require about four days more; for Ephesus is 540 stadia from Sardis.

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by arguments of another sort, that is, by presents. The first sum he offered him was only ten talents, which were equivalent to thirty thousand livres French money: that being refused, he still rose in his offers, till at last he proposed to give him fifty talents. Gorgo, a daughter of Cleomenes, about eight or nine years of age, whom her father had not ordered to quit the room, as apprehending nothing from so young a child, hearing the proposals that were made, cried out, 'Fly, father, fly, this stranger will corrupt you.' Cleomenes laughed, but yet observed the child's admonition, and actually retired: Aristagoras left Sparta.

[e] From hence he proceeded to Athens, where he found a more favourable reception. He had the good fortune to arrive there at a time when the Athenians were extremely well disposed to hearken to any proposals that could be made to them against the Persians, with whom they were highly offended on the following occasion. Hippias, the * son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, who, about ten years before, had been banished, after having tried in vain abundance of methods for his reestablishment, at last went to Sardis, and made his application to Artaphernes. He insinuated himself so far into the good opinion of that governor, that he gave a favourable ear to all he said to the disadvantage of the Athenians, and became extremely prejudiced against them. The Athenians, having intelligence of this, sent an ambassador to Sardis, and desired of Artaphernes, not to give ear to what any of their outlaws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of Artaphernes to this message was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall Hippias. When this haughty answer was brought back to the Athenians, the whole city were violently enraged against the Persians. Aristagoras coming thither just at this juncture, easily obtained all he desired. Herodotus remarks on this occasion, how much easier it is to impose upon a multitude, than upon a single person: and so Aristagoras found it; for he prevailed with thirty thousand Athenians to come to a resolution, into which he could not persuade Cleo-

[e] Herod. l. v. c. 55, 96, 97.
* This fact has been before treated at large in this volume.

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menes alone. They engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist him in his design: and it may be truly said, that this little fleet was the original source of all the calamities, in which both the Persians and Grecians were afterwards involved.

[f] In the third year of this war, the Ionians, having collected all their forces together, and being reinforced with the twenty vessels furnished by the city of Athens, and five more from Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, set sail for Ephesus, and leaving their ships there, they marched by land to the city of Sardis: finding the place in a defenceless condition, they soon made themselves masters of it; but the citadel, into which Artaphernes retired, they were not able to force. As most of the houses of this city were built with reeds, and consequently were very combustible, an Ionian soldier having set fire to one house, the flames soon spread and communicated to the rest, and reduced the whole city to ashes. Upon this accident the Persians and Lydians, assembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians judged it was time for them to think of retreating; and accordingly they marched back with all possible diligence, in order to reimbark at Ephesus: but the Persians arriving there almost as soon as they, attacked them vigorously, and destroyed a great number of their men. The Athenians, after the return of their ships, would never engage any more in this war, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Aristagoras.

A. M. 3504. Ant. J. C. 500.

[g] Darius being informed of the burning of Sardis, and of the part the Athenians took in that affair, he resolved from that very time to make war upon Greece: and that he might never forget this resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry out to him with a loud voice every night, when he was at supper, 'Sir, remember the Athenians.' In the burning of Sardis it happened, that the temple of Cybele, the goddess of that country, was consumed with the rest of the city. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the Persians to burn all the temples they found in Greece: to which they were likewise induced by a religious motive, which I have explained before.

[f] Herod. l. v. c. 99, 103.

[g] Ibid. c. 105.

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[h] As Aristagoras, the head and manager of this revolt, was Hystiæus's lieutenant at Miletus, Darius suspected that the latter might probably be the contriver of the whole conspiracy: for which reason he entered into a free conference with him upon the subject, and acquainted him with his thoughts, and the just grounds he had for his suspicion. Hystiæus, who was a crafty courtier, and an expert master in the art of dissembling, appeared extremely surprised and afflicted; and speaking in a tone that at once expressed both sorrow and indignation, 'Is it then possible, sir,' said he to the king, 'for your majesty to have entertained so injurious a suspicion of the most faithful and most affectionate of your servants? I concerned in a rebellion against you! Alas, what is there in the world that could tempt me to it? Do I want any thing here? Am I not already raised to one of the highest stations in your court? And besides the honour I have of assisting at your councils, do I not daily receive new proofs of your bounty, by the numberless favours you heap upon me?' After this he insinuated, that the revolt in Ionia proceeded from his absence and distance from the country; that they had waited for that opportunity to rebel; that if he had staid at Miletus, the conspiracy would never have been formed; that the surest way to restore the king's affairs in that province, would be to send him thither to quell the insurrection; that he promised him, on the forfeiture of his head, to deliver Aristagoras into his hands; and engaged, besides all this, to make the large island of Sardinia * tributary to him. The best princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a subject into their confidence, it is with difficulty they withdraw it from him; nor do they easily undeceive themselves. Darius, imposed upon by the air of sincerity with which Hystiæus spoke on this occasion, believed him on his own word, and gave him leave to return to Ionia, on condition he came back to the Persian court as soon as he had executed what he promised.

A. M. 3505. Ant. J. C. 499.

[i] The revolters, in the mean time, though deserted by the

[h] Herod. l. v. c. 105 and 107. [i] Ibid. c. 103, 104, 108, and 122.

* This island is very remote from Ionia, and could have no relation to it. I am therefore apt to believe it must be an error that has crept into the text of Herodotus.

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Athenians, and notwithstanding the considerable check they had received in Ionia, did not lose courage, but still pushed on their point with resolution. Their fleet set sail towards the Hellespont and the Propontis, and reduced Byzantium, with the greater part of the other Grecian cities, in that quarter. After which, as they were returning back again, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war, as also the people of Cyprus. The Persian generals, having divided their forces among themselves, marched three different ways against the rebels, and defeated them in several encounters, in one of which Aristagoras was slain.

A. M. 3506. Ant. J. C. 498.

[k] When Hystiæus was arrived at Sardis, his intriguing temper induced him to form a plot against the government, into which he drew a great number of Persians. But, perceiving by some discourse he had with Artaphernes, that the part he had had in the revolt of Ionia was not unknown to that government, he thought it not safe for him to stay any longer at Sardis, and retired secretly the night following to the isle of Chios; from thence he sent a trusty messenger to Sardis, with letters for such of the Persians as he had gained to his party. This messenger betrayed him, and delivered his letters to Artaphernes, by which means the plot was discovered, all his accomplices put to death, and his project utterly defeated. But still imagining that he could bring about some enterprise of importance, if he were once at the head of the Ionian league, he made several attempts to get into Miletus, and to be admitted into the confederacy by the citizens: but none of his endeavours succeeded, and he was obliged to return to Chios.

[l] There, being asked why he had so strongly urged Aristagoras to revolt, and by that means involved Ionia in such calamities, he made answer, that it was because the king had resolved to transport the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to plant the Phœnicians in Ionia. But all this was a mere story and fiction of his own inventing. Darius having never conceived any such design. The artifice however served his purpose extremely well, not only for justifying him to the Ionians, but also for engaging them to prosecute the war with vigour. For,

[k] Herod. l. vi. c. 1—5. [l] Ibid. c. 3.

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being alarmed at the thoughts of this transmigration, they came to a firm resolution to defend themselves against the Persians to the last extremity.

A. M. 3507. Ant. J. C. 497.

[m] Artaphernes and Otanes, with the rest of the Persian generals, finding that Miletus was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that if they could carry that city, all the rest would submit of course. The Ionians, having intelligence of their design, determined in a general assembly to send no army into the field, but to fortify Miletus, and to furnish it to the utmost of their power with provisions, and all things necessary for enduring a siege; and to unite all their forces to engage the Persians at sea, their dexterity in maritime affairs inducing them to believe that they should have the advantage in a naval battle. The place of their rendezvous was Lade, a small isle over-against Miletus, where they assembled a fleet of three hundred and fifty-three vessels. At the sight of this fleet, the Persians, though stronger by one half with respect to the number of their ships, were afraid to hazard a battle, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert: so that when the two fleets came to engage, the ships of Samos, of Lesbos, and several other places, sailed off, and returned to their own country; and the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above a hundred vessels, which were all quickly overpowered by numbers, and almost entirely destroyed. After this, the city of Miletus was besieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who utterly destroyed it. This happened six years after Aristagoras's revolt. All the other cities, as well on the continent as on the sea-coast and in the isles, returned to their duty soon after, either voluntarily or by force. Those persons that stood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handsomest of the young men were chosen to serve in the king's palace; and the young women were all sent into Persia; the cities and temples were reduced to ashes. These were the effects of the revolt, into which the people were drawn by the ambitious views of Aristagoras and Hystiæus.

[m] Herod. l. vi. c. 6—10, 31, and 33.

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[n] The latter of these two had his share also in the general calamity: for that same year he was taken by the Persians, and carried to Sardis, where Artaphernes caused him to be immediately hanged, without consulting Darius, lest that prince's affection for Hystiæus should incline him to pardon him, and by that means a dangerous enemy should be left alive, who might create the Persians new troubles. It appeared by the sequel, that Artaphernes's conjecture was well grounded: for when Hystiæus's head was brought to Darius, he expressed great dissatisfaction at the authors of his death, and caused the head to be honourably interred, as being the remains of a person to whom he had infinite obligations, the remembrance whereof was too deeply engraven on his mind, ever to be effaced by the greatness of any crimes he had afterwards committed. Hystiæus was one of those restless, bold, and enterprising spirits, in whom many good qualities are joined with still greater vices; with whom all means are lawful and good, that promote the end they have in view; who look upon justice, probity, and sincerity, as mere empty names; who make no scruple to employ lying or fraud, treachery, or even perjury, when it is to serve their turn; and who reckon the ruin of nations, or even their own country, as nothing, if necessary to their own elevation. His end was worthy his sentiments, and such as is common enough to these irreligious politicians, who sacrifice every thing to their ambition, and acknowledge no other rule of their actions, and hardly any other God, than their interest and fortune.

SECT. VII. THE EXPEDITION OF DARIUS'S ARMY AGAINST GREECE.—[o] Darius, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, sent Mardonius the son of Gobryas, a young lord of an illustrious Persian family, who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis upon the Athenians and Eretrians. The king did not show much wisdom in this choice, by which he preferred a young man, because he

A. M. 3510. Ant. J. C. 494.

[n] Herod. l. vi. c. 29, 30.

[o] Ibid. c. 43, 45.

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was a favourite, to all his oldest and most experienced generals; especially in so difficult a war, the success of which he had very much at heart, and wherein the glory of his reign was infinitely concerned. His being son-in-law to the king was a quality, indeed, that might augment his influence, but added nothing to his real merit, or his capacity as a general.

Upon his arrival in Macedonia, into which he had marched with his land forces after having passed through Thrace, the whole country, terrified by his power, submitted. But his fleet, attempting to double mount Athos (now called Capo Santo) in order to gain the coasts of Macedonia, was attacked by so violent a storm, that upwards of three hundred ships, with above twenty thousand men, perished in the sea. His land army met at the same time with no less fatal a blow. For, being encamped in a place of no security, the Thracians attacked the Persian camp by night, made a great slaughter, and wounded Mardonius himself. All this ill success obliged him shortly after to return into Asia, with grief and confusion at his having miscarried both by sea and land in this expedition.

Darius perceiving, too late, that Mardonius's youth and inexperience had occasioned the defeat of his troops, recalled him, and put two other generals in his place, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. The king's thoughts were earnestly bent upon putting in execution the great design he had long had in his mind, which was, to attack Greece with all his forces, and particularly to take a signal vengeance on the people of Athens and Eretria, whose enterprise against Sardis was perpetually in his thoughts.

1. *The State of Athens. The Characters of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides.*—Before we enter upon this war, it will be proper to refresh our memories with a view of the state of Athens at this time, which alone sustained the first shock of the Persians at Marathon; as also to form some idea beforehand of the great men who shared in that celebrated victory.

Athens, just delivered from that yoke of servitude, which she had been forced to bear for above thirty years, under the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, now peaceably enjoyed

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the advantages of liberty, the sweetness and value of which were only heightened and improved by that short privation. Lacedæmon, which was at this time the mistress of Greece, and had contributed at first to this happy change in Athens, seemed afterwards to repent of her good offices: and growing jealous of the tranquillity she herself had procured for her neighbours, she attempted to disturb it by endeavouring to reinstate Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, in the government of Athens. But all her attempts were fruitless, and served only to manifest her ill-will, and her grief, to see Athens determined to maintain its independence even of Sparta itself. Hippias hereupon had recourse to the Persians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, sent the Athenians word, as we have already mentioned, that they must reestablish Hippias in his authority, unless they chose rather to draw the whole power of Darius upon them. This second attempt succeeded no better than the first, and Hippias was obliged to wait for a more favourable juncture. We shall see presently, that he served as a conductor or guide to the Persian generals, sent by Darius against Greece.

Athens, from the time of the recovery of her liberty, was quite another city than under her tyrants, and displayed a very different kind of spirit. [p] Among the citizens, Miltiades distinguished himself most in the war with the Persians, which we are going to relate. He was the son of Cimon, an illustrious Athenian. This Cimon had a half-brother by the mother's side, whose name was likewise Miltiades, of a very ancient and noble family in Ægina, who had lately been received into the number of the Athenian citizens. He was a person of great credit even in the time of Pisistratus: but, as he could not endure the yoke of a despotic government, he joyfully embraced the offer made him, of going to settle with a colony in the Thracian Chersonesus, whither he was invited by the Dolonci, the inhabitants of that country, to be their king, or, according to the language of those times, their tyrant. He, dying without children, left the sovereignty to Stesagoras, his nephew, the eldest son of his brother Cimon; and Stesagoras dying also without issue, the sons of Pisistratus, who then ruled the

[p] Herod. l. vi. 34—41. Corn. Nep. *in Mil.* cap. i.—iii.

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city of Athens, sent his brother Miltiades, the person we are now speaking of, into that country to be his successor. He arrived there, and established himself in the government in the same year that Darius undertook his expedition against the Scythians. He attended that prince with some ships as far as the Danube; and it was he who advised the Ionians to destroy the bridge, and to return home without waiting for Darius. During his residence in the Chersonesus, he married * Hegesipyla, daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, the famous Athenian general, of whom a great deal will be said in the sequel. Miltiades, having for several reasons abdicated his government in Thrace, embarked, and took all that he had on board five ships, and set sail for Athens. There he settled a second time, and acquired great reputation.

[q] At the same time two other citizens, younger than Miltiades, began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely, Aristides and Themistocles. Plutarch observes, that the former of these two had endeavoured to form himself upon the model of Clisthenes, one of the greatest men of his time, and a zealous defender of liberty, who had greatly contributed to the restoring it at Athens, by expelling the Pisistratidæ out of that city. It was an excellent custom among the ancients, and which it were to be wished might prevail amongst us, that the young men, ambitious of public employments, particularly † attached themselves to such aged and experienced persons, as had distinguished themselves most eminently therein; and who, both by their conversation and example, could teach them the art of conducting themselves, and governing others, with wisdom and discretion. Thus, says Plutarch, did Aristides attach himself to Clisthenes, and Cimon to Aristides; and he enumerates several others, and among the rest Polybius, whom we have mentioned so often, and who in his youth was the

[q] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 319, 320. and *in Them.* p 112, 113. *An seni sit ger. Resp.* p. 790, 791.

* After the death of Miltiades, this princess had by a second husband a son, who was called Olorus, after the name of his grandfather, and who was the father of Thucydides the historian. Herod.

† Discere à peritis, sequi optimos. Tacit. *in Agric.*

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constant disciple, and faithful imitator, of the celebrated Philopœmen.

Themistocles and Aristides were of very different dispositions; but they both rendered great services to the commonwealth. Themistocles, who naturally inclined to popular government, omitted nothing that could contribute to render him agreeable to the people, and to gain him friends; behaving himself with great affability and complaisance to every body, always ready to do service to the citizens, every one of whom he knew by name; nor was he very nice about the means he used to oblige them. [r] Somebody talking with him once on this subject, told him, he would make an excellent magistrate, if his behaviour towards the citizens was more impartial, and if he was not biassed in favour of one more than another: 'God forbid,' replied Themistocles, 'I should ever sit upon a tribunal, where my friends should find no more credit or favour than strangers.' Cleon, who appeared some time after at Athens, observed a quite different conduct, but yet such as was not wholly exempt from blame. When he came into the administration of public affairs, he assembled all his friends, and declared to them, that from that moment he renounced their friendship, lest it should prove an obstacle to him in the discharge of his duty, and cause him to act with partiality and injustice. This was doing them very little honour, and entertaining no very high opinion of them. But, as Plutarch says, it was not his friends but his passions that he ought to have renounced.

Aristides had the discretion to observe a just medium between these two vicious extremes. Being a favourer of aristocracy in imitation of Lycurgus, whom he greatly admired, he in a manner struck out a new path of his own; not endeavouring to oblige his friends at the expense of justice, and yet always ready to do them service when consistent with it. He carefully avoided making use of his friends' recommendations for obtaining employments, lest it should prove a dangerous obligation upon him, as well as a plausible pretext for them to require the same favour from him on the like occasion. He used to

[r] Cic. *de Senect.* Plut. *An seni sit ger. Resp.* p. 806, 807.

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say, that the true citizen, or the honest man, ought to make no other use of his credit and power, than upon all occasions to practise what was honest and just, and engage others to do the same.

Considering this contrariety of principles and humours, we are not to wonder, if, during the administration of these great men, there was a continual opposition between them. Themistocles, who was bold and enterprising, was sure almost always to find Aristides against him, who thought himself obliged to thwart the other's designs, even sometimes when they were just and beneficial to the public, lest he should gain too great an ascendant and authority, which might become pernicious to the commonwealth. One day, having got the better of Themistocles, who had made some proposal really advantageous to the state, he could not contain himself, but cried aloud as he went out of the assembly, 'that the Athenians would never prosper, till they threw them both into the Barathrum:' the Barathrum was a pit, into which malefactors condemned to die were thrown. [s] But notwithstanding this mutual opposition, when the common interest was at stake, they were no longer enemies: and whenever they were to take the field, or engage in any expedition, they agreed together to lay aside all differences on leaving the city, and to be at liberty to resume them on their return, if they thought fit.

The predominant passion of Themistocles was ambition and the love of glory, which discovered itself from his childhood. After the battle of Marathon, of which we shall speak presently, when the people were everywhere extolling the valour and conduct of Miltiades, who had won it, Themistocles generally appeared very thoughtful and melancholy: he spent whole nights without sleep, and was never seen at public feasts and entertainments as usual. When his friends, astonished at this change, asked him the reason of it, he made answer, 'that Miltiades's trophies would not let him sleep.' These were a kind of spur, which never ceased to goad and animate his ambition. From this time Themistocles addicted himself wholly to arms; and the love of martial glory wholly engrossed him.

[s] Plut. *Apophthegm.* p. 186.

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As for Aristides, the love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions. What he was most particularly admired for, was his constancy and steadiness under the unforeseen changes to which those who have the administration of affairs are exposed; for he was neither elevated with the honours conferred upon him, nor cast down at the contempt and disappointments he sometimes experienced. On all occasions he preserved his usual calmness and temper, being persuaded, that a man ought to give himself up entirely to his country, and to serve it with a perfect disinterestedness, as well with regard to glory as to riches. The general esteem in which he was held for the uprightness of his intentions, the purity of his zeal for the interests of the state, and the sincerity of his virtue, appeared one day in the theatre, when one of Æschylus's plays was acting. For when the actor had repeated that verse which describes the character of Amphiaraus, 'He does not desire to seem an honest and virtuous man, but really to be so,' the whole audience cast their eyes upon Aristides, and applied the eulogium to him.

Another thing related of him, with respect to a public employment, is very remarkable. He was no sooner made treasurer-general of the republic, than he made it appear that his predecessors in that office had cheated the state of vast sums of money; and among the rest Themistocles in particular: for this great man, with all his merit, was not irreproachable on that head. For which reason, when Aristides came to pass his accounts, Themistocles raised a powerful faction against him, accused him of having embezzled the public treasure, and prevailed so far as to have him condemned and fined. But the principal inhabitants, and the most virtuous part of the citizens, rising up against so unjust a sentence, not only the judgment was reversed and the fine remitted, but he was elected treasurer again for the year ensuing. He then seemed to repent of his former administration; and by showing himself more tractable and indulgent towards others, he found out the secret of pleasing all that plundered the commonwealth. For, as he neither reproved them, nor narrowly inspected their accounts, all those plunderers, grown fat with spoil and rapine, now extolled Aristides to the skies. It would have been easy for

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him, as we perceive, to have enriched himself in a post of that nature, which seems, as it were, to invite a man to it by the many favourable opportunities it lays in his way; especially as he had to do with officers, who for their part were intent upon nothing but robbing the public, and would have been ready to conceal the frauds of the treasurer their master, upon condition he did them the same favour.

These very officers now made interest with the people to have him continued a third year in the same employment. But when the time of election was come, just as they were upon the point of electing Aristides unanimously, he rose up, and warmly reproved the Athenian people: 'What,' says he, 'when I managed your treasure with all the fidelity and diligence an honest man is capable of, I met with the most cruel treatment, and the most mortifying return; and now that I have abandoned it to the mercy of all these robbers of the public, I am an admirable man, and the best of citizens! I cannot help declaring to you that I am more ashamed of the honour you do me this day, than I was of the condemnation you passed against me this time twelvemonth: and with grief I find that it is more glorious with us to be complaisant to knaves, than to save the treasures of the republic.' By this declaration he silenced the public plunderers, and gained the esteem of all good men.

Such were the characters of these two illustrious Athenians, who began to display the extent of their merit, when Darius turned his arms against Greece.

2. *Darius sends Heralds into Greece, in order to sound the People, and to require them to submit.*—[t] Before this prince would directly engage in this enterprise, he judged it expedient, first of all, to sound the Grecians, and to know in what manner the different states stood affected towards him. With this view he sent heralds into all parts of Greece, to require earth and water in his name: this was the form used by the Persians when they exacted submission from those they were desirous of bringing under subjection. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the Grecian cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demands; and among these were the inhabitants of

A. M. 3511. Ant. J. C. 493.

[t] Herod. l. vi. c. 49—86.

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Ægina, a little isle, over-against and not far from Athens. This proceeding of the people of Ægina was looked upon as a public treason. The Athenians represented the matter to the Spartans, who immediately sent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of it. The people of Ægina refused to deliver them, under pretence that he came without his colleague. This colleague was Demaratus, who had himself suggested that excuse. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for that affront, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family; and succeeded in his attempt by the assistance of the priestess of Delphi, whom he had suborned to give an answer favourable to his designs. Demaratus, not being able to endure so gross an affront, banished himself from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with open arms, and gave him a considerable establishment in Persia. He was succeeded in the throne by Leutychides, who joined his colleague, and went with him to Ægina, from whence they brought away ten of the principal inhabitants, and committed them to the custody of the Athenians, their declared enemies. Cleomenes dying not long after, and the fraud he had committed at Delphi being discovered, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to oblige the people of Athens to set those prisoners at liberty, but they refused.

[u] The Persian heralds that went to Sparta and Athens, were not so favourably received as those that had been sent to the other cities. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take thence earth and water. I should be less surprised at this unworthy treatment, if Athens alone had been concerned in it. It was a proceeding suitable enough to a popular government, rash, impetuous, and violent; where reason is seldom neard, and every thing determined by passion. But I do not here recognise the Spartan equity and gravity. They were at liberty to refuse what was demanded: but to treat public officers in such a manner, was an open violation of the law of nations. [x] If what historians say on this head be true, the crime did not remain unpunished.

[u] Herod. l. vii. c. 133, 138.
[x] Ibid. c. 135, 136. Paus. *in Lacon.* p. 182, 183.

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Talthybius, one of Agamemnon's heralds, was honoured at Sparta as a god, and had a temple there. He revenged the indignities done to the heralds of the king of Persia, and made the Spartans feel the effects of his wrath, by bringing many terrible accidents upon them. In order to appease him, and to expiate their offence, they sent afterwards several of their chief citizens into Persia, who voluntarily offered themselves as victims for their country. They were delivered into the hands of Xerxes, who would not let them suffer, but sent them back to their own country. As for the Athenians, Talthybius executed his vengeance on the family of Miltiades, who was principally concerned in the outrage committed upon Darius's heralds.

3. *The Persians defeated at Marathon by Miltiades. The melancholy End of that General.*—Darius immediately sent away Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed generals in the room of Mardonius. Their instructions were to give up Eretria and Athens to be plundered, to burn all the houses and temples therein, to make all the inhabitants of both places prisoners, and to send them to Darius; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. [y] They set sail with a fleet of five or six hundred ships, and an army of five hundred thousand men. After having made themselves masters of the isles in the Ægæan sea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their course towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants: they reduced it entirely to ashes, put all the inhabitants in chains, and sent them to Persia. [z] Darius, contrary to their expectation, treated them kindly, and gave them a village in the country of Cissia for their habitation, which was but a day's journey from Susa, where [a] Apollonius Tyanæus found some of their descendants six hundred years afterwards.

A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.

[b] After this success at Eretria, the Persians advanced towards Attica. Hippias conducted them to Marathon, a little town by the sea-side. They took care to acquaint the Athenians with the fate of Eretria; and to let them know, that not an inhabit-

[y] Plut. *in Moral.* p. 829. [z] Herod. l. vi. c. 119. [a] Philostr. l. i. c. 17.
[b] Herod. l. vi. c. 102—120. Cor. Nep. *in Milt.* c. iv.—vi. Justin, l. ii. c. 3. Plut. *in Aristid.* p. 321.

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ant of that place had escaped their vengeance, in hopes that this news would induce them to surrender immediately. The Athenians had sent to Lacedæmon, to desire succours against the common enemy, which the Spartans granted them instantly, and without deliberation; but which could not set out till some days after, on account of an ancient custom and a superstitious maxim amongst them, that did not admit them to begin a march before the full of the moon. Not one of their other allies prepared to succour them, so great terror had the formidable army of the Persians spread on every side. The inhabitants of Platææ alone furnished them with a thousand soldiers. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their slaves, which had never been done there before this occasion.

The Persian army commanded by Datis consisted of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: that of the Athenians amounted in all but to ten thousand men. It was headed by ten generals, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and these ten were to have the command of the whole army each for a day, one after another. There was a great dispute among these generals, whether they should hazard a battle, or expect the enemy within their walls. The latter opinion had a great majority, and appeared very reasonable. For, what appearance of success could there be in facing with a handful of soldiers so numerous and formidable an army as that of the Persians? Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and showed, that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to strike a terror into those of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and intrepidity. Aristides strenuously defended this opinion, and brought some of the other commanders into it, so that when the suffrages came to be taken, they were equal on both sides of the question. Hereupon Miltiades addressed himself to Callimachus, who was then * Polemarch, and had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders. He very warmly represented to him, that the fate of their country was then in his hands; and that his single vote was to determine whether Athens should preserve her liberty, or be enslaved; and, that

* The Polemarch at Athens was both an officer and a considerable magistrate, equally employed to command in the army, and to administer justice. I shall give a larger account of this officer in another place.

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he had it in his power by one word to become as famous as Harmodius and Aristogiton, the authors of that liberty which the Athenians enjoyed. Callimachus pronounced that word in favour of Miltiades's opinion: and accordingly a battle was resolved upon.

Aristides, reflecting that a command which changes every day must necessarily be feeble, unequal, not of a piece, often contrary to itself, and incapable either of projecting or executing any uniform design, was of opinion, that their danger was both too great and too pressing for them to expose their affairs to such inconveniences. In order to prevent them, he judged it necessary to vest the whole power in one single person: and to induce his colleagues to act conformably, he himself set the first example of resignation. When the day came, on which it was his turn to take upon him the command, he resigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general. The other commanders did the same, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the love of the public good: and by this day's behaviour we may learn, that it is almost as glorious to acknowledge merit in other persons, as to have it in one's self. Miltiades, however, thought fit to wait till his own day came. Then, like an able captain, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to gain what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy should not be able either to surround him, or charge him in the rear. On the two sides of his army he caused large trees to be thrown, which were cut down on purpose, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Persian cavalry useless. Datis, their commander, was very sensible that the place was not advantageous for him: but, relying upon the number of his troops, which was infinitely superior to that of the Athenians, and, besides, not being willing to stay till the reinforcement of the Spartans arrived, he determined to engage. The Athenians did not wait for the enemy's charging them. As soon as the signal of battle was given, they ran against the enemy with all the fury imaginable. The Persians looked upon this first step of the Athenians as a piece of madness, considering their army was so small, and utterly destitute both of cavalry and archers: but they were quickly undeceived. Herodotus observes, that

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this was the first time the Grecians began an engagement by running in this manner; which may seem somewhat astonishing. And, indeed, was there not reason to apprehend, that their running would in some measure weaken the troops, and blunt the edge of their first impetuosity? and that the soldiers having quitted their ranks, might be out of breath, exhausted, and in disorder, when they came up to the enemy, who, waiting to receive them in good order, and without stirring, ought, one would think, to be in a condition to sustain their charge advantageously? [c] This consideration engaged Pompey, at the battle of Pharsalia, to keep his troops steady, and to forbid them making any movement till the enemy made the first attack: [d] but * Cæsar blames Pompey's conduct in this respect, and gives this reason for it: That the impetuosity of an army's motion in running to engage, inspires the soldiers with a certain enthusiasm and martial fury, gives an additional force to their blows, and increases and inflames their courage, which, by the rapid movement of so many thousand men together, is blown up and kindled, if I may use that expression, like flames by the wind. I leave it to military men to decide the point between those two great captains, and return to my subject.

The battle was very fierce and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak, and not so deep; the reason of which seems manifest enough. Having but ten thousand men to oppose to such a multitude of the enemy, it was impossible for him either to make an extensive front, or to give an equal depth to his battalions. He was obliged therefore to take his choice; and he imagined that he could gain the victory no otherwise than by the efforts he should make with his two wings, to break and disperse those of the Persians; not doubting but, when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to attack the enemy's main body in flank, and complete the victory without much difficulty. This was the same plan as

[c] Cæs. *in Bell. Civil.* l. iii.

[d] Plut. *in Pomp.* p. 656, and *in Cæs.* p. 719.

* Quod nobis quidem nullâ ratione factum à Pompeio videtur: propterea quod est quædam incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus, quæ studio pugnæ incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent. Cæs.

Καῖσαρ περὶ τοῦτο διαμαρτεῖν φησὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον, ἀγνοήσαντα, τὴν μετὰ δρόμου καὶ φορᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ γινομένην σύῤῥαξιν, ὡς ἔντε ταῖς πληγαῖς βίαν προστίθησι, καὶ συνεκκαίει τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ πάντων ἀναῤῥιπιζόμενον. Plut. *in Cæs.*

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Hannibal followed afterwards at the battle of Cannæ, which succeeded so well with him, and which indeed can scarce ever fail of succeeding. The Persians then attacked the main body of the Grecian army, and made their greatest effort particularly upon their front. This was led by Aristides and Themistocles, who supported the attack a long time, with an intrepid courage and bravery, but were at length obliged to give ground. At that very instant came up their two victorious wings, which had defeated those of the enemy, and put them to flight. Nothing could be more seasonable for the main body of the Grecian army, which began to be broken, being quite borne down by the number of the Persians. The scale was quickly turned, and the barbarians were entirely routed. They all betook themselves to flight, not towards their camp, but to their ships, that they might make their escape. The Athenians pursued them thither, and set many of their vessels on fire. It was on this occasion that Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, who had laid hold of one of the ships, in order to get into it with those that fled, * had his right hand cut off, and fell into the sea and was drowned. The Athenians took seven ships. They had not above two hundred men killed on their side in this engagement; whereas on the side of the Persians above six thousand were slain, without reckoning those who fell into the sea as they endeavoured to escape, or those that were consumed with the ships set on fire.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That ungrateful and perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father Pisistratus over the Athenians, had the baseness to become a servile courtier to a barbarian prince, and to implore his aid against his native country. Urged on by hatred and revenge, he suggested all the means he could invent to load his country with chains; and even put himself at the head of its enemies, to reduce that city to ashes to which he owed his birth, and against which he had no other ground of complaint, than that she would not acknowledge him for her tyrant. An ignominious death, together with ever-

* Justin adds, that Cynægirus, having first had his right and then his left hand cut off with an axe, laid hold of the vessel with his teeth, and would not let go, so violent was his rage against the enemy. This account is utterly fabulous, and has not the least appearance of truth.

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lasting infamy entailed upon his name, was the just reward of so black a treachery.

[e] Immediately after the battle, an Athenian soldier, still reeking with the blood of the enemy, quitted the army, and ran to Athens to carry his fellow-citizens the happy news of the victory. When he arrived at the magistrates' house, he only uttered two words, * 'Rejoice, the victory is ours,' and fell down dead at their feet.

[f] The Persians had thought themselves so sure of victory, that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy there. The Grecians took this marble, and caused a statue to be made of it by Phidias, in honour of the goddess † Nemesis, who had a temple near the place where the battle was fought.

The Persian fleet, instead of sailing by the islands, in order to reenter Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the design of surprising Athens before the Athenian forces should arrive there to defend the city. But the latter had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes to secure their country, and performed their march with so much expedition, that they arrived there the same day. The distance from Marathon to Athens is about forty miles, or fifteen French leagues. This was a great exertion for an army that had just undergone a long and severe battle. By this means the design of the Persians miscarried.

Aristides, the only general that staid at Marathon with his tribe, to take care of the spoil and prisoners, acted suitably to the good opinion that was entertained of him. For, though gold and silver were scattered about in abundance in the enemy's camp, and though all the tents as well as galleys that were taken, were full of rich clothes and costly furniture, and treasure of all kinds to an immense value, he not only was not tempted to touch any of it himself, but hindered every body else from touching it.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæ-

[e] Plut. *de glor. Athen.* p. 347. [f] Paus. l. i. p. 62.

* Χαίρετε, Χαίρομεν. I could not render the liveliness of the Greek expression in our language.

† This was the goddess whose business it was to punish injustice and oppression.

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monians began their march with two thousand men; and, having travelled with all imaginable expedition, arrived in Attica after three days' forced march; the distance from Sparta to Attica being no less than twelve hundred stadia, or one hundred and fifty English miles. [g] The battle was fought the day before they arrived: however, they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies and riches. After having congratulated the Athenians on the happy success of the battle, they returned to their own country.

They were hindered by a foolish and ridiculous superstition from having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history. For it is almost without example that such a handful of men, as the Athenians were, should not only make head against so numerous an army as that of the Persians, but should entirely route and defeat them. One is astonished to see so formidable a power attack so small a city and miscarry; and we are almost tempted to question the truth of an event that appears so improbable, which nevertheless is very certain. This battle alone shows what wonderful things may be performed by an able general, who knows how to take his advantages; by the intrepidity of soldiers that are not afraid of death; by a zeal for one's country; the love of liberty; a hatred and detestation of slavery and tyranny; which were sentiments natural to the Athenians, but undoubtedly very much augmented and inflamed by the very presence of Hippias, whom they dreaded to have again for their master, after all that had passed between them.

[h] Plato, in more places than one, makes it his business to extol the battle of Marathon, and is desirous that action should be considered as the source and original cause of all the victories that were gained afterwards. It was undoubtedly this victory that deprived the Persian power of that terror which had rendered them so formidable, and had made every thing stoop before them: it was this victory that taught the Grecians to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy, terrible only in name; that made them find by

[g] Isocr. *in Panegyr.* p. 113.
[h] *In Menex.* p. 239, 240; and lib. iii. *de Leg.* p. 698, 699.

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experience, that victory does not depend so much upon the number, as the courage of troops; that set before their eyes, in a most conspicuous light, the glory there is in sacrificing one's life in defence of our country, and for the preservation of liberty; and lastly, that inspired them, through the whole course of succeeding ages, with a noble emulation and warm desire to imitate their ancestors, and not to degenerate from their virtue. For, on all important occasions, it was customary among them to put the people in mind of Miltiades and his invincible troop, that is, of that little army of heroes, whose intrepidity and bravery had done so much honour to Athens.

[i] Those that were slain in the battle, had all the honour immediately paid to them that was due to their merit. Illustrious monuments were erected to them all, in the very place where the battle was fought; upon which their own names and that of their tribes were recorded. There were three distinct sets of monuments separately erected, one for the Athenians, another for the Platæans, and a third for the slaves, whom they had admitted among their soldiers on that occasion. Miltiades's tomb was erected afterwards in the same place.

[k] The reflection Cornelius Nepos makes upon what the Athenians did to honour the memory of their general, deserves to be taken notice of. Formerly, says he, speaking of the Romans, our ancestors rewarded virtue by marks of distinction neither pompous nor magnificent, which however were rarely granted, and for that very reason were highly esteemed: whereas now they are so profusely bestowed, that little or no value is set upon them. The same thing happened, adds he, among the Athenians. All the honour that was paid to Miltiades, the deliverer of Athens and of all Greece, was, that, in a picture of the battle of Marathon, drawn by order of the Athenians, he was represented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. But this same people in later ages, being grown more powerful, and corrupted by the flatteries of their orators, decreed three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus.

[l] Plutarch makes the same reflection, and wisely observes,

[i] Paus. *in Attic.* p. 60, 61.
[l] *In præc. de rep. ger.* p. 820.
[k] Cor. Nep. *in Milt.* c. vi.

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that the * honour which is paid to great men ought not to be looked upon as the reward of their illustrious actions, but only as a mark of the esteem in which they are held, the remembrance whereof, such monuments are intended to perpetuate. It is not then the stateliness or magnificence of public monuments which gives them their value, or makes them durable, but the sincere gratitude of those that erect them. The three hundred statues of Demetrius Phalereus were all thrown down even in his own lifetime, but the picture in which Miltiades's courage was represented was preserved many ages after him.

[m] This picture was kept at Athens in a gallery, adorned and enriched with different paintings, all excellent in their kind, and done by the greatest masters; which, for that reason, was called *Poecile*, from the Greek word ποικίλη, signifying varied and diversified. The celebrated Polygnotus, a native of the isle of Thasos, and one of the finest painters of his time painted this picture, or at least the greatest part of it; and, as he valued himself upon his reputation, and was more attached to glory than interest, he did it gratuitously, and would not receive any recompense for it. The city of Athens therefore rewarded him with a sort of coin that was more acceptable to his taste, by procuring an order from the Amphictyons which assigned him a public lodging in the city, where he might live during his own pleasure.

[n] The gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades was of no very long duration. After the battle of Marathon, he had desired and obtained the command of a fleet of seventy ships, in order to punish and subdue the islands that had favoured the barbarians. Accordingly he reduced several of them: but having had ill success in the isle of Paros, and upon a false report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, having raised the siege which he had laid to the capital, wherein he had received a very dangerous wound, he returned to Athens with his fleet; and was there impeached by a citizen, called Xanthippus, who accused him of having raised the siege through treachery, and in consideration of a great sum of money given

* Οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν εἶναι δεῖ τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ σύμβολον, τὴν τιμὴν, ἵνα καὶ διαμένῃ πολὺν χρόνον.

[m] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 9.

[n] Herod. l. vi. c. 132, 136. Cor. Nep. *in Milt.* c. vii. viii.

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him by the king of Persia. Little probability as there was in this accusation, it nevertheless prevailed over the merit and innocence of Miltiades. [o] He was condemned to lose his life, and to be thrown into the Barathrum; a sentence passed only upon the greatest criminals and malefactors. The magistrate opposed the execution of so unjust a condemnation. All the favour shown to this preserver of his country, was to have the sentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or fifty thousand crowns French money, being the sum to which the expenses of the fleet, that had been equipped upon his solicitation and advice, amounted. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was put into prison, where he died of the wound he had received at Paros. Cimon, his son, who was at this time very young, signalized his piety on this occasion, as we shall find hereafter he signalized his courage. He purchased the permission of burying his father's body, by paying the fine of fifty thousand crowns, in which he had been condemned; which sum the young man raised, as well as he could, by the assistance of his friends and relations.

Cornelius Nepos observes, that what chiefly induced the Athenians to act in this manner with regard to Miltiades, was his very merit and great reputation, which made the people, who were but lately delivered from the yoke of slavery under Pisistratus, apprehend that Miltiades, who had formerly been tyrant of the Chersonesus, might affect the same at Athens. [*] They therefore chose rather to punish an innocent person, than to be under perpetual apprehensions of him. To this same principle was the institution of the ostracism at Athens owing. [p] I have elsewhere given an account of the most plausible reasons upon which the ostracism could be founded: but I do not see how we can fully justify so strange a policy, to which all merit becomes suspected, and virtue itself appears criminal.

[q] This appears plainly in the banishment of Aristides. His inviolable attachment to justice obliged him on many occasions to oppose Themistocles, who did not pique himself upon his delicacy in that respect, and who spared no intrigues and

[o] Plat. *in Gorg.* p. 516.
[p] *Method of Teaching, &c.* vol. iii. p. 407.
[q] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 322, 323.
[*] Hæc populus respiciens maluit eum innocentem plecti, quàm se diutiùs esse in timore.

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cabals to engage the suffrages of the people, for removing a rival who always opposed his ambitious designs. *In this instance it was evident, that a person may be superior in merit and virtue, without being so in influence. The impetuous eloquence of Themistocles prevailed over the justice of Aristides, and occasioned his banishment. In this kind of trial the citizens gave their suffrages by writing the name of the accused person upon a shell, called in Greek ὄστρακον, from whence came the term Ostracism. On this occasion, a peasant, who could not write, and did not know Aristides, applied to him, and desired him to put the name of Aristides upon his shell. 'Has he done you any wrong,' says Aristides, 'that you are for condemning him in this manner?' 'No,' replied the other, 'I do not so much as know him; but I am quite tired and angry with hearing every body call him the Just.' Aristides, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote his name in it, and returned it. He set out for his banishment, imploring the gods that no accident might befall his country, to make it regret him. The †great Camillus, in a like case, did not imitate his generosity, and prayed to a quite different effect, desiring the gods to force his ungrateful country, by some misfortune, to have occasion for his aid, and recall him as soon as possible.

[r] O fortunate republic, exclaims Valerius Maximus, speaking of Aristides's banishment, which, after having so basely treated the most virtuous man it ever produced, was yet able to find citizens zealously and faithfully attached to her service! *Felices Athenas, quæ post illius exilium invenire aliquem aut virum bonum, aut amantem sui civem potuerunt; cum quo tunc ipsa sanctitas migravit!*

SECT. VIII. DARIUS RESOLVES TO MAKE WAR IN PERSON AGAINST EGYPT AND AGAINST GREECE: IS PREVENTED BY DEATH.

[r] Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

* In his cognitum est, quanto antistaret eloquentia innocentiæ. Quanquam enim adeò excellebat Aristides abstinentiâ, et unus post hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audierimus, coguomine Justus sit appellatus; tamen à Themistocle collabefactus testulâ illâ exilio decem annorum multatus est. Cor. Nep. *in Arist.*

† In exilium abiit, precatus ab diis immortalibus, si innoxio sibi ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratæ facerent. Liv. l. v. n. 32.

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DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO OF HIS SONS, CONCERNING THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN. XERXES IS CHOSEN KING.—[s] When Darius received the news of the defeat of his army at Marathon, he was violently enraged; and that bad success was so far from discouraging or diverting him from carrying on the war against Greece, that it only served to animate him to pursue it with the greater vigour, in order to be revenged at the same time for the burning of Sardis, and for the dishonour incurred at Marathon. Being thus determined to march in person with all his forces, he despatched orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of his empire to arm themselves for this expedition.

After having spent three years in making the necessary preparations, he had another war to carry on, occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. It seems from what we read in [t] Diodorus Siculus, that Darius went thither himself to quell it, and that he succeeded. That historian relates, that upon this prince's desiring to have his statue placed before that of Sesostris, the chief priest of the Egyptians told him, 'he had not yet equalled the glory of that conqueror;' and that the king, far from being offended at the Egyptian priest's freedom, made answer, that he would endeavour to surpass it. Diodorus adds farther, that Darius, detesting the impious cruelty which his predecessor Cambyses had exercised in that country, expressed great reverence for their gods and temples, that he had several conversations with the Egyptian priests upon matters of religion and government; and that having learnt of them, with what gentleness their ancient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into Persia, to form himself upon their model. But [u] Herodotus, more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only observes, that this prince, resolving at once to chastise his revolted subjects, and to be avenged of his ancient enemies, determined to make war against both at the same time, and to attack Greece in person with the main body of his army, whilst the rest of it was employed in the reduction of Egypt.

A. M. 3517. Ant. J. C. 487.

[s] Herod. l. vii. c. 1. [t] Lib. i. p. 54, 85. [u] Lib. vi. c. 2.

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[x] According to the ancient custom among the Persians, their king was not allowed to go to war, without having first named the person that should succeed him in the throne; a custom wisely established to prevent the state's being exposed to the troubles which generally attend the uncertainty of a successor, to the inconveniences of anarchy, and to the cabals of various pretenders. Darius, before he undertook his expedition against Greece, thought himself the more obliged to observe this rule, as he was already advanced in years, and as there was a dispute between two of his sons on the subject of succeeding to the empire, which might occasion a civil war after his death, if he left it undetermined. Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas, all three born before their father came to the crown; and four more by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after their father's accession to the throne; Artabazanes, called by Justin Artemenes, was the eldest of the former, and Xerxes of the latter. Artabazanes alleged in his own behalf, that, as he was the eldest of all the brothers, the right of succession, according to the custom and practice of all nations, belonged to him in preference to all the rest. Xerxes's argument was, that as he was the son of Darius by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, who founded the Persian empire, it was more just that the crown of Cyrus should devolve upon one of his descendants, than upon one that was not. Demaratus, the Spartan king, who had been unjustly deposed by his subjects, and was at that time in exile at the court of Persia, secretly suggested to Xerxes another argument to support his pretensions: that Artabazanes was indeed the eldest son of Darius, but he, Xerxes, was the eldest son of the king; and therefore, Artabazanes being born when his father was but a private person, all he could pretend to, on account of his seniority, was only to inherit his private estate; but that he, Xerxes, being the first born son of the king, had the best right to succeed to the crown. He further supported this argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who admitted none to inherit the kingdom but those children that were born

A. M. 3519. Ant. J. C. 485.

[x] Herod. l. vi. c. 2, 3.

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after their father's accession. The right of succession was accordingly determined in favour of Xerxes.

Justin [y] and Plutarch place this dispute after Darius's decease. They both take notice of the prudent conduct of these two brothers in a point of so much delicacy. According to their manner of relating this fact, Artabazanes was absent when the king died; and Xerxes immediately assumed all the marks, and exercised all the functions, of the sovereignty. But upon his brother's return, he quitted the diadem and the tiara, which he wore in such a manner as only suited the king, went out to meet him, and showed him all imaginable respect. They agreed to make their uncle Artabanes the arbitrator of their difference, and without any further appeal, to acquiesce in his decision.* All the while this dispute lasted, the two brothers showed one another all the demonstrations of a truly fraternal friendship, by keeping up a continual intercourse of presents and entertainments; from whence their mutual esteem and confidence for each other banished all fears and suspicions on both sides, and introduced an unconstrained cheerfulness, and a perfect security. This is a spectacle, says Justin, highly worthy of our admiration: to see, whilst most brothers are at daggers-drawing with one another about a small patrimony, with what moderation and temper both waited for a decision, which was to dispose of the greatest empire then in the universe. When Artabanes gave judgment in favour of Xerxes, Artabazanes the same instant prostrated himself before him, acknowledging him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand; by which proceeding he showed a greatness of soul, truly royal, and infinitely superior to all human dignities. This ready acquiescence in a sentence so contrary to his interests, was not the effect of an artful policy, that knows how to dissemble upon occasion, and to derive honour to itself from what it could not prevent: no; it proceeded from a real respect for the laws, a sincere affection for his

[y] Justin, l. ii. c. 10. Plut. *de frat. amore*, p. 488.

* Adeò fraterna contentio fuit, ut nec victor insultaverit, nec victus doluerit; ipsoque litis tempore invicem munera miserint; jucunda quoque inter se non solùm, sed credula convivia habuerint: judicium quoque ipsum sine arbitris, sine convitio fuerit. Tanto moderatiùs tum fratres inter se regna maxima dividebant, quàm nunc exigua patrimonia partiuntur. Justin.

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brother, and an indifference for that which so warmly inflames the ambition of mankind, and so frequently arms the nearest relations against each other. For his part, during his whole life, he continued firmly attached to the interests of Xerxes, and prosecuted them with so much ardour and zeal, that he lost his life in his service at the battle of Salamis.

[z] To whatever time this dispute is to be placed, it is certain that Darius could not carry into execution the double expedition he was meditating against Egypt and Greece; and that he was prevented by death from pursuing that project. He had reigned thirty-six years. The epitaph * of this prince, which contains a boast that he could drink much without disordering his reason, proves that the Persians actually thought that circumstance for their glory. We shall see in the sequel, that Cyrus the younger ascribes this quality to himself, as a perfection that rendered him more worthy of the throne than his elder brother. Who in these times would think of annexing this merit to the qualifications of a good prince?

Darius had many excellent qualities, but they were attended with great failings; and the kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. † For such is the condition of princes, that they never act nor live for themselves alone. Whatever they do, either as to good or evil, they do it for their people; and the interests of the one and the other are inseparable. Darius had a great fund of gentleness, equity, clemency, and kindness for his people: he loved justice, and respected the laws: he esteemed merit, and was careful to reward it: he was not jealous of his rank or authority, so as to exact a forced homage, or to render himself inaccessible; and notwithstanding his own great experience and abilities in public affairs, he would hearken to the advice of others, and reap the benefit of their counsels. It is of him the holy [a] Scripture speaks, where it says, that he did nothing without consulting the wise men of his court. He was not afraid of exposing his person in battle, and was always cool even in the heat of action: [b] he said of himself, that the most imminent and urgent danger

[z] Herod. l. vi. c. 4. [a] Esth. i. 13. [b] Plut. *in Apoph.* p. 172.

* Ἠδυνάμην καὶ οἶνον πίνειν πολὺν, καὶ τοῦτον φέρειν καλῶς. Athen. l. x. p. 434.

† Ita nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad remp. pertineant. Tacit. l. iv. c. 8.

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served only to increase his courage and his prudence. In a word, there have been few princes more expert than he in the art of governing, or more experienced in the business of war. Nor was the glory of being a conqueror, if indeed it be glory, wanting to his character. For he not only restored and entirely confirmed the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much shaken by the ill conduct of Cambyses and the Magian impostor, but he likewise added many great and rich provinces to it, and particularly India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the isles contiguous to the coasts of Ionia.

But sometimes these good qualities of his gave way to failings of a quite opposite nature. Do we see any thing like Darius's usual gentleness and good nature in his treatment of that unfortunate father, who desired the favour of him to leave him one of his three sons at home, while the other two followed the king in his expedition? Was there ever an occasion wherein he had more need of counsel, than when he formed the design of making war upon the Scythians? And could any one give more prudent advice than what his brother gave him upon that occasion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole expedition any mark of wisdom or prudence? What do we see in all that affair, but a prince intoxicated with his greatness, who fancies there is nothing in the world that can resist him; and whose weak ambition to signalize himself by an extraordinary conquest, had stifled all the good sense, judgment, and even military knowledge, he formerly displayed?

What constitutes the solid glory of Darius's reign is, his being chosen by God himself, as Cyrus had been before, to be the instrument of his mercies towards his people, the declared protector of the Israelites, and the restorer of the temple at Jerusalem. The reader may see this part of his history in the book of Ezra, and in the writings of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.

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CHAPTER II. THE HISTORY OF XERXES, CONNECTED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

XERXES's reign lasted but twelve years, but it abounds with great events.

SECT. I. XERXES, AFTER HAVING REDUCED EGYPT, MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR CARRYING THE WAR INTO GREECE. HE HOLDS A COUNCIL. THE PRUDENT SPEECH OF ARTABANES. WAR IS RESOLVED UPON.

A. M. 3519. Ant. J. C. 485.

[a] Xerxes having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations begun by his father, for the reduction of Egypt. He also confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, and particularly that which assigned them the tribute of Samaria, for the supplying them with victims for the service of the temple of God.

A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484.

[b] In the second year of his reign he marched against the Egyptians, and having defeated and subdued those rebels, he made the yoke of their subjection more heavy; then giving the government of that province to his brother Achæmenes, he returned about the latter end of the year to Susa.

[c] Herodotus, the famous historian, was born this same year at Halicarnassus in Caria. For he was fifty-three years old when the Peloponnesian war first began.

A. M. 3521. Ant. J. C. 483.

[d] Xerxes, puffed up with his success against the Egyptians, determined to make war against the Grecians. (He[e] did not intend, he said, to have the figs of Attica, which were very excellent, bought for him any longer, because he would eat no more of them till he was master of the country.) But before he engaged in an enterprise of that importance, he thought proper to assemble his council, and take the advice of all the greatest and most illustrious persons of his court. He laid before them the design he had of making war against Greece, and acquainted them with his motives; which were, the desire of imitating the example of his prede-

[a] Herod. l. vii. c. 5. Joseph. *Antiq.* l. xi. c. 5.
[b] Herod. l. vii. c. 7.
[c] Aul. Gel. l. xv. c. 23.
[d] Herod. l. vii. c. 8—18.
[e] Plut *in Apoph.* p. 173.

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cessors, who had all of them distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprises; the obligation he was under to revenge the insolence of the Athenians, who had presumed to fall upon Sardis, and reduce it to ashes; the necessity he was under to avenge the disgrace his country had received at the battle of Marathon; and the prospect of the great advantages that might be reaped from this war, which would be attended with the conquest of Europe, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added farther, that this war had been resolved on by his father Darius, and consequently that he only followed and executed his intentions; he concluded with promising ample rewards to those who should distinguish themselves by their valour in the expedition.

Mardonius, the same person that had been so unsuccessful in Darius's reign, grown neither wiser nor less ambitious by his ill success, and extremely anxious to obtain the command of the army, was the first who gave his opinion. He began by extolling Xerxes above all the kings that had gone before or should succeed him. He endeavoured to show the indispensable necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name: he disparaged the Grecians, and represented them as a cowardly, timorous people, without courage, without forces, or experience in war. For a proof of what he said, he mentioned his own conquest of Macedonia, which he exaggerated in a very vain and ostentatious manner, as if that people had submitted to him without any resistance. He presumed even to affirm, that not any of the Grecian nations would venture to come out against Xerxes, who would march with all the forces of Asia; and that if they had the temerity to present themselves before him, they would learn to their cost that the Persians were the bravest and most warlike nation in the world.

The rest of the council, perceiving that this flattering discourse was extremely agreeable to the king, were afraid to contradict it, and all kept silence. This was almost an unavoidable consequence of Xerxes's manner of proceeding. A wise prince, when he proposes an affair in council, and really desires that every one should speak his true sentiments, is extremely careful to conceal his own opinion, that he may put no constraint upon that of others, but leave them entirely at liberty.

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Xerxes, on the contrary, had openly discovered his own inclination, or rather resolution, to undertake the war. When a prince acts in this manner, he will always find artful flatterers, who, being eager to insinuate themselves into favour and to please, and ever ready to comply with his inclinations, will not fail to second his opinion with specious and plausible reasons; whilst those that would be capable of giving good counsel are restrained by fear; there being very few courtiers who love their prince well enough, and have sufficient courage to venture to displease him, by disputing what they know to be his taste or opinion.

The excessive praises given by Mardonius to Xerxes, which is the usual language of flatterers, ought to have made the king distrust him, and apprehend, that under an appearance of zeal for his glory, that nobleman endeavoured to cloak his own ambition, and the violent desire he had to command the army. But these sweet and flattering words, which glide like a serpent under flowers, are so far from displeasing princes, that they captivate and charm them. They do not consider that men flatter and praise them, because they believe them weak and vain enough to suffer themselves to be deceived by commendations, that bear no proportion to their merit and actions.

This behaviour of the king made the whole council mute. In this general silence, Artabanes, the king's uncle, a prince very venerable for his age and prudence, had the courage to make the following speech. 'Permit me, great prince,' says he, addressing himself to Xerxes, 'to deliver my sentiments to you on this occasion with a liberty suitable to my age and to your interest. When Darius, your father, and my brother, first thought of making war against the Scythians, I used all my endeavours to divert him from it. I need not tell you what that enterprise cost, or what was the success of it. The people you are going to attack are infinitely more formidable than the Scythians. The Grecians are esteemed the very best troops in the world, either by land or sea. If the Athenians alone were able to defeat the numerous army commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, what ought we to expect from all the states of Greece united together? You design to pass from Asia into Europe, by laying a bridge over the sea. And what will

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become of us, if the Athenians, proving victorious, should advance to this bridge with their fleet, and break it down? I still tremble when I consider, that in the Scythian expedition, the life of the king your father, and the safety of all his army, were reduced to depend upon the fidelity of one single man; and that if Hystiæus the Milesian had, in compliance with the urgent suggestions made to him, consented to break down the bridge which had been laid over the Danube, the Persian empire had been entirely ruined. Do not expose yourself, sir, to the like danger, especially since you are not obliged to do it. Take time at least to reflect upon it. When we have maturely deliberated upon an affair, whatever happens to be the success of it, we have no blame to impute to ourselves. Precipitation, besides its being imprudent, is almost always unfortunate, and attended with fatal consequences. Above all, do not suffer yourself, great prince, to be dazzled with the vain splendour of imaginary glory, or with the pompous appearance of your troops. The highest and most lofty trees have the most reason to dread the thunder. As God alone is truly great, he is an enemy to * pride, and takes pleasure in humbling every thing that exalteth itself: and very often the most numerous armies fly before a handful of men, because he inspires the one with courage, and scatters terror among the others.'

Artabanes, after having spoken thus to the king, turned himself towards Mardonius, and reproached him with his want of sincerity or judgment, in giving the king a notion of the Grecians so directly contrary to truth; and showed how extremely he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own views of interest and ambition could tempt him to advise. 'If a war be resolved upon,' added he, 'let the king, whose life is dear to us all, remain in Persia: and do you, since you so ardently desire it, march at the head of the most numerous army that can be assembled. In the mean time, let your children and mine be given up as a pledge, to answer for the success of the war. If the issue of it be favourable, I consent that mine be put to death :† but if it prove otherwise, as I well foresee it will, then

* Φιλέει ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν—ὃ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ὁ Θεὸς, ἢ ἑωϋτόν.

† Why should the children be punished for their father's faults?

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I desire that your children, and you yourself, on your return, may be treated in such a manner as you deserve, for the rash counsel you have given your master.'

Xerxes, who was not accustomed to have his sentiments contradicted in this manner, fell into a rage. 'Thank the gods,' says he to Artabanes, 'that you are my father's brother; were it not for that, you should this moment suffer the just reward of your audacious behaviour. But I will punish you for it in another manner, by leaving you here among the women, whom you too much resemble in your cowardice and fear, whilst I march at the head of my troops, where my duty and glory call me.'

Artabanes had expressed his sentiments in very respectful and moderate terms: Xerxes nevertheless was extremely offended. It is the * misfortune of princes, spoiled by flattery, to look upon every thing as dry and austere, that is sincere and ingenuous, and to regard all counsel, delivered with a generous and disinterested freedom, as a seditious presumption. They do not consider, that even a good man never dares to tell them all he thinks, nor discover the whole truth; especially in things that may be disagreeable to them: and that what they stand most in need of, is a sincere and faithful friend, that will conceal nothing from them. A prince ought to think himself very happy, if in his whole reign he finds but one man born with that degree of generosity, who certainly ought to be considered as the most valuable treasure of the state, as he is, if the expression may be admitted, both the most necessary, and at the same time the most rare, instrument † of government.

Xerxes himself acknowledged this upon the occasion we are speaking of. When the first emotions of his anger were over, and he had had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counsels that had been given him, he confessed he had been to blame to give his uncle such harsh language, and was not ashamed to confess his fault the next day in open council; ingenuously owning, that the heat of youth, and his want of experience, had made him negligent in paying the regard due

* Ita formatis principum auribus, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum et lætum accipiant. Tacit. *Hist.* l. iii. c. 56.

† Nullum majus boni imperii instrumentum quàm bonus amicus. Tacit. *Hist* l. iv. c. 7

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to a prince so worthy of respect as Artabanes, both for his age and wisdom; and declaring at the same time, that he was come over to his opinion, notwithstanding a dream he had had in the night, wherein a phantom had appeared to him, and warmly exhorted him to undertake that war. All who composed the council were delighted to hear the king speak in this manner; and to testify their joy, they fell prostrate before him, striving who should most extol the glory of such a proceeding; nor could their praises on such an occasion be at all suspected. * For it is no hard matter to discern, whether the praises given to princes proceed from the heart, and are founded upon truth, or whether they drop from the lips only, as an effect of mere flattery and deceit. That sincere and humiliating acknowledgment made by the king, far from appearing as a weakness in him, was looked upon by them as the effort of a great soul, which rises above its faults, in bravely confessing them, by way of reparation and atonement. They admired the nobleness of this procedure the more, as they knew that princes educated like Xerxes, in a vain haughtiness and false glory, are never disposed to own themselves in the wrong, and generally make use of their authority to justify, with pride and obstinacy, whatever faults they have committed through ignorance or imprudence. We may venture, I think, to say, that it is more glorious to rise in this manner, than it would be never to have fallen. Certainly there is nothing greater, and at the same time more rare and uncommon, than to see a mighty and powerful prince, and that in the time of his greatest prosperity, acknowledge his faults, when he happens to commit any, without seeking pretexts or excuses to cover them; pay homage to truth, even when it is against him and condemns him; and leave other princes, who have a false delicacy concerning their grandeur, the shame of always abounding with errors and defects, and of never owning that they have any.

The night following, the same phantom, if we may believe Herodotus, appeared again to the king, and repeated the same solicitations with new menaces and threatenings. Xerxes communicated what passed to his uncle; and, in order to find

* Nec occultum est quando ex veritate, quando adumbratâ lætitiâ, facta imperatorum celebrantur. Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 31.

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out whether this vision proceeded from the gods or not, entreated him earnestly to put on the royal robes, to ascend the throne, and afterwards to take his place in his bed for the night. Artabanes hereupon discoursed very sensibly and rationally with the king upon the vanity of dreams; and then coming to what personally regarded him: * 'I look upon it,' says he, 'almost equally commendable to think well one's self, and to hearken with docility to the good counsels of others. You have both these qualities, great prince; and, if you followed the natural bent of your own temper, it would lead you solely to sentiments of wisdom and moderation. You never take any violent measures or resolutions, but when the arts of evil counsellors urge you into them, or the poison of flattery misleads you; in the same manner as the ocean, of itself calm and serene, is never disturbed but by the extraneous impulse of other bodies. What afflicted me in the answer you made me the other day, when I delivered my sentiments freely in council, was not the personal affront to me, but the injury you did yourself, by making so wrong a choice between the different counsels that were offered; rejecting that which led you to sentiments of moderation and equity; and embracing the other, which, on the contrary, tended only to nourish pride, and to inflame ambition.'

Artabanes, through complaisance, passed the night in the king's bed, and had the same vision which Xerxes had before; that is, in his sleep he saw a man who severely reproached him, and threatened him with the greatest misfortunes, if he continued to oppose the king's intentions. This so much affected him, that he came over to the king's first opinion, believing that there was something divine in these repeated visions; and the war against the Grecians was resolved upon. These circumstances I relate, as I find them in Herodotus.

Xerxes in the sequel did but ill support this character of moderation. We shall find in him only transient rays of wisdom and reason, which shine forth but for a moment, and then give way to the most culpable and extravagant excesses.

* This thought is in Hesiod, *Opera et dies*, v. 293. Cic. *pro Cluent.* n. 84, et Tit. Liv. l. xxii. n. 19. Sæpe ego audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit; secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse.

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We may judge, however, even from thence, that he had very good natural parts and inclinations. But the most excellent qualities are soon spoiled and corrupted by the poison of flattery, and the possession of absolute and unlimited power: * *Vi dominationis convulsus.*

It is a fine sentiment in a minister of state, to be less affected with an affront to himself, than with the wrong done his master by giving him evil and pernicious counsel.

Mardonius's counsel was pernicious; because, as Artabanes observes, it tended only to nourish and increase that spirit of haughtiness and violence in the prince, which was but too prevalent in him already, ὕβριν αὐξούσης; and † because it disposed and accustomed his mind still to carry his views and desires beyond his present fortune, still to be aiming at something farther, and to set no bounds to his ambition. ‡ This is the predominant passion of those men whom we usually call conquerors, and whom, according to the language of the holy Scripture, we might call, with great propriety, [f] 'robbers of nations.' If you consider and examine the whole succession of Persian kings, says Seneca, will you find any one of them that ever stopped his career of his own accord; that was ever satisfied with his past conquests; or that was not forming some new project or enterprise, when death surprised him? Nor ought we to be astonished at such a disposition, adds the same author: for ambition is a gulf and a bottomless abyss, wherein every thing is lost that is thrown in, and where, though you were to heap province upon province, and kingdom upon kingdom, you would never be able to fill up the mighty void.

SECT. II. XERXES BEGINS HIS MARCH, AND PASSES FROM ASIA INTO EUROPE, BY CROSSING THE STRAITS OF THE HELLESPONT UPON A BRIDGE OF BOATS.

A. M. 3523. Ant. J. C. 481.

—The war being resolved upon, Xerxes, that he might omit

[f] Jer. iv. 7.

* Tacit.

† Ὡς κακὸν εἴη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζεσθαι ἀιεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρέοντος.

‡ Nec hoc Alexandri tantùm vitium fuit, quem per Liberi Herculisque vestigia felix temeritas egit; sed omnium, quos fortuna irritavit implendo. Totum regni Persici stemma percense: quem invenies, cui modum imperii satietas fecerit? qui non vitam in aliquâ ulteriùs procedendi cogitatione finierit? Nec id mirum est. Quicquid cupiditati contigit, penitùs hauritur et conditur: nec interest quantum eò, quod inexplebile est, congeras. Senec. l. vii. *de benef.* c. 3.

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nothing which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into a confederacy with the Carthaginians, who were at that time the most potent people of the west, and made an agreement with them, that whilst the Persian forces should attack Greece, the Carthaginians should fall upon the Grecian colonies that were settled in Sicily and Italy, in order to hinder them from coming to the aid of the other Grecians. The Carthaginians made Amilcar their general, who did not content himself with raising as many troops as he could in Africa, but with the money that Xerxes had sent him, engaged a great number of soldiers out of Spain, Gaul, and Italy, in his service; so that he collected an army of three hundred thousand men, and a proportionate number of ships, in order to execute the projects and stipulations of the league.

Thus Xerxes, agreeably to the prophet [g] Daniel's prediction, 'having through his great power and his great riches stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of Greece,' that is to say, of all the west under the command of Amilcar, and of all the east under his own banner, [h] set out from Susa, in order to enter upon this war, in the fifth year of his reign, which was the tenth after the battle of Marathon, and marched towards Sardis, the place of rendezvous for the whole land army, whilst the fleet advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.

[i] Xerxes had given orders to have a passage cut through mount Athos. This is a mountain in Macedonia, now a province of Turkey in Europe, which extends a great way into the Archipelago, in the form of a peninsula. It is joined to the land only by an isthmus of about half a league over. We have already taken notice, that the sea in this place was very tempestuous, and occasioned frequent shipwrecks. Xerxes made this his pretext for the orders he gave for cutting through the mountain: but the true reason was the vanity of signalizing himself by an extraordinary enterprise, and by doing a thing that was extremely difficult; as Tacitus says of Nero: *Erat incredibilium cupitor*. Accordingly Herodotus observes, that this undertaking was more vain-glorious than useful, since he might with less trouble and expense have had his vessels

[g] Dan. xi. 2. [h] Herod. l. vii. c. 26. [i] Ibid. c. 21, 24.

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carried over the isthmus, as was the practice in those days. The passage he caused to be cut through the mountain was broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars each pass through it abreast. [k] This prince, who was extravagant enough to believe, that all nature and the very elements were under his command, in consequence of that opinion, wrote a letter to mount Athos in the following terms: 'Athos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head unto the heavens, I advise thee not to be so audacious, as to put rocks and stones, which cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou givest them that opposition, I will cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea.' [l] At the same time he ordered his labourers to be scourged, in order to make them carry on the work the faster.

[m] A traveller who lived in the time of Francis the First, and who wrote a book in Latin concerning the singular and remarkable things he had seen in his travels, doubts the truth of this fact; and takes notice, that as he passed near mount Athos, he could perceive no traces of the work we have been speaking of.

[n] Xerxes, as we have already related, advanced towards Sardis. Having left Cappadocia, and passed the river Halys, he came to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, near which is the source of the Meander. Pythius, a Lydian, had his residence in this city, and next to Xerxes was the most opulent prince of those times. He entertained Xerxes and his whole army with an incredible magnificence, and made him an offer of all his wealth towards defraying the expenses of his expedition. Xerxes, surprised and charmed at so generous an offer, had the curiosity to inquire to what sum his riches amounted. Pythius made answer, that with the design of offering them to his service, he had taken an exact account of them, and that the silver he had by him amounted to two thousand * talents, (which make six millions French money;) and the gold to four millions of daricks, † wanting seven thousand, (that is to say, to forty millions of livres, wanting seventy thousand, reckoning ten livres French money to the darick.) All this

[k] Plut. *de irâ cohib.* p. 455.
[l] Plut. *de anim. tranq.* p. 470.
[m] Bellon. *singul. rer. observ.* p. 78.
[n] Herod. l. vii. c. 26, 29.
* About 255,000*l.* sterling.
† About 1,700,000*l.* sterling.

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money he offered him, telling him, that his revenues were sufficient for the support of his household. Xerxes made him very hearty acknowledgments, entered into a particular friendship with him, and that he might not be outdone in generosity, instead of accepting his offers, obliged him to accept as a present the seven thousand daricks, which were wanting to make up his gold a round sum of four millions.

After such a conduct as this, who would not think that * Pythius's peculiar characteristic and particular virtue had been generosity, and a noble contempt of riches? And yet he was one of the most penurious princes in the world; and who, besides his sordid avarice with regard to himself, was extremely cruel and inhuman to his subjects, whom he kept continually employed in hard and fruitless labour, always digging in the gold and silver mines, which he had in his territories. When he was absent from home, his subjects went with tears in their eyes to the princess his wife, laid their complaints before her, and implored her assistance. Commiserating their condition, she made use of a very extraordinary method to work upon her husband, and to give him a clear notion and a palpable demonstration of the folly and injustice of his conduct. On his return home, she ordered an entertainment to be prepared for him, very magnificent in appearance, but what in reality was no entertainment. All the courses and services were of gold and silver; and the prince, in the midst of all these rich dishes and splendid rarities, could not satisfy his hunger. He easily divined the meaning of this enigma, and began to consider, that the end of gold and silver was not merely to be looked upon, but to be employed and made use of; and that to neglect, as he had done, the business of husbandry and the tilling of the land, by employing all his people in digging and working of mines, was the direct way to bring a famine both upon himself and his country. For the future, therefore, he only reserved a fifth part of his people for the business of mining. Plutarch has preserved this fact in a treatise, wherein he has collected a great many others to prove the ability and industry of ladies. We have the same disposition of mind noticed in fabulous story, in the example of a † prince, who reigned in

* Plutarch calls him Pythis. Plut. *de virt. mulier*. p. 262.
† Midas, king of Phrygia.

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this very country, for whom every thing that he touched was immediately turned into gold, according to the request which himself had made to the gods, and who by that means was in danger of perishing with hunger.

[o] The same prince, who had made such obliging offers to Xerxes, having desired as a favour of him some time afterwards, that out of his five sons who served in his army, he would be pleased to leave him the eldest, in order to be a support and comfort to him in his old age; the king was so enraged at the proposal, though so reasonable in itself, that he caused the eldest son to be killed before the eyes of his father, giving him to understand, it was a favour that he spared the lives of him and the rest of his children; and then causing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army pass between them, as if he meant to purge and purify it by such a sacrifice. What a monster in nature is a prince of this kind! How is it possible to have any dependence upon the friendship of the great, or to rely upon their warmest professions and protestations of gratitude and service?

[p] From Phrygia, Xerxes marched to Sardis, where he spent the winter. From hence he sent heralds to all the cities of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to require them to give him earth and water, which, as we have taken notice before, was the way of exacting and acknowledging submission.

As soon as the spring of the year came on, he left Sardis and directed his march towards the Hellespont. [q] Being arrived there, he wished to have the pleasure of seeing a naval engagement. A throne was erected for him upon an eminence; and in that situation, seeing all the sea crowded with his vessels, and the land covered with his troops, he at first felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his soul, in surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and considering himself as the most happy of mortals: but reflecting soon afterwards, that of so many thousands, in a hundred years' time there would not be one living soul remaining, his joy was turned into grief, and he could not forbear weeping at the uncertainty and insta-

[o] Herod. l. vii. c. 38, 39.
[p] Herod. l. vii. c. 30—32.
[q] Sen. *de irâ*, l. iii. c. 17.
Ibid. c. 44, 46.

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bility of human things. He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself, and considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war.

Artabanes, who neglected no opportunity of making himself useful to the young prince, and of instilling into him sentiments of goodness for his people, took advantage of this moment, in which he found him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, and led him into further reflections upon the miseries with which the lives of most men are attended, and which render them so painful and unhappy; endeavouring at the same time to make him sensible of the duty and obligation of princes, who, not being able to prolong the natural life of their subjects, ought at least to do all that lies in their power to alleviate the troubles and allay the bitterness of it.

In the same conversation Xerxes asked his uncle if he still persisted in his first opinion, and if he would still advise him not to make war against Greece, supposing he had not seen the vision, which occasioned him to change his sentiments. Artabanes owned he still had his fears; and that he was very uneasy concerning two things. What are those two things? replied Xerxes. The land and the sea, says Artabanes: the land, because there is no country that can feed and maintain so numerous an army; the sea, because there are no ports capable of receiving such a multitude of vessels. The king was very sensible of the strength of this reasoning; but as it was now too late to go back, he made answer, that in great undertakings men ought not so narrowly to examine all the inconveniences that may attend them; that if they did, no signal enterprises would ever be attempted; and that if his predecessors had observed so scrupulous and timorous a rule of policy, the Persian empire would never have attained its present height of greatness and glory.

Artabanes gave the king another piece of very prudent advice, which he no more thought fit to follow than he had the former: this was, not to employ the Ionians in his service

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against the Grecians, from whom they were originally descended, and on which account he ought to suspect their fidelity. Xerxes, however, after these conversations with his uncle, treated him with great friendship, paid him the highest marks of honour and respect, sent him back to Susa to take the care and administration of the empire upon him during his own absence, and to that end invested him with his whole authority.

[r] Xerxes, at a vast expense, had caused a bridge of boats to be built upon the sea, for the passage of his forces from Asia into Europe. The space that separates the two continents, formerly called the Hellespont, and now called the straits of the Dardanelles, or of Gallipoli, is seven stadia in breadth, which is near an English mile. A violent storm arose on a sudden, and broke down the bridge. Xerxes hearing this news on his arrival, fell into a transport of rage; and in order to avenge himself for so cruel an affront, commanded two pair of chains to be thrown into the sea, as if he meant to shackle and confine it, and his men to give it three hundred strokes of a whip, addressing it in this manner: 'Thou troublesome and unhappy element, thus does thy master chastise thee for having affronted him without reason. Know, that Xerxes will easily find means to pass over thy waters in spite of all thy billows and resistance.' The extravagance of this prince did not stop here; but making the undertakers of the work answerable for events, which do not in the least depend upon the power of man, he ordered all those persons to have their heads struck off, that had been charged with the direction and management of that undertaking.

[s] Xerxes commanded two other bridges to be built, one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. He appointed workmen more able and expert than the former, who went about it in this manner. They placed three hundred and sixty vessels across, some of them having three banks of oars, and others fifty oars apiece, with their sides turned towards the Euxine sea; and on the side that faced the Ægean sea, they put three hundred and fourteen. They then cast large anchors into the water on both sides, in order to fix and secure all these vessels against the

[r] Herod. l. vii. c. 33—36. [s] Ibid. c. 36.

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violence of the winds, and against the current * of the water. On the east side they left three passages or vacant spaces between the vessels, that there might be room for small boats to go and come easily, as there was occasion, to and from the Euxine sea. After this, upon the land on both sides they drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings fastened to them, to which were tied six vast cables, which went over each of the two bridges; two of which cables were made of hemp, and four of a sort of reeds called βίβλος, which were made use of in those times for the making of cordage. Those that were made of hemp must have been of an extraordinary strength and thickness, since every cubit of those cables weighed a talent.† The cables laid over the whole extent of the vessels lengthwise, reached from one side to the other of the sea. When this part of the work was finished, quite over the vessels from side to side, and over the cables we have been speaking of, they laid the trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use, and planks again over them, fastened and joined together, to serve as a kind of floor or solid bottom: all which they covered over with earth, and added rails or battlements on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at seeing the sea in their passage. This was the mode of constructing those famous bridges built by Xerxes.

When the whole work was completed, a day was appointed for their passing over. And as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly spread over both of the bridges, and the way was strewed with myrtle. At the same time Xerxes poured out libations into the sea, and turning his face towards the sun, the principal object of the Persian worship, he implored the assistance of that god in the enterprise he had undertaken, and desired the continuance of his protection till he had made the entire conquest of Europe, and had brought it into subjection to his power: this done, he threw the vessel, which he had used in making his libations, together with a golden cup, and a Persian

* Polybius remarks, that there is a current of water from the lake Mæotis and the Euxine sea into the Ægean sea, occasioned by the rivers which empty themselves into those two seas. Pol. l. iv. p. 307, 8.

† A talent in weight consisted of 60 minæ, that is to say, of 42 pounds of our weight; and the mina consisted of 100 drachms.

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scimitar, into the sea. The army was seven days and seven nights in passing over these straits; those who were appointed to conduct the march, lashing the poor soldiers all the while with whips, in order to quicken their speed, according to the custom of that nation, which, properly speaking, was only a huge assembly of slaves.

SECT. III. ENUMERATION OF XERXES'S FORCES. DEMARATUS DELIVERS HIS SENTIMENTS FREELY UPON THAT PRINCE'S ENTERPRISE.—[t] Xerxes, directing his march across the Thracian Chersonesus, arrived at Doriscus, a city standing at the mouth of the Hebrus in Thrace; where having encamped his army, and given orders for his fleet to follow him along the shore, he reviewed them both.

He found the land army, which he had brought out of Asia, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot and fourscore thousand horse, which, with twenty thousand men that were absolutely necessary at least for conducting and taking care of the carriages and the camels, made in all eighteen hundred thousand men. When he had passed the Hellespont, the nations that submitted to him made an addition to his army of three hundred thousand men; which made all his land forces together amount to two millions one hundred thousand men.

His fleet, when it set out from Asia, consisted of twelve hundred and seven vessels of war, all of three banks of oars. Each vessel carried two hundred men, natives of the country that fitted them out, besides thirty more, that were either Persians or Medes, or of the Sacæ; which made in all two hundred and seventy-seven thousand six hundred and ten men. The European nations augmented his fleet with a hundred and twenty vessels, each of which carried two hundred men, in all four and twenty thousand: these added to the other, amounted together to three hundred and one thousand six hundred and ten men.

Besides this fleet, which consisted all of large vessels, the small galleys of thirty and fifty oars, the transport ships, the vessels that carried the provisions, and that were employed in other uses, amounted to three thousand. If we reckon but

[t] Herod. l. vii. c. 56—99, and 184—187.

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eighty men in each of these vessels, one with another, that made in the whole two hundred and forty thousand men.

Thus when Xerxes arrived at Thermopylæ, his land and sea forces together made up the number of two millions, six hundred and forty-one thousand, six hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, which usually follow an army, and whose number at this time was equal to that of the forces: so that the whole number of those that followed Xerxes in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty. This is the computation which Herodotus makes of them, and in which Plutarch and Isocrates agree with him. [u] Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Ælian, and others, fall very short of this number in their calculation: but their accounts of the matter appear to be less authentic than that of Herodotus, who lived in the same age in which this expedition was made, and who repeats the inscription engraved, by the order of the Amphictyons, upon the monument of those Grecians who were killed at Thermopylæ, which expressed that they fought against three millions of men.

[x] For the sustenance of all these persons there must be every day consumed, according to Herodotus's computation, above a hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni of flour, (the medimnus was a measure, which, according to Budæus, was equivalent to six of our bushels,) allowing for every head the quantity of a chœnix, which was the daily allowance that masters gave their slaves among the Grecians. We have no account in history of any other army so numerous as this. And amongst all these millions of men, there was not one that could vie with Xerxes in point of beauty, either for the comeliness of his face, or the tallness of his person. But this is a poor merit or preeminence for a prince, when attended with no other. Accordingly Justin, after he has mentioned the number of these troops, adds, that this vast body of forces wanted a chief: *Huic tanto agmini dux defuit.*

We should hardly be able to conceive how it was possible to find a sufficient quantity of provisions for such an immense

[u] Diod. l. xi. p. 3. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 3.
[x] Herod. l. vii. c. 187.

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number of persons, if the [y] historian had not informed us, that Xerxes had employed four whole years in making preparations for this expedition. We have seen already how many vessels of burden there were, that coasted along continually to attend upon and supply the land-army: and doubtless there were fresh ones arriving every day, that furnished the camp with a sufficient plenty of all things necessary.

[z] Herodotus acquaints us with the method of which they made use to calculate these forces, which were almost innumerable. They assembled ten thousand men in a particular place, and ranked them as close together as was possible; after which they described a circle quite round them, and erected a little wall upon that circle about half the height of a man's body; when this was done, they made the whole army successively pass through this space, and thereby knew to what number it amounted.

Herodotus gives us also a particular account of the different armour of all the nations that constituted this army. Besides the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their respective country, the land army was under the command of six Persian generals; *viz.* Mardonius, the son of Gobryas; Tirintatechmes, the son of Artabanes, and Smerdones, son to Otanes, both near relations to the king; Masistes, son of Darius and Atossa; Gergis, son of Ariazes; and Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus. The ten thousand Persians, who were called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes. The cavalry had its particular commanders.

There were likewise four Persian generals who commanded the fleet. In [a] Herodotus we have a particular account of all the nations by which it was fitted out. Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who since the death of her husband governed the kingdom for her son, that was still a minor, brought but five vessels along with her; but they were the best equipped, and the lightest ships in the whole fleet, next to those of the Sidonians. This princess distinguished herself in this war by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct. Herodotus observes, that among all the commanders in the army, there was not one who gave Xerxes so good advice

[y] Herod. l. vii. c. 20. [z] Ibid. c. 60. [a] Ibid. c. 89, 99.

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and such wise counsel as this queen: but he was not prudent enough to profit by it.

When Xerxes had numbered his whole forces by land and sea, he asked Demaratus, if he thought the Grecians would dare to wait for him. I have already taken notice, that this Demaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who, being exiled by the faction of his enemies, had taken refuge at the Persian court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and beneficence. [b] As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprise that a king should suffer himself to be banished, and desired him to acquaint them with the reason of it: 'It is,' says he, 'because at Sparta the law is more powerful than the kings.' This prince was very much esteemed in Persia: but neither the injustice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Persian king, could make him forget his country.* As soon as he knew that Xerxes was making preparations for the war, he found means to give the Grecians secret intelligence of it. And now being obliged on this occasion to speak his sentiments, he did it with such a noble freedom and dignity, as became a Spartan, and a king of Sparta.

[c] Demaratus, before he answered the king's question, desired to know whether it was his pleasure that he should flatter him, or that he should speak his thoughts to him freely and sincerely. Xerxes having declared that he desired him to act with the utmost sincerity; 'Great prince,' says Demaratus, 'since it is agreeable to your pleasure and commands, I shall deliver my sentiments to you with the utmost truth and sincerity. It must be confessed, that from the beginning of time Greece has been trained up, and accustomed to poverty; but then she has introduced and established virtue within her territories, which wisdom cultivates, and the vigour of her laws maintains. And it is by the use which Greece knows how to make of this virtue, that she defends herself equally against the inconveniences of poverty, and the yoke of servitude. But, to speak only of the Lacedæmonians, my particular countrymen, you may assure yourself, that as they are born

[b] Plut. *in Apoph. Lacon.* p. 220. [c] Herod. l. vii. c. 101, 105.

* Amicior patriæ post fugam quàm regi post beneficia. Justin.

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and bred up in liberty, they will never hearken to any proposals that tend to slavery. Though they were deserted and abandoned by all the other Grecians, and reduced to a band of a thousand men, or even to a more inconsiderable number, they will still come out to meet you, and not refuse to give you battle.' Xerxes upon hearing this discourse fell a laughing; and as he could not comprehend how men in such a state of liberty and independence, as the Lacedæmonians were described to enjoy, who had no master to force and compel them to it, could be capable of exposing themselves in such a manner to danger and death; Demaratus replied: [d] 'The Spartans indeed are free, and under no subjection to the will of any man; but at the same time they have laws, to which they are subject, and of which they stand in greater awe than your subjects do of your majesty. Now by these laws they are forbidden ever to fly in battle, let the number of their enemies be never so superior, and are commanded, by abiding firm in their post, either to conquer or to die.'

Xerxes was not offended at the liberty wherewith Demaratus spoke to him, and continued his march.

SECT. IV. THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS SEND TO THEIR ALLIES TO REQUIRE SUCCOURS FROM THEM, BUT TO NO PURPOSE. THE COMMAND OF THE FLEET GIVEN TO THE LACEDÆMONIANS.—[e] Lacedæmon and Athens, which were the two most powerful cities of Greece, and those against which Xerxes was most exasperated, were not indolent or asleep whilst so formidable an enemy was approaching. Having received intelligence long before of the designs of this prince, they had sent spies to Sardis, in order to gain more exact information as to the number and quality of his forces. These spies were seized, and as they were just going to be put to death, Xerxes countermanded it, and gave orders that they should be conducted through his army, and then sent back without any harm being done to them. At their return the Grecians understood what they had to apprehend from so potent an enemy.

They sent deputies at the same time to Argos, into Sicily to

[d] Herod. l. vii. c. 104. [e] Ibid. c. 145 146.

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Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, to the isles of Corcyra and Crete, to desire succours from them, and to form a league against the common enemy.

[f] The people of Argos offered a very considerable succour, on condition that they should have an equal share of the authority and command with the Lacedæmonians. The latter consented that the king of Argos should have the same authority as either of the two kings of Sparta. This was granting them a great deal: but into what errors and mischiefs are not men led by a mistaken point of honour, and a foolish jealousy of command! The Argives were not contented with this offer, and refused to assist the allied Grecians, without considering, that if they suffered them to be destroyed, their own ruin must inevitably follow that of Greece.

[g] The deputies proceeded from Argos to Sicily, and addressed themselves to Gelon, who was the most potent prince at that time among the Greeks. He promised to assist them with two hundred vessels of three benches of oars, with an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, two thousand light-armed soldiers, and the same number of bow-men and slingers, and to supply the Grecian army with provisions during the whole war, on condition they would make him generalissimo of all the forces both by land and sea. The Lacedæmonians were highly offended at such a proposal. Gelon then abated somewhat in his demands, and promised the same, provided he had at least the command either of the fleet or of the army. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the Athenians, who made answer, that they alone had a right to command the fleet, in case the Lacedæmonians were willing to give it up. Gelon had a more substantial reason for not leaving Sicily unprovided with troops, which was the approach of the formidable army of the Carthaginians, commanded by Amilcar, that consisted of three hundred thousand men.

[h] The inhabitants of Corcyra, now called Corfu, gave the envoys a favourable answer, and immediately put to sea with a fleet of sixty vessels. But they advanced no farther than the coasts of Laconia, pretending they were hindered by con-

[f] Herod. l. vii. c. 148, 152. [g] Ibid. c. 153, 162.
[h] Ibid. c. 168.

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trary winds, but in reality waiting to see the success of an engagement, that they might afterwards range themselves on the side of the conqueror.

[i] The people of Crete, having consulted the Delphic oracle, to know what resolution they were to take on this occasion, absolutely refused to enter into the league.

[k] Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians left almost to themselves, all the rest of the cities and nations having submitted to the heralds that Xerxes had sent to require earth and water of them, excepting the people of Thespia and of Platææ. [l] In so pressing a danger, their first care was to put an end to all discord and division among themselves; for which reason the Athenians made peace with the people of Ægina, with whom they were actually at war.

[m] Their next care was to appoint a general: for there never was any occasion wherein it was more necessary to choose one, who was capable of so important a trust, than in the present conjuncture, when Greece was upon the point of being attacked by the forces of all Asia. The most able and experienced captains, terrified at the greatness of the danger, had taken the resolution of not presenting themselves as candidates. There was a certain citizen at Athens, whose name was Epicydes, that had some eloquence, but in other respects was a person of no merit, was in disreputation for his want of courage, and notorious for his avarice. Notwithstanding all which it was apprehended, that in the assembly of the people the votes would run in his favour. Themistocles, who was sensible, * that in calm weather almost any mariner may be capable of conducting a vessel, but that in storms and tempests the most able pilots are at a loss, was convinced that the commonwealth was ruined, if Epicydes was chosen general, whose venal and mercenary soul gave them the justest reason to fear, that he was not proof against the Persian gold. There are occasions, when, in order to act wisely, (I had almost said regularly,) it is necessary to dispense with and rise above all rule. Themistocles,

[i] Herod. l. vii. c. 169, 171.
[l] Ibid. c. 145.
[k] Ibid. c. 132.
[m] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 114.

* Quilibet nautarum ventorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest: ubi orta sæva tempestas est, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus est. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 8.

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who knew very well that in the present state of affairs he was the only person capable of commanding, did for that reason make no scruple of employing bribes and presents to remove his competitor: * and having found means to make the ambition of Epicydes amends, by gratifying his avarice, he got himself elected general in his stead. We may here, I think, very justly apply to Themistocles, what Livy says of Fabius on a like occasion. This great commander finding, when Hannibal was in the heart of Italy, that the people were going to make a man of no merit consul, employed all his own influence, as well as that of his friends, to be continued in the consulship, without being concerned at the clamour that might be raised against him; and he succeeded in the attempt. The historian adds, † 'The conjuncture of affairs, and the extreme danger to which the commonwealth was exposed, were arguments of such weight, that they prevented any one from being offended at a conduct which might appear to be contrary to rule, and removed all suspicion of Fabius's having acted from any motive of interest or ambition. On the contrary, the public admired his generosity and greatness of soul in that, as he knew the commonwealth had occasion for an accomplished general, and could not be ignorant or doubtful of his own singular merit in that respect, he had chosen rather in some sort to hazard his own reputation, and perhaps expose his character to the reproaches of envious tongues, than to be wanting in any service he could render his country.'

[n] The Athenians also passed a decree to recall home all their people that were in banishment. They were afraid, lest Aristides should join their enemies, and lest his authority should carry over a great many others to the side of the barbarians. But they were very little acquainted with their citizen, who was infinitely remote from such sentiments. Be that as it may, they thought fit to recall him, and Themistocles was so far from opposing the decree for that purpose, that he

[n] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 322, 323.

* Χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐξωνήσατο παρὰ τῦ Ἐπικύδε.

† Tempus ac necessitas belli, ac discrimen summæ rerum, faciebant ne quis aut in exemplum exquireret, aut suspectum cupiditatis imperii consulem haberet. Quin laudabant potiùs magnitudinem animi, quòd cùm summo imperatore esse opus reip. sciret, seque eum haud dubiè esse, minoris invidiam suam, si qua ex re oriretur, quàm utilitatem reip. fecisset. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 9.

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promoted it with all his influence and authority. The hatred and division of these great men had nothing of that implacable, bitter, and outrageous spirit, which prevailed among the Romans in the later times of the republic. The danger of the state was the cause of their reconciliation, and when their services were necessary to the preservation of the public, they laid aside all their jealousy and rancour: and we shall see by the sequel, that Aristides was so far from secretly thwarting his former rival, that he zealously contributed to the success of his enterprises, and to the advancement of his glory.

The alarm increased in Greece, in proportion as they received advice that the Persian army advanced. If the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had been able to make no other resistance than with their land-forces, Greece had been utterly ruined and reduced to slavery. This exigence taught them how to set a right value upon the prudent foresight of Themistocles, who upon some other pretext had caused a hundred galleys to be built. Instead of judging like the rest of the Athenians, who looked upon the victory of Marathon as the end of the war, he on the contrary considered it rather as the beginning, and as the signal of still greater battles, for which it was necessary to prepare the Athenian people: and from that very time he began to think of raising Athens to a superiority over Sparta, which for a long time had been the mistress of all Greece. With this view he judged it expedient to direct all the strength of Athens entirely towards naval affairs, perceiving very plainly that as she was so weak by land she had no other way to render herself necessary to her allies, or formidable to her enemies. His advice prevailed in spite of the opposition of Miltiades, whose difference of opinion undoubtedly arose from the little probability there was, that a people entirely unacquainted with fighting at sea, and who were capable of fitting out and arming only very small vessels, should be able to withstand so formidable a power as that of the Persians, who had both a numerous land army, and a fleet of above a thousand ships.

[o] The Athenians had some silver mines in a part of Attica called Laurium, the whole revenues and product of which used

[o] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 113.

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to be distributed amongst them. Themistocles had the courage to propose to the people, that they should abolish these distributions, and employ that money in building vessels with three benches of oars, in order to make war upon the people of Ægina, against whom he endeavoured to rekindle their ancient jealousy. No people are ever willing to sacrifice their private interests to the general utility of the public: for they seldom have so much generosity or public spirit, as to purchase the welfare of the state at their own expense. The Athenian people, however, did it upon this occasion: moved by the earnest remonstrances of Themistocles, they consented, that the money which arose from the product of the mines, should be employed in the building of a hundred galleys. Against the arrival of Xerxes they doubled the number, and to that fleet Greece owed its preservation.

[p] When they came to the point of naming a general for the command of the navy, the Athenians, who alone had furnished two thirds of it, laid claim to that honour as appertaining to them, and their pretensions were certainly just and well grounded. It happened, however, that the suffrages of the allies all concurred in favour of Eurybiades, a Lacedæmonian. Themistocles, though very aspiring after glory, thought it incumbent upon him on this occasion to neglect his own interests for the common good of the nation: and giving the Athenians to understand, that, provided they behaved as valiant men, all the Grecians would quickly desire to confer the command upon them of their own accord, he persuaded them to consent, as he would do himself, to give up that point at present to the Spartans. It may justly be said, that this prudent moderation in Themistocles was another means of saving the state. For the allies threatened to separate themselves from them, if they refused to comply; and if that had happened, Greece must have been inevitably ruined.

SECT. V. THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ. THE DEATH OF LEONIDAS.

A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480.

[q] The only thing that now remained to be discussed, was to know in what place they should resolve to meet the Persians, in order to

[p] Herod. l. viii. c. 213.

[q] Ibid. l. vii. c. 172, 173.

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dispute their entrance into Greece. The people of Thessaly represented that as they were the most exposed, and likely to be first attacked by the enemy, it was but reasonable that their defence and security, on which the safety of all Greece so much depended, should first be provided for; without which they should be obliged to take other measures, that would be contrary to their inclinations, but yet absolutely necessary, in case their country was left unprotected and defenceless. It was hereupon resolved, that ten thousand men should be sent to guard the passage which separates Macedonia from Thessaly, near the river Peneus, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. But Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, having given them to understand, that if they waited for the Persians in that place they must inevitably be overpowered by their numbers, they retired to Thermopylæ. The Thessalians finding themselves thus abandoned, without any farther deliberation submitted to the Persians.

[r] Thermopylæ is a strait or narrow pass of mount Œta, between Thessaly and Phocis, only twenty-five feet broad, which therefore might be defended by a small number of forces, and which was the only way through which the Persian land army could enter Achaia, and advance to besiege Athens. This was the place where the Grecian army thought fit to wait for the enemy: the person who commanded it was Leonidas, one of the two kings of Sparta.

[s] Xerxes in the mean time was upon his march: he had given orders for his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to those of the land army. Wherever he came he found provisions and refreshment prepared beforehand, pursuant to the orders he had sent; and every city he arrived at gave him a magnificent entertainment, which cost immense sums of money. The vast expense of these treats gave occasion to a witty saying of a certain citizen of Abdera in Thrace, who, when the king was gone, said, they ought to thank the gods, that he ate but one meal a day.

[t] In the same country of Thrace, there was a prince who showed an extraordinary greatness of soul on this occasion: it was the king of the Bisaltæ. Whilst all the other princes ran

[r] Herod. l. vii. c. 175, 177. [s] Ibid. c. 108, 132. [t] Ibid. l. viii. c. 116.

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into servitude, and basely submitted to Xerxes, he proudly refused to receive his yoke or to obey him. Not being in a condition to resist him with open force, he retired to the top of the mountain Rhodope, into an inaccessible place, and forbade all his sons, who were six in number, to carry arms against Greece. But they, either through fear of Xerxes, or through a curiosity to see so important a war, followed the Persians, in contradiction to their father's injunction. On their return home, their father, to punish so direct a disobedience, condemned all his sons to have their eyes put out. Xerxes continued his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, every thing giving way before him till he came to the strait of Thermopylæ.

[u] One cannot see, without the utmost astonishment, what a handful of troops the Grecians opposed to the innumerable army of Xerxes. We find a particular account of their numbers in Pausanias. All their forces joined together, amounted only to eleven thousand two hundred men. Of which number four thousand only were employed at Thermopylæ to defend the pass. But these soldiers, adds the historian, were all determined to a man either to conquer or die. And what is it that such an army cannot effect?

[x] When Xerxes advanced near the straits of Thermopylæ, he was strangely surprised to find that they were prepared to dispute his passage. He had always flattered himself, that on the first hearing of his arrival, the Grecians would betake themselves to flight; nor could he ever be persuaded to believe, what Demaratus had told him from the beginning of his project, that at the first pass he came to, he would find his whole army stopped by a handful of men. He sent out a spy before him to view the enemy. The spy brought him word, that he found the Lacedæmonians out of their intrenchments, and that they were diverting themselves with military exercises, and combing their hair: this was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle.

Xerxes still entertaining some hopes, waited four days on purpose to give them time to retreat. [y] And in this interval of

[u] Paus. l. x. p. 645. [x] Herod. l. vii. c. 207—231. Diod. l. xi. p. 5, 10
[y] Plut. *in Lacon. Apoph.* p. 225.

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time he used his utmost endeavours to gain Leonidas, by making him magnificent promises, and assuring him, that he would make him master of all Greece, if he would come over to his party. Leonidas rejected his proposal with scorn and indignation. Xerxes having afterwards written to him to deliver up his arms, Leonidas, in a style and spirit truly laconical, answered him in two words; * 'Come and take them.' Nothing remained, but to prepare to engage the Lacedæmonians. Xerxes first commanded his Median forces to march against them, with orders to take them all alive and bring them to him. The Medes were not able to stand the charge of the Grecians; and being shamefully put to flight, they showed, says Herodotus, † that Xerxes had a great many men, but few soldiers. The next that were sent to face the Spartans, were those Persians called the Immortal Band, which consisted of ten thousand men, and were the best troops in the whole army. But these had no better success than the former.

Xerxes, despairing of being able to force his way through troops so determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed, and could not tell what resolution to take, when an inhabitant of the country came to him, and discovered a secret ‡ path leading to an eminence, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. He quickly dispatched a detachment thither, which, marching all night, arrived there at the break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post.

The Greeks were soon apprized of this misfortune; and Leonidas, seeing that it was now impossible to withstand the enemy, obliged the rest of the allies to retire, but staid himself with his three hundred Lacedæmonians, all resolved to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either Lacedæmon or her king must necessarily perish, determined, without the least hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The Spartans lost all hopes either of conquering or escaping, and looked upon Thermopylæ as their burying-place. The king, exhorting his men to take some nourishment, and telling them

* Ἀντιγραψε, Μόλων λάβε.

† Ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι ἦεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες.
Quòd multi homines essent, pauci autem viri.

‡ When the Gauls, two hundred years after this, came to invade Greece, they possessed themselves of the straits of Thermopylæ by means of the same by-path which the Grecians had still neglected to secure. Pausan. l. i. p. 7, 8.

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at the same time, that they should sup together with Pluto, they set up a shout of joy as if they had been invited to a banquet, and full of ardour advanced with their king to battle. The shock was exceedingly violent and bloody. Leonidas was one of the first that fell. The endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. At length, not vanquished, but oppressed by numbers, they all fell, except one man, who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and traitor to his country, and nobody would keep company or converse with him: but soon afterwards he made a glorious amends for his fault at the battle of Platææ, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. [z] Xerxes, enraged to the last degree against Leonidas for daring to make head against him, caused his dead body to be hung on a gallows; and while he intended dishonour to his enemy covered himself with disgrace.

Some time after these transactions, by order of the Amphictyons, a magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylæ in honour of these brave defenders of Greece; and upon the monument were two inscriptions; one of which was general, and related to all those that died at Thermopylæ, importing, that the Greeks of Peloponnesus, to the number only of four thousand, had made head against the Persian army, which consisted of three millions of men: the other related to the Spartans in particular. It was composed by the poet Simonides, and is very remarkable for its simplicity. It is as follows:

* Ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγειλον Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

That is to say, 'Go, passenger, and tell at Lacedæmon, that we died here in obedience to her sacred laws.' Forty years afterwards, Pausanias, who obtained the victory of Platææ, caused the bones of Leonidas to be carried from Thermopylæ to Sparta, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory; near which was likewise another erected for Pausanias. Every year at these tombs was a funeral oration pronounced in honour

[z] Herod. l. vii. c. 238.

* Pari animo Lacedæmonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in quos Simonides:

Dic, hospes, Spartæ nos te hìc vidisse jacentes,
Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.

Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. i. n. 101.

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of these heroes, and public games celebrated, at which none but Lacedæmonians had a right to be present, in order to show, that they alone were concerned in the glory obtained at Thermopylæ.

[a] Xerxes in that affair lost above twenty thousand men, among whom were two of the king's brothers. He was very sensible, that so great a loss, which was a manifest proof of the courage of their enemies, was capable of alarming and discouraging his soldiers. In order therefore to conceal the knowledge of it from them, he caused all his men that were killed in that action, except a thousand, whose bodies he ordered to be left upon the field, to be thrown together into large holes, which were secretly made, and covered over afterwards with earth and herbs. This stratagem succeeded very ill: for when the soldiers in his fleet, being curious to see the field of battle, obtained leave to come thither for that purpose, it served rather to discover his own littleness of soul, than to conceal the number of the slain.

[b] Dismayed with a victory that had cost him so dear, he asked Demaratus, if the Lacedæmonians had yet many such soldiers. That prince told him that the Spartan republic had a great many cities belonging to it, of which all the inhabitants were exceeding brave; but that those of Lacedæmon, who were properly called Spartans, and who were about eight thousand in number, surpassed all the rest in valour, and were all of them such as those who had fought under Leonidas.

I return for an instant to the battle of Thermopylæ, the issue of which, fatal in appearance, might make an impression upon the minds of the readers to the disadvantage of the Lacedæmonians, and occasion their courage to be looked upon as the effect of a presumptuous temerity, or a desperate resolution.

That action of Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans, was not the effect of rashness or despair, but was a wise and noble conduct, as [c] Diodorus Siculus has taken care to observe, in his magnificent encomium upon that famous engagement, to which he ascribes the success of all the ensuing campaigns. Leonidas, knowing that Xerxes was marching at the head of

[a] Herod. l. viii. c. 24, 25. [b] Ibid. l. vii. c. 134, 137. [c] Lib. xi. p. 9

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all the forces of the East, in order to overwhelm and crush a little country by the dint of numbers, rightly conceived, from the superiority of his genius and understanding, that if they pretended to make the success of that war consist in opposing force to force, and numbers to numbers, all the Grecian nations together would never be able to equal the Persians, or to dispute the victory with them; that it was therefore necessary to point out to Greece another means of safety and preservation, whilst she was under these alarms; and that they ought to show the whole universe, who had all their eyes upon them, what may be done, when greatness of mind is opposed to force of body, true courage and bravery against blind impetuosity, the love of liberty against tyrannical oppression, and a few disciplined veteran troops against a confused multitude, though never so numerous. These brave Lacedæmonians thought it became them, who were the choicest soldiers of the chief people of Greece, to devote themselves to certain death, in order to make the Persians sensible how difficult it is to reduce free men to slavery, and to teach the rest of Greece, by their example, either to conquer or to perish.

These sentiments do not originate from my own invention, nor do I ascribe them to Leonidas without foundation: they are plainly comprised in that short answer, which that worthy king of Sparta made to a certain Lacedæmonian; who, being astonished at the generous resolution the king had taken, spoke to him in this manner: [d] 'Is it possible then, sir, that you can think of marching with a handful of men against such a mighty and innumerable army?' 'If we are to reckon upon numbers,' replied Leonidas, 'all the people of Greece together would not be sufficient, since a small part of the Persian army is equal to all her inhabitants: but if we are to reckon upon valour, my little troop is more than sufficient.'

The event showed the justness of this prince's sentiments. That illustrious example of courage astonished the Persians, and gave new spirit and vigour to the Greeks. The lives then of this heroic leader and his brave troop were not thrown away, but usefully employed; and their death was attended with a double effect, more great and lasting than they themselves had

[d] Plut. *in Lacon. Apoph.* p. 225.

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imagined. On one hand, it was in a manner the seed of their ensuing victories, which made the Persians for ever after lay aside all thoughts of attacking Greece; so that during the seven or eight succeeding reigns, there was neither any prince who durst entertain such a design, nor any flatterer in his court who durst propose the plan to him. On the other hand, such a signal and exemplary instance of intrepidity made an indelible impression upon all the rest of the Grecians, and left a persuasion deeply rooted in their hearts, that they were able to subdue the Persians, and subvert their vast empire. Cimon was the man who made the first attempt of that kind with success. Agesilaus afterwards pushed that design so far, that he made the great king tremble in his palace at Susa. Alexander at last accomplished it with incredible facility. He never had the least doubt, any more than the Macedonians who followed him, or the whole country of Greece that chose him general in that expedition, but that with thirty thousand men he could overturn the Persian empire, since three hundred Spartans had been sufficient to check the united forces of the whole East.

SECT. VI. NAVAL BATTLE NEAR ARTEMISIUM.—[e] The very same day on which the glorious action at Thermopylæ took place, there was also an engagement at sea between the two fleets. That of the Grecians, exclusive of the little galleys and small boats, consisted of two hundred and seventy-one vessels. This fleet had lain by near Artemisium, a promontory of Eubœa upon the northern coast towards the straits. That of the enemy, which was much more numerous, was near the same place, but had lately suffered in a violent tempest, that had destroyed above four hundred of their vessels. Notwithstanding this loss, as it was still vastly superior in number to that of the Grecians, which they were preparing to attack, they detached two hundred of their vessels with orders to wait about Eubœa, to the end that none of the enemy's vessels might be able to escape them. The Grecians having got intelligence of this, immediately set sail in the night, in order to attack that detachment at daybreak the next morning. But not meeting

[e] Herod. l. viii. c. 1—18. Diod. l. xi. p. 10, 11.

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with it, they went towards the evening and fell upon the bulk of the enemy's fleet, which they treated very roughly. Night coming on, they were obliged to separate, and both parties retired to their post. But the very night that parted them, proved more pernicious to the Persians than the engagement which had preceded, from a violent storm of wind, accompanied with rain and thunder, which distressed and harassed their vessels till break of day: and the two hundred ships also, that had been detached from their fleet, were almost all cast away upon the coasts of Eubœa; it being the will of the gods, says Herodotus, that the two fleets should become very near equal.

The Athenians having the same day received a reinforcement of fifty-three vessels, the Grecians, who were apprized of the wreck that had befallen part of the enemy's fleet, fell upon the ships of the Cilicians at the same hour they had attacked the fleet the day before, and sunk a great number of them. The Persians, being ashamed to see themselves thus insulted by an enemy that was so much inferior in number, thought fit the next day to appear first in a disposition to engage. The battle was very obstinate, and the success pretty near equal on both sides, excepting that the Persians, who were incommoded by the largeness and number of their vessels, sustained much the greater loss. Both parties however retired in good order.

[f] All these actions, which passed near Artemisium, were not absolutely decisive, but contributed very much to animate the Athenians, as they were convinced, by their own experience, that there was nothing really formidable, either in the number and magnificent ornaments of the vessels, or in the barbarians' insolent shouts and songs of victory, to men that know how to come to close engagement, and that have the courage to fight with steadiness and resolution; and that the best way of dealing with such an enemy, is to despise all that vain appearance, to advance boldly up to them, and to charge them briskly and vigorously without ever giving ground.

The Grecian fleet having at this time had intelligence of what had passed at Thermopylæ, resolved upon the course they were to take without any farther deliberation. They immediately sailed away from Artemisium, and advancing

[f] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 115, 117. Herod. l. viii. c. 21, 22.

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towards the heart of Greece, they stopped at Salamis, a little isle very near and over-against Attica. Whilst the fleet was retreating, Themistocles passed through all the places where the enemies must necessarily land, in order to take in fresh water or other provisions, and in large characters engraved upon the rocks and the stones the following words, which he addressed to the Ionians: 'Be of our side, ye people of Ionia: come over to the party of your fathers, who expose their own lives for no other end than to maintain your liberty: or, if you cannot possibly do that, at least do the Persians all the mischief you can, when we are engaged with them, and put their army into disorder and confusion.' [g] By this means Themistocles hoped either to bring the Ionians really over to their party, or at least to render them suspected to the barbarians. We see this general had his thoughts always intent upon his business, and neglected nothing that could contribute to the success of his designs.

SECT. VII. THE ATHENIANS ABANDON THEIR CITY, WHICH IS TAKEN AND BURNT BY XERXES.—Xerxes in the mean time had entered into the country of Phocis by the upper part of Doris, and was burning and plundering the cities of the Phocians. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus having no thoughts but to save their own country, had resolved to abandon all the rest, and to bring all the Grecian forces together within the isthmus, the entrance of which they intended to secure by a strong wall from one sea to the other, a space of near five miles English. The Athenians were highly provoked at so base a desertion, as they saw themselves ready to fall into the hands of the Persians, and likely to bear the whole weight of their fury and vengeance. Some time before they had consulted the oracle of Delphi, which had given them for answer, [h] 'that there would be no way of saving the city but by wooden walls.' The sentiments of the people were much divided about this ambiguous expression: some thought it was to be understood to mean the citadel, because heretofore it had been surrounded with wooden palisades. But Themistocles gave another sense to the words, which was much more natural, understanding it

[g] Herod. l. viii. c. 40, 41.

[h] Ibid. l. vii. c. 139—143.

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to mean shipping; and demonstrated that the only plan they had to adopt was to leave the city empty, and to embark all the inhabitants. But this was a resolution the people would not at all give ear to, as thinking they thereby relinquished every hope of victory, and seeing no method of saving themselves, when once they had abandoned the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors. Here Themistocles had occasion for all his address and all his eloquence to work upon the people. After he had represented to them that Athens did not consist either of its walls, or its houses, but of its citizens, and that the saving of these was the preservation of the city, he endeavoured to persuade them by the argument most capable of making an impression upon them in the unhappy, afflicted, and dangerous condition they were then in, I mean that of the divine authority; giving them to understand by the very words of the oracle, and by the prodigies which had happened, that their removing for a time from Athens was manifestly the will of the gods.

[i] A decree was therefore passed, by which, in order to soften what appeared so hard in the resolution of deserting the city, it was ordained, 'that Athens should be given up in trust into the hands, and committed to the keeping and protection of Minerva, patroness of the Athenian people; that all such inhabitants as were able to bear arms, should go on shipboard; and that every citizen should provide, as well as he could, for the safety and security of his wife, children, and slaves.'

[k] The extraordinary behaviour of Cimon, who was at this time very young, was of great weight on this singular occasion. Followed by his companions, with a gay and cheerful countenance, he went publicly along the street of the Ceramicus to the citadel, in order to consecrate a bit of a bridle, which he carried in his hand, in the temple of Minerva, designing to make the people understand by this religious and affecting ceremony, that they had no farther business with land forces, and that it behoved them now to betake themselves entirely to the sea. After he had made an offering of this bit, he took one of the shields that hung upon the wall of the temple, paid

[i] Herod. l. viii. c. 51—54. Plut. *in Themist.* p. 117.
[k] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 481.

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his devotions to the goddess, went down to the water-side, and was the first, who by his example inspired the generality of the people with confidence and resolution, and encouraged them to embark.

The greater part of them sent their fathers and mothers, that were old, together with their wives and children, to the city of * Trœzene, the inhabitants of which received them with great humanity and generosity. For they made an ordinance, that they should be maintained at the expense of the public, and assigned for each person's subsistence two oboli a day, which were worth about twopence English money. Besides this, they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, or wherever they came, and settled a fund for the payment of the masters, who had the care of their education. How beautiful is it to see a city, exposed as this was to the greatest dangers and calamities, extend her care and generosity, in the very midst of such alarms, even to the education of other people's children!

When the whole city came to embark, so moving and melancholy a spectacle drew tears from the eyes of all that were present, and at the same time occasioned great admiration of the steadiness and courage of those men, who sent their fathers and mothers another way and to other places, and who, without being moved either at their grief or lamentations, or at the tender embraces of their wives and children, passed over with so much firmness and resolution to Salamis. But that which extremely raised and augmented the general compassion, was the great number of old men whom they were forced to leave in the city on account of their age and infirmities, and of whom many voluntarily remained there, through religious motives, believing the citadel to be the thing meant by the oracle in the forementioned ambiguous expression of wooden walls. There was no creature, (for history has judged this circumstance worthy of being remembered,) there was no creature, I say, even to the very domestic animals, but what took part in this public mourning; nor was it possible for a man to see those poor creatures run howling and crying after their masters, who

* This was a small city situate upon the sea-side, in that part of the Peloponnesus called Argolis.

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were going on board ship, without being touched and affected. Among all the rest of these animals, particular notice is taken of a dog belonging to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, which, not being able to endure to see himself abandoned by his master, jumped into the sea after him, and continued swimming as near as he could to the vessel his master was on board of, till he landed quite spent at Salamis, and died the moment after upon the shore. In the same place, even in Plutarch's time, they used to show the spot wherein this faithful animal was said to be buried, which was called 'the dog's burying-place.'

[l] Whilst Xerxes was continuing his march, some deserters from Arcadia came and joined his army. The king having asked them what the Grecians were then doing, was extremely surprised when he was told that they were employed in seeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia: and his surprise was still increased, when he understood that the victor's reward in those engagements was only a crown of olive. What men must they be, cried one of the Persian nobles with great wonder and astonishment, who are influenced only by honour, and not by money!

[m] Xerxes had sent off a considerable detachment of his army to plunder the temple at Delphi, in which he knew there were immense treasures, being resolved to treat Apollo with no more favour than the other gods, whose temples he had pillaged. If we may believe Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, as soon as ever this detachment advanced near the temple of Minerva, surnamed the Provident, the atmosphere grew dark on a sudden, and a violent tempest arose, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder and lightning; and two huge rocks having severed themselves from the mountain, fell upon the Persian troops, and crushed the greatest part of them.

[n] The other part of the army marched towards the city of Athens, which had been deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens who had retired into the citadel, where they defended themselves with incredible bravery, till they were all killed, and would hearken to no terms of accom-

[l] Herod. l. viii. c. 26.
[m] Ibid. c. 35—39. Diod. l. xi. p. 12.
[n] Herod. l. viii. c. 50—54.

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modation whatsoever. Xerxes having stormed the citadel, reduced it to ashes. He immediately dispatched a courier to Susa, to carry the agreeable news of his success to Artabanes his uncle; and at the same time sent him a great number of pictures and statues. [o] Those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, were sent with the rest. One of the Antiochuses, king of Syria, (I do not know which of them, nor at what time it was,) returned them to the Athenians, being persuaded he could not possibly make them a more acceptable present.

SECT. VIII. THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS. PRECIPITATE RETURN OF XERXES INTO ASIA. PANEGYRIC OF THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES. THE DEFEAT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SICILY.—[p] At this time a division arose among the commanders of the Grecian fleet; and the confederates, in a council of war which was held for that purpose, were of very different sentiments concerning the place for engaging the enemy. Some of them, and indeed the greater part, at the head of whom was Eurybiades, the generalissimo of the fleet, were for having them advance near the isthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the land army, which was posted there to guard that pass under the command of Cleombrotus, Leonidas's brother, and more ready for the defence of Peloponnesus. Others, at the head of whom was Themistocles, alleged, that it would be betraying their country to abandon so advantageous a post as that of Salamis. And as he supported his opinion with abundance of warmth, Eurybiades lifted up his cane in a menacing manner. 'Strike,' says the Athenian, unmoved at the insult, 'but hear me:' and, continuing his discourse, he proceeded to show of what importance it was to the fleet of the Grecians, whose vessels were lighter and much fewer in number than those of the Persians, to engage in such a strait as that of Salamis, which would render the enemy incapable of using a great part of their forces. Eurybiades, who could not help being surprised at the moderation of Themistocles, acquiesced in his reasons, or at least complied with his opinion, for fear the Athenians, whose ships made up

[o] Pausan. l. i. p. 14. [p] Herod. l. viii. c. 56—65. Plut. *in Themist.* p. 117.

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above one half of the fleet, should separate themselves from the allies, as their general had taken occasion to insinuate.

[q] A council of war was also held on the side of the Persians, in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement; Xerxes himself was come to the fleet to take the advice of his captains and officers, who were all unanimous for the battle, because they knew it was agreeable to the king's inclination. Queen Artemisia was the only person who opposed that resolution. She represented the dangerous consequences of coming to blows with people much more conversant and more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians; alleging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their land army; whereas, by protracting the war, and approaching Peloponnesus, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, or rather augment the division which already was very prevalent amongst them; that the confederates in that case would not fail to separate from one another, in order to return and defend their respective countries; and that then the king, without difficulty, and almost without striking a blow, might make himself master of all Greece. This wise advice was not followed, and a battle was resolved upon.

Xerxes, imputing the ill success of all his former engagements at sea to his own absence, was resolved to be witness of this from the top of an eminence, where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. This might have contributed in some measure to animate his forces: but there is another much more sure and effectual mode of doing it, I mean, the prince's actual presence and example, when he himself shares in the danger, and thereby shows himself worthy of being the soul and head of a brave and numerous body of men ready to die for his service. A prince, who has not this sort of fortitude, which nothing can shake, and which even takes new vigour from danger, may nevertheless be endued with other excellent qualities, but is by no means proper to command an army. No qualification whatsoever can supply the want of courage in a general: and the * more he labours to show the appearance of

[q] Herod. l. viii. c. 67—70.

* Quanto magis occultare ac abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestiùs pavidi. Tacit. *Hist.*

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it, when he has not the reality, the more he discovers his cowardice and fear. There is, it must be owned, a vast difference between a general officer and a common soldier. Xerxes ought not to have exposed his person otherwise than became a prince; that is to say, as the head, not as the hand: as he, whose business it is to direct and give orders, not as those who are to put them in execution. But to keep himself entirely at a distance from danger, and to act no other part than that of a spectator, was really renouncing the quality and office of a general.

[r] Themistocles, knowing that some of the commanders in the Grecian fleet still entertained thoughts of sailing towards the isthmus, contrived to have notice given covertly to Xerxes, that as the Grecian allies were now assembled together in one place, it would be an easy matter for him to subdue and destroy them altogether; whereas, if they once separated from one another, as they were going to do, he might never meet with another opportunity so favourable. The king gave into this opinion; and immediately commanded a great number of his vessels to surround Salamis by night, in order to make it impracticable for the Greeks to escape from that post.

[s] Nobody among the Grecians perceived that their army was surrounded in this manner. Aristides came that very night from Ægina, where he had some forces under his command, and with very great danger passed through the whole fleet of the enemy. When he came up to Themistocles's tent, he took him aside, and spoke to him in the following manner: 'If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall from henceforward lay aside that vain and childish dissension that has hitherto divided us, and strive with a more noble and useful emulation, which of us shall render the best service to his country, you by commanding and doing the duty of a wise and able captain, and I by obeying your orders, and by assisting you with my person and advice.' He then informed him of the army's being surrounded with the ships of the Persians, and warmly exhorted him to give them battle without delay. Themistocles, extremely astonished at such a greatness of soul, and such a noble and generous frankness, was somewhat ashamed that he had

[r] Herod. l. viii. c. 74—78. [s] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 323. Herod. l. viii. c. 78—82.

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suffered himself to be so much excelled by his rival; but without being ashamed to own it, he promised Aristides, that he would henceforward imitate his generosity, and even exceed it, if it were possible, in the whole of his future conduct. Then, after having imparted to him the stratagem he had contrived to deceive the barbarian, he desired him to go in person to Eurybiades, in order to convince him that there was no other means of safety for them, than to engage the enemy by sea at Salamis; which commission Aristides executed with pleasure and success; for he possessed much influence over that general.

[t] Both sides, therefore, prepared themselves for the battle. The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty sail of ships, which in every thing followed the direction and orders of Themistocles. As nothing escaped his vigilance, and as, like an able commander, he knew how to improve every circumstance and incident to advantage, before he would begin the engagement he waited till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at a certain hour, and which was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as this wind rose, the signal was given for battle. The Persians, who knew that their king had his eyes upon them, advanced with such courage and impetuosity, as were capable of striking an enemy with terror. But the heat of the first attack quickly abated, when they came to be engaged. Every thing was against them: the wind, which blew directly in their faces; the height, and the heaviness of their vessels, which could not move nor turn without great difficulty, and even the number of their ships, which was so far from being of use to them, that it only served to embarrass them in a place so strait and narrow as that in which they fought: whereas, on the side of the Grecians, every thing was done with good order, and without hurry or confusion; because every thing was directed by one commander. The Ionians, whom Themistocles had warned, by characters engraven upon stones along the coasts of Eubœa, to remember from whom they derived their original, were the first that betook themselves to flight, and were quickly followed by the rest of the fleet. Artemisia distinguished herself by incredible efforts of

[t] Herod. l. viii. c. 84—96.

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resolution and courage, so that Xerxes, who saw in what manner she had behaved herself, cried out, * that the men had behaved like women in this engagement, and that the women had shown the courage of men. The Athenians, being enraged that a woman had dared to appear in arms against them, had promised a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one, that should be able to take her alive: but she had the good fortune to escape their pursuit. If they had taken her, she could have deserved nothing from them but the highest commendations, and the most honourable and generous treatment.

[u] The manner in which that † queen escaped ought not to be omitted. Seeing herself warmly pursued by an Athenian ship, from which it seemed impossible for her to escape, she hung out Grecian colours, and attacked one of the Persian vessels, on board of which was Damasithymus, king of [x] Calynda, with whom she had had some quarrel, and sunk it: this made her pursuers believe, that her ship was one of the Grecian fleet, and they gave over the chase.

Such was the success of the battle of Salamis, one of the most memorable actions related in ancient history, and which has rendered the name and courage of the Grecians famous for ever. A great number of the Persian ships were taken, and a much greater sunk upon this occasion. Many of their allies, who dreaded the king's cruelty no less than the enemy, made the best of their way into their own country.

Themistocles, in a secret conversation with Aristides, proposed to his consideration, in order to sound him and to learn his real sentiments, whether it would not be proper for them to send some vessels to break down the bridge which Xerxes had caused to be built, to the end, says he, that we may take Asia in Europe: but though he made this proposal, he was far

[u] Herod. l. viii. c. 87, 88. Polyæn. l. viii. c. 53. [x] A city of Lycia.

* Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασι μοὶ γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες.

Artemisia inter primos duces bellum acerrimè ciebat. Quippe, ut in viro muliebrem timorem, ita in muliere virilem audaciam cerneres. Justin, l. ii. c. 12.

† It appears that Artemisia valued herself no less upon stratagem than courage, and at the same time was not very delicate in the choice of the measures she used. It is said, that being desirous of seizing Latmus, a small city of Caria, that lay very commodiously for her, she laid her troops in ambush, and under pretence of celebrating the feast of the mother of the gods, in a wood consecrated to her near that city, she repaired thither with a great train of eunuchs, women, drums, and trumpets. The inhabitants ran in throngs to see that religious ceremony; and in the mean time Artemisia's troops took possession of the place. Polyæn. *Stratag.* l. viii. c. 53.

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from approving it. Aristides believing him to be in earnest, argued very warmly and strenuously against any such project, and represented to him how dangerous it was to reduce so powerful an enemy to despair, from whom it was their business to deliver themselves as soon as possible. Themistocles seemed to acquiesce in his reasons; and in order to hasten the king's departure, contrived to have him secretly informed, that the Grecians designed to break down the bridge. The point Themistocles seems to have had in view by this false confidence, was to strengthen himself with Aristides's opinion, which was of great weight, against that of the other generals, in case they inclined to go and break down the bridge. Perhaps too he might aim at guarding himself by this means against the ill will of his enemies, who might one day accuse him of treason before the people, if ever they came to know that he had been the author of that secret advice to Xerxes.

[y] This prince being frightened at such news, made the best use he could of his time, and set out by night, leaving Mardonius behind him, with an army of three hundred thousand men, in order to reduce Greece, if he was able. The Grecians, who expected that Xerxes would have come to another engagement the next day, having learnt that he was fled, pursued him as fast as they could, but to no purpose. [z] They had destroyed two hundred of the enemy's ships, besides those which they had taken. The remainder of the Persian fleet, after having suffered extremely by the winds in their passage, retired towards the coast of Asia, and entered into the port of Cumæ, a city of Æolia, where they passed the winter, without daring afterwards to return into Greece.

Xerxes took the rest of his army along with him, and marched towards the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared for them beforehand, they underwent great hardships during their whole march, which lasted five and forty days. After having consumed all the fruits they could find, the soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. This occasioned a great sickness in the army; and great numbers died of fluxes and the plague.

The king, through eagerness and impatience to make his

[y] Herod. l. viii. c. 115—120. [z] Ibid. c. 130.

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escape, had left his army behind him, and travelled on before with a small retinue, in order to reach the bridge with the greater expedition: but when he arrived at the place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, during a great tempest that had happened, and was reduced to the necessity of passing the strait in a fishing-boat. * This was a spectacle well calculated to show mankind the mutability of all earthly things, and the instability of human greatness; a prince, whose armies and fleets the land and sea were scarce able to contain a little while before, now stealing away in a small boat almost without any servants or attendants! Such was the event and success of Xerxes's expedition against Greece.

If we compare Xerxes with himself at different times and on different occasions, we shall hardly know him for the same man. When affairs were under consideration and debate, no person could show more courage and intrepidity than this prince: he is surprised and even offended, if any one foresees the least difficulty in the execution of his projects, or shows any apprehension concerning the issue of them. But when he comes to the point of execution, and to the hour of danger, he flies like a coward, and thinks of nothing but saving his own life and person. Here we have a sensible and evident proof of the difference between true courage, which is never destitute of prudence, and temerity, which is always blind and presumptuous. A wise and prudent prince weighs every thing, and examines all circumstances, before he enters into a † war, of which he is not afraid, but at the same time does not desire; and when the time of action is come, the sight of danger serves only to animate his courage. Presumption inverts this order. ‡ When she has introduced assurance and boldness, where wisdom and circumspection ought to preside, she admits fear and despair where courage and intrepidity ought to be exerted.

* Erat res spectaculo digna et æstimatione sortis humanæ, rerum varietate mirandâ, in exiguo latentem videre navigio, quem paulò antè vix æquor omne capiebat; carentem etiam omni servorum ministerio, cujus exercitus, propter multitudinem, terris graves erant. Justin, l. ii. c. 13.

† Non times bella, non provocas. Plin. *de Traj.*

Fortissimus in ipso discrimine, qui ante discrimen quietissimus. Tacit. *Hist.* l. i. c. 14.

‡ Ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidi. Ibid. c. 68.

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[a] The first care of the Grecians after the battle of Salamis, was to send the first fruits of the rich spoil they had taken to Delphi. Cimon, who was then very young, signalized himself in a particular manner in that engagement, and performed actions of such distinguished valour, as acquired him a great reputation, and made him be considered from henceforth as a citizen, that would be capable of rendering the most important services to his country on future occasions.

[b] But Themistocles carried off almost all the honour of this victory, which was the most signal that ever the Grecians obtained over the Persians. The force of truth obliged even those who were most envious of his glory, to render him this testimony. It was a custom in Greece, that after a battle, the officers should declare who had distinguished themselves most, by writing in a paper the names of the man who had merited the first prize, and of him who had merited the second. On this occasion, by a decision which shows the good opinion it is natural for every man to have of himself, each officer adjudged the first rank to himself, and allowed the second to Themistocles; which was indeed giving him the preference to them all.

The Lacedæmonians having carried him to Sparta, in order to pay him the honours due to his merit, decreed to their general Eurybiades the prize of valour, and to Themistocles that of wisdom, which was a crown of olive for both of them. They also made a present to Themistocles of the finest chariot in the city; and on his departure sent three hundred young men of the most considerable families to wait upon him to the frontiers: an honour they had never shown to any person whatsoever before.

But that which gave him a still more sensible pleasure, were the public acclamations he received at the first Olympic games that were celebrated after the battle of Salamis, where all the people of Greece were met together. As soon as he appeared, the whole assembly rose up to do him honour: nobody regarded either the games or the combats; Themistocles was the only spectacle. The eyes of all the company were fixed upon him, and every body was eager to show him and point him out with the hand to the strangers that did not

[a] Herod. l. viii. c. 122, 125. [b] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 120.

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know him. He acknowledged afterwards to his friends, that he looked upon that day as the happiest of his life; that he had never tasted any joy so sweet and so transporting; and that this reward, the genuine fruit of his labours, exceeded all his desires.

The reader has undoubtedly observed in Themistocles two or three principal strokes of his character, which entitle him to be ranked amongst the greatest men. The design which he formed and executed, of making the whole force of Athens maritime, showed him to have a superior genius, capable of the highest views, penetrating into futurity, and judicious in seizing the decisive point in great affairs. As the territory belonging to Athens was barren and of small extent, he rightly conceived, that the only way that city had to enrich and aggrandize herself was by sea. And indeed that scheme may justly be looked upon as the source and cause of all those great events, which raised the republic of Athens in the sequel to so flourishing a condition.

But, in my opinion, this wisdom and foresight is infinitely less meritorious than that uncommon temper and moderation which Themistocles showed on two critical occasions, when Greece had been utterly undone if he had listened to the dictates of an ill-judged ambition, and had piqued himself upon a false point of honour, as is usual among persons of his age and profession. The first of these occasions was, when, notwithstanding the flagrant injustice that was committed, both in reference to the republic of which he was a member, and to his own person, in appointing a Lacedæmonian generalissimo of the fleet, he exhorted and prevailed with the Athenians to desist from their pretensions, though never so justly founded, in order to prevent the fatal effects with which a division among the confederates must have been necessarily attended. And how worthy of admiration was that presence of mind and coolness of temper which he displayed, when the same Eurybiades not only affronted him with harsh and offensive language but lifted up his cane at him with a menacing gesture! Let it be remembered at the same time, that Themistocles was then but young; that he was full of an ardent ambition for glory; that he was commander of a numerous fleet; and that

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he had right and reason on his side. How would our young officers behave on a similar occasion? Themistocles took all patiently, and the victory of Salamis was the fruit of his patience.

As to Aristides, I shall have occasion in the sequel to speak more extensively upon his character and merit. He was, properly speaking, the man of the commonwealth: provided that was well and faithfully served, he was very little concerned by whom it was done. The merit of others, so far from offending him, became his own by the approbation and encouragement which he gave to it. We have seen him make his way through the enemy's fleet, at the peril of his life, in order to give Themistocles some intelligence and good advice: and * Plutarch takes notice, that during all the time the latter had the command, Aristides assisted him on all occasions with his counsel and credit, notwithstanding he had reason to look upon him not only as his rival, but his enemy. Let us compare this nobleness and greatness of soul with the little-spiritedness and meanness of those men, who are so nice, punctilious, and jealous in whatever respects the subject of command; who are incapable of acting in concert with their colleagues, and solely intent upon engrossing the glory of every thing to themselves; always ready to sacrifice the welfare of the public to their own private interests, or to suffer their rivals to commit blunders, that they themselves may reap advantage from them.

[c] On the very same day that the action of Thermopylæ happened, the formidable army of Carthaginians, which consisted of three hundred thousand men, was entirely defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. Herodotus places this battle on the same day with that of Salamis. The circumstances of that victory in Sicily I have related in the history of the Carthaginians.

[d] After the battle of Salamis, the Grecians being returned from pursuing the Persians, Themistocles sailed to all the islands that had declared for them, to levy contributions and exact money from them. The first he began with was that of

[c] Herod. l. vii. c. 165, 167.
[d] Ibid. l. viii. c. 111, 112. Plut. *in Themist.* p. 122.
* Πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κοινῇ ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθιστον. *In vit. Arist.* p. 323.

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Andros, from whose inhabitants he required a considerable sum, speaking to them in this manner: 'I come to you accompanied with two powerful divinities, Persuasion and Force.' The answer they made him was: 'We also have two other divinities on our side, no less powerful than yours, and which do not permit us to give the money you demand of us, Poverty and Despair.' Upon this refusal he made a feint of besieging them, and threatened that he would entirely ruin their city. He dealt in the same manner with several other islands, which durst not resist him as Andros had done, and drew great sums of money from them without the privity of the other commanders; for he was esteemed a lover of money, and desirous of enriching himself.

SECT. IX. THE BATTLE OF PLATÆÆ.—[e] Mardonius, who had staid in Greece with a body of three hundred thousand men, let his troops pass the winter in Thessaly, and in the spring following led them into Bœotia. There was a very famous oracle in this country, the oracle of Lebadia, which he thought proper to consult, in order to know what would be the success of the war. The priest, in his enthusiastic fit, answered in a language which nobody that was present understood, as much as to insinuate that the oracle would not deign to speak intelligibly to a barbarian. At the same time, Mardonius sent Alexander king of Macedonia, with several Persian noblemen, to Athens, and by them, in the name of his master, made very advantageous proposals to the Athenian people, to detach them from the rest of their allies. The offers he made them were, to rebuild their city which had been burnt down, to supply them with a considerable sum of money, to suffer them to live according to their own laws and customs, and to give them the government and command of all Greece. Alexander exhorted them in his own name, as their ancient friend, to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity for reestablishing their affairs, alleging, that they were not in a condition to withstand a power so formidable as that of the Persians, and so much

A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479.

[e] Herod l. viii. c. 113—131, 136—140, 144. Plut. *in Arist.* p. 324. Diod. l. xi. p. 22, 23. Plut. *de O. ac. Defec.* p. 412.

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superior to Greece. On the first intelligence of this embassy, the Spartans also on their side sent deputies to Athens, in order to hinder it from taking effect. These were present when the others had their audience; where, as soon as Alexander had finished his speech, they began in their turn to address themselves to the Athenians, and strongly exhorted them not to separate themselves from their allies, nor to desert the common interest of their country; representing to them, at the same time, that union in the present situation of their affairs, formed their whole strength, and would render Greece invincible. They added farther, that the Spartan commonwealth was very sensibly moved with the melancholy state which the Athenians were in, who were destitute both of houses and retreat, and who for two years together had lost all their harvests; that in consideration of that calamity, she would engage herself, during the continuance of the war, to maintain and support their wives, their children, and their old men, and to furnish a plentiful supply for all their wants. They concluded by animadverting on the conduct of Alexander, whose discourse, they said, was such, as might be expected from one tyrant, who spoke in favour of another; but that he seemed to have forgotten, that the people to whom he addressed himself, had showed themselves on all occasions the most zealous defenders of the common liberty of their country.

Aristides was at this time in office, that is to say, the principal of the Archons. As it was therefore his business to answer, he said, that as to the barbarians, who made silver and gold the chief objects of their esteem, he forgave them for thinking they could corrupt the fidelity of a nation by large promises: but that he could not help being surprised and affected with some sort of indignation, to see that the Lacedæmonians, regarding only the present distress and necessity of the Athenians, and forgetting their courage and magnanimity, should come to persuade them to persist in fighting nobly for the common safety of Greece from motives of gain, and by proposing to give them victuals and provision: he desired them to acquaint their republic, that all the gold in the world was not capable of tempting the Athenians, or of making them desert the defence of their common liberty: that they

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were duly sensible of the kind offers which Lacedæmon had made them; but that they would endeavour to manage their affairs so, as not to be a burden to any of their allies. Then turning himself towards the ambassadors of Mardonius, and pointing with his hand to the sun: 'Be assured,' says he to them, 'that as long as that luminary shall continue his course, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the Persians, and will not cease to take vengeance of them for ravaging their lands and burning their houses and temples.' After which, he desired the king of Macedonia, if he was inclined to be truly their friend, not to make himself any more the bearer of such proposals to them, which would only serve to reflect dishonour upon him, without ever producing any other effect.

Aristides was not satisfied with having made this plain and peremptory declaration. But that he might excite a still greater horror for such proposals, and for ever prohibit all manner of intercourse with the barbarians through a principle of religion, he ordained, that the priests should denounce curses and execrations upon any person whatsoever, that should presume to propose the making of an alliance with the Persians, or the breaking of their alliance with the rest of the Grecians.

[f] When Mardonius had learned, by the answer which the Athenians had sent him, * that they were not to be prevailed upon by any proposals or advantages whatsoever to sell their liberty, he marched with his whole army towards Attica, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, had retired to Salamis, and a second time abandoned their city. Mardonius, still entertaining hopes of bringing them to some terms of accommodation, sent another deputy to them to make the same proposals as before. A certain Athenian, called Lycidas, being of opinion that they should hearken to what he had to offer, was immediately stoned, and the Athenian women running at the same time to his house, did the same execution upon his wife and children: so detestable a crime did it appear to them to propose any peace with the Persians. But notwithstanding this, they paid respect to the character wherewith the

[f] Herod. l. ix. c. 1—11. Plut. *in Arist.* p. 324. Diod. l. xi. p. 23.
* Posteaquam nullo pretio libertatem his videt venalem, &c. Justin, l. ii. c. 14.

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deputy was invested, and sent him back without offering him any indignity or ill-treatment. Mardonius now found that there was no peace to be expected with them. He therefore entered Athens, burnt and demolished every thing that had escaped their fury the preceding year.

The Spartans, instead of conducting their troops into Attica, according to their engagement, thought only of keeping themselves shut up within the Peloponnesus for their own security, and with that view had begun to build a wall over the isthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering that way, by which means they reckoned they should be safe themselves, and should have no farther occasion for the assistance of the Athenians. The latter hereupon sent deputies to Sparta, in order to complain of the slowness and neglect of their allies. But the Ephori did not seem to be much moved at their remonstrances: and, as that day was the festival of * Hyacinthus, they spent it in feasts and rejoicing, and deferred giving the deputies their answer till the next day. And still procrastinating the affair as much as they could, on various pretexts, they gained ten days' time, during which the building of the wall was completed. They were on the point of dismissing the Athenian envoys in a scandalous manner, when a private citizen expostulated with them, and represented to them, how base it would be to treat the Athenians in such a manner, after all the calamities and voluntary losses they had so generously suffered for the common defence of liberty, and all the important services they had rendered Greece in general. This opened their eyes, and made them ashamed of their perfidious design. The very next night following they sent off, unknown to the Athenian deputies, five thousand Spartans, who had each of them seven helots, or slaves, to attend him. On the following morning the deputies renewed their complaints with great warmth and earnestness, and were extremely surprised when they were told that the Spartan succours were on their march, and by this time were not far from Attica.

* Amongst the Lacedæmonians the feast of Hyacinthus continued three days: the first and the last of which were days of sorrow and mourning for the death of Hyacinthus; but the second was a day of rejoicing, which was spent in feasting, sports, and spectacles, and all kinds of diversions. This festival was celebrated every year in the month of August, in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus.

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[g] Mardonius had left Attica at this time, and was on his return into Bœotia. As the latter was an open and flat country, he thought it would be more convenient for him to fight there than in Attica, which was uneven and rugged, full of hills and narrow passes, and which for that reason would not allow him space enough for drawing up his numerous army in battle array, nor leave room for his cavalry to act. When he came back into Bœotia, he encamped by the river Asopus. The Grecians followed him thither under the command of Pausanias king of Sparta, and of Aristides general of the Athenians. The Persian army, according to Herodotus, consisted of three hundred thousand, or, according to Diodorus, of five hundred thousand men. That of the Grecians did not amount to seventy thousand; of which there were but five thousand Spartans; but, as these were accompanied by thirty-five thousand helots, (*viz.*) seven for each Spartan, they made up together forty thousand: the latter of these were light-armed troops. The Athenian forces consisted but of eight thousand, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. The right wing of the army was commanded by the Spartans, and the left by the Athenians, an honour which the people of Tegæa pretended to, and disputed with them, but in vain.

[h] Whilst all Greece was in suspense, expecting a battle that should determine their fate, a secret conspiracy, formed in the midst of the Athenian camp by some discontented citizens, who intended either to subvert their popular government, or to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians, gave Aristides a great deal of perplexity and trouble. On this emergency he had occasion for all his prudence: not knowing exactly how many might be concerned in this conspiracy, he contented himself with having eight of them taken up: and of those eight, the only two whom he caused to be accused, because they had the most laid to their charge, made their escape out of the camp, while their trial was preparing. There is no doubt but Aristides favoured their escape, lest he should be obliged to punish them, and their punishment might occasion some tumult and disorder. The others that were in custody he

[g] Herod. l. ix. c. 12—76. Plut. *in Arist.* p. 325—330. Diod. l. ix. p. 24, 26.
[h] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 326.

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released, leaving them room to believe that he had found nothing against them, and telling them, that the battle with the enemy should be the tribunal where they might fully justify their characters, and show the world how unlikely it was that they had ever entertained a thought of betraying their country. This well-timed and wise dissimulation, which opened a door for repentance, and avoided driving the offenders to despair, appeased all the commotion, and quashed the whole affair.

Mardonius, in order to try the Grecians, sent out his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Megarians, who were encamped in the open country, suffered extremely by them; and in spite of all the vigour and resolution with which they defended themselves, they were upon the point of giving way, when a detachment of three hundred Athenians, with some troops armed with missive weapons, advanced to their succour. Masistius, the general of the Persian horse, and one of the most considerable noblemen of his country, seeing them advance towards him in good order, made his cavalry face about and attack them. The Athenians stood their ground, and waited to receive them. The shock was very fierce and violent, both sides equally endeavouring to show, by the issue of this encounter, what would be the success of the general engagement. The victory was a long time disputed: but at last Masistius's horse, being wounded, threw his master, who was instantly killed; upon which the Persians immediately fled. As soon as the news of his death reached the barbarians, their grief was excessive. They cut off their hair, as also the manes of their horses and mules, filling the camp with their cries and lamentations, having lost in their opinion the bravest man of their army.

After this encounter with the Persian cavalry, the two armies were a long time without coming to action; because the soothsayers, upon inspecting the entrails of the victims, foretold equally to both parties, that they should be victorious, provided they acted only upon the defensive; whereas, on the other hand, they threatened them equally with a total overthrow, if they acted offensively, or made the first attack.

They passed ten days in this manner in view of each other. But Mardonius, who was of a fiery, impatient temper, grew

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very uneasy at so long a delay. Besides, he had only a few days' provisions left for his army; and the Grecians grew stronger every day by the addition of new troops, that were continually coming to join them. He, therefore, called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle. Artabazus, a nobleman of singular merit and great experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but that they should retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be in a condition to supply the army with provisions and forage. He alleged, that delays alone would be capable of diminishing the ardour of the allies; that they would thereby have time to tamper with them, and might be able to draw some of them off by gold and silver, which they would take care to distribute among the leaders, and among such as had the greatest sway and authority in their several cities; and that, in short, this would be both the easiest and surest method of subjecting Greece. This opinion was very wise, but was overruled by Mardonius, whom the rest had not courage to contradict. The result therefore of their deliberations was, that they should give battle the next day. Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was on the side of the Grecians in his heart, came secretly about midnight to their camp, and informed Aristides of all that had passed.

Pausanias forthwith gave orders to the officers to prepare themselves for battle, and imparted to Aristides the design he had formed of changing his order of battle, by placing the Athenians in the right wing instead of the left, in order to oppose them to the Persians, with whom they had been accustomed to engage. Whether it was fear or prudence, that induced Pausanias to propose this new disposition, the Athenians accepted it with pleasure. Nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations, to acquit themselves bravely, bidding each other remember, that neither they, nor their enemies, were changed, since the battle of Marathon, unless it were, that victory had increased the courage of the Athenians, and had dispirited the Persians. We do not fight (said they) as they do, for a country only, or a city, but for the trophies erected at Marathon and at Salamis, that they may not appear to be the work only of Miltiades and of Fortune, but the work

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of the Athenians. Encouraging one another in this manner, they went with all the alacrity imaginable to change their post. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he received of this movement, having made the like change in his order of battle, both sides ranged their troops again according to their former disposition. The whole day passed in this manner without their coming to action.

In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that they should decamp from the place they were in, and march to another, more conveniently situated for water. Night being come, and the officers endeavouring at the head of their companies to push forward to the camp marked out for them, great confusion arose among the troops, some going one way and some another, without observing any order or regularity in their march. At last they halted near the little city of Platææ.

On the first news of the Grecians being decamped, Mardonius drew his whole army into order of battle, and pursued them with the hideous shouting and howling of his barbarian forces, who thought they were marching, not so much to fight, as to strip and plunder a flying enemy: and their general likewise, making himself sure of victory, proudly insulted Artabazus, reproaching him with his fearful and cowardly prudence, and with the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before an enemy; whereas here was an instance of the contrary. But the general quickly found this was no false or ill-grounded notion. He happened to fall in with the Lacedæmonians, who were alone, and separated from the body of the Grecian army, to the number of fifty thousand men, together with three thousand of the Tegeans. The encounter was exceeding fierce: on both sides the men fought with the courage of lions; and the barbarians perceived that they had to do with soldiers, who were determined to conquer or die in the field. The Athenian troops, to whom Pausanias had sent an officer, were already upon their march to aid them: but the Greeks, who were on the side of the Persians, to the number of fifty thousand men, went out to meet them, and hindered them from proceeding any farther. Aristides with his little body of men

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bore up firmly against them and withstood their attack, letting them see, how insignificant a superiority of numbers is against true courage and bravery.

The battle being thus divided into two, and fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke in upon the Persian forces and put them into disorder. Mardonius, their general, falling dead of a wound he had received in the engagement, all his army betook themselves to flight; and those Greeks, who were engaged against Aristides, did the same, as soon as they understood the barbarians were defeated. The latter had taken shelter in their former camp, where they had fortified themselves with an enclosure of wood. The Lacedæmonians pursued them thither, and attacked them in their entrenchment; but this they did weakly and irresolutely, like people that were not much accustomed to sieges, and to storm walls. The Athenian troops, having advice of this, left off pursuing their Grecian adversaries, and marched to the camp of the Persians, which after several assaults they carried, and made a horrible slaughter of the enemy.

Artabazus, who, from Mardonius's imprudent management, had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befell them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, and given all possible proofs of his courage and intrepidity, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men he commanded; and preventing his flight from being known by the expedition of his march, arrived safe at Byzantium, and from thence returned into Asia. Of all the rest of the Persian army, not four thousand men escaped that day's slaughter: all were killed and cut to pieces by the Grecians, who by that means delivered themselves at once from all further invasions from that nation, no Persian army having ever appeared after that time on this side of the Hellespont.

This battle was fought on the fourth day of the month * Boedromion, according to the Athenian manner of reckoning. Soon after, the allies, as a testimony of their gratitude to Heaven, caused a statue of Jupiter to be made at their joint and common expense, which they

A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479.

* This day answers to the nineteenth of our September

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placed in his temple at Olympia. [i] The names of the several nations of Greece, that were present in the engagement, were engraven on the right side of the pedestal of the statue; the Lacedæmonians first, the Athenians next, and all the rest in order.

[k] One of the principal citizens of Ægina came and addressed himself to Pausanias, exhorting him to avenge the indignity that Mardonius and Xerxes had shown to Leonidas, whose dead body had been hung upon a gallows by their order, and urging him to use Mardonius's body in the same manner. As a farther motive for doing so, he added, that by thus satisfying the manes of those that were killed at Thermopylæ, he would be sure to immortalize his own name throughout all Greece, and make his memory precious to the latest posterity. 'Carry thy base counsel elsewhere,' replied Pausanias. 'Thou must have a very wrong notion of true glory, to imagine, that the way for me to acquire it is by resembling the barbarians. If the esteem of the people of Ægina is not to be purchased but by such a proceeding, I shall be content with preserving that of the Lacedæmonians alone, amongst whom the base and ungenerous pleasure of revenge is never put in competition with that of showing clemency and moderation to their enemies, and especially after their death. As for the manes of my departed countrymen, they are sufficiently avenged by the death of the many thousand Persians slain upon the spot in the last engagement.'

[l] A dispute, which arose between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, to ascertain which of the two nations should have the prize of valour adjudged to them, as also which of them should have the privilege of erecting a trophy, had like to have sullied all the glory, and embittered the joy, of their late victory. They were just on the point of carrying things to the last extremity, and would certainly have decided the dispute with their swords, had not Aristides prevailed upon them, by the strength of his arguments, to refer the determination of the matter to the judgment of the Grecians in general. This proposition being accepted by both parties, and the Greeks

[i] Pausan. l. v. p. 532. [k] Herod. l ix. c. 77, 78. [l] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 331.

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being assembled upon the spot to decide the contest, Theogiton of Megara, speaking upon the question, gave it as his opinion, that the prize of valour ought to be adjudged neither to Athens nor to Sparta, but to some other city; unless they desired to kindle a civil war, of more fatal consequences than that to which they had just put an end. After he had finished his speech, Cleocritus of Corinth rising up, nobody doubted but he was going to claim that honour for the city of which he was a member and a native; for Corinth was the chief city of Greece in power and dignity after those of Athens and Sparta. But every body was agreeably deceived when they found, that all his discourse tended to the praise of the Platæans, and that the conclusion he made from the whole was, that in order to extinguish so dangerous a contention, they ought to adjudge the prize to them only, against whom neither of the contending parties could have any grounds of anger or jealousy. This discourse and proposal were received with a general applause by the whole assembly. Aristides immediately assented to it on the part of the Athenians, and Pausanias on the part of the Lacedæmonians.

[m] All parties being thus agreed, before they began to divide the spoil of the enemy, they put fourscore talents * aside for the Platæans, who laid them out in building a temple to Minerva, in erecting a statue to her honour, and in adorning the temple with curious and valuable paintings, which were still in being in Plutarch's time, that is to say, above six hundred years afterwards, and which were then as fresh as if they had lately come out of the hands of the painters. As for the trophy, which had been another article of the dispute, the Lacedæmonians erected one for themselves in particular, and the Athenians another.

The spoil was immense: in Mardonius's camp they found prodigious sums of money in gold and silver, besides cups, vessels, beds, tables, necklaces, and bracelets of gold and silver, not to be valued or numbered. It is observed by a certain † historian, that these spoils proved fatal to Greece, by becom-

[m] Herod. l. ix. c. 79, 80.

* 80,000 crowns French, about 18,000*l.* sterling.

† Victo Mardonio, castra referta regalis opulentiæ capta, unde primùm Græcos, diviso inter se auro Persico, divitiarum luxuria cœpit. Justin, l. ii. c. 14.

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ing the instruments of introducing the love of riches and luxury among her inhabitants. According to the religious custom of the Grecians, before they divided the treasure, they appropriated the tenth part of the whole to the use of the gods. The rest was distributed equally among the cities and nations that had furnished troops; and the chief officers who had distinguished themselves in the field of battle were likewise distinguished in this distribution. They sent a present of a golden tripod to Delphi, in the inscription upon which Pausanias caused these words to be inserted; [n] 'That he had defeated the barbarians at Platææ, and that in acknowledgment of that victory he had made this present to Apollo.'

This arrogant inscription, wherein he ascribed the honour both of the victory and the offering to himself alone, offended the Lacedæmonian people, who, in order to punish his pride in the very point in which he thought to exalt himself, and at the same time to do justice to their confederates, caused his name to be razed out, and that of the cities which had contributed to the victory to be put in the stead of it. Too ardent a thirst after glory on this occasion did not give him leave to consider, that a man loses nothing by a discreet modesty, which forbears the setting too high a value upon one's own services, and which, by screening a man from envy, * serves really to enhance his reputation.

Pausanias gave a more advantageous specimen of the Spartan temper and disposition, at an entertainment which he gave a few days after the engagement; where one of the tables was costly and magnificent, and displayed all the variety of delicacies and dainties that used to be served at Mardonius's table; and the other was plain and frugal, after the manner of the Spartans. Then comparing the two together, and causing his officers, whom he had invited on purpose, to observe the difference of them; 'What madness,' says he, 'was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such a luxurious diet, to come and attack a people like us, that know how to live without any such superfluities!'

[o] All the Grecians sent to Delphi to consult the oracle,

[n] Cor. Nep. *in Pausan.* c. i.
* Ipsâ dissimulatione famæ famam auxit. Tacit.
[o] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 331, 332.

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concerning the sacrifice it was proper to offer. The answer they received from the god was, that they should erect an altar to 'Jupiter the Deliverer;' but that they should take care not to offer any sacrifice upon it, before they had extinguished all the fire in the country, because it had been polluted and profaned by the barbarians; and that they should come as far as Delphi to fetch pure fire, which they were to take from the altar, called the common altar.

This answer being brought to the Grecians from the oracle, the generals immediately dispersed themselves throughout the whole country, and caused all the fires to be extinguished: and Euchidas, a citizen of Platææ, having taken upon himself to go and fetch the sacred fire with all possible expedition, made the best of his way to Delphi. On his arrival he purified himself, sprinkled his body with consecrated water, put on a crown of laurel, and then approached the altar, from whence, with great reverence, he took the holy fire, and carried it with him to Platææ, where he arrived before the setting of the sun, having travelled a thousand stadia (which make a hundred and twenty-five miles English) in one day. As soon as he came back, he saluted his fellow-citizens, delivered the fire to them, fell down at their feet, and died in a moment afterwards. His countrymen carried away his body and buried it in the temple of Diana, surnamed Eucleia, which signifies *of good renown*, and put the following epitaph upon his tomb in the compass of one verse: 'Here lies Euchidas, who went from hence to Delphi, and returned back the same day.'

In the next general assembly of Greece, which was held not long after this occurrence, Aristides proposed the following decree: that all the cities of Greece should every year send their respective deputies to Platææ, to offer sacrifices to 'Jupiter the Deliverer,' and to the gods of the city; (this assembly was still regularly held in the time of Plutarch;) that every five years there should be games celebrated there, which should be called the games of liberty; that the several states of Greece together should raise a body of troops, consisting of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, and should equip a fleet of a hundred ships, which should be constantly maintained for making war against the barbarians; and that

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the inhabitants of Platææ, solely devoted to the service of the gods, should be looked upon as sacred and inviolable, and be concerned in no other function than that of offering prayers and sacrifices for the general preservation and prosperity of Greece.

All these articles being approved of and passed into a law, the citizens of Platææ took upon them to solemnize every year the anniversary festival in honour of those persons that were slain in the battle. The order and manner of performing this sacrifice was as follows: * The sixteenth day of the month Maimacterion, which answers to our month of December, at daybreak, they walked in a solemn procession, which was preceded by a trumpet that sounded to battle. Next to the trumpet marched several chariots, filled with crowns and branches of myrtle. After these chariots was led a black bull, behind which marched a company of young persons, carrying pitchers in their hands full of wine and milk, the ordinary libations offered to the dead, and vials of oil and perfumes. All these young persons were freemen; for no slave was allowed to have any part in this ceremony, which was instituted for men who had lost their lives for liberty. In the rear of this procession followed the archon, or chief magistrate of the Platæans, for whom it was unlawful at any other time even so much as to touch iron, or to wear any other garment than a white one. But upon this occasion being clad in purple raiment, having a sword by his side, and holding an urn in his hands, which he took from the place where they kept their public records, he marched through the city to the place where the tombs of his countrymen were erected. As soon as he came there, he drew water with his urn from the fountain, washed with his own hands the little columns that belonged to the tombs, rubbed them afterwards with essence, and then killed the bull upon a pile of wood prepared for that purpose. After having offered up prayers to the terrestrial † Jupiter and Mercury, he invited those valiant souls deceased to come to

* Three months after that in which the battle of Platææ was fought. Probably these funeral rites were not at first performed till after the enemies were entirely gone, and the country was free.

† The terrestrial Jupiter is no other than Pluto; and the same epithet of terrestrial was also given to Mercury; because it was believed to be his office to conduct departed souls to the infernal regions.

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their feast, and to partake of their funeral libations; then taking a cup in his hand, and having filled it with wine, he poured it out on the ground, and said with a loud voice, 'I present this cup to those valiant men, who died for the liberty of the Grecians.' These ceremonies were annually performed even in the time of Plutarch.

[p] Diodorus adds, that the Athenians in particular embellished the monuments of their citizens who died in the war with the Persians, with magnificent ornaments, instituted funeral games to their honour, and appointed a solemn panegyric to be pronounced over them, which in all probability was repeated every year.

The reader will be sensible, without my observing it, how much these solemn testimonies and perpetual demonstrations of honour, esteem, and gratitude for soldiers who had sacrificed their lives in the defence of liberty, conduced to enhance the merit of valour, and of the services they rendered their country, and to inspire the spectators with emulation and courage: and how exceedingly well calculated all this was to cultivate and perpetuate a spirit of bravery in the people, and to make their troops victorious and invincible.

The reader, no doubt, will be as much struck, at seeing how wonderfully careful and exact these people were to acquit themselves on every occasion of the duties of religion. The great event which I have just been relating, *(viz.)* the battle of Platææ, affords us very remarkable proofs of this, in the annual and perpetual sacrifice they instituted to *Jupiter the Deliverer*, which was still continued in the time of Plutarch; in the care they took to consecrate the tenth part of all their spoil to the gods; and in the decree proposed by Aristides to establish a solemn festival for ever, as an anniversary commemoration of that success. It is a delightful thing, methinks, to see pagan and idolatrous nations thus publicly confessing and declaring, that all their expectations centre in the Supreme Being; that they think themselves obliged to ascribe the success of all their undertakings to him; that they look upon him as the author of all their victories and prosperities, as the sovereign ruler and disposer of states and empires, as the

[p] Lib. xi. p. 26.

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source from whence all salutary counsels, wisdom, and courage, are derived, and as entitled on all these accounts to the first and best part of their spoils, and to their perpetual acknowledgments and thanksgivings for such distinguished favours and benefits.

SECT. X. THE BATTLE NEAR MYCALE. THE DEFEAT OF THE PERSIANS.—[q] On the same day that the Greeks fought the battle of Platææ, their naval forces obtained a memorable victory in Asia over the remainder of the Persian fleet. For whilst that of the Greeks lay at Ægina under the command of Leotychides, one of the kings of Sparta, and of Xanthippus the Athenian, ambassadors came to those generals from the Ionians to invite them into Asia to deliver the Grecian cities from their subjection to the barbarians. On this invitation they immediately set sail for Asia, and steered their course by Delos. While they continued there, other ambassadors arrived from Samos, and brought them intelligence, that the Persian fleet, which had passed the winter at Cumæ, was then at Samos, where it would be an easy matter to defeat and destroy it, earnestly pressing them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. The Greeks hereupon sailed away directly for Samos. But the Persians receiving intelligence of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory of the continent of Asia, where their land army, consisting of a hundred thousand men, who were the remainder of those that Xerxes had carried back from Greece the year before, was encamped. Here they drew their vessels ashore, which was a common practice among the ancients, and surrounded them with a strong rampart. The Grecians followed them to the very place, and with the help of the Ionians defeated their land army, forced their rampart, and burnt all their vessels.

The battle of Platææ was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon on the same day: and yet all the Greek writers pretend that the victory of Platææ was known at Mycale, before the latter engagement was begun, though the whole Ægean sea, which requires several days sailing to cross it, was between those two places. But Diodorus Siculus

[q] Herod. l. ix. c. 89—105. Diod. l. xi. p. 26—28.

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explains to us this mystery. He tells us, that Leotychides, observing his soldiers to be much dejected for fear their countrymen at Platææ should sink under the numbers of Mardonius's army, contrived a stratagem to reanimate them; and that therefore, when he was just upon the point of making the first attack, he caused a rumour to be * spread among his troops, that the Persians were defeated at Platææ, though at that time he had no manner of knowledge of the matter.

[r] Xerxes, hearing the news of these two great overthrows, left Sardis with as much haste as he had formerly quitted Athens, after the battle of Salamis, and retired with great precipitation into Persia, in order to put himself as far as he possibly could, out of the reach of his victorious enemies.

[s] But before he set out, he gave orders to burn and demolish all the temples belonging to the Grecian cities in Asia: which order was so far executed, that not one escaped, except the temple of Diana at Ephesus. [t] He acted in this manner at the instigation of the Magi, who were professed enemies to temples and images. The second Zoroaster had thoroughly instructed him in their religion, and made him a zealous defender of it. [u] Pliny informs us, that Ostanes, the head of the Magi, and the patriarch of that sect, who maintained its maxims and interests with the greatest violence, attended Xerxes upon this expedition against Greece. [x] This prince, as he passed through Babylon on his return to Susa, destroyed also all the temples in that city, as he had done those of Greece and Asia Minor; doubtless, through the same principle, and out of hatred to the sect of the Sabæans, who made use of images in their divine worship, which was a thing utterly detested by the Magi. Perhaps also, the desire of making himself amends for the expenses incurred in his Grecian expedition by the spoil and plunder of those temples, might be another motive that induced him to destroy them: for it is certain he found immense riches and treasure in them, which had been amassed

[r] Diod. l. xi. p. 28.
[s] Strab. l. xiv. p. 634.
[t] Cic. l. ii. *de Leg.* n. 29.
[u] Plin. l. xxx. c. 1.
[x] Arrian, l. vii.

* What we are told also of Paulus Æmilius's victory over the Macedonians, which was known at Rome the very day it was obtained, without doubt happened in the same manner.

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through the superstition of princes and people during a long series of ages.

The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, set sail towards the Hellespont, in order to possess themselves of the bridges which Xerxes had caused to be laid over that narrow passage, and which they supposed were still entire. But finding them broken down by tempestuous weather, Leotychides and his Peloponnesian forces returned towards their own country. As for Xanthippus, he staid with the Athenians and their Ionian confederates, and they made themselves masters of Sestus and the Thracian Chersonesus, in which places they found great booty, and took a vast number of prisoners. After which, on the approach of winter, they returned to their own cities.

From this time all the cities of Ionia revolted from the Persians, and having entered into a confederacy with the Grecians, most of them preserved their liberty, during the time that empire subsisted.

SECT. XI. THE BARBAROUS AND INHUMAN REVENGE OF AMESTRIS, THE WIFE OF XERXES.—[y] During the time that Xerxes resided at Sardis, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother Masistes, who was a prince of extraordinary merit, had always served the king with great zeal and fidelity, and had never done any thing to disoblige him. The virtue of this lady, her great affection and fidelity to her husband, made her inexorable to all the king's solicitations. However, he still flattered himself, that by a profusion of favours and liberalities he might possibly gain upon her; and among other favours which he conferred upon her, he married his eldest son Darius, whom he intended for his successor, to Artainta, this princess's daughter, and ordered that the marriage should be consummated as soon as he arrived at Susa. But Xerxes finding the lady still no less impregnable, in spite of all his temptations and attacks, immediately changed his object, and fell passionately in love with her daughter, who did not imitate the glorious example of her mother's constancy and virtue. Whilst this intrigue was carrying on, Amestris, wife to Xerxes, presented him with a rich

A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479.

[y] Herod. l. ix. c. 107—112.

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and magnificent robe of her own making. Xerxes, being extremely pleased with this robe, thought fit to put it on upon the first visit he afterwards made to Artainta; and in conversation pressed her to let him know what she desired he should do for her, assuring her at the same time, with an oath, that he would grant her whatever she asked of him. Artainta, upon this, desired him to give her the robe he had on. Xerxes, forseeing the ill consequences that would necessarily ensue upon his making her this present, did all that he could to dissuade her from insisting upon it, and offered her anything in the world in lieu of it. But not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by the imprudent promise and oath he had made to her, he gave her the robe. The lady no sooner received it, than she put it on, and wore it publicly by way of trophy.

Amestris being confirmed in the suspicions she had entertained by this action, was enraged to the last degree. But instead of letting her vengeance fall upon the daughter, who was the only offender, she resolved to wreak it upon the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was entirely innocent of the matter. For the better executing of her purpose, she waited until the grand feast, which was every year celebrated on the king's birth-day, and which was not far off; on which occasion the king, according to the established custom of the country, granted her whatever she demanded. This day then being come, the thing which she desired of his majesty was, that the wife of Masistes should be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen's design, and who was struck with horror at the thoughts of it, as well out of regard to his brother, as on account of the innocence of the lady, against whom he perceived his wife was violently exasperated, at first refused her request, and endeavoured all he could to dissuade her from it. But not being able either to prevail upon her, or to act with steadiness and resolution himself, he at last yielded, and was guilty of complaisance equally weak and cruel; making the inviolable obligations of justice and humanity give way to the arbitrary laws of a custom, that had been established solely to give occasion for the doing of good, and for acts of beneficence and

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generosity. In consequence then of this compliance, the lady was apprehended by the king's guards, and delivered to Amestris, who caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips, to be cut off, ordered them to be cast to the dogs in her own presence, and then sent her home to her husband's house in that mutilated and miserable condition. In the mean time Xerxes had sent for his brother, in order to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first gave him to understand, that he should be glad he would put away his wife; and to induce him thereto, offered to give him one of his daughters in marriage in her stead. But Masistes, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not prevail upon himself to divorce her: whereupon Xerxes in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his wife, and that he would teach him not to reject the offers his master had made him; and with this inhuman reply dismissed him.

This strange proceeding threw Masistes into the greatest anxiety, thinking he had reason to apprehend the worst; he made all the haste he could home to see what had passed there during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have just been describing. Being enraged thereat to the degree we may naturally imagine, he assembled all his family, his servants and dependents, and set out with all possible expedition for Bactriana, whereof he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to raise an army and make war against the king, in order to avenge himself for his barbarous treatment. But Xerxes being informed of his hasty departure, and from thence suspecting his design, sent a party of horse to pursue him; which, having overtaken him, cut him in pieces, together with his children and all his retinue. I do not know whether a more tragical example of revenge than that which I have now related, is to be found in history.

[z] There is still another action, no less cruel nor impious than the former, related of Amestris. She caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be burnt alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods, out of compliance with a superstitious custom practised by the Persians.

[z] Herod. l. vii. c. 114.

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[a] Masistes being dead, Xerxes gave the government of Bactriana to his second son Hystaspes, who being by that means obliged to live at a distance from the court, gave his youngest brother Artaxerxes the opportunity of ascending the throne to his disadvantage, after the death of their father, as will be seen in the sequel.

Here ends Herodotus's history, *viz.* at the battle of Mycale, and the siege of the city of Sestos by the Athenians.

SECT. XII. THE ATHENIANS REBUILD THE WALLS OF THEIR CITY, NOTWITHSTANDING THE OPPOSITION OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS.—[b] The war, commonly called the war of Media, which had lasted but two years, being terminated in the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians, on their return to their own country, sent for their wives and children, whom they had committed to the care of their friends during the war, and began to think of rebuilding their city, which had been almost entirely destroyed by the Persians, and of surrounding it with strong walls, in order to secure it from future violence. The Lacedæmonians having intelligence of this, conceived a jealousy, and began to apprehend, that if Athens, which was already very powerful by sea, should go on to increase her strength by land also, she might take upon her in time to give laws to Sparta, and to deprive the latter of that authority and preeminence, which she had hitherto exercised over the rest of Greece. They therefore sent an embassy to the Athenians, the purport of which was to represent to them, that the common interest of Greece required, that there should be no fortified city out of the Peloponnesus, lest, in case of a second irruption, it should serve for a place of arms for the Persians, who would be sure to settle themselves in it, as they had done before at Thebes, and who from thence would be able to infest the whole country, and to make themselves masters of it very speedily. Themistocles, who since the battle of Salamis was greatly considered and respected at Athens, easily penetrated into the real design of the Lacedæmonians, though it was gilded over with the specious pretext of the public good:

A. M. 3526. Ant. J. C. 478.

[a] Diod. l. xi. p. 53.
[b] Thucyd. l. i. p. 59—62. Diod. l. xi. p. 30, 31. Justin, l. ii. c. 15.

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but, as the latter were able, with the assistance of their allies, to hinder the Athenians by force from carrying on the work, in case they should positively and absolutely refuse to comply with their demands, he advised the senate to make use of cunning and dissimulation as well as the Lacedæmonians. The answer therefore they made the envoys was, that they would send an embassy to Sparta, to satisfy the commonwealth with respect to their apprehensions and suspicions. Themistocles caused himself to be nominated one of the ambassadors, and warned the senate not to let his colleagues set out along with him, but to send them one after another, in order to gain time for carrying on the work. The matter was executed pursuant to his advice; and he accordingly went alone to Lacedæmon, where he let a great many days pass without waiting upon the magistrates, or applying to the senate. And, upon their pressing him to do it, and asking him the reason why he deferred it so long, he made answer, that he waited for the arrival of his colleagues, that they might all have their audience of the senate together, and seemed to be very much surprised that they were so long in coming. At length they arrived; but all came singly, and at a good distance of time one from another. During all this interval, the work was carried on at Athens with the utmost industry and vigour. The women, children, strangers, and slaves, were all employed in it: nor was it interrupted night or day. The Spartans were not ignorant of the matter, and made great complaints of it to Themistocles, who positively denied the fact, and pressed them to send other deputies to Athens, in order to inform themselves better on the subject, desiring them not to give credit to vague and flying reports, without foundation. At the same time he secretly advised the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys as so many hostages, until he and his colleagues were returned from their embassy, fearing, not without good reason, that they themselves might be served in the same manner at Sparta. At last, when all his colleagues were arrived, he desired an audience, and declared in full senate, that it was really true that the Athenians had resolved to fortify their city with strong walls; that the work was almost completed; that they had judged it to be absolutely necessary

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for their own security, and for the public good of the allies; telling them at the same time, that, after the great experience they had had of the Athenian people's behaviour, they could not well suspect them of being wanting in zeal for the common interest of their country; that as the condition and privileges of all the allies ought to be equal, it was just the Athenians should provide for their own safety by all the methods they judged necessary, as well as the other confederates: that they had thought of this expedient, and were in a condition to defend their city against whosoever should presume to attack it; and * that as for the Lacedæmonians, it was not much for their honour that they should desire to establish their power and superiority rather upon the weak and defenceless condition of their allies, than upon their own strength and valour. The Lacedæmonians were extremely displeased with this discourse: but, either out of a sense of gratitude and esteem for the Athenians who had rendered such important services to the country, or out of a conviction of their inability to oppose their enterprise, they dissembled their resentment: and the ambassadors on both sides, having all suitable honours paid them, returned to their respective cities.

[c] Themistocles, who had always his thoughts fixed upon raising and augmenting the power and glory of the Athenian commonwealth, did not confine his views to the walls of the city. He went on with the same vigorous application to finish the building and fortifications of the Piræus: for from the time that he had entered into office he had begun that great work. Before his time they had no other port at Athens than that of Phalerus, which was neither very large nor commodious, and consequently not capable of answering the great designs of Themistocles. For this reason he had cast his eye upon the Piræus, which seemed to invite him by its advantageous situation, and by the conveniency of its three spacious havens, that were capable of containing above four hundred vessels. This undertaking was prosecuted with so much diligence and vivacity, that the work was considerably advanced in a very little

[c] Thucyd. p. 62, 63. Diod. l. xi. p. 32, 33.

* Graviter castigat eos, quòd non virtute, sed imbecillitate sociorum potentiam quærerent. Justin, l. ii. c. 15.

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time. Themistocles likewise obtained a decree, that every year they should build twenty vessels for the augmentation of their fleet: and in order to engage a great number of workmen and sailors to resort to Athens, he caused particular privileges and immunities to be granted in their favour. His design was, as I have already observed, to make the whole force of Athens maritime; in which he followed a very different scheme of politics from what had been pursued by their ancient kings, who, endeavouring all they could to alienate the minds of the citizens from seafaring business and from war, and to make them apply themselves wholly to agriculture and to peaceable employments, published this fable: that Minerva disputing with Neptune to know which of them should be declared patron of Attica, and give their name to the city newly built, she gained her cause by showing her judges the branch of an olive-tree, the happy symbol of peace and plenty, which she had planted: whereas Neptune had made a fiery horse, the symbol of war and confusion, rise out of the earth before them.

SECT. XIII. THE BLACK DESIGN OF THEMISTOCLES REJECTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE PEOPLE OF ATHENS. ARISTIDES'S CONDESCENSION TO THE PEOPLE.—[d] Themistocles, who had conceived in his breast the design of supplanting the Lacedæmonians, and of taking the government of Greece out of their hands, in order to put it into those of the Athenians, kept his eye and his thoughts continually fixed upon that great project. And, as he was not very nice or scrupulous in the choice of his measures, whatever tended towards the accomplishment of the end he had in view, he looked upon as just and lawful. On a certain day then he declared in a full assembly of the people, that he had planned a very important design, but that he could not communicate it to the people; because in order to ensure success it was necessary that it should be carried on with the greatest secrecy: he, therefore, desired they would appoint a person, to whom he might explain himself upon the matter in question. Aristides was unanimously pitched upon by the whole assembly, and they referred

[d] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 121, 122. *In Arist.* p. 332.

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themselves entirely to his opinion of the affair; so great a confidence had they both in his probity and prudence. Themistocles, therefore, having taken him aside, told him, that the design he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the Grecian states, which then lay in a neighbouring port, and that by this means Athens would certainly become mistress of all Greece. Aristides hereupon returned to the assembly, and only declared to them, that indeed nothing could be more advantageous to the commonwealth than Themistocles's project, but that at the same time nothing could be more unjust. All the people unanimously ordained, that Themistocles should entirely desist from his project. We see in this instance, that it was not without some foundation that the title of 'Just' was given to Aristides even in his lifetime: a title, says Plutarch, infinitely superior to all those which conquerors pursue with so much ardour, and which in some measure approximates a man to the divinity.

I know not whether all history can afford us a fact more worthy of admiration than this. It is not a company of philosophers (to whom it costs nothing to establish fine maxims and sublime notions of morality in the schools) who determine on this occasion, that the consideration of profit and advantage ought never to prevail in preference to what is honest and just. It is an entire people, who are highly interested in the proposal made to them, who are convinced that it is of the greatest importance to the welfare of the state, and who notwithstanding reject it with unanimous consent and without a moment's hesitation, and that for this only reason, that it is contrary to justice. How black and perfidious on the other hand was the design which Themistocles proposed, of burning the fleet of their Grecian confederates, at a time of entire peace, solely to aggrandize the power of the Athenians! Had he a hundred times the merit that is ascribed to him, this single action would be sufficient to sully all the brilliancy of his glory. For it is the heart, that is to say, integrity and probity, that constitutes true merit.

I am sorry that Plutarch, who generally judges of things with great justness, does not seem, on this occasion, to condemn Themistocles. After having spoken of the works he had

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constructed in the Piræus, he goes on to the fact in question, of which he says: [e] 'Themistocles projected something STILL GREATER, for the augmentation of their maritime power.'

The Lacedæmonians having proposed in the council of the Amphictyons, that all the cities, which had not taken arms against Xerxes, should be excluded from that assembly, Themistocles, who was apprehensive that if the Thessalians, the Argives, and the Thebans, were excluded that council, the Spartans would by that means become masters of the suffrages, and consequently determine all affairs according to their pleasure, made a speech in behalf of the cities whose exclusion was proposed, and brought the deputies that composed the assembly, over to his sentiments. He represented to them, that the greatest part of the cities that had entered into the confederacy, which were but one-and-thirty in the whole, were very small and inconsiderable; that it would therefore be a very strange, as well as a very dangerous proceeding, to deprive all the other cities of Greece of their votes and places in the grand assembly of the nation, and by that means suffer the august council of the Amphictyons to fall under the direction and influence of two or three of the most powerful cities, which for the future would give law to all the rest, and would subvert and abolish that equality of power, which was justly regarded as the basis and soul of all republics. Themistocles, by this plain and open declaration of his opinion, drew upon himself the hatred of the Lacedæmonians, who from that time became his professed enemies. He had also incurred the displeasure of the rest of the allies, by the rigorous and rapacious manner in which he had exacted contributions from them.

[f] When the city of Athens was entirely rebuilt, the people finding themselves in a state of peace and tranquillity, endeavoured by every method to get the government into their own hands, and to make the Athenian state an absolute democracy. This design of theirs, though planned with the utmost secrecy, did not escape the vigilance and penetration of Aristides, who saw all the consequences with which such an innovation would be attended. But, as he considered on one hand,

[e] Μεῖζόν τι διενοήθη. Plut. *in Themist.* p. 122.
[f] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 332.

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that the people were entitled to some regard, on account of the valour they had shown in all the battles which had been lately gained; and on the other, that it would be no easy matter to curb and restrain a people, who still in a manner had their arms in their hands, and who were grown more insolent than ever from their victories; on these considerations, he thought it proper to observe measures with them, and to find out some medium to satisfy and appease them. He therefore passed a decree, by which it was ordained that the offices of government should be open to all the citizens, and that the Archons, who were the chief magistrates of the commonwealth, and who used to be chosen only out of the richest of its members (*viz.*) from among those only who received at least five hundred medimni of grain as the produce of their lands, should for the future be elected indifferently from the general body of the Athenians without distinction. By thus giving up something to the people, he prevented all dissensions and commotions, which might have proved fatal not only to the Athenian state but to all Greece.

SECT. XIV. THE LACEDÆMONIANS LOSE THE CHIEF COMMAND THROUGH THE PRIDE AND ARROGANCE OF PAUSANIAS.—[g] The Grecians, encouraged by the happy success which had every where attended their victorious arms, determined to send a fleet to sea, in order to deliver such of their allies, as were still under the yoke of the Persians, out of their hands. Pausanias was the commander of the fleet for the Lacedæmonians; and Aristides, and Cimon the son of Miltiades, commanded for the Athenians. They first directed their course to the isle of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty: then steering towards the Hellespont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themselves masters, and took a vast number of prisoners, a great part of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia. A. M. 3528. Ant. J. C. 476.

Pausanias, who from this time conceived thoughts of betraying his country, judged it proper to make use of this opportunity to gain the favour of Xerxes. To this end he caused a

[g] Thucyd. l. i. p. 63, 84, 86

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report to be spread among his troops, that the Persian noblemen, whom he had committed to the guard and care of one of his officers, had made their escape by night, and were fled; whereas he had set them at liberty himself, and sent a letter by them to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver the city of Sparta, and all Greece, into his hands, on condition he would give him his daughter in marriage. The king did not fail to give him a favourable answer, and to send him very large sums of money also, in order to win over as many of the Grecians as he should find disposed to enter into his designs. The person he appointed to manage this intrigue with him was Artabazus; and, in order to enable him to transact the matter with the greater ease and security, he made him governor of all the sea-coasts of Asia Minor.

[h] Pausanias, who was already dazzled with the prospect of his future greatness, began from this moment to change his whole conduct and behaviour. The poor, modest, and frugal way of living at Sparta; the subjection to rigid and austere laws, which neither spared nor respected any man, but were altogether as inexorable and inflexible to the greatest as to those of the meanest condition; all this became insupportable to Pausanias. He could not bear the thoughts of going back to Sparta, after having possessed such high commands and employments, to return to a state of equality, that would confound him with the meanest of the citizens; and this was his inducement to enter into a treaty with the barbarians. He entirely laid aside the manners and behaviour of his country; assumed both the dress and haughtiness of the Persians, and imitated them in all their expensive luxury and magnificence. He treated the allies with insufferable rudeness and insolence; never spoke to the officers but with menaces and arrogance; required extraordinary honours to be paid to him, and by his whole behaviour rendered the Spartan dominion odious to all the confederates. On the other hand, the courteous, affable, and engaging deportment of Aristides and Cimon; an infinite remoteness from all imperious and haughty airs, which tend only to alienate the affections; a gentle, kind, and beneficent disposition, which showed itself in all their actions, and which

[h] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 332, 333.

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served to temper the authority of their commands, and to render it both easy and amiable; the justice and humanity, conspicuous in every thing they did; the great care they took to offend no person whatsoever, and to do kind offices to all about them: all this hurt Pausanias exceedingly, by the contrast of their opposite characters, and increased the general discontent. At last this dissatisfaction publicly broke out; and all the allies deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the Athenians. Thus did Aristides, says Plutarch, by the prevalence of that humanity and gentleness, which he opposed to the arrogance and roughness of Pausanias, and by inspiring Cimon his colleague with the same sentiments, insensibly draw off the minds of the allies from the Lacedæmonians without their perceiving it, and at length deprived them of the command; not by open force, or by sending out armies and fleets against them, and still less by making use of any artifice or perfidious practices; but by the wisdom and moderation of his conduct, and by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable.

It must be confessed at the same time, that the Spartan people on this occasion showed a greatness of soul and a spirit of moderation, that can never be sufficiently admired. For when they were convinced, that their commanders grew haughty and insolent from their too great authority, they willingly renounced the superiority, which they had hitherto exercised over the rest of the Grecians, and forbore sending any more of their generals to command the Grecian armies: choosing rather, adds the historian, to have their citizens wise, modest, and submissive to the discipline and laws of the commonwealth, than to maintain their preeminence and superiority over all the other Grecian states.

SECT. XV. PAUSANIAS'S SECRET CONSPIRACY WITH THE PERSIANS. HIS DEATH.—[i] Upon the repeated complaints which the Spartan commonwealth received on all hands against Pausanias, they recalled him home to give an account of his conduct. But not having sufficient evidence to convict him of having carried on a

A. M. 3529. Ant. J. C. 475.

[i] Thucyd. l. i. p. 86—89. Diod. l. xi. p. 34—36. Cor. Nep. *in Pausan.*

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correspondence with Xerxes, they were obliged to acquit him on his first trial; after which he returned of his own private authority, and without the consent and approbation of the republic, to the city of Byzantium, from whence he continued to carry on his secret practices with Artabazus. But, as he was still guilty of many violent and unjust proceedings whilst he resided there, the Athenians obliged him to leave the place; from whence he retired to Colonæ, a small city of the Troad. There he received an order from the Ephori to return to Sparta, on pain of being declared, in case of disobedience, a public enemy and traitor to his country. He complied with the summons and went home, hoping he should still be able to bring himself off by dint of money. On his arrival he was committed to prison, and was soon afterwards brought again upon his trial before the judges. The charge brought against him was supported by many suspicious circumstances and strong presumptions. Several of his own slaves confessed that he had promised to give them their liberty, in case they would enter into his designs, and serve him with fidelity and zeal in the execution of his projects. But, as it was the custom for the Ephori never to pronounce sentence of death against a Spartan, without a full and direct proof of the crime laid to his charge, they looked upon the evidence against him as insufficient; and the more so, as he was of the royal family, and was actually invested with the administration of the regal office; for Pausanias exercised the function of king, as being the guardian and nearest relation to Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was then in his minority. He was therefore acquitted a second time, and set at liberty.

Whilst the Ephori were thus perplexed for want of clear and plain evidence against the offender, a certain slave, who was called the Argilian, came to them, and brought them a letter, written by Pausanias himself to the king of Persia, which the slave was to have carried and delivered to Artabazus. It must be observed by the way, that this Persian governor and Pausanias had agreed together, immediately to put to death all the couriers they mutually sent to one another, as soon as their packets or messages were delivered, that there might be no possibility left of tracing out or discovering their correspondence.

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The Argilian, who saw none of his fellow-servants, that had been sent, return back again, had some suspicion; and when it came to his turn to go, he opened the letter he was intrusted with, in which Artabazus was positively desired to kill him as soon as he had delivered it. This was the letter the slave put into the hands of the Ephori, who still thought even this proof insufficient in the eye of the law, and therefore endeavoured to corroborate it by the testimony of Pausanias himself. The slave, in concert with them, withdrew to the temple of Neptune at Tænarus, as to a secure asylum. Two small closets had been purposely made there, in which the Ephori and some Spartans hid themselves. The instant Pausanias was informed that the Argilian had fled to this temple, he hasted thither, to inquire the reason. The slave confessed that he had opened the letter; and that finding by the contents of it he was to be put to death, he had fled to that temple to save his life. As Pausanias could not deny the fact, he made the best excuse he could; promised the slave a great reward; and obliged him to engage not to mention what had passed between them to any person whatsoever. Pausanias then left him.

Pausanias's guilt was now but too evident. The moment he was returned to the city, the Ephori were resolved to seize him. From the aspect of one of those magistrates, and from a signal which he made him, he plainly perceived that some evil design was meditated against him, and therefore he ran with the utmost speed to the temple of Pallas, called Chalcioecos, near that place, and got into it before the pursuers could overtake him. The entrance was immediately stopped up with great stones; and history informs us, that the criminal's mother was the first who brought one. They also took off the roof of the chapel, and, as the Ephori did not dare to take him out of it by force, because this would have been a violation of that sacred asylum, they resolved to leave him exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and accordingly he was starved to death. However, a few minutes before he died, they drew him out of the temple. His corpse was buried not far from that place: but the oracle of Delphi, which they consulted soon after, declared, that to appease the anger of the goddess, who was justly offended on account of the violation of her temple,

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two statues must be set up there in honour of Pausanias, which was done accordingly.

Such was the end of Pausanias, whose wild ambition had stifled in him all sentiments of probity, honour, love of his country, zeal for liberty, and of hatred and aversion for the barbarians: sentiments which, in some measure, were innate in all the Greeks, and particularly in the Lacedæmonians.

SECT. XVI. THEMISTOCLES, BEING PROSECUTED BY THE ATHENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS, AS AN ACCOMPLICE IN PAUSANIAS'S CONSPIRACY, FLIES FOR SHELTER TO KING ADMETUS.

A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473. —[k] Themistocles was also implicated in the charge brought against Pausanias. He was then in exile. A passionate thirst of glory, and a strong desire of arbitrary power, had made him very odious to his fellow-citizens. He had built, very near his house, a temple dedicated to Diana, under the title of 'Diana Aristobula,' that is to say, 'the giver of good counsel;' as hinting to the Athenians, that he had given good counsel to their city and to all Greece; and he also had placed his statue in it, which was standing in Plutarch's time. It appeared, says he, from this statue, that his physiognomy was as heroic as his valour. Finding that men listened with pleasure to all the calumnies which his enemies spread against him, in order to silence them, he was for ever expatiating, in all public assemblies, on the services he had done his country. As they were at last tired with hearing him repeat the same thing so often, 'How,' says he to them, 'are you weary of having good offices frequently done you by the same persons?' He did not consider, that putting them so often in mind of his services,* was in a manner reproaching them with their having forgotten them, which was not very civil; and he seemed not to know, that the surest way to acquire applause, is to leave the bestowing of it to others, and to resolve to do such things only as are praiseworthy; and that a frequent mention of one's own virtue and exalted actions, is so far from appeasing envy, that it only inflames it.

[k] Thucyd. l. i. p. 89, 90. Plut. *in Themist.* p. 123, 124. Corn. Nep. *in Themist.* c. viii.

* Hoc molestum est. Nam isthæc commemoratio quasi exprobratio est immemoris beneficii. Terent. *in Andr.*

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[1] Themistocles, after having been banished from Athens by the ostracism, withdrew to Argos. He was there when Pausanias was prosecuted as a traitor who had conspired against his country. He had at first concealed his machinations from Themistocles, though he was one of his best friends; but as soon as he saw that he was expelled his country, and highly resented that injury, he disclosed his projects to him, and pressed him to join in them. To induce him to comply, he showed him the letters which the king of Persia wrote to him; and endeavoured to animate him against the Athenians, by painting their injustice and ingratitude in the strongest colours. However, Themistocles rejected with indignation the proposals of Pausanias, and refused peremptorily to take any part in his schemes: but then he concealed what had passed between them, and did not discover the enterprise he had formed; whether it was that he imagined Pausanias would renounce it of himself, or was persuaded that it would be discovered some other way; it not being possible for so dangerous and ill-concerted an enterprise to be successful.

After Pausanias's death, several letters and other things were found among his papers, which excited violent suspicions of Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians sent deputies to Athens to accuse and have sentence of death passed upon him; and such of the citizens who envied him joined these accusers. Aristides had now a fair opportunity of revenging himself on his rival, for the injurious treatment he had received from him, had his soul been capable of so cruel a satisfaction; but he refused absolutely to join in so horrid a combination; being as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adversary, as he had before been to regret his successes. Themistocles answered by letters all the calumnies with which he was charged; and represented to the Athenians, that as he had ever been fond of ruling, and his temper was such as would not suffer him to be lorded over by others, it was highly improbable that he should have a design to deliver up himself, and all Greece, to enemies and barbarians.

In the mean time the people, wrought upon by his accusers, sent some persons to seize him and bring him home, that he

[1] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 112.

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might be tried by the council of Greece. Themistocles, having timely notice of it, went into the island of Corcyra, to whose inhabitants he formerly had done some service: however, not thinking himself safe there, he fled to Epirus; and finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, in despair he adopted a very dangerous plan, which was, to fly to Admetus king of the Molossians for refuge. This prince having formerly desired the aid of the Athenians, and being refused with ignominy by Themistocles, who at that time presided in the government, had retained the deepest resentment on that account, and declared that he would revenge himself, should a favourable opportunity ever occur. But Themistocles, imagining that in the unhappy situation of his affairs, the recent envy of his fellow-citizens was more to be feared than the ancient grudge of that king, was resolved to run the hazard of it. When he came into the palace of that monarch, upon being informed that he was absent, he addressed himself to the queen, who received him very graciously, and instructed him in the manner in which it was proper for him to make his request. Admetus being returned, Themistocles takes the king's son in his arms, seats himself on his hearth amidst his household gods, and there, telling him who he was, and the cause why he fled to him for refuge, he implores his clemency, owns that his life is in his hand, entreats him to forget the past; and represents to him, that no action can be more worthy of a great king than to exercise clemency. Admetus, surprised and moved with compassion in seeing at his feet, in so humble a posture, the greatest man of all Greece, and the conqueror of all Asia, raised him immediately from the ground, and promised to protect him against all his enemies. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he refused absolutely to deliver up a person who had taken refuge in his palace, in the firm persuasion that it would be a sacred and inviolable asylum.

Whilst he was at the court of this prince, one of his friends found an opportunity to carry off his wife and children from Athens, and to send them to him; for which that person was some time after seized and condemned to die. With regard to Themistocles's effects, his friends secured the greatest part of

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them for him, which they afterwards found an opportunity to remit to him in his retirement; but all that could be discovered, which amounted to a hundred * talents, was carried to the public treasury. When he entered upon the administration of the republic, he was not worth three talents. I shall leave this illustrious exile for some time in the court of king Admetus, to resume the sequel of this history.

SECT. XVII. ARISTIDES'S DISINTERESTED ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUBLIC TREASURE. HIS DEATH AND EULOGIUM.—[m] I have before observed, that the command of Greece had passed from Sparta to the Athenians. Hitherto the cities and nations of Greece had indeed contributed some sums of money towards carrying on the expense of the war against the barbarians; but this assessment had always occasioned great feuds, because it was not made in a just or equal proportion. It was thought proper, under this new government, to lodge in the island of Delos the common treasure of Greece; to enact new regulations with regard to the public monies; and to lay such a tax as might be regulated according to the revenue of each city and state; in order that the expenses being equally borne by the several members who composed the body of the allies, no one might have reason to murmur. The great point was, to find a person capable of discharging faithfully an employment of such delicacy, and attended with such danger and difficulty, the due administration of which so nearly concerned the public welfare. All the allies cast their eyes on Aristides; accordingly they invested him with full powers, and appointed him to levy a tax on each of them, relying entirely on his wisdom and justice.

They had no cause to repent of their choice. † He presided over the treasury with the fidelity and disinterestedness of a man, who looks upon it as a capital crime to embezzle the smallest portion of another's property; with the care and activity of a father of a family, who manages his own estate; and with the caution and integrity of a person, who considers the

[m] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 333, 334. Diod. l. xi. p. 36.

* A hundred thousand crowns French, about 22,500*l.* sterling.

† Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras; tam abstinenter quàm alienas, tam diligenter quàm tuas, tam religiosè quàm publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est. Senec. lib. *de Brevit. Vit.* cap. xviii.

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public monies as sacred. In fine, he succeeded in what is equally difficult and extraordinary, *viz.* in acquiring the love of all, in an office in which he that escapes the public odium gains a great point. Such is the glorious character which Seneca gives of a person charged with an employment of almost the same kind, and the noblest eulogium that can be given of such as administer the public revenues. It is the exact picture of Aristides. He discovered so much probity and wisdom in the exercise of this office, that no man complained; and those times were considered ever after as the golden age, that is, the period in which Greece had attained its highest pitch of virtue and happiness. And, indeed, the tax which he had fixed, in the whole, at four hundred and sixty * talents, was raised by Pericles to six hundred, and soon after to thirteen hundred talents: not that the expenses of the war were increased, but because the treasure was employed to very useless purposes, in manual distributions to the Athenians, in solemnizing of games and festivals, in building of temples and public edifices; not to mention, that the hands of those who superintended the treasury were not always so clean and uncorrupt as those of Aristides. This wise and equitable conduct secured him, to the latest posterity, the glorious surname of *the Just.*

Nevertheless, Plutarch relates an action of Aristides, which shows that the Greeks (and the same may be said of the Romans) had a very narrow and imperfect idea of justice. They confined the exercise of it to the interior, as it were, of civil society; and acknowledged that individuals were bound to observe strictly its several maxims in their intercourse with each other; but with regard to their country, to the republic, (their great idol, to which they referred every thing,) they thought in quite a different manner, and imagined themselves obliged to sacrifice to it, through principle, not only their lives and possessions, but even their religion and the most sacred engagements, in contempt of the most solemn oaths. This will appear evidently in what I am now going to relate.

[n] After the assessment of the contributions, of which I have

[n] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 333, 334.

* The talent is worth a thousand French crowns; or about 225*l.* sterling.

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just spoken, Aristides having settled the several articles of the alliance, made the confederates take an oath to observe them punctually, and he himself swore in the name of the Athenians; and when denouncing the curses which always accompanied the oaths, he threw into the sea, pursuant to the usual custom, large bars of red-hot iron. But the ill state of the Athenian affairs forcing them afterwards to infringe some of those articles, and to govern a little more arbitrarily, he entreated them to transfer those curses on him, and exonerate themselves thereby of the punishment due to such as had forsworn themselves, and who had been reduced to it by the unhappy situation of their affairs. Theophrastus tells us, that in general (these words are borrowed from Plutarch) Aristides, who, in all matters relating to himself or the public, prided himself upon displaying the most impartial and rigorous justice, used to act, during his administration, in several instances, according as the exigency of affairs and the welfare of his country might require; it being his opinion, that a government, in order to support itself, is, on some occasions, obliged to have recourse to injustice, of which he gives the following example. One day, as the Athenians were debating in their council, about bringing to their city, in opposition to the articles of the treaty, the common treasures of Greece which were deposited in Delos: the Samians having opened the debate; when it was Aristides's turn to speak, he said, that the removal of the treasure was an unjust action, but useful, and made this opinion take place. This incident shows, with how great obscurity and error the pretended wisdom of the heathens was overspread.

It was scarce possible to have a greater contempt for riches than Aristides had. Themistocles, who was not pleased with the encomiums bestowed on other men, hearing Aristides applauded for the noble disinterestedness with which he managed the public treasures, did but laugh at it; and said, that the praises bestowed upon him for it, showed that he possessed no greater merit than that of a strong box, which faithfully preserves all the monies that are shut up in it, without retaining any. This low sneer was by way of revenge for

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a stroke of raillery that had stung him to the quick. Themistocles one day saying, that, in his opinion, the greatest qualification a general could possess, was to be able to foresee the designs of an enemy: 'This qualification,' replied Aristides, 'is necessary; but there is another no less noble and worthy of a general, that is, to have clean hands, and a soul superior to venality and views of interest.' Aristides might very justly answer Themistocles in this manner, since he was really very poor, though he had possessed the highest employments in the state. He seemed to have an innate love for poverty; and so far from being ashamed of it, he thought it reflected as much glory on him, as all the trophies and victories he had won. History gives us a shining instance of this.

Callias, who was a near relation of Aristides, and the most wealthy citizen in Athens, was cited to appear before the judges. The accuser, laying very little stress on the cause itself, reproached him especially with permitting Aristides, and his wife and children, to live in poverty, at a time when he himself rolled in riches. Callias, perceiving that these reproaches made a strong impression on the judges, summoned Aristides to declare before them, whether he had not often pressed him to accept of large sums of money; and whether he had not obstinately refused to accept of his offer, giving for answer, that he had more reason to boast of his poverty, than Callias of his riches: that many persons were to be found who made a good use of their wealth, but that there were few who bore their poverty with magnanimity and even with joy; and that none had cause to blush at their condition, but such as had reduced themselves to it by their idleness, their intemperance, their profusion, or dissolute conduct. [o] Aristides declared that his kinsman had told nothing but the truth: and added, that a man whose frame of mind is such, as to suppress every wish for superfluities, and who confines the wants of life within the narrowest limits, besides its freeing him from a thousand importunate cares, and leaving him so much master of his time, as to devote it entirely to the public, it approximates him, in some measure, to the Deity, who is wholly void of

[o] Plut. *in compar. Arist. et Caton.* p. 355.

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cares or wants. There was no man in the assembly but, at his leaving it, would have chosen to be Aristides, though so poor, rather than Callias with all his riches.

Plutarch gives us, in a few words, Plato's glorious testimony to Aristides's virtue, for which he looks upon him as infinitely superior to all the illustrious men who were his contemporaries. Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, (says he,) filled indeed their city with splendid edifices, with porticos, statues, rich ornaments, and other vain superfluities of that kind; but Aristides did all that lay in his power to enrich every part of it with virtue: now, to raise a city to true happiness, it must be made virtuous, not rich.

Plutarch takes notice of another circumstance in Aristides's life, which, though of the simplest kind, reflects the greatest honour on him, and may serve as an excellent lesson. It is in that beautiful [p] treatise, in which he inquires, whether it is proper for old men to concern themselves with affairs of government; and where he points out admirably well, the various services they may do the state, even in an advanced age. We are not to fancy, says he, that in order to render services to one's fellow-citizens, it is necessary to make great exertions, to harangue the people, to preside in the government, or to head armies: an old man, whose mind is informed with wisdom, may, without going from his house, exercise a kind of magistracy in it, which, though secret and obscure, is not therefore the less important; and that is, in training up youth by good counsel, teaching them the various springs of policy, and the path they ought to pursue in the management of public affairs. Aristides, adds Plutarch, was not always in office, but was always of service to his country. His house was a public school of virtue, wisdom, and politics. It was open to all young Athenians who were lovers of virtue, and these used to consult him as an oracle. He gave them the kindest reception, heard them with patience, instructed them with familiarity; and endeavoured, above all things, to animate their courage, and inspire them with confidence. It is observed particularly that Cimon, afterwards so famous, was obliged to him for this important service.

[p] Pag. 795, 797.

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Plutarch * divided the life of statesmen into three ages. In the first, he would have them learn the principles of government; in the second, reduce them to practice; and in the third, instruct others.

[q] History does not mention the exact time when, nor place where, Aristides died; but then it pays a glorious testimony to his memory, when it assures us, that this great man, who had possessed the highest employments in the republic, and had the absolute disposal of its treasures, died poor, and did not leave money enough to defray the expenses of his funeral; so that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were married, and Lysimachus his son was subsisted at the expense of the Prytaneum; which also gave the daughter of the latter, after his death, the pension with which those were honoured who had been victorious at the Olympic games. Plutarch relates, on this occasion, the liberality of the Athenians in favour of the posterity of Aristogiton their deliverer, who had fallen to decay; and he adds, that even in his time (almost six hundred years after) the same goodness and liberality still subsisted. It is glorious for a city, to have preserved for so many centuries its generosity and gratitude; and a strong motive to animate individuals, who were assured that their children would enjoy the rewards which death might prevent themselves from receiving. It was delightful to see the remote posterity of the defenders and deliverers of the commonwealth, who had inherited nothing from their ancestors but the glory of their actions, maintained for so many ages at the expense of the public, in consideration of the services which their families had rendered the state. They lived in this manner with much more honour, and called up the remembrance of their ancestors with much greater splendour, than a multitude of citizens, whose fathers had been anxious only to leave them great estates, which generally do not long survive those who raised them, and often leave to their posterity nothing but the odious remem-

[q] Plut. *in Arist.* p. 334, 335.

* He applies on this occasion the custom used in Rome, where the Vestals spent the first ten years in learning their office, and this was a kind of noviciate; the next ten years they employed in the exercise of their functions, and the last ten in instructing the young novices in them.

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brance of the injustice and oppression by which they were acquired.

The greatest honour which the ancients have done to Aristides, is the having bestowed on him the glorious title of *the Just*. He gained it, not by one particular occurrence of his life, but by the whole tenour of his conduct and actions. Plutarch makes a reflection on this occasion, which, being very remarkable, I think it incumbent on me not to omit.

[r] Among the several virtues of Aristides, says this judicious author, that for which he was most renowned was his justice; because this virtue is of most general use; its benefits extend to a greater number of persons; and it is the foundation, and in a manner the soul, of every public office and employment. Hence it was that Aristides, though in low circumstances, and of mean extraction, merited the title of *Just;* a title, says Plutarch, truly royal, or rather truly divine; but one of which princes are seldom ambitious, because they are ignorant of its beauty and excellency. They choose rather to be called [s] the takers of cities, the thunderbolts of war, victors and conquerors, and sometimes even eagles and lions; preferring the vain honour of pompous titles, which convey no other idea than violence and slaughter, to the solid glory of those expressive of goodness and virtue. They do not know, continues Plutarch, that of the three chief attributes of the Deity, of whom kings boast themselves the image, I mean, immortality, power, and justice; that of these three attributes, the first of which excites our admiration and desire, the second fills us with dread and terror, and the third inspires us with love and respect; this last is the only one truly and personally communicated to man, and the only one that can conduct him to the other two; it being impossible for man to become truly immortal and powerful, but by being just.

Before I resume the sequel of this history, it may not be improper to observe, that it was about this period that the fame of the Greeks, who were still more renowned for the wisdom of their polity than the glory of their victories, induced the Romans to have recourse to their lights and knowledge. Rome, formed under kings, was in want of

A. M. 3532. A. Rom. 302.

[r] Plut. *in vit. Arist.* p. 321, 322.

[s] Poliorcetes, Ceraunus, Nicator.

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such laws as were necessary for the good government of a commonwealth. * For this purpose the Romans sent deputies to copy the laws of the cities of Greece, and particularly those of Athens, which were still better adapted to the popular government that had been established after the expulsion of the kings. On this model, the ten magistrates, called *Decemviri*, who were invested with absolute authority, digested the laws of the Twelve Tables, which are the basis of the Roman law.

SECT. XVIII. DEATH OF XERXES, WHO IS KILLED BY ARTABANUS. HIS CHARACTER.—[t] The ill success of Xerxes in his expedition against the Greeks, and which continued afterwards, at length discouraged him. Renouncing all thoughts of war and conquest, he abandoned himself entirely to luxury and ease, and was studious of nothing but his pleasures. † Artabanus, a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, who had long been one of his chief favourites, found that this dissolute conduct had drawn upon him the contempt of his subjects. He, therefore, imagined that this would be a favourable opportunity to conspire against his sovereign; and he carried his ambitious views so far as to flatter himself with the hopes of succeeding him in the throne.[u] It is very likely, that he was excited to the commission of this crime from another motive. Xerxes had commanded him to murder Darius, his eldest son, but for what cause history is silent. As this order had been given at a banquet, and when the company was heated with wine, he did not doubt but that Xerxes would forget it, and therefore was not in haste to obey it: however, he was mistaken, for the king complained of his disobedience, which made Artabanus dread his resentment, and therefore he resolved to prevent him. Accordingly he prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace, and high-chamberlain, to engage in his conspiracy; and by his means entered the chamber where the king lay, and murdered

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

[t] Ctes. c. ii. Diod. l. xi. p. 52. Justin, l. iii. c. 1.

[u] Arist. *Polit.* l. v. c. 10. p. 404.

* Missi legati Athenas, jussique inclitas leges Solonis describere, et aliarum Græciæ civitatum instituta, mores, juraque noscere. Decem tabularum leges perlatæ sunt (quibus adjectæ postea duæ) qui nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias privatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est juris. Liv. l. iii. n. 31, 34.

† This was not Artabanus the uncle of Xerxes.

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him in his sleep. He then went immediately to Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes. He informed him of the murder, charging Darius his eldest brother with it; as if impatience to ascend the throne had prompted him to that execrable deed. He added, that to secure the crown to himself, he was resolved to murder him also, for which reason it would be absolutely necessary for him to keep upon his guard. These words having made the impression on Artaxerxes, who was still a youth, which Artabanus desired, he went immediately into his brother's apartment, where, being assisted by Artabanus and his guards, he murdered him. Hystaspes, Xerxes's second son, was next heir to the crown after Darius; but, as he was then in Bactriana, of which he was governor, Artabanus seated Artaxerxes on the throne, with the design of suffering him to enjoy it no longer than till he had formed a faction strong enough to drive him from it, and ascend it himself. His great authority had gained him a multitude of dependants; besides this, he had seven sons, who were tall, handsome, strong, courageous, and raised to the highest employments in the empire. The aid he hoped to receive from them, was the chief motive of his raising his views so high. But whilst he was attempting to complete his design, Artaxerxes being informed of his plot by Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, endeavoured to anticipate him, and killed him before he had an opportunity of putting his treason in execution. His death established this prince in the possession of the kingdom.

Thus we have seen the end of Xerxes, who was one of the most powerful princes that ever lived. It would be needless for me to anticipate the reader, with respect to the judgment he ought to form of him. We see him surrounded with whatever is greatest and most brilliant in the opinion of mankind: the most extensive empire at that time in the world; immense treasures, and forces both by land and sea, whose number appears incredible. All these things, however, are round him, not in him, and add no lustre to his natural qualities: but, by a blindness too common to princes and great men, born in the midst of abundance, heir to boundless power, and a lustre that had cost him nothing, he had accustomed himself to judge of his own talents and personal merit, from the exterior of his exalted

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station and rank. He disregards the wise counsels of Artabanus his uncle, and of Demaratus, who alone had courage enough to speak truth to him; and he abandons himself to courtiers, the adorers of his fortune, whose whole study it was to soothe his passions. He proportions, and pretends to regulate, the success of his enterprises, by the extent of his power. The slavish submission of so many nations no longer soothes his ambition; and disgusted with too easy an obedience, he takes pleasure in exercising his power over the elements, in cutting his way through mountains, and making them navigable; in chastising the sea for having broken down his bridge, and in foolishly attempting to shackle the waves, by throwing fetters into them. Puffed up with a childish vanity and a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himself as the arbiter of nature: he imagines, that not a nation in the world will dare to wait his arrival; and fondly and presumptuously relies on the millions of men and ships which he drags after him. But when, after the battle of Salamis, he beholds the sad ruins, the shameful remains, of his numberless troops scattered over all Greece;* he then is sensible of the wide difference between an army and a crowd of men. In a word, to form a right judgment of Xerxes, we need but contrast him with a plain citizen of Athens, a Miltiades, Themistocles, or Aristides. In the latter we find all the good sense, prudence, ability in war, valour, and greatness of soul; in the former we see nothing but vanity, pride, obstinacy; the meanest and most grovelling sentiments, and sometimes the most horrid barbarity.

* Stratusque per totam passim Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quantum ab exercitu turba distaret. Senec. *de Benef.* l. vi. c. 32.

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BOOK THE SEVENTH.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAPTER I.

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

Sect. I. Artaxerxes ruins the Faction of Artabanus, and that of Hystaspes his elder Brother.—The Greek historians give this prince the surname of Longimanus. Strabo[a] says, it was because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them; but according to [b] Plutarch, it was because his right hand was longer than his left. Had it not been for this blemish, he would have been the most graceful man of his age. He was still more remarkable for his goodness and generosity. He reigned about forty-nine years. A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473.

[c] Although Artaxerxes, by the death of Artabanus, was delivered from a dangerous competitor, there still were two obstacles in his way, before he could establish himself in the

[a] Lib. xv. p. 735. [b] *In Artax.* p. 1011. [c] Ctes. c. xxx.

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quiet possession of his throne; one of which was his brother Hystaspes, governor of Bactriana; and the other, the faction of Artabanus. He began by the latter.

Artabanus had left seven sons, and a great number of partisans, who soon assembled to revenge his death. These, and the adherents of Artaxerxes, fought a bloody battle, in which a great number of Persian nobles lost their lives. Artaxerxes having at last entirely defeated his enemies, put to death all who had engaged in this conspiracy. He took an exemplary vengeance of those who were concerned in his father's murder, and particularly of Mithridates the eunuch, who had betrayed him: he made him suffer the punishment of 'the Troughs,' which was executed in the following manner: [d] He was laid on his back in a kind of horse-trough, and strongly fastened to the four corners of it. Every part of him, except his head, his hands, and feet, which came out at holes made for that purpose, was covered with another trough. In this horrid situation victuals were given him from time to time; and in case of his refusal to eat, they were forced down his throat: honey mixed with milk was given him to drink, and all his face was smeared with it, which by that means attracted a numberless multitude of flies, especially as he was perpetually exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. The worms which bred in his excrements preyed upon his bowels. The criminal lived fifteen or twenty days in inexpressible torments.

[e] Artaxerxes having crushed the faction of Artabanus, was powerful enough to send an army into Bactriana, which had declared in favour of his brother, but he was not equally successful on this occasion. The two armies engaging, Hystaspes stood his ground so well, that, if he did not gain the victory, he at least sustained no loss; so that both armies separated with equal success; and each retired to prepare for a second battle. Artaxerxes having raised a greater army than his brother, and having besides the whole empire in his favour, defeated him in a second engagement, and entirely ruined his party. By this victory he secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire.

[f] To maintain himself in the throne, he removed from their

[d] Plut. *in Artax.* p. 1019 [e] Ctes. c. xxxi. [f] Diod l. xi. p. 54.

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employment all such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected of holding a correspondence with either of the factions he had overcome, and substituted others on whom he could rely. He afterwards applied himself to reform the abuses and disorders which had crept into the government. By this wise conduct and zeal for the public good, he soon acquired great reputation and authority, together with the love of his subjects, the strongest support of sovereign power.

SECT. II. THEMISTOCLES TAKES REFUGE WITH ARTAXERXES.—According to Thucydides, Themistocles fled to this prince in the beginning of his reign; but other authors, as Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus, fix this incident under Xerxes his predecessor. Dean Prideaux is of the latter opinion; he likewise thinks, that the Artaxerxes in question, is the same with him who is called Ahasuerus in Scripture, and who married Esther: but we suppose with the learned archbishop Usher, that it was Darius the son of Hystaspes who espoused this illustrious Jewess. I have already declared more than once, that I would not engage in controversies of this kind; and therefore with regard to this flight of Themistocles into Persia, and the history of Esther, I shall follow the opinion of the learned Usher, my usual guide on these occasions. A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473.

[g] We have seen that Themistocles had fled to Admetus, king of the Molossi, and had met with a gracious reception from him; but the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not suffer him to remain there in peace, and required that prince to deliver him up; threatening, in case of refusal, to carry their arms into his country. Admetus, who was unwilling to draw such formidable enemies upon himself, and much more to deliver up the man who had fled to him for refuge, informed him of the great danger to which he was exposed, and favoured his flight. Themistocles went as far by land as Pydna, a city of Macedonia, and there embarked on board a merchant ship which was bound to Ionia. None of the passengers knew him. A storm having carried this vessel near the island of Naxos, then besieged by the Athenians; the imminent danger to which

[g] Thucyd. l. i. p. 90, 91. Plut. *in Themist.* p. 125, 127. Diod. l. xi. p. 42, 44 Corn. Nep. *in Themist.* c. viii. x.

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Themistocles was exposed, obliged him to discover himself to the pilot and master of the ship; after which, by entreaties and menaces, he forced them to sail towards Asia.

[h] Themistocles might on this occasion call to mind an expression which his father had made use of, when he was very young, in order to warn him, to lay very little stress on the favour of the common people. They were then walking together in the harbour. His father pointing to some rotten galleys that lay neglected on the strand, 'Look there,' says he, 'son, (pointing to them,) thus do the people treat their governors, when they can do them no farther service.'

He arrived at Cumæ, a city of Æolia in Asia Minor. The king of Persia had set a price upon his head, and promised two hundred * talents to any man who should deliver him up. The whole coast was covered with people, who were watching for him. He fled to Ægæ, a little city of Æolia, where no one knew him except Nicogenes, at whose house he lodged. He was the most wealthy man in that country, and very intimate with all the lords of the Persian court. Themistocles was concealed some days in his house, till Nicogenes sent him, under a strong guard, to Susa, in one of those covered chariots in which the Persians, who were extremely jealous, used to carry their wives; those who conducted him telling every body, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to a courtier of great distinction.

Being come to the Persian court, he waited upon the captain of the guards, and told him, that he was a Grecian by birth, and begged the king would admit him to audience, as he had matters of great importance to communicate to him. The officer informed him of a ceremony which he knew was offensive to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed to speak to the king; and this was, to fall prostrate before him. 'Our laws,' says he, 'command us to honour the king in that manner, and to worship him as the living image of the immortal God, who maintains and preserves all things.' Themistocles promised to comply. Being admitted to audience, he fell on his face before the king, after the Persian manner; and

[h] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 112.

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

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afterwards rising up, 'Great king,'* says he by an interpreter, 'I am Themistocles the Athenian, who having been banished by the Greeks, am come to your court in hopes of finding an asylum. I have indeed brought many calamities on the Persians; but, on the other side, I have done them no less services, by the salutary advice I have given them more than once; and I am now able to do them more important services than ever. My life is in your hands. You may now exert your clemency, or display your vengeance: by the former you will preserve your suppliant; by the latter you will destroy the greatest enemy of Greece.'

The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his great sense and boldness; but history informs us, that in company of his friends, he congratulated himself upon his good fortune, and considered Themistocles's arrival as a very great happiness; that he implored his god Arimanius always to inspire his enemies with such thoughts, and to prompt them to banish and thus to deprive themselves of their most illustrious personages. It is added, that when this king was asleep, he started up three times through excess of joy, and cried, 'I have got Themistocles the Athenian!'

The next morning, at daybreak, he sent for the greatest lords of his court, and commanded Themistocles to be brought before him, who expected nothing but destruction; especially after what one of his guards, upon hearing his name, had said to him the night before, even in the presence-chamber, just as he had left the king, 'Thou serpent of Greece, thou compound of fraud and malice, the good genius of our prince brings thee hither!' However, the serenity which appeared in the king's face seemed to promise him a favourable reception. Themistocles was not mistaken; for the king began by making him a present of two hundred † talents, which sum he had promised to any one who should deliver him up, which consequently was his due, as Themistocles had brought him his head, by surrendering himself to him. He afterwards desired him to give an account of the affairs of Greece. But as Themistocles

* Thucydides attributes to him very near the same words; but as forming a letter which he wrote to the king before he was introduced to him.

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

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could not express his thoughts to the king without the assistance of an interpreter, he desired time might be allowed him to learn the Persian tongue; hoping he then should be able to explain those things which he was desirous of communicating to him, better than he could by the aid of a third person. It is the same, says he, with the speech of a man, as with a piece of tapestry, which must be spread out and unfolded, to show the figures and beauty of the work. His request being granted, Themistocles, in the space of twelve months, made so great a progress in the Persian language, that he spoke it with greater elegance than the Persians themselves, and consequently could converse with the king without the help of an interpreter. This prince treated him with uncommon marks of friendship and esteem; he made him marry a lady descended from one of the noblest families in Persia; gave him a palace and an equipage suitable to it, and settled a noble pension on him. He used to carry him abroad on his parties of hunting, and invited him to every banquet and entertainment; and sometimes conversed privately with him, so that the lords of the court grew jealous and uneasy upon that account. He even presented him to the princesses, who honoured him with their esteem, and received his visits. It is observed, as a proof of the peculiar favour showed him, that by the king's special order, Themistocles was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the Magi, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy.

Another proof of his great influence is related. Demaratus of Sparta, who was then at court, being commanded by the king to ask any thing of him, he desired that he might be suffered to make his entry on horseback into the city of Sardis, with the royal tiara on his head: a ridiculous vanity! equally unworthy of the Grecian grandeur, and the simplicity of a Lacedæmonian! The king, exasperated at the insolence of his demand, expressed his disgust in the strongest terms, and seemed resolved not to pardon him; but Themistocles having interceded, the king restored him to favour.

In fine, the credit and influence of Themistocles was so great, that under the succeeding reigns, in which the affairs of Persia were still more mixed with those of Greece, whenever the

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kings were desirous of engaging any Greek in their service, they used to declare expressly in their letters, that he should be in greater favour with them than Themistocles had been with king Artaxerxes.

It is said also that Themistocles, when in his most flourishing condition in Persia, honoured and esteemed by all the world, who were emulous in making their court to him, said one day, when his table was covered magnificently: 'Children, we should have been ruined, if we had not been ruined.'

But at last, as it was judged necessary for the king's interest that Themistocles should reside in some city of Asia Minor, that he might be ready on any occasion which should present itself, he was accordingly sent to Magnesia, situated on the Meander; and besides the whole revenues of that city, (which amounted to fifty * talents every year,) had those of Myus and Lampsacus assigned him for his maintenance. One of the cities was to furnish him with bread, another with wine, and a third with other provisions. Some authors add two more, *viz.* for his furniture and clothes. Such was the custom of the ancient kings of the East: instead of settling pensions on persons whom they rewarded, they gave them cities, and sometimes even provinces, which under the name of bread, wine, &c. were to furnish them abundantly with all things necessary for supporting, in a magnificent manner, their household establishment. Themistocles lived for some years in Magnesia in the utmost splendour, till he came to his end in the manner which will be related hereafter.

SECT. III. CIMON BEGINS TO MAKE A FIGURE AT ATHENS. HIS FIRST ACHIEVEMENTS. A DOUBLE VICTORY GAINED OVER THE PERSIANS, NEAR THE RIVER EURYMEDON. DEATH OF THEMISTOCLES.—[i] The

A. M. 3533. Ant. J. C. 471.

Athenians having lost one of their most distinguished citizens, as well as ablest generals, by the banishment of Themistocles, endeavoured to retrieve that loss, by bestowing the command of the armies on Cimon, who was not inferior to him in merit.

He spent his youth in such excesses as did him no honour,

[i] Diod. l. xi. p. 45. Plut. *in Cim.* p. 482, 483.

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

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and presaged no good with regard to his future conduct. [k] The example of this illustrious Athenian, who passed his juvenile years in so dissolute a manner, and afterwards rose to so exalted a pitch of glory, shows, that parents must not always despair of a son, when wild and irregular in his youth; especially when nature has endued him with genius, goodness of heart, generous inclinations, and an esteem for persons of merit. Such was the character of Cimon. The ill reputation he had drawn upon himself, having prejudiced the people against him, he at first was very ill received by them; when, being discouraged by this repulse, he resolved to lay aside all thoughts of concerning himself with public business. But Aristides perceiving through all his faults, that he possessed many fine qualities, consoled him, inspired him with hope, pointed out the path he should take, instilled good principles into him, and did not a little contribute, by the excellent instructions he gave him, and the affection he expressed for him on all occasions, to make him the man he afterwards appeared. What more important service could he have done his country?

[l] Plutarch observes, that after Cimon had laid aside his juvenile extravagancies, his conduct was in every respect great and noble: and that he was not inferior to Miltiades either in courage and intrepidity, nor to Themistocles in prudence and sense, but that he was more just and virtuous than either of them; and that without being at all inferior to them in military excellence, he far surpassed them in the practice of the moral virtues.

It would be of great advantage to a state, if those who excel in particular professions would take pleasure, and make it their duty, to fashion and instruct such youths as are remarkable for the pregnancy of their parts and goodness of disposition. They would thereby have an opportunity of serving their country even after their death, and of perpetuating, in the person of their pupils, a taste and inclination for true merit, and the practice of the wisest maxims.

The Athenians, a little after Themistocles had left his country, having put to sea a fleet under the command of Cimon,

[k] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 480. [l] Ibid. p. 481.

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the son of Miltiades, took Eion, on the banks of the Strymon, Amphipolis, and other places of Thrace; and as this was a very fruitful country, Cimon planted a colony in it, and sent ten thousand Athenians thither for that purpose.

[m] The fate of Eion is too singular to be omitted here. Boges* was governor of it under the king of Persia, and acted with such a zeal and fidelity for his sovereign, as have few examples. When besieged by Cimon and the Athenians, it was in his power to have capitulated upon honourable terms, and to have retired to Asia with his family and all his effects. However, being persuaded he could not do this with honour, he resolved to die rather than surrender. The city was assaulted with the utmost fury, and he defended it with incredible bravery. Being at last in the utmost want of provisions, he threw from the walls into the river Strymon all the gold and silver in the place; then causing fire to be set to a pile, and having killed his wife, his children, and his whole family, he threw them into the midst of the flames, and afterwards rushed into them himself. The king of Persia could not but admire, and at the same time bewail, so surprising an example of generosity. The heathens, indeed, might give this name to what is rather savage ferocity and barbarity.

Cimon made himself master also of the island of Scyros, where he found the bones of Theseus, the son of Ægeus, who had fled from Athens to that city, and there ended his days. An oracle had commanded that search should be made after his bones. Cimon put them on board his galley, adorned them magnificently, and carried them to his native country, near eight hundred years after Theseus had left it. The people received them with the highest expressions of joy; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, they instituted games in which the tragic poets were to try their skill, which became very famous, and contributed exceedingly to the improvement of the drama, by the wonderful emulation it excited among the tragic poets, whose pieces were represented on the stage. For Sophocles, who was then a young man, having brought his first play on the stage, the archon, who

[m] Herod. l. vii. c. 107. Plut. p. 482.

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

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presided at these games, observing there was a strong faction among the spectators, prevailed with Cimon and the rest of the generals his colleagues, (who were ten in number, and chosen one out of each tribe,) to sit as judges. The prize was adjudged to Sophocles, which so deeply afflicted Æschylus, who till then had been considered as the greatest dramatic poet, that Athens became insupportable to him, and he withdrew to Sicily, where he died.

[n] The confederates had taken a great number of barbarian prisoners in Sestus and Byzantium; and, as a proof of the high regard they had for Cimon, entreated him to distribute the booty. Accordingly Cimon placed all the captives (stark naked) on one side, and on the other all their riches and spoils. The allies complained of this partition as too unequal; but Cimon giving them the choice, they immediately took the riches which had belonged to the Persians, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. Cimon therefore set out with his portion, and was considered very little qualified to settle the distribution of prizes: for the allies carried off a great number of chains, necklaces, and bracelets of gold; a large quantity of rich habits, and fine purple cloaks; whilst the Athenians had for their share only a multitude of human creatures, quite naked, and unfit for labour. However, the relations and friends of these captives came soon after from Phrygia and Lydia, and purchased them all at a very high price; so that, with the money arising from their ransom, Cimon had enough to maintain his fleet four months; besides a great sum of money which was put into the public treasury, not to mention what he himself had for his own share. He afterwards used to take exceeding pleasure, in relating this adventure to his friends.

[o] He made the best use of his riches, as Gorgias the rhetorician has happily expressed it in few, but strong and elegant words. [*] 'Cimon,' says he, 'amassed riches, only to use them; and he employed them so as to acquire esteem and honour.' We may here perceive (by the way) what was the scope and aim of the most exalted actions of the heathens; and with what justice Tertullian defined a pagan, how perfect soever he

[n] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 484.

[o] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 484. Cornel. Nep. *in Cim.* c. iv. Athen. l. xii. p. 533.

[*] Φησὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῷτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῷτο.

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might appear, a vain-glorious animal, *animal gloriæ*. The gardens and orchards of Cimon were always open, by his order, to the citizens in general; who were allowed to gather whatever fruits they pleased. His table was daily covered in a frugal, but polite manner. It was entirely different from those delicate and sumptuous tables, to which only a few persons of great distinction are admitted; and which are covered merely to display a vain magnificence or elegance of taste. That of Cimon was plain, but abundant; and all the poor citizens were received at it without distinction. In thus banishing from his entertainments, whatever had the least air of ostentation and luxury, he reserved to himself an inexhaustible fund, not only for the expenses of his house, but for the wants of his friends, his domestics, and a very great number of citizens; demonstrating, by this conduct, that he knew much better than most rich men the true use and value of riches.

He was always followed by some servants, who were ordered to slip privately a piece of money into the hands of such poor as they met, and to give clothes to those who were in want of them. He often buried such persons as had not left money enough behind them to defray the expenses of their funeral; and what is worthy of admiration, and which Plutarch does not fail to observe, he did not act in this manner to gain credit among the people, nor to purchase their voices: since we find him, on all occasions, declaring for the contrary faction, that is, in favour of such citizens as were most considerable for their wealth or authority.

[p] Although he saw all the rest of the governors of his time enrich themselves by the plunder and oppression of the public, he was always incorruptible, and his hands were never stained with extortion, or the smallest present; and he continued, during his whole life, not only to speak, but to act gratuitously, and without the least view of interest, whatever he thought might be of advantage to the commonwealth.

To a great number of other excellent qualities, Cimon united sound sense, extraordinary prudence, and a profound knowledge of the genius and characters of men. The allies, besides the sums of money in which each of them was taxed, were to

[p] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 485.

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furnish a certain number of men and ships. Several among them, who, ever since the retreat of Xerxes, were studious of nothing but their ease, and applied themselves entirely to the cultivation of their lands, in order to free themselves from the toils and dangers of war, chose to furnish their quota in money rather than in men, and left to the Athenians the care of manning with soldiers and rowers the ships they were obliged to furnish. The other generals, who had no forecast and penetration into the future, gave such of the allies as acted in this manner some uneasiness at first, and were for obliging them to observe the treaty literally. But Cimon, when in power, acted in a quite different manner, and suffered them to enjoy the tranquillity they chose; plainly perceiving that the allies, instead of being, as formerly, warlike in the field, would insensibly lose their martial spirit, and be fit for nothing but husbandry and trade; whilst the Athenians, by exercising the oar, and having arms in their hands perpetually, would be more and more inured to the fatigues of war, and daily increase in power. What Cimon had foreseen happened; these very people purchased themselves masters at their own expense; so that they who before had been companions and allies, became in some measure the subjects and tributaries of the Athenians.

[q] No Grecian general ever gave so great a blow to the pride and haughtiness of the Persian monarch as Cimon. After the barbarians had been driven out of Greece, he did not give them time to take breath; but sailed immediately after them with a fleet of upwards of two hundred ships, took their strongest cities, and brought over all their allies; so that the king of Persia had not one soldier left in Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia. Still pursuing his point, he had the boldness to attack the enemy's fleet, though much stronger than his own. It lay near the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and consisted of three hundred and fifty sail of ships, supported by the land army on the coast. It was soon put to flight, and more than two hundred sail were taken, besides those that were sunk. A great number of the Persians had left their ships, and leaped into the sea, in order to join

A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470.

[q] Plut *in Cim.* p. 485—487. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66. Diod. l. xi. p. 45—47.

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their land army, which lay on the shore. It was very hazardous to attempt a descent in sight of the enemy; and to lead on troops, which were already fatigued by their late battle, against fresh forces much superior in number. However Cimon, finding that the whole army was eager to engage the barbarians, thought proper to take advantage of the ardour of the soldiers, who were greatly animated with their first success. Accordingly he *landed, and marched them directly against the barbarians, who waited resolutely for their coming up, and sustained the first onset with much valour; however, being at last obliged to give way, they fled. A great slaughter ensued, and an infinite number of prisoners, and immensely rich spoils, were taken. Cimon having, in one day, gained two victories, which almost equalled those of Salamis and Platææ; to crown all, sailed out to meet a reinforcement of eighty-four Phœnician ships, which were coming from Cyprus to join the Persian fleet, and knew nothing of what had passed. They were all either taken or sunk, and most of the soldiers were killed or drowned.

Cimon, after these glorious exploits, returned in triumph to Athens; and employed part of the spoils in fortifying the harbour, and in beautifying the city. The riches which a general amasses in the field are applied to the noblest uses when they are disposed of in this manner; and reflect infinitely greater honour upon him, than if he expended them in building magnificent palaces for himself, which must one time or other devolve to strangers; whereas works, built for public use, are his property, in some measure, for ever, and transmit his name to the latest posterity. [r] It is well known that such embellishments in a city give infinite pleasure to the people, who are always struck with works of this kind; and this, as Plutarch observes in the life of Cimon, is one of the surest, and, at the same time, the most lawful methods of acquiring their friendship and esteem.

[s] The year following, this general sailed towards the Helles-

[r] Plut. *de gerend. rep.* p. 818.
[s] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 487. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66, 67. Diod. l. xi. p. 53.
* We do not find that the ancients made use of long boats in making a landing; the reason of which perhaps was, that as their galleys were flat-bottomed, they ran in to shore without any difficulty.

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pont; and having driven the Persians out of the Thracian Chersonesus, of which they had made themselves masters, he conquered it in the name of the Athenians, though he himself had more right to it, as Miltiades his father had been its sovereign. He afterwards attacked the people of the island of Thasus, who had revolted from the Athenians, and defeated their fleet. They maintained their revolt with an almost unparalleled obstinacy and fury. [t] As if they had been in arms against the most cruel and barbarous enemies, from whom they had the worst of evils to fear, they made a law, that the first man who should only mention the concluding a treaty with the Athenians, should be put to death. The siege was carried on three years, during which the inhabitants suffered all the calamities of war with the same obstinacy. [u] The women were no less inflexible than the men; for when the besieged wanted ropes for their military engines, all the women cut off their hair with the greatest readiness, and applied it to that purpose. The city being reduced to the utmost distress by famine, which daily swept away a great number of the inhabitants, Hegetorides a Thasian, deeply afflicted with seeing such multitudes of his fellow-citizens perish, resolutely determined to sacrifice his life for the preservation of his country. Accordingly he put a halter round his neck, and presenting himself to the assembly, 'Countrymen,' says he, 'do with me as you please, and do not spare me if you judge proper; but let my death save the rest of the people, and prevail with you to abolish the cruel law you have enacted, so contrary to your welfare.' The Thasians, struck with these words, abolished the law, but would not suffer it to cost so generous a citizen his life. They surrendered themselves to the Athenians, who spared their lives, and only dismantled their city.

A. M. 3535. Ant. J. C. 469.

After Cimon had landed his troops on the shore opposite to Thrace, he seized on all the gold mines in that quarter, and subdued every part of that country as far as Macedonia. He might have attempted the conquest of that kingdom; and, in all probability, could have easily possessed himself of part of it, had he thought fit to improve the opportunity. And indeed,

[t] Polyæn. *Str.* l. ii. [u] Ibid. l. viii.

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for his neglect in this point, on his return to Athens, he was prosecuted, as having been bribed by the money of the Macedonians and of Alexander their king. But Cimon had a soul superior to all temptations of that kind, and proved his innocence in the clearest light.

[x] The conquests of Cimon and the power of the Athenians, which increased every day, gave Artaxerxes great uneasiness. To prevent the consequences, he resolved to send Themistocles into Attica, with a great army, and accordingly proposed it to him. A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 466.

Themistocles was in great perplexity on this occasion. On one side, the remembrance of the favours which the king had heaped upon him; the positive assurances he had given that monarch, to serve him with the utmost zeal on all occasions; the urgency of the king, who claimed his promise; all these considerations would not permit him to refuse the commission. On the other side, the love of his country, which the injustice and ill treatment of his fellow-citizens could not banish from his mind; his strong reluctance to sully the glory of his former laurels and mighty achievements by so ignominious a step; perhaps too, the fear of being unsuccessful in a war, in which he should be opposed by excellent generals, and particularly by Cimon, who hitherto had been as successful as valiant; these different reflections would not suffer him to declare against his country, in an enterprise which, whether successful or not, could not but reflect shame on himself.

To rid himself at once of all these inward struggles, he resolved to put* an end to his life, as the only method he could devise not to be wanting in the duty which he owed his country, nor to the promises he had made the prince. He therefore prepared a solemn sacrifice, to which he invited all his friends; when, after embracing them all, and taking a last farewell of them, he drank bull's blood; or, according to others, swallowed a dose of poison, and died in this manner at Magnesia, aged threescore and five years, the greatest part of which he had spent either in the government of the republic, or the command of the armies. [y] When the king was told the

[x] Thucyd. l. i. p. 92. Plut. *in Themist.* p. 127. [y] Cic. *de Senec.* n. 72.

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

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cause and manner of his death, he esteemed and admired him still more, and continued his favour to his friends and domestics. But the unexpected death of Themistocles proved an obstacle to the design that he meditated, of attacking the Greeks. The Magnesians erected a splendid monument to the memory of that general in the public square, and granted peculiar privileges and honours to his descendants. They continued to enjoy them in Plutarch's time, that is, near six hundred years after, and his tomb was still standing.

[z] Atticus, in the beautiful dialogue of Cicero, entitled *Brutus*, refutes, in an agreeable and ingenious manner, the tragical end which some writers ascribe to Themistocles, as related above; pretending that the whole is a fiction, invented by rhetoricians, who, on the bare rumour that this great man died by poison, had of themselves added all the other particulars to embellish the story, which otherwise would have been very dry and uninteresting. He appeals for this to Thucydides, that judicious historian, who was an Athenian, and almost contemporary with Themistocles. This author indeed owns, that a report had prevailed, that this general had poisoned himself; however, his opinion was, that he died a natural death, and that his friends conveyed his bones secretly to Athens, where, in [a] Pausanias's time, his mausoleum was standing near the great harbour. This account seems much more probable than the other.

Themistocles was certainly one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced. He had a great soul, and invincible courage, which was even inflamed by danger; was fired with an incredible thirst for glory, which sometimes his patriotism would temper and allay, but which sometimes carried him too far; *his presence of mind was such, that it immediately suggested whatever course it was most necessary to pursue: in fine, he had a sagacity and penetration that revealed to him in the clearest light, the most secret designs of his enemies; and caused him to adopt long beforehand the several measures which were requisite to disconcert them, and inspired him with great, noble, bold, extensive views with regard to the honour

[z] *Brut.* n. 42, 43. [a] Lib. i. p. 1.

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

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of his country. The most essential qualities of the heart were however wanting in him, I mean probity, sincerity, equity, and good faith: nor was he altogether free from suspicions of avarice, which is a great blemish in the character of a statesman.

[b] Nevertheless, a noble sentiment as well as action are related of him, which speak a great and disinterested soul. * His daughter being asked of him in marriage, he preferred an honest poor man to a rich one of an indifferent character; and gave for his reason, 'That in the choice of a son-in-law, he would much rather have merit without riches, than riches without merit.'

SECT. IV. THE REVOLT OF THE EGYPTIANS AGAINST PERSIA SUPPORTED BY THE ATHENIANS.—[c] The Egyptians, in the mean time, to free themselves from a foreign yoke which was insupportable to them, revolted from Artaxerxes, and made Inarus, prince of the Libyans, their king. They called in to their assistance the Athenians, who having at that time a fleet of two hundred ships at the island of Cyprus, accepted the invitation with pleasure, and immediately set sail for Egypt; judging this a very favourable opportunity to weaken the power of the Persians, by driving them out of so great a kingdom. A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460.

Advice being brought Artaxerxes of this revolt, he raised an army of three hundred thousand men, and resolved to march in person against the rebels. But his friends advising him not to venture himself in that expedition, he gave the command of it to Achæmenes, one of his brothers. The latter being arrived in Egypt, encamped his great army on the banks of the Nile. During this interval, the Athenians having defeated the Persian fleet, and either destroyed or taken fifty of their ships, went up that river, landed their forces under the command of Charitimis their general; and having joined Inarus and his Egyptians, they charged Achæmenes, and defeated him in a great battle, in which that A. M. 3545. Ant. J. C. 459.

[b] Plut. *in Themist.* p. 121.

[c] Thucyd. l. i. p. 68, 71, 72. Ctes. c. 32—35. Diod. l. xi. p. 54—59.

* Themistocles, cùm consuleretur utrùm bono viro pauperi, an minùs probato diviti filiam collocaret: EGO VERO, inquit, MALO VIRUM QUI PECUNIA EGEAT, QUAM PECUNIAM QUÆ VIRO. Cic. *de Offic.* l. ii. c. 71.

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Persian general and a hundred thousand of his soldiers were slain. Those who escaped fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursued them, and immediately made themselves masters of two quarters of the city: but the Persians having fortified themselves in the third, called the *white wall*, which was the largest and strongest of the three, they were besieged in it near three years, during which they made a most vigorous defence, till they were at last delivered by the forces sent to their aid.

Artaxerxes hearing of the defeat of his army, and how much
A. M. 3546. Ant. J. C. 458. the Athenians had contributed to it; in order to make a diversion of their forces, and hinder them from acting against him, sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, with a large sum of money, to engage them to proclaim war against the Athenians. But the Lacedæmo-
A. M. 3547. Ant. J. C. 457. nians having rejected the offer, their refusal did not abate his ardour, and accordingly he gave Megabyzus and Artabazus the command of the forces destined against Egypt. These generals immediately raised an army of three hundred thousand men in Cilicia and Phœnicia. They
A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456. were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped, which was not till the next year. Artabazus then took upon him the command of it, and sailed towards the Nile, whilst Megabyzus, at the head of the land army, marched towards Memphis. He raised the siege of that city, and afterwards fought Inarus. All the forces on both sides engaged in this battle, in which Inarus was entirely defeated; but the Egyptians, who had rebelled, suffered most in this slaughter.

After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded by Megabyzus, retreated with the Athenians, and such Egyptians as were willing to follow him; and reached Byblos, a city in the island of Prosopitis, which is surrounded by two arms of the Nile, both of which are navigable. The Athenians ran their fleet into one of these arms, where it was secured from the attacks of the enemy, and held out a siege of a year and a half in this island.

After the battle, all the rest of Egypt submitted to the conqueror, and was reunited to the empire of Artaxerxes

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except Amyrteus, who had still a small party in the fens, where he long supported himself, through the difficulty the Persians found in penetrating far enough to reduce him.

The siege of Prosopitis was still carrying on. The Persians finding that they made no progress by the usual methods of attack, because they had to deal with persons who were not deficient either in courage or skill to defend themselves, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, which soon produced what force had not been able to effect. They turned the course, by different canals, of that arm of the Nile in which the Athenians lay, and by that means opened themselves a passage for their whole army to enter the island. Inarus seeing that all was lost, capitulated with Megabyzus for himself, for all his Egyptians, and about fifty Athenians, and surrendered upon condition that their lives should be spared. The remainder of the auxiliary forces, which formed a body of six thousand men, resolved to hold out longer; and for this purpose they set fire to their ships, and drawing up in order of battle, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives as dear as they could, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, who refused to yield, and were all cut to pieces at Thermopylæ. The Persians hearing they had taken so desperate a resolution, did not think it advisable to attack them. A peace was therefore offered them, with a promise that they should all be permitted to leave Egypt, and have free passage to their native country either by sea or land. They accepted these conditions, put the conquerors in possession of Byblos and of the whole island, and went by land to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece: but most of the soldiers who had served in this expedition perished in it. A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454.

But this was not the only loss the Athenians sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of fifty ships, which they sent to the aid of their besieged countrymen, sailed up one of the arms of the Nile (just after the Athenians had surrendered) to disengage them, not knowing what had happened. But the instant they entered, the Persian fleet, which kept out at sea, followed them and attacked their rear, whilst the army discharged showers of darts upon them from the banks of the river; only a few ships escaped, which opened themselves a way through the

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enemy's fleet, and all the rest were lost. Thus ended the fatal war carried on by the Athenians for six years in Egypt, which

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

kingdom was now united again to the Persian empire, and continued so during the rest of the reign of Artaxerxes, of which this is the twentieth year. But the prisoners who were taken in this war met with a most unhappy fate.

SECT. V. INARUS IS DELIVERED UP TO THE KING'S MOTHER, CONTRARY TO THE ARTICLES OF THE TREATY.

A. M. 3556. Ant. J. C. 448.

THE AFFLICTION OF MEGABYZUS, WHO REVOLTS.—[d] Artaxerxes, after having for five years refused to gratify the request of his mother, who daily importuned him to put Inarus and the Athenians who had been taken with him into her hands, in order that she might sacrifice them to the manes of Achæmenes her son, at last yielded to her solicitations. But how blind, how barbarously weak, must this king have been, to break through the most solemn engagements merely through complaisance; who (deaf to remorse) violated the law of nations, solely to avoid offending a most unjust mother. [e] This inhuman princess, without regard to the faith of the treaty, caused Inarus to be crucified, and beheaded all the rest. Megabyzus was in the deepest affliction on that account; for, as he had promised that no injury should be done them, the dishonour reflected principally on him. He, therefore, left the court, and withdrew to Syria, of which he was governor; and his discontent was so great, that he raised an army and revolted openly.

The king sent Osiris, who was one of the greatest lords of

A. M. 3557. Ant. J. C. 447.

the court, against him with an army of two hundred thousand men. Megabyzus engaged Osiris, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his army to flight. Artaxerxes sending to demand Osiris, Megabyzus generously dismissed him, as soon as his wounds were cured.

The next year Artaxerxes sent another army against him,

A. M 3558. Ant. J. C. 446.

the command of which he gave to Menostanes, son to Artarius the king's brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was not more fortunate than the former.

[d] Ctes. c. xxxv.—xl.

[e] Thucyd. l. i. p. 72.

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He also was defeated and put to flight, and Megabyzus gained as signal a victory as the former.

Artaxerxes finding he could not reduce him by force of arms, sent his brother Artarius and Amytis his sister, who was the wife of Megabyzus, with several other persons of the first quality, to persuade him to return to his allegiance. They succeeded in their negoitation; the king pardoned him, and he returned to court.

One day as they were hunting, a lion raising himself on his hinder feet, was going to rush upon the king, when Megabyzus seeing the danger he was in, and fired with zeal and affection for his sovereign, hurled a dart at the lion, which killed him. But Artaxerxes, upon pretence that he had affronted him, in darting at the lion first, commanded Megabyzus's head to be struck off. Amytis the king's sister, and Amestris his mother, with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon the king to change this sentence into perpetual banishment. Megabyzus was therefore sent to Cyrta, a city on the Red Sea, and condemned to end his days there: however, five years after, disguising himself like a leper, he made his escape and returned to Susa, where, by the assistance of his wife and mother-in-law, he was restored to favour, and continued so till his death, which happened some years after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Megabyzus was extremely regretted by the king and the whole court. He was a man of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, and at the same time the best general. Artaxerxes owed both his crown and life to him: * but it is of dangerous consequence for a subject, when his sovereign is under too many obligations to him. This was the cause of all the misfortunes of Megabyzus.

It is surprising that so judicious a prince as Artaxerxes should have been so imprudent, as to be fired with jealousy against a nobleman of his court, merely because, in a party of hunting, he had wounded the beast they were pursuing before him. Can any thing be so weak? And is this placing the point of honour in a manner worthy a king? Nevertheless, history furnishes us with many instances of this kind. I am

* Beneficia eò usque læta sunt, dum videntur exolvi posse; ubi multum antevertêre, pro gratiâ odium redditur. Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 18.

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apt to believe, from some expressions of [f] Plutarch, that Artaxerxes was ashamed of the wild fury to which this false delicacy had raised him, and that he made some kind of public atonement for it: for, according to this author, he published a decree, importing, that any man who was hunting with the king, should be allowed to throw his javelin first at the beast, if opportunity should offer; and he, according to Plutarch, was the first Persian monarch who granted such a permission.

SECT. VI. ARTAXERXES SENDS EZRA, AND AFTERWARDS NEHEMIAH, TO JERUSALEM.—Before I proceed in the history of the Persians and Greeks, I shall relate, in few words, what events happened among the people of God, during the first twenty years of Artaxerxes, which is an essential part of the history of that prince.

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

[g] In the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Ezra obtained of the king and his seven counsellors an ample commission, empowering him to return to Jerusalem with all such Jews as would follow him thither, in order to reestablish the Jewish government and religion, and to regulate both agreeably to their own laws. Ezra was descended from Saraia, who was high-priest of Jerusalem, at the time when it was destroyed by Nabuchodonosor, and was put to death by his command. Ezra was a very learned and pious man, and was chiefly distinguished from the rest of the Jews, by his great knowledge in the Scriptures; on account of which it is said of him, [h] 'That he was very ready in the law of Moses that was given by the God of Israel.' He set out from Babylon with the gifts and offerings which the king, his courtiers, and such Israelites as had staid in Babylon, had put into his hands for the service of the temple, and which he gave to the priests upon his arrival at Jerusalem. It appears by the commission which Artaxerxes gave him, that this prince had a high veneration for the God of Israel, as, in commanding his officers to furnish the Jews with all things necessary for their worship, he adds, [i] 'Let all things be

[f] Plut. *in Apophthegm.* p. 173.
[g] Ezra vii. &c.
[h] 1 Esdras viii. 3.
[i] Ibid. 21.

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performed after the law of God diligently, unto the most high God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his son.' This commission, as I observed, empowered him to settle the religion and government of the Jews, pursuant to the law of Moses; to appoint magistrates and judges to punish evil-doers, not only by imprisoning their persons, and confiscating their possessions, but also by sending them into banishment, and even sentencing them to death, according to the crimes they should commit. Such was the power with which Ezra was invested, and which he exercised faithfully during thirteen years, till Nehemiah brought a new commission from the Persian court. A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454.

[k] Nehemiah was also a Jew, of distinguished merit and piety, and one of the cup-bearers to king Artaxerxes. This was a very considerable employment in the Persian court, because of the privilege annexed to it, of being often near the king's person, and of being allowed to speak to him in the most favourable moments. However, neither this exalted station, nor the settlement of his family in that land of captivity, could obliterate from his mind the country of his ancestors, nor their religion: neither his love for the one, nor his zeal for the other, were abated; and his heart was still in Zion. Some Jews who were come from Jerusalem, having informed him of the sad state of that city, that its walls lay in ruin, its gates were burnt down, and the inhabitants thereby exposed to the insults of their enemies and the scorn of their neighbours; the affliction of his brethren, and the dangers with which they were menaced, made such an impression on his mind, as might naturally be expected from one of his piety. One day as he was waiting upon the king, the latter observing an unusual air of melancholy in Nehemiah's countenance, asked him the cause of it; a proof that this monarch had a tenderness of heart rarely found in those of his high rank, which nevertheless is much more valuable than the most shining qualities. Nehemiah took this opportunity to acquaint him with the calamitous state of his country; owned that to be the subject of his grief; and humbly entreated that leave might be given him to go to Jerusalem, in order to repair the fortifications of it. The kings

[k] Nehem. c. i. ii.

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of Persia his predecessors had permitted the Jews to rebuild the temple, but not the walls of Jerusalem. But Artaxerxes immediately caused a decree to be drawn up, that the walls and gates of Jerusalem should be rebuilt; and Nehemiah, as governor of Judea, was appointed to put this decree in execution. The king, to do him the greater honour, ordered a body of horse, commanded by an officer of distinction, to escort him thither. He likewise writ to all the governors of the provinces on this side the Euphrates, to give him all the assistance possible in forwarding the work for which he was sent. This pious Jew executed every part of his commission with incredible zeal and activity.

[l] It is from this decree, enacted by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign, for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, that we date the beginning of the seventy weeks mentioned in the famous prophecy of Daniel, after which the Messiah was to appear, and to be put to death. I shall here insert the whole prophecy, but without giving the explication of it, as it may be found in other writers, and is not a part of this history.

[m] 'Thou art greatly beloved, therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy. Know therefore and understand, THAT FROM THE GOING FORTH OF THE COMMANDMENT TO RESTORE AND TO BUILD JERUSALEM, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood; and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations,

[l] Dan. ix. 23—27. [m] Ibid.

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he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.'

[n] When Ezra was in power, as his chief view was to restore religion to its ancient purity, he arranged the books of Scripture in their proper order, revised them all very carefully, and collected the ancient documents relating to the people of God, in order to compose out of them the two books of Chronicles, to which he added the history of his own times, which was finished by Nehemiah. With their books ends the long history which Moses had begun, and which the writers who came after him continued in a regular series, till the repairing of Jerusalem. The rest of the sacred history is not written in that uninterrupted order. Whilst Ezra and Nehemiah were compiling the latter part of that great work, Herodotus, whom profane authors call the father of history, began to write. Thus we find that the latest authors of the books of Scripture flourished about the same time with the first author of the Grecian history; and when it began, that of God's people, to compute only from Abraham, included already fifteen centuries. Herodotus made no mention of the Jews in his history; for the Greeks desired to be informed of such nations only as were famous for their wars, their commerce and grandeur; so that as Judea was then but just rising from its ruins, it did not excite the attention of that people.

SECT. VII. CHARACTER OF PERICLES. THE METHODS EMPLOYED BY HIM TO GAIN THE AFFECTION OF THE PEOPLE.—I now return to Greece. Since the banishment of Themistocles, and the death of Aristides, (the exact time of which is not known,) two citizens, Cimon and Pericles, divided all influence and authority in Athens. Pericles was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. As he will make a very considerable figure in the following history, it is of importance to the reader to know who he was, in what manner he had been educated, and his scheme and method of government.

[o] Pericles descended, by the mother's as well as father's side, from the greatest and most illustrious families of Athens. His father Xanthippus, who defeated at Mycale the king of

[n] Bossuet's *Universal History*.

[o] Plut. *in vit. Pericl.* p. 153—156.

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Persia's lieutenants, married Agarista, niece to Clisthenes, who expelled the Pisistratidæ, or descendants of Pisistratus the tyrant, and established a popular government in Athens. Pericles had long prepared himself for the design he had formed of engaging in state affairs.

He was brought up under the most learned men of his age, and particularly Anaxagoras of Clazomene, surnamed the *Intelligence*, from his being the first, as we are told, who ascribed human events, as well as the formation and government of the universe, not to chance, as some philosophers, nor to a fatal necessity, but to a superior intelligence, who disposed and governed all things with wisdom. This tenet or opinion subsisted long before his time; but he perhaps set it in a stronger light than all others had done, and taught it methodically and from principles. Anaxagoras thoroughly instructed his pupil in that part of philosophy which relates to nature, and which is therefore called * physics. This study gave him a strength and greatness of soul, which raised him above an infinite number of vulgar prejudices and vain practices generally observed in his time; which, in affairs of state and military enterprises, often disconcerted the wisest and most necessary measures, or defeated them by scrupulous delays, authorized and covered with the specious veil of religion. These were sometimes dreams or auguries, at other times dreadful phænomena, as eclipses of the sun or moon, or else omens and presages; not to mention the wild chimeras of judiciary astrology. The knowledge of nature, free from the groveling and weak superstition to which ignorance gives birth, inspired him, says Plutarch, with a well-grounded piety towards the gods, attended with a strength of mind that was immovable, and a calm hope of the blessings to be expected from them. Although he found infinite charms in this study, he did not however devote himself to it as a philosopher, but as a statesman; and he had so much power over himself (a very difficult thing) as to prescribe to himself limits in the pursuit of knowledge.

But the talent which he cultivated with the greatest care,

* The ancients, under this name, comprehended what we call physics and metaphysics; the latter of which implies the knowledge of spiritual things, as God and spirits; and the former, that of bodies.

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because he looked upon it as the most necessary instrument of all to those who are desirous of conducting and governing the people, was eloquence. And indeed, those who possessed this talent, in a free state like that of Athens, were sure of reigning in the assemblies, engrossing suffrages, determining affairs, and exercising a kind of absolute power over the hearts and minds of the people. He therefore made this his chief object, and the mark to which all his other improvements, as well as whatsoever he had learnt from Anaxagoras, were directed;* suffusing, to borrow Plutarch's expression, over the study of philosophy the dye of rhetoric; the meaning of which is, that Pericles, to embellish and adorn his discourse, heightened the strength and solidity of reasoning, with the colouring and graces of eloquence.

He had no cause to repent his having bestowed so much time on this study, for his success far exceeded his utmost hopes. † The poets, his contemporaries, used to say, that he lightened, thundered, and agitated all Greece, so powerful was his eloquence. ‡ It had those piercing and lively strokes, that reach the inmost soul; and his discourse left always an irresistible incentive, a kind of spur, behind it in the minds of his auditors. He had the art of uniting beauty with strength; and Cicero observes, that at the very time he opposed, with the greatest tenaciousness, the inclinations and desires of the Athenians, he had the art to make even severity itself, and the kind of harshness with which he spoke against the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no resisting the solidity of his arguments, or the sweetness of his words; whence it was said, that the goddess of persuasion, with all her graces, resided on his lips. And indeed, as Thucydides,§ his rival and adversary, was one day asked, whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler:

* Βαφῇ τῇ ῥητορικῇ τὴν φυσιολογίαν ὑποχεόμενος.

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

‡ Quid Pericles? De cujus dicendi copiâ sic accepimus, ut, cùm contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute patriæ, severius tamen id ipsum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus et jucundum videretur: cujus in labris veteres comici—leporem habitâsse dixerunt: tantamque vim in eo fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audîssent, quasi aculeos quosdam relinqueret. Cic. l. iii. *de Orat.* n. 138.

§ Not the historian.

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'Whenever,' says he, 'I have given him a fall, he affirms the contrary, in such strong and forcible terms, that he persuades all the spectators that I did not throw him, though they themselves saw him on the ground.' Nor was he less prudent and reserved than strong and vehement in his speeches; and it is related, that he never spoke in public, till after he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him, either incongruous to his subject, or offensive to the people. [p] Whenever he was to appear in the assembly, before he came out of his house he used to say to himself, 'Remember, Pericles, that thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty; to Greeks, to Athenians.'

The uncommon endeavours which Pericles, according to historians, used, in order to improve his mind by the study of the sciences, and to attain to a perfection in eloquence, are an excellent lesson to such persons as are one day to fill the important offices of state; and a just censure of * those, who, disregarding whatever is called study and learning, bring into those employments, (upon which they enter without knowledge or experience,) nothing but a ridiculous self-sufficiency, and a rash boldness in deciding. [q] Plutarch, in a treatise where he shows that it is to statesmen that a philosopher ought chiefly to attach himself preferably to any other class of men, (because in instructing them he, at the same time, teaches whole cities and republics,) verifies his assertion from the example of the greatest men both of Greece and Italy, who derived this help from philosophy. Pericles, of whom we now write, was taught by Anaxagoras; Dion of Syracuse by Plato; many princes of Italy by Pythagoras; Cato, the famous censor, travelled to the place where Athenodorus lived, for the same purpose; and lastly, the famous Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, always kept Panætius the philosopher near his person.

One of the chief endeavours of Pericles also was, to study thoroughly the genius and disposition of the Athenians, that he might discover the secret springs which were to be employed

[p] Plut. *in Symp.* l. i. p. 620. [q] Plut. p. 777.

* Nunc contrà plerique ad honores adipiscendos, et ad remp. gerendam, nudi veniunt et inermes, nullâ cognitione rerum, nullâ scientîâ ornati. Cic. l. iii. *de Orat.* n. 136.

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in order to set them in motion; and the manner in which it was proper to act for acquiring their confidence; * for it was in that principally that the great men among the ancients used to make their skill and politics consist. He found by the reflections he had made on the several transactions of his time, that the predominant passions of this people were, a violent aversion to tyranny, and a strong love of liberty, which inspired them with sentiments of fear, jealousy, and suspicion, of all such citizens as were too conspicuous for their birth, their personal merit, their own credit and authority, or that of their friends. He not only was very like Pisistratus, with regard to the sweetness of his voice, and fluency of expression, but he also resembled him very much in the features of his face, and his whole air and manner; and he observed, that the oldest of the Athenians who had seen the tyrant, were prodigiously struck at the resemblance. Besides, he was very rich, was descended from an illustrious family, and had very powerful friends. To prevent therefore his being obnoxious to the suspicion and jealousy of the people, he at first shunned public business, which required a constant attendance in the city; and was solely intent upon distinguishing himself in war and dangers.

But when he saw Aristides dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon engaged almost continually in foreign wars, and absent from Greece; he began to appear in public with greater confidence than before, and entirely devoted himself to the party of the people, but not out of inclination, for he was far from affecting popular power, but to remove all suspicions of his aspiring to the tyranny, and still more, to raise a strong bulwark against the influence and authority of Cimon, who had joined with the nobles.

At the same time, he quite changed his conduct and way of life; and assumed, in all things, the character of a statesman, wholly busied in affairs of government, and entirely devoted to the service of his country. He was never seen in the streets, except when he was going either to the assembly of the people, or to the council. He on a sudden left off going to banquets,

* Olim noscenda vulgi natura, et quibus modis temperanter haberetur: senatusque et optimatium ingenia qui maximè perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes habebantur. Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 33.

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assemblies, and other diversions of that kind which he had used to frequent; and during the many years that he presided in the administration, he was never seen to go to supper with his friends, except once at the nuptials of a near relation.

[r] He* knew that the people, who are naturally fickle and inconstant, commonly disregard those who are always in their sight; and that too strong a desire to please them, grows at last tiresome and importunate; and it was observed that such a behaviour was very prejudicial to Themistocles. To avoid this error, he used to go very rarely to the assemblies; and never appeared before the people but at intervals, in order to make himself desired; and to preserve such an ascendant over their minds as might be always new, and not worn and in a manner withered by an over-great assiduity; wisely reserving himself for great and important occasions. [s] Hence it was said that he imitated Jupiter, who, in the government of the world, according to some philosophers, busied himself in great events alone; and left the direction of those of less importance to subaltern deities. And indeed Pericles used to transact all petty affairs by his friends, and by certain orators that were entirely devoted to him, among whom was Ephialtes.

[t] Pericles employed his whole industry and application to gain the favour and esteem of the people, in order to counterbalance the fame and influence of Cimon. However, he could not equal the magnificence and liberality of his rival, whose immense riches gave him an opportunity of bestowing such largesses as appear to us almost incredible, so much do they differ from our customs in that respect. Finding it impossible for him to rival Cimon in this particular, he had recourse to another expedient, (in order to gain the love of the populace,) no less effectual perhaps, but certainly not so legitimate and honourable. He was the first who caused the conquered lands to be divided among the citizens; who distributed among them the public revenues for the expense of their games and shows, and annexed pensions to all public employments; so that certain sums were bestowed on them regularly, as well to

[r] Plut. *de sui laude*, p. 441.
[s] Plut. *de ger. rep.* p. 811.
[t] Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 156.

* Ista nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis quantum interdum afferat hominibus fastidii, quantum satietatis—Utrique nostrûm desiderium nihil obfuisset. Cic. *pro Mur.* n. 21.

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procure them a place at the games, as for their attendance in the courts of justice, and the public assemblies. It is impossible to say how fatal this unhappy policy was to the republic, and how many evils it drew after it. For these new regulations, besides draining the public treasury, gave the people a fondness for expense and a dissolute turn of mind; whereas they before were sober and modest, and contented themselves with getting a livelihood by their sweat and labour.

By * such arts as these Pericles had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that he may be said to have attained a monarchical power under a republican form of government; moulding the citizens into what shape he pleased, and presiding with unlimited authority in all their assemblies. And indeed, Valerius Maximus makes scarce any other difference between Pisistratus and Pericles, than that the one exercised a tyrannical power by force of arms, and the other by the strength of his eloquence, in which he had made a very great progress under Anaxagoras.

This credit and authority, enormous as it was, could not yet restrain the comic writers from throwing out against him many very severe strokes of satire in the theatres; and it does not appear that any of the poets who censured Pericles with so much boldness, were ever punished, or even called to account for it by the people. Perhaps it was through prudence and policy that he did not attempt to curb this licentiousness of the stage, nor to silence the poets; that he might amuse and content the people by this vain shadow of liberty, and prevent their discovering that they really were enslaved.

[u] Pericles, the more to strengthen his own influence, engaged in a design no less hazardous than bold. He resolved to weaken the authority of the tribunal of the Areopagus, of which he was not a member, because he had never been elected either † Archon, Thesmotheta, king of the sacrifices,

[u] Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 157. *In Cim.* p. 488.

* Pericles felicissimus naturæ incrementis, sub Anaxagorâ præceptore summo studio perpolitus et instructus, liberis Athenarum cervicibus jugum servitutis imposuit: egit enim ille urbem et versavit arbitrio suo—Quid inter Pisistratum et Periclem interfuit, nisi quòd ille armatus, hic sine armis tyrannidem exercuit? Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

† After some changes had been made in the form of the Athenian government, the supreme authority was at last invested in nine magistrates, called archons, and lasted but one year. One was called Rex, another Polemarchus, a third Archon, and this

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or Polemarch. These were different employments in the republic, which from time immemorial had been given by lot; and none but those who had behaved uprightly in them, were allowed a seat in the Areopagus. Pericles, taking advantage of Cimon's absence, set Ephialtes, who was his creature, at work clandestinely; and at last succeeded in lessening the power of that illustrious body, in which the chief strength of the nobility consisted. The people, emboldened and supported by so powerful a faction, subverted all the fundamental laws and ancient customs; took from the senate of the Areopagus the cognizance of the greater part of the causes that used to be brought before it, leaving it very few, and such only as were of little consequence, and made themselves absolute masters of all the tribunals.

Cimon, on his return to Athens, was afflicted to see the dignity of the senate trampled under foot, and therefore set every engine at work to restore it to its pristine authority, and to revive the aristocracy, in the same form as it had been established under Clisthenes. But now his enemies began to exclaim and excite the people against him; reproaching him, among many other things, for his strong attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Cimon had himself given some room for this reproach, by his not paying sufficient regard to the Athenian delicacy: for in speaking to them, he would for ever extol Lacedæmonia; and whenever he censured their conduct on any occasion, he used to cry, 'The Spartans do not act in this manner.' Such expressions as these drew upon him the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens; but an event, in which he nevertheless had no share, made him the object of their utmost detestation.

SECT. VIII. AN EARTHQUAKE IN SPARTA. INSURRECTION OF THE HELOTS. SEEDS OF DIVISION BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS AND SPARTANS. CIMON IS SENT INTO BANISHMENT.—

A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470.

[x] In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, there happened the most dreadful earthquake in Sparta that had ever been known. In several places the country was entirely swallowed up; Taygetus and other

magistrate was properly at the head of the rest, and gave his name to the year; and six Thesmothetæ, who presided immediately over the laws and decrees.

[x] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 488, 489.

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mountains were shaken to their foundations; many of their summits being torn away, came tumbling down; and the whole city was laid in ruins, five houses only excepted. To heighten the calamity, the Helots, who were slaves to the Lacedæmonians, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity to recover their liberty, flew up and down every part of the city, to murder such as had escaped the earthquake: but finding them under arms, and drawn up in order of battle, by the prudent foresight of Archidamus, who had assembled them round him, they retired into the neighbouring cities, and commenced that very day open war, having entered into alliance with several of the neighbouring nations, and being strengthened by the Messenians, who at that time were engaged in a war with the Spartans.

The Lacedæmonians in this extremity sent to Athens to implore succours; but this was opposed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way advisable to assist them, nor to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which, he said, ought to be left in its ruins, and the pride of Sparta thereby humbled for ever. But, Cimon being struck with horror at these politics, did not hesitate a moment to prefer the welfare of the Lacedæmonians to the aggrandizing of his country; declaring, in the strongest terms, that it was absolutely improper 'to leave Greece lame of one of its legs, and Athens without a counterpoise:' the people came into his opinion, and accordingly a succour was voted. Sparta and Athens might indeed be considered as the two limbs on which Greece stood; so that if one of them was destroyed, Greece would be inevitably crippled. It is also certain, that the Athenians were so elate with their grandeur, and were become so proud and enterprising, that they wanted a curb to check their impetuosity; and none was so proper as Sparta, that state being the only one that was capable of being a counterpoise to the headstrong disposition of the Athenians. Cimon therefore marched to the aid of the Lacedæmonians with four thousand men.

We have here an example of the powerful influence which a man of fine talents and abilities has in a state, when a great fund of merit is united in his person with a well-established reputation for probity, disinterestedness, and zeal for the good of his country. Cimon, with very little difficulty, succeeds in

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inspiring the Athenians with noble and magnanimous sentiments, which in outward appearance interfered with their interest; and this in spite of the suggestions of a secret jealousy, which never fails to show itself in the most sensible manner on these occasions. By the ascendant and authority which his virtue gives him, he raises them above the groveling and unjust (though too common) political views, that prompt the people to consider the calamities of their neighbours as an advantage, which the interest of their own country permits and even enjoins them to lay hold of. The counsels of Cimon were perfectly wise and equitable: but it is surprising how he could prevail so far as to make a whole people approve them, since this is all that could be expected from an assembly of the wisest and gravest senators.

[y] Some time after, the Lacedæmonians again implored the aid of the Athenians against the Messenians and Helots, who had seized upon Ithome. But these forces being arrived under the command of Cimon, the Spartans began to dread their intrepidity, their power, and great fame; and affronted them so far, as to send them back, upon suspicion of their harbouring ill designs, and of intending to turn their arms against them.

The Athenians being returned full of anger and resentment, they declared themselves, from that very day, enemies to all who should favour the Lacedæmonian interest; for which reason they banished Cimon by the ostracism, on the first opportunity that presented itself for that purpose. This is the first time that the misunderstanding between these two nations, which afterwards increased through mutual discontent, displayed itself in so strong a manner. It was nevertheless suspended for some years, by truces and treaties, which prevented its consequences; but it at last broke out in the most violent manner in the Peloponnesian war.

Those who had shut themselves up in Ithome, after making a ten years' defence in it, surrendered at last to the Lacedæmonians, who gave them their lives upon condition that they should never return to Peloponnesus. The Athenians, to exasperate the Lacedæmonians, received them with their wives

[y] Plut. *in Cim.* Thucyd. l. i. p. 67, 68.

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and children, and settled them in Naupactus, of which they had just before possessed themselves. [z] The inhabitants of Megara at the same time went over from the Spartans to the Athenians. In this manner several leagues were concluded on both sides, and many battles were fought; the most famous of which was that of Tanagra in Bœotia, which Diodorus equals with those of Marathon and Platææ, and in which Myronides the Athenian general defeated the Spartans, who came to the aid of the Thebans.

[a] It was on this occasion that Cimon, thinking himself dispensed from his proscription, repaired in arms with some soldiers to his tribe to serve his country, and to fight in the Athenian army against the Lacedæmonians: but his enemies caused him to be ordered to retire. However, before he went away, he exhorted his companions, who were no less suspected than himself of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to exert themselves to the utmost, and fight with the greatest courage, to prove their innocence; and if possible, to efface from the minds of their citizens a suspicion so injurious to them all. Accordingly those brave soldiers, who were a hundred in number, fired by his words, requested him to give them his whole armour, which they placed in the centre of their little battalion, in order to have him in a manner present and before their eyes. They fought with so much valour and fury, that they were all cut to pieces, to the great regret of the Athenians, who deeply repented their having accused them so unjustly. A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456.

I omit several events of little importance.

Sect. IX. Cimon is recalled. He establishes Peace between the two Cities. He gains several Victories, which reduce Artaxerxes to the Necessity of concluding a Treaty highly honourable to the Greeks. Cimon's Death.

—[b] The Athenians, perceiving the great occasion they had for Cimon, recalled him from banishment, in which he had spent five years. It was Pericles himself who proposed and drew up that decree; so moderate in those times, says

[z] Thucyd. l. i. p. 69, 71. Diod. l. xi. p. 59—65.
[a] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 489. [b] Ibid. p. 490.

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Plutarch, were feuds and animosities, and so easy to be appeased, when the public welfare required it; and so happily did ambition, which is one of the strongest and most lively passions, yield to the necessity of the times, and comply with the occasions of the public.

[c] The instant Cimon returned, he stifled the sparks of war which were going to break out among the Greeks, reconciled the two cities, and prevailed with them to conclude a truce for five years. And to prevent the Athenians, who were grown haughty in consequence of the many victories they had gained, from having an opportunity, or harbouring a design, to attack their neighbours and allies, he thought it advisable to lead them at a great distance from home against the common enemy; thus endeavouring, in an honourable way, to inure the citizens to war, and enrich them at the same time. Accordingly he put to sea with a fleet of two hundred sail. He sent sixty of these into Egypt to the aid of Amyrteus, and himself sailed with the rest against the island of Cyprus. Artabazus was at that time in those seas with a fleet of three hundred sail; and Megabyzus, the other general of Artaxerxes, with an army of three hundred thousand men, on the coast of Cilicia. As soon as the squadron which Cimon had sent into Egypt had joined his fleet, he sailed and attacked Artabazus, and took a hundred of his ships. He sunk many of them, and chased the rest as far as the coast of Phœnicia. And as if this victory had been only a prelude to a second, he made a descent on Cilicia in his return, attacked Megabyzus, defeated him, and cut to pieces a prodigious number of his troops. He afterwards returned to Cyprus with this double triumph, and laid siege to Citium, a strong city of very great importance. His design, after he had completed the conquest of that island, was to sail for Egypt, and again embroil the affairs of the barbarians; for he had very extensive views, and meditated no less a project than that of entirely subverting the mighty empire of Persia. The rumours which prevailed, that Themistocles was to command against him, added fresh fire to his courage; and, almost assured of success, he was infinitely pleased with the occasion

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

[c] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 490. Died. l. xii. p. 73, 74.

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of trying his strength against that general. But we have already seen that Themistocles laid violent hands on himself about this time.

[d] Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained such great losses, resolved, with the advice of his council, to put an end to it. Accordingly, he sent orders to his generals to conclude a peace with the Athenians, upon the most advantageous conditions they could. Megabyzus and Artabazus sent ambassadors to Athens to propose an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were chosen on both sides, and Callias was at the head of those of Athens. The conditions of the treaty were as follows: 1. That all the Grecian cities of Asia should enjoy their liberty, with such laws and forms of government as they should think fit to choose. 2. That no Persian ship of war should be allowed to enter the seas between the Cyanean and Chelidonian islands, that is, from the Euxine sea to the coasts of Pamphylia. 3. That no Persian general should advance any troops within three days' march of those seas. 4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Persia. These articles being ratified by both parties, peace was proclaimed.

Thus ended this war, which, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, had lasted fifty-one years complete, and in which infinite numbers of Persians as well as Greeks had perished. A. M. 3555. Ant. J. C. 449.

[e] Whilst this treaty was negotiating, Cimon died, either of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege of Citium. When he was near his end, he commanded his officers to sail with the fleet immediately for Athens, and to conceal his death with the utmost care. Accordingly this was executed with so much secresy, that neither the enemy nor the allies once suspected it; and they returned safe to Athens, still under the conduct and auspices of Cimon, though he had been dead above thirty days.

Cimon was universally regretted,* which is no wonder, since he was possessed of all those qualities that dignify the soul; a most tender son, a faithful friend; a citizen zealous

[d] Diod. p. 74, 75. [e] Plut. *in Cim.* p. 491.

* Sic se gerendo, minimè est mirandum, si et vita ejus fuit secura, et mors acerba. Cor. Nep. *in Cim.* c. iv.

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for the good of his country; a great politician, an accomplished general; modest when raised to the highest employments and most distinguished honours; liberal and beneficent almost to profusion; simple and averse to ostentation of every kind, even in the midst of riches and abundance; in fine, so great a lover of the poor citizens, as to share his whole estate with them, without being ashamed of such companions of his fortune. History mentions no statues or monuments erected to his memory, nor any magnificent obsequies celebrated after his death; but the greatest honour that could be paid him, was the sighs and tears of the people;* these were permanent and lasting statues, which are not obnoxious to the inclemencies of weather, or the injuries of time, and endear the memory of the good and virtuous to the remotest ages. For the most splendid mausoleums, the works of brass and marble, that are raised in honour of wicked great men, are despised by posterity, as sepulchres which enclose nothing but vile dust and putrefaction.

What followed proved more strongly the loss which Greece had sustained by his death; for Cimon was the last of all the Grecian generals who did any thing considerable or glorious against the barbarians. Excited by the orators, who gained the strongest ascendant over the minds of the people, and sowed the seeds of division in their public assemblies, they turned their animosity against each other, and at last proceeded to open war, the fatal consequences of which no one endeavoured to prevent; a circumstance that was of great advantage to the king of Persia, and of the utmost prejudice to the affairs of Greece.

SECT. X. THUCYDIDES IS OPPOSED TO PERICLES. THE ENVY RAISED AGAINST THE LATTER. HE CLEARS HIMSELF, AND SUCCEEDS IN PROCURING THE BANISHMENT OF THUCYDIDES.—[f] The nobles of Athens seeing Pericles raised to the highest degree of power, and far above all the rest of the citizens, resolved to oppose to him a man who, in some mea-

[f] Plut. *in Peric.* p. 158—161.

* Hæ pulcherrimæ effigies et mansuræ. Nam, quæ saxa struuntur, si judicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur. Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 38.

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sure, might make head against him, and prevent his authority from growing up to monarchy. Accordingly they opposed to him Thucydides, Cimon's brother-in-law, a man who had displayed his wisdom on numberless occasions. He did not indeed possess the military talents of Pericles; but then he had as great influence over the people; shaping their opinions, and directing their assemblies as he pleased: and as he never stirred out of the city, but continually combated Pericles in all his designs, he soon restored things to an equilibrium. On the other side, Pericles was solicitous of pleasing the people on all occasions, and slackened the rein more than ever; entertaining them as often as possible with shows, festivals, games, and other diversions.

He found means to maintain, during eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board a fleet consisting of threescore ships, which he fitted out every year; and thereby did his country an important service. by training up a great number of excellent seamen for its defence. He also planted several colonies in Chersonesus, in Naxos, in Andros, and among the Bisaltæ in Thrace. He sent a very numerous one to Italy, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak, and which built Thurium. Pericles had various views in settling those colonies, besides the particular design he might have of gaining the affections of the people by that means. His chief motives were to clear the city of a great number of idle persons who were ever ready to disturb the government; to relieve the wants of the lowest class of people, who before were unable to maintain themselves; in fine, to awe the allies, by settling native Athenians among them, as so many garrisons, which might prevent their engaging in any measures contrary to the interest of that people. The Romans acted in the same manner; and it may be said, that so wise a policy was one of the most effectual methods used by them to secure the tranquillity of the state.

But the circumstance which did Pericles the greatest honour in the opinion of the people, was his adorning the city with magnificent edifices and other works, which raised the admiration and astonishment of all foreigners, and gave them a grand idea of the power of the Athenians. It is surprising that in so

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short a space, so many works of architecture, sculpture, engraving, and painting, should be performed, and at the same time be carried to the highest perfection: for it is generally found, that edifices, raised in haste, boast neither a solid and durable grace, nor the regular accuracy of perfect beauty. Commonly, nothing but length of time, joined to assiduous labour, can give them such a strength as may preserve, and make them triumph over ages; and this raises our wonder still more in regard to the works of Pericles, which were finished with so much rapidity, and have nevertheless subsisted through so great a length of time. For each of those works, the very instant it was finished, had the beauty of an antique; and at this very day, says Plutarch, above five hundred years after, they retain a freshness and youth as if just come out of the artist's hands; so happily do they preserve the graces and charms of novelty, which will not suffer time to diminish their lustre; as if an ever-blooming spirit, and a soul exempt from age, were diffused into every part of those works.

But that circumstance which excited the admiration of the whole world, raised the jealousy of the people against Pericles. His enemies were for ever crying aloud in the assemblies, that it was dishonourable to the Athenians, to appropriate to themselves the bank of all Greece, which he had sent for from Delos, where it had been deposited; that the allies must necessarily consider such an attempt as a manifest tyranny, when they found that the sums which had been extorted from them, upon pretence of their being employed in the war, were laid out by the Athenians in gilding and embellishing their city, in making magnificent statues, and raising temples that cost millions. They did not exaggerate on these occasions; for the temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon, had alone cost three millions of livres.*

Pericles, on the contrary, remonstrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give the allies an account of the monies they had received from them; that it was enough they defended them from, and repulsed, the barbarians, whilst the allies furnished neither soldiers, horses, nor ships; and were excused for some sums of money, which, from the instant they

* About 145,000*l.* sterling.

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were paid in, were no longer the property of the donors, but of those who received them; provided they performed the conditions agreed upon, and in consideration of which they were received. He added, that as the Athenians were sufficiently provided with all things necessary for war, it was but just that they should employ the rest of their riches in edifices and other works, which, when finished, would give immortal glory to the city; and which, during the whole time they were carrying on, diffused a general plenty, and gave bread to an infinite number of citizens: that they themselves had all kinds of materials, as timber, stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress wood; and all sorts of artificers capable of working them, as carpenters, masons, smiths, stone-cutters, dyers, goldsmiths; artificers in ebony, painters, embroiderers, and turners; men fit to convey these materials by sea, as merchants, sailors, and experienced pilots; others, for land carriage, as cartwrights, waggoners, carters, rope-makers, stone-hewers, paviors, and miners. That it was for the advantage of the state to employ these different artificers and workmen, who, as so many separate bodies, formed, when united, a kind of peaceable and domestic army, whose different functions and employments diffused gain and increase throughout all sexes and ages: lastly, that whilst men of robust bodies, and of an age fit to bear arms, whether soldiers or mariners, and those who were in the different garrisons, were supported with the public monies; it was but just, that the rest of the people who lived in the city, should also be maintained in their way; and that, as all were members of the same republic, they all ought to reap the same advantages, by doing it services, which, though of a different kind, did however all contribute either to its security or ornament.

One day, as the debates were growing warm, Pericles offered to defray all the expense of these buildings, provided it should be declared in the public inscriptions, that he alone had been at the charge of them. At these words the people, either admiring his magnanimity, or fired with emulation, and determined not to let him engross that glory, cried with one voice, that he might take out of the public treasury all the sums necessary for his purpose.

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Phidias the celebrated sculptor presided over all these works as director-general. It was he in particular who formed the statue of Pallas, which was so highly valued by all the judges of antiquity. * It was made of gold and ivory, and was twenty-six cubits, or thirty-nine feet in height. There arose an incredible ardour and emulation among the several artificers, who all strove to excel each other, and immortalize their names by master-pieces of art.

The Odeon, or music theatre, which had a great number of rows of seats and columns within it, and whose roof grew narrower by degrees, and terminated in a point, was built, as history informs us, after the model of king Xerxes's tent, according to the direction of Pericles. It was at that time he proposed, with great warmth, a decree, by which it was ordained, that musical games should be celebrated on the festival called Panathenæa ; and having been chosen the judge and distributor of the prizes, he regulated the manner in which musicians should play on the flute and the lyre, as well as sing. From that time, the musical games were always exhibited in this theatre.

I have already taken notice, that the more the beauty and splendour of these works were admired, the greater envy and clamour were raised against Pericles. The orators of the opposite faction were eternally exclaiming against him ; accusing him of squandering the public monies, and laying out very unseasonably the revenues of the state in edifices, whose magnificence was of no use. At last, the rupture between him and Thucydides rose to such a height that one or other of them must necessarily be banished by the ostracism. He got the better of Thucydides; prevailed to have him banished; crushed by that means the faction which opposed him, and obtained a despotic authority over the city and government of Athens. He now disposed at pleasure of the public monies, troops, and ships. The islands and sea were subject to him ; and he reigned singly and alone in that wide domain, which extended not only over the Greeks, but the barbarians also, and which was cemented and strengthened by the obedience

* Non Minervæ Athenis factæ amplitudine utemur, cùm ea sit cubitorum xxvi. Ebore hæc et auro constat. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

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and fidelity of the conquered nations, by the friendship of kings, and treaties concluded with various princes.

Historians highly extol the magnificent edifices and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, and I have related faithfully their testimony; but I do not know whether the complaints and murmurs raised against him were so very ill grounded. Was it, indeed, just in him to expend in superfluous buildings, and vain decorations, the immense * sums intended as a fund for carrying on the war? and would it not have been better to have eased the allies of part of the contributions, which, in Pericles's administration, were raised to a third part more than before? Cicero considers [g] only such edifices and other works worthy of admiration, as are of use to the public, as aqueducts, city walls, citadels, arsenals, seaports; and among these we must rank the work made by Pericles to join Athens to the port of Piræus. But Cicero observes, at the same time, that Pericles was blamed for squandering away the public treasure, merely to embellish the city with superfluous ornaments. [h] Plato, who formed a judgment of things, not from their outward splendour, but from truth, observes (after his master Socrates) that Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind of one of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of their ancient manners.

SECT. XI. PERICLES CHANGES HIS CONDUCT TOWARDS THE PEOPLE. HIS PRODIGIOUS AUTHORITY. HIS DISINTERESTEDNESS.—[i] When Pericles saw himself thus invested with the whole authority, he began to change his behaviour. He now was not so mild and affable as before, nor did he submit or abandon himself any longer to the whims and caprice of the people, as to so many winds; but drawing in, says Plutarch, the reins of this too loose, popular government, in the same manner as we screw up the strings of an instrument when too slack, he changed it into an aristocracy, or rather a kind of monarchy, without departing however from the public good. Choosing always what was most expedient, and becoming

[g] Lib. ii. *Offic.* n. 60.
[h] *In Gorg.* p. 515. *In Alcib.* c. i. p. 119.
[i] Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 161.
* They amounted to upwards of ten millions French money.

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irreproachable in all things, he gained so mighty an ascendant over the minds of the people, that he turned and directed them at pleasure. Sometimes, by his bare advice, and by persuasive methods, he would win them over gently to his will, and gain their assent spontaneously; at other times, when he found them obstinate, he would in a manner drag them forward against their will, to those measures which were most expedient; imitating in this respect a skilful physician, who, in a tedious and stubborn disease, knows at what time it is proper for him to indulge his patient in innocent things that are pleasing to him; at what time afterwards he must administer medicines of a strong and violent nature, which indeed put him to pain, but are alone capable of restoring his health.

And, indeed, it is manifest that the utmost skill and abilities were required, to manage and govern a populace haughty from their power and exceedingly capricious; and in this respect Pericles succeeded wonderfully. He used to employ, according to the different situation of things, sometimes hope, and at other times fear, as a double helm, either to check the wild transports and impetuosity of the people, or to raise their spirits when dejected and desponding. By this conduct he showed that eloquence, as Plato observes, is only the art of directing the minds of people at will; and that the chief excellency of this art consists in moving, seasonably, the various passions, whether gentle or violent; which being to the soul what strings are to a musical instrument, need only be touched by an ingenious and skilful hand to produce their effect.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance which gave Pericles this great authority, was, not only the force of his eloquence, but, as Thucydides observes, the reputation of his life, and great probity.

[k] Plutarch points out in Pericles one quality which is very essential to statesmen; a quality well adapted to win the esteem and confidence of the public, and which supposes a great superiority of mind; and that is, for a man to be fully persuaded that he wants the counsels of others, and is not able to manage and direct all things alone; to associate with himself in his labours persons of merit, to employ each of these

[k] Plut. *in præc. de rep. ger.* p. 812.

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according to his talents; and to leave to them the management of small matters, which only consume time, and deprive him of that liberty of mind, which is so necessary in the conduct of important affairs. Such a conduct, says Plutarch, is productive of two great advantages. First, it extinguishes or at least deadens the force of envy and jealousy, by dividing, in some measure, a power, which is grating and offensive to our self-love when we see it united in one single person, as if all merit centered in him alone. Secondly, it forwards and facilitates the execution of affairs, and makes their success more certain. Plutarch, the better to explain his thought, employs a very natural and beautiful comparison. The hand, says he, from its being divided into five fingers, is so far from being weaker, that it is the stronger, the more active, and better adapted to motion on that very account. It is the same with a statesman, who has the skill to divide his cares and functions in a proper manner, and who by that means makes his authority more active, more extensive and decisive: whereas, the indiscreet eagerness of a narrow-minded man, who takes umbrage at, and wishes to engross every thing, serves to no other purpose but to set his weakness and incapacity in a stronger light, and to disconcert his affairs. But Pericles, says Plutarch, did not act in this manner. Like a skilful pilot, who, though he stand almost motionless himself, however puts every thing in motion, and will sometimes seat subaltern officers at the helm; so Pericles was the soul of the government; and, seeming to do nothing of himself, he actuated and governed all things; employing the eloquence of one man, the credit and interest of another, the prudence of a third, and the bravery and courage of a fourth.

[1] To what has been here related, we may add another quality which is no less rare and valuable, I mean, a noble and disinterested soul. Pericles was so averse to the receiving of gifts, had such an utter contempt for riches, and was so far above all rapaciousness and avarice, that though he had raised Athens to the richest and most flourishing state; though his power had surpassed that of many tyrants and kings; though he had long disposed in an absolute manner of the treasures of Greece, he

[1] Plut. *in vit. Pericl.* p. 161, 162

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did not however add a single drachma to the estate he inherited from his father. This was the source, the true cause of the supreme authority of Pericles in the republic; the just and deserved fruit of his integrity and perfect disinterestedness.

It was not only for a few short moments, nor during the first impressions of rising favour, which are generally short-lived, that he preserved this authority. He maintained it forty years, notwithstanding the opposition of Cimon, of Tolmides, of Thucydides, and many others, who had all declared against him; and of these forty years he spent the last fifteen without a rival, from the time of Thucydides's banishment, and disposed of all affairs with absolute power. Nevertheless, in the midst of this supreme authority, which he had rendered perpetual and unlimited in his own person, his soul was always superior to the charms and allurements of wealth, though he never neglected improving his estate to the utmost of his power. For Pericles did not act like those rich men, who, notwithstanding their immense revenues, either through negligence or want of economy, or pompous and absurd expenses, are always poor in the midst of their riches; unable and unwilling to do the least service to their virtuous friends, or their faithful and zealous domestics; and at last die overwhelmed with debts, leaving their name and memory to the detestation of their unfortunate creditors, of whose ruin they have been the cause. I shall not expatiate on another extreme, to which this negligence and want of economy generally lead, I mean rapine, a love of gifts, and exactions; for here, as well as in the management of the public moneys, the maxim of Tacitus holds good,* *viz.* that when a man has squandered away his estate, he then makes it his whole study to retrieve the loss of it by all sorts of methods, not excepting the most criminal.

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

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

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such things; to which, doubtless, either on account of the exquisite joy they give, or the solid glory that results from them, no one will be so thoughtless as to compare the expenses lavished away in entertainments, equipages, or gaming. In this view Pericles managed his own estate with the utmost economy; having himself taught one of his old servants to take care of his domestic concerns; and he always had the account brought him, at stated times, of all sums that had been received as well as expended; confining himself and his family to a decent subsistence, (from which he banished severely all superfluities of a vain and ostentatious kind,) suitable to his estate and condition. This way of life, indeed, did by no means please his children when they were come to years of maturity, and much less his wife. They thought Pericles did not live at a sufficient expense for persons of their rank; and murmured at that low sordid economy, as they called it, which carried no air of the plenty which generally reigns in houses where riches and authority are united. However, Pericles paid little regard to these complaints, and directed his conduct by far superior views.

I believe we may apply on this occasion, a very just remark of Plutarch, in his parallel of Aristides and Cato. After saying, that political virtue, or the art of governing cities and kingdoms, is the greatest and most perfect that man can acquire, he adds, that economy is not one of the least considerable branches of this virtue. And indeed, as riches are one of the means which may most contribute to the security or ruin of a state; the art that teaches to dispose and make a good use of them, and which is called economy, is certainly a branch of politics; and not one of the least considerable branches of it, since great wisdom is required, in order to the observing a just medium on these occasions, and to the banishing poverty and too great opulence from a country. It is this art, which, by avoiding industriously all trifling and needless expenses, prevents a magistrate from being forced to overburden a people with taxes; and keeps always in reserve, in the public coffers, monies sufficient for the supporting a war that may break out, or for providing against any unforeseen emergency. Now what is said of a kingdom or a city, may be said also of individuals.

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For a city, which is composed of an assemblage of houses, and which forms a whole of several parts united, is either powerful or weak in the aggregate, in proportion as all the members of which it consists, are powerful or weak. Pericles certainly acquitted himself well with regard to that part of this science which relates to the government of a family: but I do not know whether the same may be said of his administration of the public revenues.

SECT. XII. JEALOUSY AND CONTESTS ARISE BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS. A TREATY OF PEACE IS CONCLUDED FOR THIRTY YEARS.—[m] Such was the conduct of Pericles with respect to his domestic concerns: and his administration of public affairs is no less worthy of admiration. The Lacedæmonians beginning to grow jealous of the prosperity of the Athenians, and to take umbrage at it; Pericles, to inspire his citizens with greater courage and magnanimity, published a decree, importing, that notice should be sent to all the Greeks, inhabiting either Europe or Asia, and to all the cities great or small, to send immediately deputies to Athens, to debate on the means of rebuilding the temples that had been burnt by the barbarians; and of performing the sacrifices which they had engaged themselves to offer up, for the preservation and safety of Greece, when war was carrying on against them; as also, to consider the necessary expedients for establishing such an order and discipline in their navy, that all ships might sail in safety, and the Greeks live in peace one with another.

Accordingly twenty persons were chosen for this embassy, each of whom was upwards of fifty years of age. Five of these were sent to the Ionians and Dorians of Asia, and the inhabitants of the islands as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to the countries of the Hellespont and Thrace, as far as Byzantium. Five were ordered to go to Bœotia, to Phocis, and Peloponnesus; and from thence, by the country of the Locrians, to proceed to the several cities of the upper continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia. The last five were ordered to cross Eubœa, and to go to the people of mount Œta, and to those of the gulf of

[m] Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 162.

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Malea, and to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, of Achaia, and of Thessaly; to induce the several nations to come to the assembly convened at Athens, and to assist at the debates which should be there carried on concerning peace, and the general affairs of Greece. I judged it necessary to enter into this detail, as it shows how far the power of the Greeks extended, and the authority which the Athenians enjoyed among them.

But all these solicitations were in vain; as the cities did not send their deputies, which, according to historians, was owing to the opposition made by the Lacedæmonians, a circumstance we are not to wonder at. They were sensible, that Pericles's design was to have Athens acknowledged as mistress and sovereign of all the other Grecian cities; and Lacedæmon was far from allowing it that honour. A secret leaven of dissension had, for some years, begun to disturb the tranquillity of Greece; and we shall find by the sequel, that this discord augmented continually.

Pericles had acquired great fame for the wisdom with which he formed and conducted his enterprises. The troops reposed the highest confidence in him, and followed him with full assurance of success. His chief maxim in war was, never to venture a battle unless he were almost certain of victory, and not to lavish the blood of the citizens He used to say frequently, that were it in his power they should be immortal; that trees when felled shoot to life again in a little time, but when once men die, they are lost for ever. A victory that was only the effect of fortunate temerity, appeared to him little worthy of praise, though it often was much admired.

His expedition into the Thracian Chersonesus did him great honour, and was of great advantage to all the Greeks of that country; for he not only strengthened the Grecian cities of that peninsula, by the colonies of Athenians which he carried thither, but also shut up the isthmus with a strong wall, with forts at proper distances from sea to sea; securing by that means the whole country from the perpetual incursions of the Thracians, who were very near neighbours to it.

He also sailed with a hundred ships round Peloponnesus, spreading the terror of the Athenian arms wherever he came, the success of which was not once interrupted on this occasion.

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He advanced as far as the kingdom of Pontus with a large, well-manned, and magnificent fleet; and granted the Grecian cities all they thought fit to ask of him. At the same time he displayed to the barbarian nations in that neighbourhood, to their kings and princes, the greatness of the power of the Athenians; and proved to them, by the security with which he sailed to all parts, that they possessed the empire of the seas without a rival.

[n] But so constant and shining a fortune began to dazzle the eyes of the Athenians. Intoxicated with the idea of their power and grandeur, they now revolved nothing but the boldest and most lofty projects. They were for ever talking of new attempts upon Egypt; of attacking the maritime provinces of the great king; of carrying their arms into Sicily, (a fatal and unhappy design, which at that time did not take effect, though it was revived soon after;) and of extending their conquests towards Hetruria on one side, and Carthage on the other. Pericles was far from giving into such idle views, or supporting them with his credit and approbation. On the contrary, his whole study was to damp that restless ardour, and check an ambition which no longer knew either bounds or measure. It was his opinion that the Athenians ought to employ their forces for the future, only in securing and preserving their present acquisitions; and he thought he had gained a great point in restraining the power of the Lacedæmonians, the reducing of which he always meditated; and this was particularly seen in the sacred war.

[o] This name was given to the war which was raised on account of Delphi. The Lacedæmonians having entered armed into the country where that temple is situated, had dispossessed the people of Phocis of the superintendence of that temple, and bestowed it on the Delphians. As soon as they had left it, Pericles went thither with an army, and restored the Phocians.

Eubœa having rebelled at the same time, Pericles was obliged to march thither with an army. He was no sooner arrived there, than news was brought, that the inhabitants of Megara had taken up arms; and that the Lacedæmonians,

[n] Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 164. [o] Ibid.

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headed by Plistonax their king, were on the frontiers of Attica. This obliged him to quit Eubœa, and to go with all possible expedition to defend his country. The Lacedæmonian army being retired, he returned against the rebels, and again subjected all the cities of Eubœa to the Athenians.

[p] After this expedition, a truce for thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. This treaty restored tranquillity for the present: but, as it did not descend to the root of the evil, nor cure the jealousy and enmity of the two nations, this calm was not of long duration. A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 446.

SECT. XIII. NEW SUBJECTS OF CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS, OCCASIONED BY THE ATHENIANS LAYING SIEGE TO SAMOS; BY THEIR SUCCOURING THE PEOPLE OF CORCYRA, AND BESIEGING POTIDÆA. AN OPEN RUPTURE ENSUES.—

[q] The Athenians, six years after, took up arms against Samos, in favour of Miletus. These two cities were contesting for that of Priene, to which each claimed a right. It is pretended, that Pericles kindled this war to please a famous courtesan, of whom he was very fond; her name was Aspasia, a native of Miletus. After several events and battles, Pericles besieged the capital of the island of Samos. It is said, that this was the first time he used military engines, as battering-rams and tortoises, invented by Artemon the engineer, who was lame, and therefore was always carried in a chair to the batteries, whence he was surnamed Periphoretus. The use of these machines had been long known in the East. The Samians, after sustaining a nine months' siege, surrendered; Pericles razed their walls, dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expenses of the war. Part of these sums they paid down; agreed to disburse the rest at a certain time, and gave hostages by way of security for the payment. A. M. 3564. Ant. J. C. 440.

After the reduction of Samos, Pericles, being returned to Athens, in a splendid manner celebrated the obsequies of those who had lost their lives in this war, and pronounced in person

[p] Thucyd. l. i. p. 75. Diod. p. 87.
[q] Thucyd. l. i. p. 75, 76. Diod. l. xii. p. 88, 89. Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 165—167.

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the funeral oration over their graves. This custom, which he first introduced, was afterwards regularly observed. The senate of the Areopagus always appointed the orator on these occasions. He was chosen, ten years after, for the like ceremony in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

[r] Pericles, who foresaw that a rupture would soon ensue between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, advised the former to send aid to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians had invaded; and to win over to their interest that island, which was so very formidable at sea; foretelling them, that they would shortly be attacked by the nations of the Peloponnesus. The occasion of the quarrel between the people of Corcyra and Corinth, which gave rise to the Peloponnesian war, one of the most considerable events in the Grecian history, was as follows.

A. M. 3572. Ant. J. C. 432.

* Epidamnum, a maritime city of Macedonia among the Taulantii, was a colony of Corcyreans, founded by Phalius of Corinth. This city having become in process of time, very populous and powerful, divisions arose in it, and the common people expelled the most wealthy inhabitants, who went over to the neighbouring nations, and infested them greatly by their incursions. In this extremity they first had recourse to the Corcyreans, and being refused by them, they addressed the Corinthians, who took them under their protection, sent succours to them, and settled other inhabitants in their city. But they did not continue long unmolested there, the Corcyreans besieging it with a large fleet. The people of Corinth hastened to its aid, but having been defeated at sea, the city surrendered that very day, upon condition that the foreigners should be slaves, and the Corinthians prisoners, till further orders. The Corcyreans erected a trophy, murdered all their prisoners except the Corinthians, and laid waste the whole country.

The year after the battle, the Corinthians raised a greater army than the former, and fitted out a new fleet. The people of Corcyra, finding it would be impossible for them to make head alone against such powerful enemies, sent to the Athenians

[r] Thucyd. l. i. p. 17—37. Diod. l. xii. p. 90—93. Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 167.
* This city was afterwards called Dyrrachium.

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to desire their alliance. The treaty of peace, concluded between the states of Greece, left such Grecian cities as had not declared themselves on either side, the liberty of joining whom they pleased, or of standing neuter. This the Corcyreans had hitherto done; judging it their interest not to espouse any party, in consequence of which they had hitherto been without allies. They now sent for this purpose to Athens, and the Corinthians hearing of it, sent deputies thither also on their part. The affair was debated with great warmth in presence of the people, who heard the reasons on both sides, and it was twice discussed in the assembly. The Athenians declared the first time in favour of the Corinthians; but afterwards changing their opinion, (doubtless in consequence of the remonstrances of Pericles,) they received the Corcyreans into their alliance. However, they did not go so far as to conclude a league offensive and defensive with them, (for they could not declare war against Corinth, without breaking at the same time with all Peloponnesus,) but only agreed to succour each other mutually, in case they should be attacked, either in their own person or in that of their allies. Their real design was, to set those two states, which were very powerful by sea, at variance; and after each should have exhausted the other, by a tedious war, to triumph over the weakest: for at that time there were but three states in Greece, who possessed powerful fleets; and these were Athens, Corinth, and Corcyra. They also had a design on Italy and Sicily, which their taking the island of Corcyra would very much promote.

On this plan they concluded an alliance with the Corcyreans, and accordingly sent them ten galleys, but with an order for them not to engage the Corinthians, unless they should first invade the island of Corcyra, or some other place belonging to their allies: this precaution was used, in order that the articles of the truce might not be infringed.

But it was very difficult to obey these orders. A battle was fought between the Corcyreans and the Corinthians, near the island of Sybota, opposite to Corcyra: it was one of the most considerable, with regard to the number of ships, that was ever fought between the Greeks. The advantage was nearly equal on both sides. About the end of the battle as night was

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drawing on, twenty Athenian galleys came up. The Corcyreans, with this reinforcement, sailed next day by daybreak towards the port of Sybota, whither the Corinthians had retired, to see if they would venture a second engagement. However, the latter contented themselves with sailing out in order of battle, without fighting. Both parties erected a trophy in the island of Sybota, each ascribing the victory to themselves.

[s] From this war arose another, which occasioned an open rupture between the Athenians and Corinthians, and afterwards the war of Peloponnesus. Potidæa, a city of Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, who sent magistrates thither annually; but it was dependent at that time on Athens, and paid tribute to it. The Athenians fearing this city would revolt, and prevail with the rest of the Thracian allies to join them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side next Pallene; to deliver hostages to them as sureties for their fidelity; and to send back the magistrates which Corinth had given them. Demands of so unjust a nature only hastened the revolt. [t] The Potidæans declared against the Athenians, and several neighbouring cities followed their example. Both Athens and Corinth took up arms and sent forces thither. The two armies engaged near Potidæa, and that of the Athenians had the advantage. Alcibiades, who was then very young, and Socrates his master, signalized themselves on this occasion. It is something very singular, to see a philosopher put on his coat of mail; as well as to consider his behaviour and conduct in a battle. There was not a soldier in the whole army who so resolutely supported all the toils and fatigues of the campaign as Socrates. Hunger, thirst, and cold, were enemies he had long accustomed himself to despise and subdue with ease. Thrace, the scene of this expedition, was a frozen region. Whilst the other soldiers, covered with thick clothes and warm furs, lay close in their tents, and scarce ever dared to stir out of them, Socrates used to come into the open air clad as usual, and barefooted. His gaiety and wit were the life of the table; and induced others to put the glass round cheerfully, though he himself never

[s] Thucyd. l. i. p. 37—42. Diod. l. xii. p. 93, 94.
[t] Plut. *in Conviv.* p. 219, 220. Plut. *in Alcib.* p. 194.

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drank wine to excess. When the armies engaged, he performed his duty wonderfully well. Alcibiades having been thrown down and wounded, Socrates placed himself before him, defended him valiantly, and, in sight of the whole army, prevented him and his arms from being taken by the enemy. The prize of valour was justly due to Socrates; but as the generals seemed inclined to decree it to Alcibiades, on account of his illustrious birth, Socrates, who only sought for opportunities to inflame him with desire of true glory, contributed more than any other person, by the noble eulogium he made on his courage, to cause the crown and complete suit of armour (which was the prize of valour) to be adjudged to Alcibiades.

Notwithstanding the loss which the Corinthians had sustained in the battle, the inhabitants of Potidæa did not change their conduct. The city was therefore besieged. [u] The Corinthians, fearing to lose a place of so much importance, addressed their allies in the strongest terms; who all, in conjunction with them, sent a deputation to Lacedæmon, to complain of the Athenians, as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians admitted them to audience in one of their ordinary assemblies. The people of Ægina, though very much disgusted at the Athenians, did not send a deputation publicly thither, for fear of giving umbrage to a republic to which they were subject, but they acted in secret as strenuously as the rest. The people of Megara complained vehemently against the Athenians, that (contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice to the treaty concluded between the Greeks) they had prohibited them by a public decree, from access to their fairs and markets, and excluded them from all the ports dependent on them. [x] By that decree according to Plutarch,* the Athenians declared an eternal and irreconcileable hatred against Megara; and ordained that all Megarians should be put to death, that set foot in Athens; and that all the Athenian generals, when they took

[u] Thucyd. l. i. p. 43—59.

[x] Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 168.

* According to Plutarch, some persons pretended that Pericles had caused this decree to be enacted, to revenge the private injury done to Aspasia, from whose house the people of Megara had carried off two courtesans; and he cites some verses of Aristophanes, who, in a comedy entitled *the Acharnanians*, reproaches Pericles with this action. But Thucydides, a contemporary author, who was very well acquainted with all the transactions of Athens, does not say a word of this affair; and he is much more worthy of belief than a poet who was a professed slanderer and satirist.

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the usual oath, should swear expressly, that they would send a body of soldiers twice a year, to lay waste the territories of that hostile city.

The chief complaints were made by the Corinthian ambassador, who spoke with the utmost force and freedom. He represented to the Lacedæmonians, that as they themselves never swerved from the most inviolable integrity, either in public or private transactions, they, for that very reason, were less inclined to suspect the probity of others; and that their own moderation prevented their discovering the ambition of their enemies: that instead of flying, with readiness and activity, to meet dangers and calamities, they never attempted to remedy them, till they were quite crushed by them: that by their indolence and supineness, they had given the Athenians an opportunity of attaining, by insensible degrees, their present height of grandeur and power. That it was quite different with regard to the Athenians: 'That this active, vigilant, and indefatigable people, were never at rest themselves, nor would suffer any other nation to be so. Employed (says he) wholly in their projects, and they form none but such as are great and bold, their deliberations are speedy, and their execution the same. One enterprise serves only as a step to a second. Whether they are successful or unfortunate, they turn every thing to their advantage; and never stop in their career, nor are discouraged. But you, who are opposed by such formidable enemies, are lulled asleep in a fatal tranquillity; and do not reflect that it is not sufficient for a man who desires to live at ease merely to forbear injuring others, he must also hinder any one from injuring him; and that justice consists, not only in forbearing to commit evil ourselves, but in avenging that done to us by others. Shall I be so free as to say it? Your integrity is of too antique a cast for the present state of affairs. It is necessary for men, in politics as well as in all other things, to conform always to times and circumstances. When a people are at peace, they may follow their ancient maxims; but when they are involved in a variety of difficulties, they must try new expedients, and set every engine at work to extricate themselves. It is by these arts that the Athenians have increased their power so much. Had you imitated their

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activity, they would not have dispossessed us of Corcyra, and would not now be laying siege to Potidæa. Follow, at least on this occasion, their example, by succouring the Potidæans and the rest of your allies, as your duty obliges you; and do not force your friends and neighbours, by forsaking them, to have recourse, through despair, to other powers.'

The Athenian ambassador, who was come to Sparta upon other affairs, and was in the assembly, did not think it advisable to let this speech go unanswered: he put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the still recent services that the republic, by which he was sent, had done to all Greece, which (he said) merited some regard; and that therefore it ought not to be envied, much less should endeavours be used to lessen its power. That the Athenians could not be charged with having usurped an empire over Greece; since it was merely at the entreaty of their allies, and in some measure with the consent of Sparta, that they had been forced to take the abandoned helm: that those who murmured, did it without grounds; and only from the aversion which mankind in general have to dependence and subjection, though of the gentlest and most equitable kind: that he exhorted them to employ a sufficient time in deliberating, before they came to a resolution; and not involve themselves and all Greece in a war, which would necessarily be attended with the most fatal consequences. That gentle methods might be found, for terminating the differences of the allies, without breaking at once into open violence. However, that the Athenians, in case of an invasion, were able to oppose force with force; and would prepare for a vigorous defence, after having invoked, against Sparta, the deities who take vengeance on those that forswear themselves, and violate the faith of treaties.

The ambassadors being withdrawn, and the affair debated, the majority were for war. But before the final resolution was passed, Archidamus king of Sparta, setting himself above those prejudices which so strongly biassed the rest, and directing his views to futurity, made a speech, in which he set forth the dreadful consequences of the war in which they were going to embark; showed the strength and resources of the Athenians;

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exhorted them first to try gentle methods, which they themselves had seemed to approve; but to make, in the mean time, the necessary preparations for carrying on so important an enterprise, and not to be under any apprehensions, that their moderation and delays would be branded with the name of cowardice, since their past actions secured them from any suspicion of that kind.

But, notwithstanding all these wise expostulations, a war was resolved. The people caused the allies to return into the assembly, and declared to them, that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors; but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance, in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously. This decree of the Lacedæmonians was made the fourteenth year of the truce; and was not owing so much to the complaints of the allies, as to the jealousy of the Athenian power, which had already subjected a considerable part of Greece.

[y] Accordingly the allies were convened a second time. They all gave their votes, in their several turns, from the greatest city to the least, and war was resolved by general consent. However, as they had not yet made any preparations, it was judged advisable to begin them immediately; and while this was doing, in order to gain time, and observe the necessary formalities, to send ambassadors to Athens, to complain of the violation of the treaty.

The first who were sent thither, reviving an old complaint, required of the Athenians to expel from their city the descendants of those who had profaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of *Cylon. As Pericles was of that family by the mother's side, the view of the Lacedæmonians, in making this demand, was, either to procure his banishment or lessen his authority. However, it was not complied with. The second ambassadors required, that the siege of Potidæa should be raised, and the liberty of Ægina restored, and above all, that

[y] Thucyd. l. i. p. 77—84, 93.

* This Cylon had seized on the citadel of Athens above a hundred years before. Those who followed him, being besieged in it, and reduced to extreme famine, fled for shelter to the temple of Minerva, from whence they afterwards were taken out by force and cut to pieces. Those who advised this murder were declared guilty of impiety and sacrilege, and as such banished. However, they were recalled some time after

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the decree against the Megarians should be repealed; declaring, that otherwise no accommodation could take place. In fine, a third embassy came, who took no notice of any of these particulars, but only said, that the Lacedæmonians were for peace: but that this could never be, except the Athenians should cease to infringe the liberties of Greece.

SECT. XIV. TROUBLES EXCITED AGAINST PERICLES. HE DETERMINES THE ATHENIANS TO ENGAGE IN WAR AGAINST THE LACEDÆMONIANS.—[z] Pericles opposed all these demands with great vigour, and especially that relating to the Megarians. He had great influence in Athens, but at the same time had many enemies. Not daring to attack him at first in person, they cited his most intimate friends, and those for whom he had the greatest esteem, as Phidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras, before the people; and their design in this was, to sound how the people stood affected towards Pericles himself.

Phidias was accused of having embezzled considerable sums in the forming the statue of Minerva, which was his masterpiece. The prosecution having been carried on with the usual forms, before the assembly of the people, not a single proof of Phidias's pretended embezzlement appeared: for that artist, from the time of his beginning that statue, had, by Pericles's advice, contrived the workmanship of the gold in such a manner, that all of it might be taken off and weighed; which accordingly Pericles bid the informers do in presence of all the spectators. But Phidias had witnesses against him, the truth of whose evidence he could neither dispute nor silence; these were the fame and beauty of his works, the ever-existing causes of the envy which attacked him. The circumstance which they could least forgive in him was, his having represented to the life (in the battle of the Amazons, engraved on the shield of the goddess) his own person, and that of Pericles:[a] and, by an imperceptible art, he had so blended and incorporated these figures with the whole work, that it was impossible to erase them, without disfiguring and taking to pieces the whole statue. Phidias was therefore dragged to prison, where

[z] Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 168, 169.
[a] Aristot. *in tractat. de mund.* p. 613.

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he came to his end, either by the common course of nature, or by poison. Other authors say, that he was only banished, and that after his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia. It is not possible to excuse, in any manner, the ingratitude of the Athenians, in thus making a prison or death the reward of a masterpiece of art; nor their excessive rigour, in punishing, as a capital crime, an action that appears innocent in itself; or which, to make the worst of it, was a vanity very pardonable in an artist.

Aspasia, a native of Miletus in Asia, had settled in Athens, where she had become very famous, not so much for the charms of her person, as for her vivacity and the solidity of her wit, and her great knowledge. All the illustrious men in the city thought it an honour to frequent her house. [b] Socrates himself used to visit her constantly; and was not ashamed to pass for her pupil, and to own that he had learnt rhetoric from her. Pericles declared also, that he was indebted to Aspasia for his eloquence, which so greatly distinguished him in Athens; and that it was from her conversation he had imbibed the principles of the art of policy, for she was exceedingly well versed in the maxims of government. Their intimacy was owing to still stronger motives. Pericles did not love his wife; he resigned her very freely to another man, and supplied her place with Aspasia, whom he loved passionately, though her reputation was more than suspicious. Aspasia was accused of impiety and a dissolute conduct; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Pericles saved her, by his entreaties and by the compassion he raised in the judges, by shedding abundance of tears whilst her cause was pleading: a behaviour little consistent with the dignity of his character, and the rank of supreme head of the most powerful state of Greece.

A decree had passed, by which informations were ordered to be laid against all such *persons as denied what was ascribed to the ministry of the gods; or those philosophers and others

[b] Plat. *in Menex.* p. 235.

* Τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας, ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας. Anaxagoras teaching, that the divine Intelligence alone gave a regular motion to all the parts of nature, and presided in the government of the universe, destroyed, by that system, the plurality of gods, their powers, and all the peculiar functions which were ascribed to them.

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who gave lessons on the more abstruse points of physics, and the motions of the heavens, topics which were considered injurious to the established religion. The scope and aim of this decree was, to make Pericles suspected with regard to these matters, because Anaxagoras had been his master. This philosopher taught, that one only Intelligence had modified the chaos, and disposed the universe in the beautiful order in which we now see it; which tended directly to depreciate the gods of the pagan system. Pericles thinking it would be impossible for him to save his life, sent him out of the city to a place of safety.

The enemies of Pericles seeing that the people approved and received with pleasure all these accusations, impeached that great man himself, and charged him with embezzling the public monies during his administration. A decree was made, by which Pericles was obliged to give in immediately his accounts; was to be tried for peculation, and rapine; and the cause to be adjudged by fifteen hundred judges. Pericles had no real cause for fear, because in the administration of the public affairs his conduct had always been irreproachable, especially on the side of interest: he could not however but be under some apprehensions from the ill-will of the people, when he considered their great levity and inconstancy. One day when Alcibiades (then very young) went to visit Pericles, he was told that he was not to be spoken with, because of some affairs of great consequence in which he was then engaged. Alcibiades inquiring what these mighty affairs were, was answered, that Pericles was preparing to give in his accounts. 'He ought rather,' says Alcibiades, 'to think how he may avoid giving them in:' and indeed this was what Pericles at last resolved. To allay the storm, he made a resolution to oppose the inclination the people discovered for the Peloponnesian war no longer, preparations for which had been long carrying on, firmly persuaded that this would soon silence all complaints against him; that envy would yield to a more powerful motive; and that the citizens, when in such imminent danger, would not fail of throwing themselves into his arms, and submit implicitly to his conduct, from his great power, and exalted reputation.

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[c] This is what some historians have related; and the comic poets, in the lifetime, and under the eye as it were, of Pericles, spread such a report in public, to sully, if possible, his reputation and merit, which drew upon him the envy and enmity of many. Plutarch, on this occasion, makes a reflection which may be of great service, not only to those in the administration of public affairs, but to all sorts of persons, as well as of advantage in the ordinary intercourse of life. He thinks it strange, when actions are good in themselves, and as far as can be judged from external appearance, laudable in all respects, that men, purely to discredit illustrious peronages, should pretend to dive into their hearts; and from a spirit of the vilest and most abject malignity, should ascribe such views and intentions to them, as they probably never so much as imagined. He, on the contrary, wishes, when the motive is obscure, and the same action may be considered in different lights, that men would always view it in the most favourable, and incline to judge candidly of it. He applies this maxim to the reports which had been spread concerning Pericles, as the fomenter of the Peloponnesian war, merely for private and interested views; whereas, the whole tenour of his past conduct ought to have convinced every body, that it was wholly from reasons of state, and for the good of the public, that he at last acquiesced in an opinion, which he had hitherto thought it incumbent on him to oppose.

[d] Whilst this affair was carrying on at Athens, the Lacedæmonians sent several embassies thither, one after another, to make the various demands above mentioned. At last the affair was debated in the assembly of the people, and it was resolved they should first deliberate upon all the articles, before they gave a positive answer. Opinions, as is usual in these cases, were divided; and some were for abolishing the decree enacted against Megara, which seemed the chief obstacle to a peace.

Pericles spoke on this occasion with a force of eloquence, which his view to the public welfare, and the honour of his country, rendered more vehement and triumphant than it had

[c] Plut. *de Herod. malign.* p. 855, 856.
[d] Thucyd. l. i. p. 93—99. Diod. l. xii. p. 95—97.

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ever appeared before. He showed, in the first place, that the decree relating to Megara, on which the greatest stress was laid, was not of so little consequence as they imagined: that the demand made by the Lacedæmonians on that head, was merely to sound the disposition of the Athenians, and to try whether it would be possible to encroach upon them by frightening them: that should they recede on this occasion, it would betray fear and weakness: that the affair was of no less importance than the giving up to the Lacedæmonians the empire which the Athenians had possessed during so many years, by their courage and resolution: that should the Athenians give way on this point, the Lacedæmonians would immediately prescribe new laws to them, as to a people seized with dread; whereas, if they made a vigorous resistance, their opponents would be obliged to treat them, at least, on the foot of equals: that with regard to the present matters in dispute, arbiters might be chosen, in order to adjust them in an amicable way; but that it did not become the Lacedæmonians to command the Athenians, with a magisterial air, to quit Potidæa, to free Ægina, and revoke the decree relating to Megara: that such imperious behaviour was directly contrary to the treaty, which declared in express terms, 'That should any disputes arise among the allies, they should be decided by pacific methods,' AND WITHOUT ANY PARTY'S BEING OBLIGED TO GIVE UP ANY PART OF WHAT THEY POSSESSED: that the surest way to prevent a government from being eternally contesting about its possessions, is to take up arms, and dispute its rights sword in hand: that the Athenians had just reason to believe they would gain their cause this way; and to give them a stronger idea of this truth, he set before them a most brilliant description of the present state of Athens, giving a very particular account of its treasures, revenues, fleets, land as well as sea forces, and those of its allies; contrasting these several resources with the poverty of the Lacedæmonians, who (he said) had no money, which is the sinews of war, not to mention the poor condition of their navy, on which success in war most depended. [e] And, indeed, there were at that time in the public treasury, which the Athenians had brought from Delos to their city, nine thou-

[e] Diod. l. xii. p. 96, 97.

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sand six hundred talents, which amount to about twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling. The annual contributions of the allies amounted to four hundred and sixty talents, that is, to near fourteen hundred thousand French livres. In cases of necessity, the Athenians would find infinite resources in the ornaments of the temples, since those of the statue of Minerva alone amounted to fifty talents of gold, that is, fifteen hundred thousand French livres, which might be taken from the statue without spoiling it, and be afterwards fixed on again in more auspicious times. With regard to the land forces, they amounted to very near thirty thousand men, and the fleet consisted of three hundred galleys. Above all, he advised them not to venture a battle in their own country against the Peloponnesians, whose troops were superior in number to theirs; not to regard the laying waste of their lands, as they might easily be restored to their former condition; but to consider the loss of their men as highly important, because irretrievable; to make their whole policy consist in defending their city, and preserving the empire of the sea, which would certainly one day give them the superiority over their enemies. He laid down the plan for carrying on the war, not for a single campaign, but during the whole time it might last; and enumerated the evils they had to fear, if they deviated from that system. Pericles, after adding other considerations, taken from the character and internal government of the two republics; the one uncertain and fluctuating in its deliberations, and rendered still slower in the execution, from its being obliged to wait for the consent of its allies; the other speedy, determinate, independent, and mistress of its resolutions, which is no indifferent circumstance with regard to the success of enterprises; Pericles, I say, concluded his speech, and gave his opinion as follows: 'We have no more to do but to dismiss the ambassadors, and to give them this answer: That we permit those of Megara to trade with Athens, upon condition that the Lacedæmonians do not prohibit either us, or our allies, to trade with them. With regard to the cities of Greece, we shall leave those free, who were so at the time of our agreement, provided they shall do the same with regard to those dependent on them. We do not refuse to submit the decision of our differences to arbitration,

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and will not commit the first hostilities: however, in case of being attacked, we shall make a vigorous defence.'

The ambassadors were answered as Pericles had dictated. They returned home, and never came again to Athens; soon after which the Peloponnesian war broke out.

CHAPTER II. TRANSACTIONS OF THE GREEKS IN SICILY AND ITALY.

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

SECT. I. THE CARTHAGINIANS ARE DEFEATED IN SICILY. THERON, TYRANT OF AGRIGENTUM. REIGN OF GELON IN SYRACUSE, AND HIS TWO BROTHERS. LIBERTY IS RESTORED.

I. *Gelon.*—We have seen that [f] Xerxes, whose project tended to no less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, had prevailed with the Carthaginians to make war against the people of Sicily. They crossed over thither with an army of above three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of two thousand ships, and upwards of three thousand transports. Hamilcar, the ablest of the Carthaginian generals at that time, was charged with this expedition. However, the success was not answerable to these mighty preparations; the Carthaginians were entirely defeated by Gelon, who at that time had the chief authority in Syracuse. A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484.

[g] This Gelon was born in a city of Sicily, situated on the southern coast between Agrigentum and Camarina, called Gelas, whence perhaps he received his name. He had signalized himself very much in the wars which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on against the neighbouring powers, most of whom he subdued, and was very near taking Syracuse. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, upon pretence of defending the rights and succession of the tyrant's children, took up arms against his own citizens, and having overcome them in a

[f] Diod. l. xi. p. 1, 16—22. [g] Herod. l. vii. c. 153—167.

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battle, possessed himself of the government in his own name. Some time after he made himself master also of Syracuse, by the assistance of some exiles whom he had caused to return into it, and who had engaged the populace to open the gates of that city to him. He then gave Gela to Hiero his brother, and applied himself wholly in extending the limits of the territory of Syracuse, and soon rendered himself very powerful. We may form a judgment of this * from the army which he offered the Grecian ambassadors, who came to desire his aid against the king of Persia; and by his demand of being appointed generalissimo of all their forces, which however they refused. The fear he was in at that time, of being soon invaded by the Carthaginians, was the chief occasion of his not succouring the Greeks. He showed himself to be a crafty politician by his conduct; and when news was brought him of Xerxes's having crossed the Hellespont, he sent a trusty person with rich presents, and ordered him to wait the issue of the first battle, and in case Xerxes should be victorious, to pay homage to him in his name, otherwise to bring back the money. I now return to the Carthaginians.

They had landed in Sicily at the earnest solicitations of Terillus, formerly tyrant of Himera, but dethroned by Theron, another tyrant, who reigned at Agrigentum. The family of the latter was one of the most illustrious of all Greece, as he was descended in a direct line from Cadmus. He married into the family which at that time ruled at Syracuse, and which consisted of four brothers, Gelon, Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus. He married his daughter to the first, and himself married the daughter of the third.

Hamilcar having landed at Panormus, began by laying siege to Himera. Gelon hasted with a great army to the succour of his father-in-law; when uniting, they defeated the Carthaginians. This was perhaps the most complete victory ever gained.

The battle was fought the same day with that of † Thermo-

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

† Herodotus says, that this battle was fought the same day with that of Salamis, which does not appear so probable. For the Greeks, informed of Gelon's successes, entreated him to succour them against Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamis, which exalted their courage so much, that after this battle they imagined themselves strong enough to resist their enemies, and to put

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pylæ, the circumstances of which I have related in the [h] history of the Carthaginians. [i] One remarkable circumstance in the conditions of the peace, which Gelon prescribed to the conquered, was, that they should cease to sacrifice their children to the god Saturn; which shows, at the same time, the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the piety of Gelon.

The spoils won on this occasion were of immense value. Gelon allotted the greatest part of them for the ornament of the temples in Syracuse. They also took an incredible number of prisoners. These he shared, with the utmost equity, with his allies, who employed them, after putting irons on their feet, in cultivating their lands, and in building magnificent edifices, as well for the ornament as the utility of the cities. Several of the citizens of Agrigentum had each five hundred for his own share.

Gelon, after so glorious a victory, far from growing more proud and haughty, behaved with greater affability and humanity than ever towards the citizens and his allies. Being returned from the campaign, he convened the assembly of the Syracusans, who were ordered to come armed into it. However, he himself came unarmed thither: declared to the assembly every circumstance of his conduct, the uses to which he had applied the several sums with which he had been intrusted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that if they had any complaints to make against him, his person and life were at their disposal. All the people, struck with so unexpected a speech, and still more with the confidence he reposed in them, answered by acclamations of joy, praise, and gratitude; and immediately, with one consent, invested him with the supreme authority, and the title of king. [k] And to preserve to the latest posterity the remembrance of Gelon's memorable action, who had come into the assembly, and put his life into the hands of the Syracusans, they erected a statue in honour of him, wherein he was represented in the ordinary habit of a citizen, ungirded, and unarmed. This statue met afterwards with a very singular

A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479.

an end to the war, to their own advantage, without the assistance of any other power.

[h] Vol. i.

[i] Plut. *in Apophth.* p. 175.

[k] Plut. *in Timol.* p. 247. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 37.

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fate, and worthy of the motives which had occasioned its being set up. Timoleon, above a hundred and thirty years after, having restored the Syracusans to their liberty, thought it advisable, in order to erase all traces of tyrannical government, and at the same time to assist the wants of the people, to sell publicly by auction all the statues of those princes and tyrants who had governed it till that time. But first he brought them to a formal trial, as so many criminals; hearing the depositions and witnesses upon each of them. They all were condemned unanimously, the statue of Gelon only excepted, which found an eloquent advocate and defender, in the warm and sincere gratitude which the citizens retained for that great man, whose virtue they revered as if he had been still alive.

The Syracusans had no cause to repent their having intrusted Gelon with unlimited power and authority. This made no addition to his known zeal for their interests, but only enabled him to do them more important services. [1] For, by a change till then unheard of, and of which *Tacitus since found no example except in Vespasian, he was the first whom the sovereignty made the better man. He made upwards of ten thousand foreigners, who had served under him, denizens. His views were, to people the capital, to increase the power of the state, to reward the services of these brave and faithful soldiers; and to attach them more strongly to Syracuse, from the sense of the advantageous settlement they had obtained in being incorporated with the citizens.

[m] He prided himself particularly upon his inviolable sincerity, truth, and fidelity to his engagements; a quality very essential to a prince, the only one capable of gaining him the love and confidence of his subjects and of foreigners, and which therefore ought to be considered as the basis of all just policy and good government. Having occasion for money to carry on an expedition he meditated, (this, very probably, was before he had triumphed over the Carthaginians,) he addressed the people, in order to obtain a contribution from them; but finding the Syracusans unwilling to be at that expense, he told them, that he asked nothing but a loan, and that he would engage to

[1] Diod. l. xi. p. 55. [m] Plut. *in Apophth.* p. 175.

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

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repay it as soon as the war should be over. The money was advanced, and repaid punctually at the promised time. How happy is that government where such justice and equity are exercised; and how mistaken are those ministers and princes, who violate them in the slightest degree!

[n] One of the chief objects of his attention, in which his successor imitated him, was to make the cultivation of the lands be considered as an honourable employment. It is well known how fruitful Sicily was in corn; and the immense revenues which might be produced from so rich a soil when industriously cultivated. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, and delighted in appearing sometimes at their head, in the same manner as on other occasions he had marched at the head of armies. His intention, says Plutarch, was not merely to make the country rich and fruitful, but also to exercise his subjects, to accustom and inure them to toils, and by that means to preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably follow a soft and indolent life. There are few maxims (in point of policy) on which the ancients have insisted more strongly, than on that relating to the cultivation of their lands; a manifest proof of their great wisdom, and the profound knowledge they had of what constitutes the strength and solid support of a state. [o] Xenophon, in a dialogue entitled *Hiero*, the subject of which is government, shows the great advantage it would be to a state, were the king studious to reward those who should excel in husbandry, and in whatever relates to the cultivation of lands. He says the same of war, of trade, and of all the arts; on which occasion, if honours were paid to all those who should distinguish themselves in them, it would give universal life and motion: would excite a noble and laudable emulation among the citizens, and give rise to a thousand inventions for the improvement and perfection of those arts.

It does not appear that Gelon had been educated in the same manner as the children of the rich among the Greeks, who were taught music and the art of playing on instruments with great care. Possibly this was a consequence of his mean birth, or rather was owing to the little value he set on those kind of exercises. [p] One day at an entertainment, when,

[n] Plut. *in Apophth.* p. 175. [o] Ibid. p. 916, 917. [p] Ibid. p. 175

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according to the usual custom, a lyre was presented to each of the guests; when it was Gelon's turn, instead of touching the instrument as the rest had done, he caused his horse to be brought, mounted him with wonderful agility and grace, and showed that he had learned a nobler exercise than playing on the lyre.

[q] Since the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, the several cities enjoyed a profound peace, and Syracuse was particularly happy in its tranquillity, under the auspicious government of Gelon. He was not born in Syracuse, and yet all the inhabitants of that city, though so extremely jealous of their liberty, had forced him in a manner to be their king. Though an alien, the supreme power went in search of him, not courted on his part with any art or inducement but those of merit. Gelon was thoroughly acquainted with all the duties of the regal office, as well as its great weight; and he accepted it with no other view but the good of his people. He thought himself king only for the defence of the state, to preserve the good order of society, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit to all his subjects, in his simple, modest, active, and regular life, a pattern of every civil virtue. The whole of royalty that he assumed was the toils and cares of it, a zeal for the public welfare, and the sweet satisfaction which results from making millions happy by his cares: in a word, he considered the sovereignty as an obligation, and a means to procure the felicity of a greater number of men. He banished from it pomp, ostentation, licentiousness, and impunity for crimes. He did not affect the appearance of reigning, but contented himself with making the laws reign. He never made his inferiors feel that he was their master, but only inculcated into them that both himself and they ought to submit to reason and justice. To induce their obedience, he employed no other methods but persuasion and a good example, which are the weapons of virtue, and alone produce a sincere and uninterrupted obedience.

A revered old age, a name highly dear to all his subjects, a reputation equally diffused within and without his kingdoms; these were the fruits of that wisdom which he retained on the throne to the last gasp. His reign was short, and only just

[q] Diod. l. xi. p. 29, 30

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showed him in a manner to Sicily, to exhibit in his person an example of a great, good, and true king. He died, after having reigned only seven years, to the infinite regret of all his subjects. Every family imagined itself deprived of its best friend, its protector and father. The people erected, without the city, in the place where his wife Demarata had been buried, a splendid mausoleum, surrounded with nine towers of a surprising height and magnificence; and decreed those honours to him, which were then paid to the demigods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demolished the mausoleum, and Agathocles the towers: but, says the historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all grosser things, could destroy the glory of his name, or abolish the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of the Sicilians.

II. *Hiero.*—After Gelon's death, the sceptre continued near twelve years in his family. He was succeeded by Hiero, his eldest brother. A. M. 3532. Ant. J. C. 472.

It will be necessary for us, in order to reconcile the authors who have written concerning this prince, some of whom represent him as a good king, and others a detestable tyrant; it will be necessary, I say, to distinguish the periods. It is very probable that Hiero, dazzled, in the beginning of his reign, by the glitter of sovereign power, and corrupted by the flattery of his courtiers, studiously endeavoured to deviate from that path which his predecessor had pointed out to him, and in which he had found himself so happy. [r] This young prince was avaricious, headstrong, unjust, and studious of nothing but the gratification of his passions, without ever endeavouring to acquire the esteem and affection of the people; who, on the other side, had the utmost aversion for a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them, rather than as a king; and nothing but the veneration they had for Gelon's memory, prevented it from breaking out.

[s] Some time after he had ascended the throne, he entertained violent suspicions of Polyzelus, his brother, whose great influence among the citizens made him fear that he had a design to depose him. In order to rid himself without noise of an enemy

[r] Diod. l. xi. p. 51. [s] Ibid. p. 56.

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whom he fancied very dangerous, he resolved to put him at the head of some forces he was going to send to the succour of the Sybarites against the Crotoniatæ, hoping that he would perish in the expedition. His brother's refusal to accept this command, made him the more violent against him. Theron, who had married Polyzelus's daughter, joined with his father-in-law. This gave rise to great differences of long duration between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum; however, they at last were reconciled by the judicious mediation of [t] Simonides the poet; and to make their reconciliation lasting, they cemented it by a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's sister; after which the two kings always lived in good intelligence with each other.

[u] At first, an infirm state of health, which was increased by repeated illnesses, gave Hiero an opportunity of thinking seriously; after which he resolved to draw around him men of learning, who might converse agreeably with him, and furnish him with useful instructions. The most famous poets of the age came to his court, as Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus; and it is affirmed, that their delightful conversation did not a little contribute to soften the cruel and savage disposition of Hiero.

[x] Plutarch relates a noble saying of his, which shows an excellent disposition in a prince. He declared, that his palace and his ears should be always open to every man who would tell him the truth, and that without disguise or reserve.

The poets above mentioned not only excelled in poetry, but were also possessed of a great fund of learning in other branches, and were respected and consulted as the sages of their times. This is what * Cicero says of Simonides in particular. He had a great ascendant over the king; and the only use he made of it was, to incline him to virtue.

[y] They often used to converse on philosophical subjects. I observed on another occasion, that Hiero, in one of these conversations, asked Simonides his opinion with regard to the nature and attributes of the Deity. The latter desired one day's time to consider of it; the next day he asked two, and

[t] Schol. *in Pind.*
[u] Ælian. l. iv. c. 15.
[x] *In Apophth.* p. 175.
[y] Cic. l. i. *de Nat. Deor.* n. 60.

* Simonides, non poeta solùm suavis, verùm etiam cæteroqui doctus sapiensque traditur. Lib. i. *de Nat. Deor.* n. 60.

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went on increasing in the same proportion. The prince pressing him to give his reasons for these delays, he confessed, that the subject was above his comprehension, and that the more he reflected, the more obscure it appeared to him.

Xenophon has left us an excellent treatise on the art of governing well, entitled *Hiero*, and written in the form of a dialogue between this prince and Simonides. Hiero undertakes to prove to the poet, that tyrants and kings are not so happy as is generally imagined. Among the great number of proofs alleged by him, he insists chiefly on their unhappiness in being deprived of the greatest comfort and blessing in this life, *viz.* the enjoyment of a true friend, to whose bosom they may safely confide their secrets and afflictions; who may share with them in their joy and sorrow; in a word, a second self, who may form but one heart, one soul with them. Simonides, on the other side, lays down admirable maxims with respect to the duties of a sovereign. He represents to him, that a king is not so for himself, but for others: that his grandeur consists, not in building magnificent palaces for his own residence, but in erecting temples, and fortifying and embellishing his cities: that his glory consists not in his people's fearing him, but in their being afraid for him: that a truly royal care is, not to enter the lists with the first comer at the Olympic games, (for the princes of that age were passionately fond of them, and especially * Hiero,) but to contend with the neighbouring kings, who should succeed best in diffusing wealth and abundance throughout his dominions, and in endeavouring to secure the felicity of his people.

Nevertheless, another poet (Pindar) praises this same Hiero for the victory he had won in the horse-race. 'This prince, (says he, in his ode,) who governs with equity the inhabitants of opulent Sicily, has gathered the fairest flower of every virtue. He takes a noble delight in the most exquisite performances of poetry and music. He loves melodious airs, such as it is customary for us to play at the banquets given us by our dearest friends. Rouse then thyself, take thy lyre, and raise it

* It is said that Themistocles, seeing him arrive at the Olympic games with a splendid equipage, would have had him forbidden them, because he had not succoured the Greeks against the common enemy, any more than Gelon his brother; which motion did honour to the Athenian general. Ælian. l. ix. c. 5.

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to the Doric pitch. If thou feelest thyself animated by a glorious fire in favour of * Pisa and Pherenice; if they have waked the sweetest transports in thy breast, when that generous courser (without being quickened by the spur) flew along the banks of the Alpheus, and carried his royal rider to glorious victory: O sing the king of Syracuse, the ornament of the Olympic course!'

The whole ode, translated by the late Mr. Massieu, is in the sixth volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres*, from which I have made the short extract above. I was very glad to give the reader some idea of Pindar, from this little specimen.

The next ode to this was composed in honour of Theron king of Agrigentum, victorious in the chariot-race. The diction of it is so sublime, the thoughts so noble, and the moral so pure, that many look upon it as Pindar's masterpiece.

I cannot say how far we may depend on the rest of the praises which Pindar gives to Hiero, for poets do not always pride themselves upon their sincerity in the eulogiums they bestow on princes: however, it is certain that Hiero had made his court the resort of all persons of wit and genius; and that he had invited them to it by his affability and engaging behaviour, and much more by his liberality, which is a great merit in a king.

We cannot bestow on Hiero's court the eulogium which † Horace gives the house of Mæcenas, in which a character prevailed rarely found among scholars, and nevertheless infinitely preferable to all their erudition. This amiable house, says Horace, was an utter stranger to the mean and grovelling sentiments of envy and jealousy; and men saw, in those who shared in the master's favour, a superior merit or credit, without

* Pisa was the city near to which the Olympic games were solemnized: and Pherenice was the name of Hiero's courser, signifying *the gainer of victory*.

† ——————— Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hâc nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mî officit unquam,
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni-
Cuique suus. Hor. lib. i. *Sat.* 9.

Sir, you mistake, that's not our course of life,
We know no jealousies, no brawls, no strife;
From all those ills our patron's house is free,
None, 'cause more learned or wealthy, troubles me;
We have our stations, all their own pursue, &c. CREECH.

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taking the least umbrage at it. [z] But it was far otherwise in the court of Hiero or of Theron. It is said that Simonides, and Bacchylides his nephew, employed all kinds of criticism, to lessen the esteem which those princes had for Pindar's works. The latter, by way of reprisal, ridicules them very strongly in his ode to Theron, in comparing 'them to ravens, who croak in vain against the divine bird of Jove.' But modesty was not the virtue which distinguished Pindar.

[a] Hiero, having driven the ancient inhabitants of Catana and Naxos from their country, settled a colony of ten thousand men there, half of whom were Syracusans, and the rest Peloponnesians. This induced the inhabitants of those two cities to appoint, after his death, the same solemnities in his honour, as were bestowed on heroes or demigods, because they considered him as their founder.

[b] He showed great favour to the children of Anaxilaus, formerly tyrant of Zancle, and a great friend to Gelon his brother. As they were arrived at years of maturity, he exhorted them to take the government into their own hands; after Micythus, their tutor, should have perfectly informed them of the state of it, and how he himself had behaved in the administration. The latter, having assembled the nearest relations and most intimate friends of the young princes, gave, in their presence, so good an account of his guardianship, that the whole assembly (in perfect admiration) bestowed the highest encomiums on his prudence, integrity, and justice. Matters were carried so far, that the young princes were extremely urgent with him to continue to preside in the administration, as he had hitherto done. However, the wise tutor preferring the sweets of ease to the splendour of authority, and persuaded, at the same time, that it would be for the interest of the state if the young princes took the government into their own hands, resolved to retire from business. Hiero died, after having reigned eleven years.

III. *Thrasybulus.*—[c] He was succeeded by Thrasybulus his brother, who, by his evil conduct, contributed very much to the making him be regretted. Swelled with pride and a brutal

[z] Scholiast. Pind.
[b] Ibid. p. 50.
[a] Diod. l. xi. p. 37.
[c] Ibid. p. 51, 52.

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haughtiness, he considered men as mere worms; vainly fancying that they were created for him to trample upon, and that he was of a quite different nature from them. He abandoned himself implicitly to the flattering counsels of the giddy young courtiers who surrounded him. He treated all his subjects with the utmost severity; banishing some, confiscating the possessions of others, and putting great numbers to death. So severe a slavery soon grew insupportable to the Syracusans, and therefore they implored the succour of the neighbouring cities, whose interest it was also to throw off the tyrant's yoke. Thrasybulus was besieged even in Syracuse, the sovereignty of part of which he had reserved to himself, *viz.* Achradina, and the island, which was very well fortified; but the third quarter of the city, called Tyche, was possessed by the enemy. After making a feeble resistance, and demanding to capitulate, he left the city, and withdrew into banishment among the Locrians. He had reigned but a year. In this manner the Syracusans recovered their liberty. They also delivered the rest of the cities of Sicily from tyrants; established a popular government in all places, and maintained that form by themselves during threescore years, till the reign of Dionysius the tyrant, who again enslaved them.

[d] After Sicily had been delivered from the government of tyrants, and all the cities of it were restored to their liberty; as the country was extremely fruitful in itself, and the peace which all places enjoyed, gave the inhabitants of this island an opportunity of cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks, the people grew very powerful, and amassed great riches. To perpetuate to latest posterity the remembrance of the happy day in which they had thrown off the yoke of slavery, by the banishment of Thrasybulus, it was decreed in the general assembly of the nation, that a colossal statue should be set up to Jupiter the Deliverer; that on the anniversary of this day, a festival should be solemnized, by way of thanksgiving, for the restoration of their liberty; and that there should be sacrificed in honour of the gods, four hundred and fifty bulls, with which the people should be entertained at a common feast.

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

[d] Diod. l. xi. p. 55, &c

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There nevertheless lay concealed in the minds of many, a certain secret leaven of tyranny, which frequently disturbed the harmony of this peace, and occasioned several tumults and commotions in Sicily, the particulars of which I shall omit.

[e] To prevent the evil consequences of them, the Syracusans established the Petalism, which differed very little from the Athenian Ostracism; and was so called from the Greek πέταλον, signifying a leaf, because the votes were then given on an olive leaf. This judgment was put in force against those citizens whose great power made the people apprehensive that they aspired at the tyranny, and it banished them for ten years; however, it did not long continue in force, and was soon abolished; because the dread of falling under its censure, having prompted the most virtuous men to retire, and renounce the government, the chief employments were now filled by such citizens only as had the least merit.

[f] Deucetius, according to Diodorus, was chief over the people who were properly called Sicilians. Having united them all (the inhabitants of Hybla excepted) into one body, he became very powerful, and formed several great enterprises. It was he who built the city Palica, near the temple of the gods called Palici. This temple was very famous on account of some wonders which are related of it; and still more from the sacred nature of the oaths which were there taken, the violation whereof was said to be always followed by a sudden and exemplary punishment. This was a secure asylum for all persons who were oppressed by superior power; and especially for slaves who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated by their masters. They continued in safety in this temple, till certain arbiters and mediators had made their peace; and there was not a single instance of a master's having ever broken the promise he had made of pardoning his slaves; so famous were the gods that presided over this temple, for the severe vengeance they took on those who violated their oaths.

This Deucetius, after having been successful on a great many occasions, and gained several victories, particularly over the Syracusans; saw his fortune change on a sudden by the

[e] Diod. l. xi. p. 65. [f] Ibid. p. 67—70.

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loss of a battle, and was abandoned by the greatest part of his forces. In the consternation and despondency into which so general and sudden a desertion threw him, he formed such a resolution as despair only could suggest. He withdrew in the night to Syracuse, advanced as far as the great square of the city, and there falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, he abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the Syracusans, that is, to his professed enemies. The singularity of this spectacle attracted great numbers of people. The magistrates immediately convened the people, and debated on the affair. They first heard the orators, whose business was generally to address the people with great violence; and these animated them against Deucetius, as a public enemy, whom Providence seemed to throw into their way, to revenge and punish, by his death, all the injuries he had done the republic. A speech of this tendency struck all the virtuous part of the assembly with horror. The most ancient and wisest of the senators represented, 'That they were not now to consider what punishment Deucetius deserved, but how it behoved the Syracusans to behave on that occasion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as a suppliant, a character by which his person was become sacred and inviolable. That there was a goddess (Nemesis) who took vengeance of crimes, especially of cruelty and impiety, who doubtless would not suffer that to go unpunished: that besides the baseness and inhumanity there is in insulting the unfortunate, and in crushing those who are already under one's foot, it was worthy the grandeur and good-nature of the Syracusans, to exert their clemency even to those who least deserved it.' All the people came into this opinion, and with one consent spared Deucetius's life. He was ordered to reside in Corinth, the mother-city and foundress of Syracuse; and the Syracusans engaged to furnish Deucetius with all things necessary for his subsisting honourably there. What reader, who compares these two different opinions, does not perceive which of them was the noblest and most generous?

Sect. II. Of some famous Persons and Cities in Græcia Magna. Pythagoras, Charonidas, Zaleucus,

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MILO THE ATHLETA; CROTONA, SYBARIS, AND THURIUM.—I. *Pythagoras.* In treating of what relates to Græcia Magna in Italy, I must not omit Pythagoras, who was the glory of it. [g] He was born in Samos. After having travelled into a great many regions, and enriched his mind with much uncommon and excellent learning, he returned to his native country, but did not make a long stay in it, because of the tyrannical government which Polycrates had established in it, who however had the highest regard for him, and showed him all the esteem due to his rare merit. But the study of the sciences, and particularly of philosophy, is by no means compatible with slavery, though of the mildest and most honourable kind. He therefore went into Italy, and resided usually either at Crotona, Metapontum, Heraclea, or Tarentum. [h] Servius Tullius, or Tarquinius Superbus, reigned in Rome at that time; which absolutely refutes the opinion of those who imagined that Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, who lived upwards of a hundred years before, had been Pythagoras's disciple; an opinion that very probably was grounded on the resemblance of their manners, disposition, and principles. A. M. 3480. Ant. J. C. 524.

* The whole country soon felt very happy effects from the presence of this excellent philosopher. An inclination for study, and a love of wisdom, diffused themselves almost universally in a very short time. Multitudes flocked from all the neighbouring cities to get a sight of Pythagoras, to hear him, and to profit by his salutary counsels. The several princes of the country took a pleasure in inviting him to their courts, which they thought honoured by his presence; and all were delighted with his conversation, and glad to learn from him the art of governing nations with wisdom. His school became the most famous that had ever been till that age. He had no less than four or five hundred disciples. Before he admitted them in that quality, he kept them in a state of noviciate, as it were, and probation for five years, during which time he obliged them to keep the strictest silence; thinking it proper

[g] Diog. Laert. *in vit. Pythag.*

[h] Liv. l. i. n. 18.

* Pythagoras, cùm in Italiam venisset, exornavit eam Græciam, quæ magna dicta est, et privatim et publicè, præstantissimis et institutis, et artibus. Cic. *Tuscul. Quæst.* l. v. n. 10.

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for them to be instructed, before they should attempt to speak. It is well known, that the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls was one of the chief of his tenets. His disciples had the greatest reverence for every word he uttered; and, if he did but barely aver a thing, that alone, without further examination, was sufficient to gain credit to his assertion; and to affirm the truth of any thing, they used to express themselves in this manner, [i] 'The master said it.' However, the disciples carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all inquiry, and in sacrificing implicitly their reason and understanding; a sacrifice that is due only to the divine authority, which is infinitely superior to our reason and all our knowledge; and which, consequently, is authorized to prescribe laws to us, and dictate absolute obedience.

The school of Pythagoras bred a great number of illustrious disciples, who did infinite honour to their master; as wise legislators great politicians, persons skilled in all the sciences, and capable of governing states, and being the ministers of the greatest princes. * A long time after his death, that part of Italy which he had cultivated and improved by his instructions, was still considered as the nursery and seat of men skilled in all kinds of literature, and maintained that glorious character for several ages. [k] The Romans certainly entertained a high opinion of Pythagoras's virtue and merit, since the oracle of Delphi having commanded that people, during the war with the Samnites, to erect two statues in the most conspicuous part of Rome, the one to the wisest, and the other to the most valiant among the Greeks, they accordingly set up two in the place where the *Comitia* were held, representing Pythagoras and Themistocles. We have no certain information with respect to the time and place of Pythagoras's death.

II. *Crotona. Sybaris. Thurium.*—[l] Crotona was founded A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709. by Myscellus, chief of the Achaians, the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad. This Myscellus being come to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo, about

[i] Αὐτὸς ἔφα.

[k] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

[l] Strab. l. vi. p. 262, 269. Dionys. Halicarn. *Antiq. Rom.* l. ii. p. 121.

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

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the spot on which he should build his city, met Archias the Corinthian there, who was arrived upon the same account. The god gave them a favourable audience; and after having determined them with regard to the place that would best suit their new settlements, he proposed different advantages to them; and left them, among other particulars, the choice of riches or health. The offer of riches struck Archias, but Myscellus desired health; and, if history is to be credited, Apollo performed his promise faithfully to both. Archias founded Syracuse, which soon became the most opulent city of Greece. [m] Myscellus laid the foundations of Crotona, which became so famous for the long life and innate strength of its inhabitants, that its name was used proverbially, to signify a very healthy spot, whose air was extremely pure. The natives of this city signalized themselves in a great number of victories in the Grecian games; and Strabo relates, that in one and the same Olympiad, seven Crotonians were crowned in the Olympic games, and carried off all the prizes of the stadium.

[n] Sybaris was ten leagues (two hundred stadia) from Crotona, and had also been founded by the Achaians, but before the other. This city became afterwards very powerful. Four neighbouring states, and twenty-five cities, were subject to it, so that it was, alone, able to raise an army of three hundred thousand men. The opulence of Sybaris was soon followed by luxury, and such a dissoluteness of manners as is scarcely credible. The citizens employed themselves in nothing but banquets, games, shows, parties of pleasure, and carousals. Public rewards and marks of distinction were bestowed on those who gave the most magnificent entertainments; and even to such cooks as were best skilled in the important art of making new discoveries in dressing dishes, and invented new refinements to please the palate. The Sybarites carried their delicacy and effeminacy to such a height, that they carefully removed from their city all such artificers whose work was noisy; and would not suffer any cocks in it, lest their shrill piercing crow should disturb their balmy slumbers.

[o] All these evils were heightened by dissension and discord,

[m] Κρότωνος ὑγιέστερος.
[n] Strab. l. vi. p. 263. Athen. l. xii. p. 518—520.
[o] Diod. l. xi. p. 76—95.

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A. M. 3484. Ant. J. C. 520. which at last proved their ruin. Five hundred of the wealthiest persons in the city having been expelled by the faction of one Telys, fled to Crotona. Telys demanded to have them surrendered to him; and, on the refusal of the Crotonians to deliver them up (who were prompted to this generous resolution by Pythagoras, who then lived among them) war was declared. The Sybarites marched three hundred thousand men into the field, and the Crotonians only a hundred thousand; but then they were headed by Milo, the famous champion, (of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak,) over whose shoulders a lion's skin was thrown, and himself armed with a club, like another Hercules. The latter gained a complete victory, and made a dreadful havoc of those who fled, so that very few escaped, and their city was depopulated. About threescore years after, some Thessalians came and settled in it; however, they did not long enjoy peace, being driven out by the Crotonians. Being thus reduced to the most fatal extremity, they implored the succour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The latter, moved with compassion at their deplorable condition, after causing proclamation to be made in Peloponnesus, that all who were willing to join that colony were at liberty to do it, sent the Sybarites a fleet of ten ships, under the command of Lampon and Xenocrates.

[p] They built a city near the ancient Sybaris, and called it Thurium. Two men, greatly renowned for their learning, the one an orator, and the other an historian, settled in this colony. The first was Lysias, at that time but fifteen years of age. He lived in Thurium, till the ill fate which befell the Athenians in Sicily, and then went to Athens. The second was Herodotus. Though he was born in Halicarnassus, a city of Caria, he was, however, considered as a native of Thurium, because he settled there with that colony.

A. M. 3560. Ant. J. C. 444.

Divisions soon broke out in the city, on occasion of the new inhabitants, whom the rest were desirous to exclude from all public employments and privileges. But as these were much more numerous, they expelled all the ancient Sybarites, and got the sole possession of the city. Being supported by the

[p] Dionys. Halicarn. *in vit. Lys.* p. 82. Strab. l. xiv. p. 656.

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alliance they made with the people of Crotona, they soon grew vastly powerful; and having settled a popular form of government in their city, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, which they called by the names of the different nations whence they sprung.

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

1. He excluded from the senate, and all public employments, all such as should marry a second wife, in case any children by the first wife were living; being persuaded, that a man who was so regardless of his children's interest, would be equally so of his country's, and be as worthless a magistrate as he had been a father.

2. He sentenced all false accusers to be carried through every part of the city crowned with heath or broom, as the vilest of men; an ignominy which most of them were not able to survive. The city thus delivered from those pests of society, was restored to its former tranquillity. And indeed,* from calumniators generally arise all feuds and contests, whether of a public or private nature; and yet, according to Tacitus's observation, they are too much tolerated in most governments.

3. He enacted a new kind of law against another species of pests, which is generally the first occasion of the depravity of manners in a state; by suffering all those to be prosecuted who should form a correspondence, or contract a friendship with wicked men, and by laying a heavy fine upon them.

4. He required all the children of the citizens to be educated in polite literature; the effect of which is to soften and civilize the minds of men, inspiring them with gentleness of manners, and inclining them to virtue; all which constitute the felicity of a state, and are equally necessary to citizens of all conditions. In this view he appointed salaries (paid by the state) for masters and preceptors; in order that learning, by being

* Delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum, et pœnis quidem nunquam satis coercitum. Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 30.

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communicated gratuitously, might be acquired by all. He considered ignorance as the greatest of evils, and the source whence all vices flowed.

5. He made a law with respect to orphans which appears sufficiently judicious, by intrusting the care of their education to their relations by the mother's side, as their lives would not be in danger from them; and the management of their estates to their paternal relations, it being the interest of the latter to make the greatest advantage of them, since they would inherit them, in case of the demise of their wards.

6. Instead of putting deserters to death, and those who quitted their ranks and fled in battle, he only sentenced them to make their appearance during three days in the city, dressed in the habit of women, imagining, that the dread of so ignominious a punishment would be equally efficacious with putting to death; and being, at the same time, desirous of giving such cowardly citizens an opportunity of atoning for their fault.

7. To prevent his laws from being too rashly or easily abrogated, he imposed a very severe and hazardous condition on all persons who should propose to alter or amend them in any manner. They were to appear in the public assembly with a halter about their necks; and, in case the alteration proposed did not pass, they were to be immediately strangled. There were but three amendments ever proposed, and all of them admitted.

Charondas did not long survive his own laws. Returning one day from pursuing some thieves, and finding a tumult in the city, he came armed into the assembly, though he himself had prohibited this by an express law. A certain person objected to him in severe terms, that he violated his own laws; 'I do not violate them,' says he, 'but thus seal them with my blood;' saying which he plunged his sword into his bosom, and expired.

IV. *Zaleucus, another lawgiver.*—[q] At the same time there arose among the Locrians another famous legislator, Zaleucus by name, who, as well as Charondas, had been Pythagoras's disciple. There is now scarce any thing extant of his, except a kind of preamble to his laws, which gives a most advan-

[q] Diod. l. xii. p. 79—85.

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tageous idea of them. He requires, above all things, of the citizens, to believe and be firmly persuaded, that there are gods; and adds, that the bare casting up our eyes to the heavens, and contemplating their order and beauty, are sufficient to convince us, that it is impossible so wonderful a fabric could have been formed by mere chance or human power. As the natural consequence of this belief, he exhorts men to honour and revere the gods, as the authors of whatever is good and just among mortals; and to honour them, not merely by sacrifices and splendid gifts, but by a circumspect conduct, and by purity and innocence of manners; these being infinitely more grateful to the deities than all the sacrifices that can be offered.

After this exordium, so pregnant with religion and piety, in which he describes the Supreme Being as the primary source whence all laws flow, as the chief authority which commands obedience to them, as the most powerful motive for our faithful observance of them, and as the perfect model to which mankind ought to conform: he descends to the particulars of those duties which men owe to one another; and lays down a precept which is very well adapted to preserve peace and unity in society, by enjoining the individuals who compose it not to make their hatred and dissensions perpetual, which would evince an unsociable and savage disposition; but to treat their enemies as men who would soon be their friends. This is carrying morality to as great a perfection as could be expected from heathens.

With regard to the duties of judges and magistrates, after representing to them, that in pronouncing sentence, they ought never to suffer themselves to be biassed by friendship, hatred, or any other passion; he only exhorts them to avoid carefully all haughtiness or severity towards the parties engaged in law, since such are but too unhappy in being obliged to undergo all the toils and fatigues inseparable from lawsuits. The office indeed of judges, how laborious soever it may be, is far from giving them a right to vent their ill-humour upon the contending parties; the very condition and essence of their employment requiring them to behave with impartiality, and to do justice on all occasions, and when they distribute this, even with

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mildness and humanity, it is only a debt they pay, and not a favour they grant.

To banish luxury from this republic, which he looked upon as the certain destruction of a government, he did not follow the practice established in some nations, where it is thought sufficient, for the restraining it, to punish, by pecuniary mulcts, such as infringe the laws; but he acted, says the historian, in a more artful and ingenious, and at the same time more effectual manner. He prohibited women from wearing rich and costly stuffs, embroidered robes, jewels, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, gold rings, and such like ornaments; excepting none from this law but common prostitutes. He enacted a similar law with regard to the men; excepting, in the same manner, from the observance of it, such only as were willing to pass for debauchees and infamous wretches. By these regulations he easily, and without violence, preserved the citizens from the least approaches to luxury and effeminacy.* For no person was so lost to all sense of honour, as to be willing to wear the badges of his shame, under the eye, as it were, of all the citizens; since this would make him the public laughing-stock, and reflect eternal infamy on his family.

V. *Milo, the champion.*—We have seen him at the head of an army obtain a great victory. However, he was still more renowned for his athletic strength, than for his military bravery. He was surnamed the Crotonian, from Crotona the place of his birth. It was his daughter, whom, as was before related, Democedes the famous physician, and Milo's countryman, married, after he had escaped from Darius's court to Greece, his native country.

[r] Pausanias relates, that Milo was seven times victorious at the Pythian games, once when a child; that he won six victories (at wrestling) in the Olympic games, one of which was also gained in his childhood; and that challenging a seventh time (in Olympia) any person to wrestle with him, he could not engage for want of an opponent. He would hold a pomegranate in such a manner, that, without breaking it, he would grasp it so fast in his hand, that no one, however strong,

[r] Lib. vi. p. 369, 370.

* More inter veteres recepto, qui satis pœnarum adversùs impudicas in ipsâ professione flagitii credebant. Tacit. *Annal.* l. ii. c. 85.

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could possibly wrest it from him. He would stand so firm on a **discus*, which had been oiled to make it the more slippery, that it was impossible to push him off. He would bind his head with a cord, after which holding his breath strongly, the veins of his head would swell so prodigiously as to break the rope. When Milo, fixing his elbow on his side, stretched forth his right hand quite open, with his fingers held close one to the other, his thumb excepted, which he raised, the utmost strength of man could not separate his little finger from the other three.

All this was only a vain and puerile ostentation of his strength. Chance, however, gave him an opportunity of making a much more laudable use of it. [s] One day as he was attending the lectures of Pythagoras, (for he was one of his most constant disciples,) the pillar which supported the ceiling of the school in which the pupils were assembled, being shaken by some accident, Milo supported it by his single strength, gave the auditors time to get away, and having provided for their safety, he afterwards escaped himself.

What is related of the voracious appetite of the athletæ is almost incredible. [t] Milo's appetite was scarce satiated with twenty minæ (pounds) of meat, the same quantity of bread, and three † *congii* of wine every day. Athenæus relates, that this champion having run the whole length of the stadium with a bull four years old on his shoulders, he afterwards knocked him down with one stroke of his fist, and ate the whole beast that very day. I will take it for granted, that all the other particulars related of Milo are true; but is it in the slightest degree probable, that one man could devour a whole ox in so short a time?

[u] We are told that Milo, when advanced to a very great age, seeing the rest of the champions wrestling, and gazing upon his own arms, which once were so vigorous and robust, but were then very much enfeebled by time, burst into tears, and cried, 'Alas! these arms are now dead.'

[x] And yet he either forgot or concealed his weakness from himself; and the confident persuasion he entertained of his

[s] Strab. l. vi. p. 263.
[t] Athen. l. x. p. 412.
[u] Cic. *de Senect.* n. 27.
[x] Pausan. l. vi. p. 370.

* This discus was a kind of quoit, flat and round.
† Thirty pounds, or eighteen pints.

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own strength, and which he preserved to the last, proved fatal to him. Happening to meet, as he was travelling, an old oak, which had been opened by some wedges that were forced into it, he undertook to split it in two by his bare strength. But after forcing out the wedges by the exertion he made, his arms were caught in the trunk of the tree, by the violence with which it closed; so that being unable to disengage his hands, he was devoured by wolves.

[y] An author has judiciously observed, that this surprisingly robust champion, who prided himself so much on his bodily strength, was the weakest of men with regard to a passion, which often subdues and captivates the strongest; a courtesan having gained so great an ascendant over Milo, that she tyrannized over him in the most imperious manner, and made him obey whatever commands she laid upon him.

Chapter III. The WAR of PELOPONNESUS.

The Peloponnesian war, which I am now entering upon, began about the end of the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and lasted twenty-seven years. Thucydides has written the history of it to the twenty-first year inclusively. He gives us an accurate account of the several transactions of every year, which he divides into campaigns and winter quarters. However, I shall not be so minute, and shall only extract such parts of it as appear most entertaining and instructive. Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus will also be of great assistance to me on this occasion.

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

Sect. I. The Siege of Platææ by the Thebans. Alternate Ravages of Attica and Peloponnesus. Honours paid to the Athenians who fell in the first Campaign.—

The first year of the war.—[z] The first act of hostility by which the war begun, was committed by the Thebans, who besieged Platææ, a city of Bœotia, in alliance with Athens. They were introduced into it by treachery; but the citizens falling upon them in the night, killed them all, with the exception of about

[y] Ælian. l. ii. c. 24.
[z] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 99—122. Diod. l. xii. p. 97—100. Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 170.

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two hundred, who were taken prisoners, and who a little after were put to death. The Athenians, as soon as the news was brought of the action at Platææ, sent succours and provisions thither, and cleared the city of all persons who were incapable of bearing arms.

The truce being evidently broken, both sides prepared openly for war; and ambassadors were sent to all places to strengthen themselves by the alliance of the Greeks and barbarians. Every part of Greece was in motion, some few states and cities excepted, which continued neuter, till they should see the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece, and espoused their interest very warmly, because the Athenians, forgetting that the moderation and gentleness with which they commanded over others had procured them many allies, had afterwards alienated the greatest part of them by their pride and the severity of their government, and incurred the hatred, not only of those who were then subject to them, but of all such as were apprehensive of becoming their dependants. In this temper of mind were the Greeks at that time. The confederates of each of those two states were as follows.

All Peloponnesus, Argos excepted, which stood neuter, had declared for Lacedæmonia. The Achaians, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, were neuter at first, but at length insensibly engaged in the war. Out of Peloponnesus were the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium, on the side of the Lacedæmonians.

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

Immediately after the attempt on Platææ, the Lacedmæonians had ordered forces to be levied both within and without Peloponnesus; and made all the preparations necessary for entering the enemy's country. All things being ready, two-thirds of

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the troops marched to the isthmus of Corinth, and the rest were left to guard the country. Archidamus, king of Lacedæmonia, who commanded the army, assembled the generals and chief officers, and calling to their remembrance the great actions performed by their ancestors, and those they themselves had done, or been eye-witnesses to, he exhorted them to support, with the utmost efforts of their valour, the pristine glory of their respective cities, as well as their own fame. He represented to them that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; and that, in expectation of the issue of a war which would determine their fate, they were incessantly addressing heaven in favour of a people, who were as dear to them as the Athenians were become odious: that, however, he could not deny, that they were going to march against an enemy, who, though greatly inferior to them in numbers and in strength, were nevertheless very powerful, warlike, and daring; and whose courage would doubtless be still more inflamed by the sight of danger, and the laying waste of their territories: * that therefore they must exert themselves to the utmost, to spread an immediate terror in the country they were going to enter, and to inspire the allies with confidence. The whole army answered with the loudest acclamations of joy, and repeated assurances that they would do their duty.

The assembly breaking up, Archidamus, ever zealous for the welfare of Greece, and resolving to neglect no expedient that might prevent a rupture, the dreadful consequences of which he foresaw, sent a Spartan to Athens, to endeavour, before they should come to hostilities, to prevail, if possible, with the Athenians to lay aside their designs; now that they saw an army ready to march into Attica. But the Athenians, so far from admitting him to audience, or hearing his reasons, would not so much as suffer him to come into their city: Pericles having prevailed with the people to make an order, that no herald or ambassador should be received from the Lacedæmónians till they had first laid down their arms. In consequence of this, the Spartan was commanded to leave the country that very day; and an escort was sent to guard him to the frontiers, and to prevent his speaking to any person by the way. At his

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

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taking leave of the Athenians, he told them, that day would be the beginning of the great calamities that would ensue to all Greece. Archidamus, seeing no hopes of a reconciliation, marched for Attica, at the head of sixty thousand chosen troops.

Pericles, before the Lacedæmonians had entered the country, declared to the Athenians, that should Archidamus, when he was laying waste their territories, spare his (Pericles) lands, either on account of the rights of hospitality which subsisted between them, or to furnish his enemies, and those who envied him, with a handle to slander him, as holding intelligence with him, he, from that day, made over all his lands and houses to the city of Athens. He demonstrated to the Athenians, that the welfare of the state depended upon consuming the enemy's troops, by protracting the war; and that for this purpose they must immediately remove all their effects out of the country, retire to the city, and shut themselves up in it without ever hazarding a battle. The Athenians, indeed, had not forces enough to take the field and oppose the enemy. Their troops, exclusive of those in garrison, amounted but to thirteen thousand heavy-armed soldiers; and sixteen thousand inhabitants, including the young and old, the citizens as well as others, who were appointed to defend Athens: and besides these, twelve hundred troopers, including the archers who rode on horseback, and sixteen hundred foot archers. This was the whole army of the Athenians. But their chief strength consisted in a fleet of three hundred galleys, part of which were ordered to lay waste the enemy's country, and the rest to awe the allies, on whom contributions were levied, without which the Athenians could not defray the expenses of the war.

The Athenians, animated by the ardent exhortations of Pericles, brought from the country their wives, their children, their furniture, and all their effects, after which they pulled down their houses, and even carried off the timber. With regard to the cattle of all kinds, they conveyed them into the island of Eubœa and the neighbouring isles. However, they were deeply afflicted at this sad and precipitate migration, and it drew plentiful tears from their eyes. From the time that the Persians had left their country, that is, for near fifty years, they had enjoyed the sweets of peace, wholly employed in

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cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks. But now they were obliged to abandon every thing. They took up their habitations in the city, as conveniently as they could, in the midst of such confusion; retiring either to their relations or friends; and some withdrew even to the temples and other public places.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, being set out upon their march, entered the country, and encamped at Œnoe, which is the first fortress towards Bœotia. They employed a long time in preparing for the attack, and raising the batteries; for which reason complaints were made against Archidamus, as if he carried on the war indolently, because he had not approved of it. He was accused of being too slow in his marches, and of encamping too long near Corinth. He was also charged with having been too dilatory in raising the army, as if he had desired to give the Athenians opportunity to carry off all their effects out of the country; whereas, had he marched speedily into it, all they had might have been plundered and destroyed. His design, however, was to engage the Athenians, by these delays, to agree to an accommodation, and to prevent a rupture, the consequences of which he foresaw would be pernicious to all Greece. Finding, after making several assaults, that it would be impossible for him to take the city, he raised the siege, and entered Attica in the midst of the harvest. Having laid waste the whole country, he advanced as far as Acharnæ, one of the greatest towns near Athens, and but fifteen hundred paces from the city. He there pitched his camp, in hopes that the Athenians, exasperated to see him advanced so near, would sally out to defend their country, and give him an opportunity of coming to a battle.

It indeed was not without great difficulty that the Athenians (haughty and imperious as they were) could endure to be braved and insulted in this manner by an enemy, whom they did not think superior to themselves in courage. They were eye-witnesses of the dreadful havoc made of their lands, and saw all their houses and farms in a blaze. They could no longer bear this sad spectacle, and therefore demanded fiercely to be led out against the Lacedæmonians, be the consequence what it would. Pericles saw plainly, that the Athenians would

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thereby hazard every thing, and expose their city to certain destruction, should they march out to engage, under the walls of their city, an army of sixty thousand fighting men, composed of the choicest troops at that time in Bœotia and Peloponnesus. Besides, he had made it his chief maxim, to spare the blood of the citizens, since that was an irreparable loss. Pursuing inflexibly therefore the plan he had laid down, and studious of nothing but how he might check the impatience and ardour of the Athenians, he was particularly careful not to assemble either the senate or the people; lest they should form some fatal resolution, in spite of all the opposition in his power. His friends used every effort imaginable to make him change his conduct. His enemies, on the other side, endeavoured to stagger him by their menaces and slanderous discourses. They strove to sting him by songs and satires, in which they aspersed him as a man of a cowardly, unfeeling disposition, who basely gave up his country to the sword of the enemy. But no man showed so much rancour against Pericles as * Cleon. He was the son of a currier, and also followed that trade himself. He had raised himself by faction, and probably by a species of merit which those must possess who would rise in popular governments. He had a thundering and overbearing voice; and possessed besides, in a wonderful manner, the art of gaining the people, and engaging them in his interest. It was he who enacted a law, that three *oboli* (not two as before) should be given to each of the six thousand judges. The characteristics which more immediately distinguished him were, an unbounded self-conceit, a ridiculous arrogance of his uncommon merit; and a boldness of speech, which he carried to the highest pitch of insolence and effrontery, and spared no man. But none of these things could move Pericles.† His invincible strength of mind raised him above low, vulgar clamours. Like a good pilot in a raging storm, who, after he has given out the proper orders, and taken all the precautions necessary, is studious of nothing but how to make the best use of his art, without suffering himself to be moved by the tears or entreaties of those whom fear has distracted; Pericles, in like manner, after having put

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

† Spernendis rumoribus validus. Tacit.

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the city in a good posture of defence, and posted guards in all places to prevent a surprise, followed those counsels which his prudence suggested, entirely regardless of the complaints, the taunts and licentious invectives of the citizens; from a firm persuasion, that he knew much better than they in what manner they were to be governed. [a] It then appeared evidently, says Plutarch, that Pericles was absolute master of the minds of the Athenians, since he prevailed so far (at such a juncture as this) * as to keep them from sallying out of the city; as if he had kept the keys of the city in his own possession, and fixed, on their arms, the seal of his authority, to forbid their making use of them. Things happened exactly as Pericles had foretold; for the enemy, finding the Athenians were determined not to stir out of their city, and having advice that the enemy's fleet were carrying fire and sword into their territories, raised their camp, and after making dreadful havoc in the whole country through which they marched, they returned to Peloponnesus, and retired to their several homes.

It might here be asked, why Pericles acted, on this occasion, in a quite different manner from what Themistocles had done about fifty years before, when, at Xerxes's approach, he made the Athenians march out of their city, and abandon it to the enemy. But a little reflection will show, that the circumstances differed widely. Themistocles, being invaded by all the forces of the East, justly concluded that it would be impossible for him to withstand, in a single city, those millions of barbarians who would have poured upon it like a deluge, and deprived him of all hopes of being succoured by his allies. This is the reason given by Cicero. *Fluctum enim totius Barbariæ ferre urbs una non poterat.* It was, therefore, prudent in him to retire for some time, and to let the confused multitude of barbarians consume and destroy one another. But Pericles was not engaged in so formidable and oppressive a war. The odds were not very great, and he foresaw it would allow him intervals in which he might breathe. Thus, like a judicious man and an able politician, he kept close in Athens, and could not be moved either by the remonstrances or murmurs of the citizens.

[a] Plut. *an Seni ger. sit. resp.* p. 784.

* Διεκώλυσι, μονὰ τὰ ὅπλα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἀπουφραγισάμενος.

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[b] Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, condemns absolutely the resolution which Pompey formed and executed, of abandoning Rome to Cæsar; whereas he ought, in imitation of Pericles, to have shut himself up in it with the senate, the magistrates, and the flower of the citizens who had declared in his favour.

After the Lacedæmonians were retired, the Athenians put troops into all the important posts both by sea and land, pursuant to the plan they intended to follow as long as the war continued. They also came to a resolution, to keep always a thousand talents in reserve, * and a hundred galleys; and never to use them, except the enemy should invade Attica by sea; at the same time making it death for any man to propose the employing them any other way.

The galleys which had been sent into Peloponnesus made dreadful havoc there, which consoled the Athenians, in some measure, for the losses they had sustained. One day as the forces were going on board, and Pericles was entering his own ship, a sudden and total eclipse of the sun ensued, and the earth was overspread with the deepest gloom. This phenomenon filled the minds of the Athenians with the utmost terror; who were wont, through superstition, and the ignorance of natural causes, to consider such events as fatal omens. Pericles seeing the pilot who was on board his ship astonished, and incapable of managing the helm, threw his cloak over his face, and asked him whether he saw: the pilot answering, that the cloak hindered him; Pericles then gave him to understand, that a like cause, *viz.* the interposition of the vast body of the moon between his eyes and the sun, prevented his seeing its splendour.

[c] The first year of the war of Peloponnesus being now elapsed, the Athenians, during the winter, solemnized public funerals, according to ancient custom, (a custom conformable to the dictates of humanity and gratitude,) in honour of those who had lost their lives in that campaign, a ceremony which they constantly observed during the whole course of that war. For this purpose they set up, three days before, a tent, in which the bones of the deceased citizens were exposed, and every

[b] Lib. vii. *Epist.* 11.

[c] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 122—130.

* About 140,000*l.*

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person strewed flowers, incense, perfumes, and other things of the same kind, upon those remains. They afterwards were put on carriages, in coffins made of cypress wood, every tribe having its particular coffin and carriage; but in one of the latter a large empty * coffin was carried in honour of those whose bodies had not been found. The procession marched with a grave, majestic, and religious pomp; a great number of inhabitants, both citizens and foreigners, assisted at this mournful solemnity. The relations of the deceased officers and soldiers stood weeping at the sepulchre. These bones were carried to a public monument, in the finest suburb of the city, called the Ceramicus; where were buried, in all ages, those who lost their lives in the field, except the warriors of Marathon, who, to immortalize their rare valour, were interred in the field of battle. Earth was afterwards laid over them, and then one of the citizens of the greatest distinction pronounced their funeral oration. Pericles was now appointed to exercise this honourable office. When the ceremony was ended, he went from the sepulchre to the tribunal, in order to be the better heard, and spoke the oration, the whole of which Thucydides has transmitted to us. Whether it was really composed by Pericles, or by the historian, we may affirm that it is truly worthy the reputation of both those great men, as well for the noble simplicity of the style, as for the just beauty of the thoughts, and the grandeur of the sentiments which pervade every part of it. [d] After having paid, in so solemn a manner, this double tribute of tears and applauses, to the memory of those brave soldiers who had sacrificed their lives to defend the liberties of their country; the public, who did not confine their gratitude to empty ceremonies and tears, maintained their widows, and all their infant orphans. This was a powerful † incentive to animate the courage of the citizens; for great men are formed, where merit is best rewarded.

About the close of the same campaign, the Athenians concluded an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odrysians in Thrace; and, in consequence of this treaty, his son was

[d] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130.

* These are called Cenotaphia.

† Ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσι.

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admitted a citizen of Athens. They also came to an accommodation with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, by restoring to him the city of Thermæ; after which they joined their forces, in order to carry on the war in Chalcis.

SECT. II. THE PLAGUE MAKES DREADFUL HAVOC IN ATTICA. PERICLES IS DIVESTED OF THE COMMAND. THE LACEDÆMONIANS HAVE RECOURSE TO THE PERSIANS FOR AID. POTIDÆA IS TAKEN BY THE ATHENIANS. PERICLES IS RESTORED TO HIS EMPLOYMENT. HIS DEATH, AND THAT OF ANAXAGORAS. A. M. 3574. Ant. J. C. 430.

Second and third Years of the War.— [e] In the beginning of the second campaign, the enemy made an incursion into the country as before, and laid it waste. But the plague made a much greater devastation in Athens; the like having never been known. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it descended into Egypt, from thence spread over Libya, and a great part of Persia; and at last broke at once, like a flood, upon Athens. Thucydides, who himself was seized with that distemper, has described very minutely the several circumstances and symptoms of it, in order, says he, that a faithful and exact relation of this calamity may serve as an instruction to posterity, in case the like should ever again happen. [f] Hippocrates, who was employed to visit the sick, has also described it as a physician, and [g] Lucretius as a poet. This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attacks; and the greatest care and skill of the physicians were a feeble help to those who were infected. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The assistance that was given them was ineffectual, and proved mortal to all such of their relations or friends as had the courage to approach them. The quantity of baggage, which had been removed out of the country into the city, proved very noxious. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarce breathe, during the raging heat of the summer, so that they were seen either piled one

[e] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130—147. Diod. p. 101, 102. Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 171
[f] *Epidem.* l. iii. § 3. [g] Lib. vi.

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upon the other, (the dead, as well as those who were dying,) or else crawling through the streets; or lying along by the side of fountains, to which they had dragged themselves, to quench the raging thirst which consumed them. The very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death; without the least remedy for the present, or the least hopes with regard to the time to come.

[h] The plague, before it spread into Attica, had made great ravages in Persia. Artaxerxes, who had been informed of the high reputation of Hippocrates of Cos, the greatest physician of that or any other age, caused his governors to write to him, to invite him into his dominions, in order that he might prescribe to those who were infected. The king made him the most advantageous offers; setting no bounds to his rewards on the side of interest, and, with regard to honours, promising to make him equal with the most considerable persons in his court. The reader has already been told, the prodigious regard which was shown to the Grecian physicians in Persia; and, indeed, can services of such importance be too well rewarded? However, all the glitter of the Persian riches and dignities were not able to tempt Hippocrates; nor stifle the hatred and aversion which was become natural to the Greeks for the Persians, ever since the latter had invaded them. This great physician therefore sent no other answer than this, that he was free from either wants or desires; that all his cares were due to his fellow-citizens and countrymen; and that he was under no obligation to barbarians, the declared enemies of Greece. Kings are not used to denials. Artaxerxes, therefore, in the highest transports of rage, sent to the city of Cos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he was at that time; commanding them to deliver up to him that insolent wretch, in order that he might be brought to condign punishment; and threatening, in case they refused, to lay waste their city and island in such a manner, that not the least footsteps of it should remain. However, the inhabitants of Cos were not under the least terror. They made answer, that the menaces of Darius and Xerxes had not been able in former

[h] Hippocrat. *in Epist.*

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times to prevail with them to give them earth and water, or to obey their orders; that Artaxerxes's threats would be equally impotent; that, let what would be the consequences, they would never give up their fellow-citizen; and that they depended on the protection of the gods.

Hippocrates had said in one of his letters, that his services were due entirely to his countrymen. And, indeed, the instant he was sent for to Athens, he went thither, and did not once stir out of the city till the plague was quite ceased. He devoted himself entirely to the service of the sick; and to multiply himself, as it were, he sent several of his disciples into all parts of the country; after having instructed them in what manner to treat their patients. The Athenians were struck with the deepest sense of gratitude for this generous care of Hippocrates. They therefore ordained, by a public decree, that Hippocrates should be initiated in the greater mysteries, in the same manner as Hercules the son of Jupiter; that a crown of gold should be presented him, of the value of a thousand staters,* amounting to five hundred pistoles French money; and that the decree by which it was granted him, should be read aloud by a herald in the public games, on the solemn festival of Panathenæa: that the freedom of the city should be given him, and himself be maintained, at the public charge, in the Prytaneum, all his lifetime, in case he thought proper: in fine, that the children of all the people of Cos, whose city had given birth to so great a man, might be maintained and brought up in Athens, in the same manner as if they had been born there.

In the mean time the enemy having marched into Attica, came down towards the coast, and advancing still forward, laid waste the whole country. Pericles resolutely adhering to the maxim he had established, not to expose the safety of the state to the hazard of a battle, would not suffer his troops to sally out of the city: however, before the enemy left the open country, he sailed to Peloponnesus with a hundred galleys in order to hasten their retreat by so powerful a diversion; and after having made a dreadful havoc (as he had done the first

* The Attic stater was a gold coin weighing two drachms. It is in the original χρυσῶν χιλίων.

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year) he returned into the city. The plague was still there as well as in the fleet, and it spread to those troops that were besieging Potidæa.

The campaign being thus ended, the Athenians, who saw their country depopulated by two great scourges, war and pestilence, began to despond, and to murmur against Pericles; considering him as the author of all their calamities, as he had involved them in that fatal war. They therefore sent a deputation to Lacedæmonia, to obtain, if possible, an accommodation by some means or other, firmly resolved to make whatever concessions should be demanded of them: however, the ambassadors returned back without being able to obtain any terms. Complaints and murmurs now broke out afresh; and the whole city was in such a trouble and confusion, as seemed to prognosticate the worst of evils. Pericles, in the midst of this universal consternation, could not forbear assembling the people; and endeavoured to soften, and at the same time to encourage them, by justifying himself. 'The reasons,' says he, 'which induced you to undertake this war, and which you all approved at that time, are still the same; and are not changed by the alteration of circumstances, which neither you nor myself could foresee. Had it been left to your option to make choice of peace or war, the former would certainly have been the more eligible: but as there was no other means for preserving your liberty, but by drawing the sword, was it possible for you to hesitate? If we are citizens who truly love our country, ought our private misfortunes to make us neglect the common welfare of the state? Every man feels the evil which afflicts himself, because it is present; but no one is sensible of the good which will result from it, because it is not come. Have you forgotten the strength and grandeur of your empire? Of the two parts which form this globe of ours, *viz.* the land and sea, you have absolute possession of the latter; and no king, nor any other power, is able to oppose your fleets. The question now is, whether you will preserve this glory and this empire, or resign it for ever. Be not therefore grieved because you are deprived of a few country houses and gardens, which ought to be considered no otherwise than as the frame of the picture, though you would seem to make them the

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picture itself. Consider, that if you do but preserve your liberty, you will easily recover them; but that should you suffer yourselves to be deprived of this blessing, you will lose every valuable possession with it. Do not show less generosity than your ancestors, who, for the sake of preserving it, abandoned even their city; and who, though they had not inherited such a glory from their ancestors, yet suffered the worst of evils, and engaged in the most perilous enterprises, to transmit it to you. I confess that your present calamities are exceedingly grievous, and I myself am duly sensible and deeply afflicted for them. But is it just in you to exclaim against your general, for an accident that was not to be diverted by all the prudence of man; and to make him responsible for an event, in which he has not the least concern? We must submit patiently to those evils which Heaven inflicts upon us, and vigorously oppose such as arise from our fellow-creatures. As to the hatred and jealousy which attend on your prosperity, they are the usual lot of all who believe themselves worthy of commanding. However, hatred and envy are not long-lived, but the glory that accompanies exalted actions is immortal. Revolve therefore perpetually in your minds, how shameful and ignominious it is for men to bow the neck to their enemies, and how glorious it is to triumph over them; and then, animated by this double reflection, march on to danger with joy and intrepidity, and do not crouch so tamely in vain to the Lacedæmonians; and call to mind, that those who display the greatest bravery and resolution in dangers, acquire the most esteem and applause.'

The motives of honour and fame, the remembrance of the great actions of their ancestors, the grateful title of sovereigns of Greece, and above all, jealousy against Sparta, the ancient and perpetual rival of Athens, were the usual motives which Pericles employed to influence and animate the Athenians, and they had hitherto never failed of success. But on this occasion, the sense of present evils prevailed over every other consideration, and stifled all other thoughts. The Athenians indeed did not design to sue to the Lacedæmonians any more for peace, but the mere sight and presence of Pericles was insupportable to them. They therefore deprived him of the

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command of the army, and sentenced him to pay a fine, which, according to some historians, amounted to fifteen talents,* and, according to others, fifty.

However, this public disgrace of Pericles was not to be very lasting. The anger of the people was appeased by this first effort, and had spent itself in this injurious treatment of him, as the bee leaves its sting in the wound. But he was not now so happy with regard to his domestic evils; for, besides his having lost a great number of his friends and relations by the pestilence, feuds and divisions had long reigned in his family. Xanthippus his eldest son, who himself was extremely profuse, and had married a young wife no less extravagant, could not bear his father's exact economy, who allowed him but a very small sum for his pleasures. This made him borrow money in his father's name. When the lender demanded his debt of Pericles, he not only refused to pay, but even prosecuted him for it. Xanthippus was so enraged, that he inveighed in the strongest terms against his father, exclaiming against him in all places, and ridiculing openly the assemblies he held at his house, and his conferences with the Sophists. He did not know that a son, though treated unjustly, (which was far otherwise in his case,) ought to submit patiently to the injustice of his father, as a citizen is obliged to suffer that of his country.

The plague carried off Xanthippus. At the same time Pericles lost his sister, with many of his relations and best friends, whose assistance he most wanted in the administration. But he did not sink under these losses; his strength of mind was not shaken by them; and he was not seen to weep or show the usual marks of sorrow at the grave of any of his relations, till the death of Paralus, the last of his legitimate children. Stunned by that violent blow, he did his utmost to preserve his usual tranquillity, and not show any outward symptoms of sorrow. But when he was to put the crown of flowers upon the head of his dead son, he could not support the cruel spectacle, nor stifle the transports of his grief, which forced its way in cries, in sobs, and a flood of tears.

Pericles, misled by the principles of a false philosophy, imagined, that bewailing the death of his relations and children

* Fifteen or fifty thousand French crowns.

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would betray a weakness inconsistent with that greatness of soul which he had ever shown; and that on this occasion, the sensibility of the father would sully the glory of the conqueror. How gross an error! how childish an illusion! which either makes heroism consist in wild and savage cruelty; or, leaving the same grief and confusion in the mind, assumes a vain outside of constancy and resolution, merely to be admired. But does martial bravery extinguish nature? Is a man dead to all feeling, because he makes a considerable figure in the state? The emperor Antoninus had a much juster way of thinking, when on occasion of Marcus Aurelius's lamenting the death of the person who had brought him up, he said; * 'Suffer him to be a man, for neither philosophy nor sovereignty renders us insensible.'

Fickleness and inconstancy were the prevailing characteristics of the Athenians; and as these carried them on a sudden to the greatest excesses, they soon brought them back again within the bounds of moderation and gentleness. It was not long before they repented the injury they had done Pericles, and earnestly wished to see him again in their assemblies. By dint of suffering, they began to be in some measure inured to their domestic misfortunes, and to be fired more and more with a zeal for their country's glory; and in their ardour for reinstating its affairs, they did not know any person more capable of effecting it than Pericles. He, at that time, never stirred out of his house, and was in the utmost grief for the loss he had sustained. However, Alcibiades and the rest of his friends entreated him to go abroad, and show himself in public. The people asked him pardon for their ungrateful usage of him; and Pericles, moved with their entreaties, and persuaded that it did not become a good citizen to harbour the least resentment against his country, resumed the government.

About the end of the second campaign, some ambassadors had set out from Lacedæmon, commissioned to solicit the king of Persia's alliance, and engage him to furnish a sum of money for maintaining the fleet: this step was most disgraceful

* Permitte illi ut homo sit: neque enim vel philosophia vel imperium tollit affectus. Jul. Capitol. *in vit. Antonini Pii.*

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to the Lacedæmonians, who called themselves the deliverers of Greece, since they thereby retracted or sullied the glorious actions they had formerly achieved in her defence against Persia. They went by way of Thrace, in order to disengage Sitalces from the alliance of the Athenians, and prevail with him to succour Potidæa. But they here met with some Athenian ambassadors, who caused them to be arrested as disturbers of the public peace, and afterwards to be sent to Athens, where, without suffering them to be heard, they were put to death the same day; and their bodies thrown on a dunghill, by way of reprisal on the Lacedæmonians, who treated all who were not of their party in the same inhuman manner. It is scarce possible to conceive how two cities, which, a little before, were so strongly united, and ought to have prided themselves upon showing a mutual civility and forbearance toward each other, could contract so inveterate a hatred, and break into such cruel acts of violence, as infringe all the laws of war, humanity, and nations; and prompt them to exercise greater cruelties upon one another, than if they had been at war with barbarians.

Potidæa had now been besieged almost three years; when the inhabitants, reduced to extremities, and in such want of provisions that some fed on human flesh, and not expecting any succours from the Peloponnesians, whose attempts in Attica had all proved abortive, surrendered on conditions. The circumstances which made the Athenians treat them with lenity, were, the severity of the weather, which exceedingly annoyed the besiegers; and the prodigious expense of the siege, which had already cost * two thousand talents.† They therefore came out of the city with their wives and children, as well citizens as foreigners, with each but one suit of clothes, and the women two, and carrying off nothing but a little money to procure them a settlement. The Athenians blamed their generals for granting this capitulation without their order; because otherwise, as the citizens were reduced to the utmost

* The army which besieged Potidæa consisted of three thousand men, exclusive of the sixteen hundred who had been sent under the command of Phormio. Every soldier received (daily) two drachms, or twenty pence (French) for master and man; and those of the galleys had the same pay. Thucyd. l. iii. p. 182.

† About 280,000*l.*

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

The first thing Pericles did after his being re-elected generalissimo, was to propose the abrogating of that law which he himself had caused to be enacted against bastards, when he had some legitimate children. It declared, that such only should be considered as native and legitimate Athenians, whose fathers and mothers were both natives of Athens; and it had been executed just before with the utmost rigour. For the * king of Egypt having sent to Athens a present of forty thousand measures of corn to be distributed among the people, the bastards, on account of this new law, were involved in a thousand lawsuits and difficulties, till then unpractised, and which had not been so much as thought of. Near five thousand of them were condemned and sold as slaves, whilst fourteen thousand and forty citizens were confirmed in their privileges, and recognised as true Athenians. It was thought very strange, that the author and promoter of this law should himself desire to have it repealed. But the Athenians were moved to compassion at the domestic calamities of Pericles; so that they permitted him to enrol his bastard in the register of the citizens of his tribe, and to let him bear his own name. A. M. 3575. Ant. J. C. 429.

A little after he himself was infected with the pestilence. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his last, the principal citizens, and such of his friends as had not forsaken him, discoursing together in his bedchamber about his rare merit, they ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories; for whilst he was generalissimo of the Athenians, he had erected for the glory of their city nine trophies, in memory of as many battles gained by him. They did not imagine that Pericles heard what they were saying, because he seemed to have lost his senses; but it was far otherwise, for not a single word of their discourse had escaped him; when, breaking suddenly from his silence; 'I am surprised,' says he, 'that you should treasure up so well in A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 428.

* Plutarch does not name this king. Perhaps it was Inarus, son to Psammeticlus king of Libya, who had caused part of the Egyptians to take up arms against Artaxerxes, and to whom the Athenians, above thirty years before, had sent succours against the Persians. Thucyd. l. i. p. 68.

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your memories, and extol so highly, a series of actions, in which fortune had so great a share, and which are common to me with so many other generals; and at the same time should forget the most glorious circumstance in my life; I mean, 'my never having caused a single citizen to put on mourning.' A fine saying! which very few in high stations can declare with truth. The Athenians were deeply afflicted at his death.

The reader has doubtless observed, from what has been said of Pericles, that in him were united most qualities which constitute the great man; as those of the admiral, by his skill in naval affairs; of the great captain, by his conquests and victories; of the financier, by his excellent regulations of the public revenue; of the great politician, by the extent and justness of his views, by his eloquence in public deliberations, and by the dexterity and address with which he transacted affairs, of a minister of state, by the methods he employed to increase trade and promote the arts in general; in fine, of father of his country, by the happiness he procured to every individual, and which he always had in view, as the true scope and end of his administration.

But I must not omit another characteristic which was peculiar to him. He acted with so much wisdom, moderation, disinterestedness, and zeal for the public good; he discovered, in all things, so great a superiority of talents, and gave so exalted an idea of his experience, capacity, and integrity, that he acquired the confidence of all the Athenians; and fixed, (in his own favour,) during forty years that he governed the Athenians, their natural fickleness and inconstancy. He suppressed that jealousy, which an extreme fondness for liberty had made them entertain against all citizens distinguished by their merit and great authority. But the most surprising circumstance is, he gained this great ascendant merely by persuasion, without employing force, mean artifices, or any of those arts which a common politician excuses in himself upon the specious pretence, that the necessity of the public affairs, and the interests of the state, require them.

[i] Anaxagoras died the same year as Pericles. Plutarch relates a circumstance concerning him, that happened some

[i] Plut. *in Pericl.* p. 162.

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time before, which must not be omitted. He says that this philosopher, who had voluntarily reduced himself to excessive poverty, in order that he might have the greater leisure to pursue his studies; finding himself neglected, in his old age, by Pericles, who, in the multiplicity of the public affairs, had not always time to think of him; * wrapped his cloak about his head, and threw himself on the ground, in the fixed resolution to starve himself. Pericles hearing of this accident, ran with the utmost haste to the philosopher's house, in the deepest affliction. He conjured him in the strongest and most moving terms, not to throw his life away; adding, that it was not Anaxagoras but himself that was to be lamented, if he was so unfortunate as to lose so wise and faithful a friend; one who was so capable of giving him wholesome counsels, in the pressing emergencies of the state. Anaxagoras then, uncovering a little his head, spoke thus to him: 'Pericles, those who need the light of a lamp take care to feed it with oil.' This was a gentle, and at the same time a keen and piercing reproach. Pericles ought to have supplied his wants unasked. Many lamps are extinguished in this manner in a country, by the criminal negligence of those who ought to supply them.

SECT. III. THE LACEDÆMONIANS BESIEGE PLATÆÆ. MITYLENE IS TAKEN BY THE ATHENIANS. PLATÆÆ SURRENDERS. THE PLAGUE BREAKS OUT AGAIN IN ATHENS. *Fourth and fifth Years of the War.*— A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 428.

[k] The most memorable transaction of the following years, was the siege of Platææ by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the most famous sieges of antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties; but especially for the glorious resistance made by the besieged, and their bold and industrious stratagem, by which several of them got out of the city, and by that means escaped the fury of the enemy. The Lacedæmonians besieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As soon as they had pitched their camp round the city, in order to lay waste the surrounding country, the Platæans sent deputies to Archidamus, who commanded on that occasion, to

[k] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 147—151. Diod. l. xii. p. 102—109.

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

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represent, that he could not attack them with the least shadow of justice, because that, after the famous battle of Platææ, Pausanias, the Grecian general, offering up a sacrifice in their city to Jupiter the Deliverer, in presence of all the allies, had given them their freedom to reward their valour and zeal; and therefore, that they ought not to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their liberties, since it had been granted them by a Lacedæmonian. Archidamus answered, that their demand would be very reasonable, had they not joined with the Athenians, the professed enemies to the liberty of Greece; but that, if they would disengage themselves from their present alliance, or at least remain neuter, they then should be left in the full enjoyment of their privileges. The deputies replied, that they could not possibly come to any agreement, without the cognizance of Athens, whither their wives and their children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to send thither; when the Athenians promising solemnly to succour them to the utmost of their power, the Platæans resolved to suffer the last extremities rather than surrender; and accordingly they informed the Lacedæmonians, from their walls, that they could not comply with what was desired.

Archidamus then, after calling upon the gods to witness, that he did not first infringe the alliance, and was not the cause of the calamities which might befall the Platæans, for having refused the just and reasonable conditions offered them, prepared for the siege. He surrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid long-ways, very close together, with their boughs interwoven, and turned towards the city, to prevent any person from going out of it. He afterwards threw up a platform to set the batteries on; in hopes that, as so many hands were employed, they should soon take the city. He therefore caused trees to be felled on mount Cithæron, and interwove them with fascines, in order to support the terrace on all sides; he then threw into it wood, earth, and stones; in a word, whatever could help to fill it up. The whole army worked night and day, without the least intermission, during seventy days; one half of the soldiers reposing themselves, whilst the rest were at work.

The besieged observing that the work began to rise, threw

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up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city, opposite to the platform, in order that they might always out-top the besiegers; and filled the hollow of this wooden wall with the bricks they took from the rubbish of the neighbouring houses; so that the beams of timber served in a manner as a defence to keep the wall from falling, as it was carrying up. It was covered, on the outside, with hides both raw and dry, in order to shelter the works and the workmen from the fires discharged against it. In proportion as it rose, the platform was raised also, which in this manner was carried to a great height. But the besieged made a hole in the opposite wall, in order to carry off the earth that sustained the platform; which the besiegers perceiving, they put baskets of reeds filled with mortar, in the place of the earth which had been removed, because these could not be so easily carried off. The besieged, therefore, finding their first stratagem defeated, made a mine under ground as far as the platform, in order to work under cover, and to remove from it the earth and other materials of which it was composed, and which they gave from hand to hand, as far as the city. The besiegers were a considerable time without perceiving this, till at last they found that their work did not go forward, and that the more earth they laid on, the lower it sunk. But the besieged judging that the superiority of numbers would at length prevail; without wasting their time any longer on this work, or carrying the wall higher on the side towards the battery, contented themselves with building another within, in the form of a half-moon, both ends of which joined to the wall; in order that they might retire behind it when the first wall should be forced; and so oblige the enemy to make fresh works.

In the mean time the besiegers having set up their machines (doubtless after they had filled up the ditch, though Thucydides does not say this) shook the city wall in a very terrible manner, which, though it alarmed the citizens very much, did not however discourage them. They employed every art that their imagination could suggest against the enemy's batteries. They prevented the effect of the battering rams, by ropes* which turned aside their strokes. They also employed another

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

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artifice; the two ends of a great beam were made fast by long iron chains to two large pieces of timber, supported at due distance upon the wall in the nature of a balance; so that whenever the enemy played their machine, the besieged lifted up this beam, and let it fall on the head of the battering-ram, which quite deadened its force, and consequently made it of no effect.

The besiegers finding the attack did not go on successfully, and that a new wall was raised against their platform, despaired of being able to storm the place, and therefore changed the siege into a blockade. However, they first endeavoured to set fire to it, imagining that the town might easily be burnt down, as it was so small, whenever a strong wind should rise; for they employed all the artifices imaginable, to make themselves masters of it as soon as possible, and with little expense. They therefore threw fascines into the intervals between the walls of the city and the intrenchment with which they had surrounded them; and filled these intervals in a very little time, because of the multitude of hands employed by them; in order to set fire, at the same time, to different parts of the city. They then lighted the fire with pitch and sulphur, which in a moment made such a prodigious blaze, that the like was never seen. This invention was very near carrying the city, which had baffled all others; for the besieged could not make head at once against the fire and the enemy in several parts of the town; and had the weather favoured the besiegers, as they flattered themselves it would, it had certainly been taken: but history informs us, that an exceeding heavy rain fell, which extinguished the fire.

This last effort of the besiegers having been defeated as successfully as all the rest, they now turned the siege into a blockade, and surrounded the city with a brick wall, strengthened on each side with a deep ditch. The whole army was engaged successively in this work, and when it was finished, they left a guard over half of it; the Bœotians offering to guard the rest, upon which the Lacedæmonians returned to Sparta, about the month of October. There were now, in Platææ, but four hundred inhabitants, and fourscore Athenians; with a hundred and ten women to dress their victuals, and no other

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person, whether freeman or slave; all the rest having been sent to Athens before the siege.

During the campaign, some engagements were fought both by sea and land, which I omit, as being of no importance.

[1] The next summer, which was the fourth year of the war, the people of Lesbos, the citizens of Methymna excepted, resolved to break their alliance with the Athenians. They had designed to rebel before the war was declared, but the Lacedæmonians would not receive them at that time. The citizens of Methymna sent advice of this to the Athenians, assuring them, that if immediate succour was not sent, the island would be inevitably lost. The dejection of the Athenians, who had sustained great losses by the war and the plague, was greatly increased, when news was brought of the revolt of so considerable an island, whose forces, which were hitherto unimpaired, would now join the enemy, and reinforce them on a sudden by the addition of a powerful fleet. The Athenians therefore immediately sent forty galleys designed for Peloponnesus, which accordingly sailed for Mitylene. The inhabitants, though in great consternation, because they were quite unprepared, yet put on the appearance of bravery, and sailed out of the port with their ships; however, being repulsed, they proposed an accommodation, which the Athenians listened to, from an apprehension that they were not strong enough to reduce the island to their allegiance. A suspension of arms was therefore agreed upon, during which the Mityleneans sent ambassadors to Athens. The fear of not obtaining their demands, made them send others to Lacedæmonia, to desire succours. This was not ill judged, the Athenians sending them an answer which they had no reason to interpret in their favour.

The ambassadors of Mitylene, after a dangerous voyage, being arrived in Lacedæmonia, the Spartans deferred giving them audience, till the solemnization of the Olympic games, in order that the allies might hear the complaints they had to make. I shall repeat their whole speech on that occasion, as it may serve, at once, to give a just idea of Thucydides's style, and of the disposition of the several states towards the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. 'We are sensible,' said the

[1] Thucyd. l. iii. p. 174—207. Diod. l. xii. p. 108, 109.

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ambassadors, 'that it is usual to treat deserters well at first, because of the service they do those whom they fly to; but to despise them afterwards as traitors to their country and friends. This is far from being unjust, when they have no inducement to such a change; when the same union subsists, and the same aids are reciprocally granted. But it is far otherwise between us and the Athenians; and we entreat you not to be prejudiced against us, because, after having been treated mildly by the Athenians during the peace, we now renounce their alliance when they are unfortunate. For, since we are come hither to demand admittance into the number of your friends and allies, we ought to begin our own justification, by showing the justice and necessity of our procedure; it being impossible for a true friendship to be established between individuals, or a solid alliance between cities, unless both are founded on virtue, and uniformity of principles and sentiments.

'To come to the point: The treaty we concluded with the Athenians, was not to enslave Greece, but to free it from the yoke of the barbarians: and it was concluded from the retreat of the Persians, when you renounced the command. We adhered to it with pleasure, so long as the Athenians continued to entertain just designs; but, when we saw that they discontinued the war which they were carrying on against the enemy, merely to oppress the allies, we could not but suspect their conduct. And as it was extremely difficult, in so great a diversity of interests and opinions, for all to continue in strict union; and still harder to make head against them, when alone and separated; they have subjected, by insensible degrees, all the allies, except the inhabitants of Chios, and our people; and used our own forces for this end. For, at the same time that they left us seemingly at our liberty, they obliged us to follow them; though we could no longer rely on their word, and had the strongest reason to fear the like treatment. And indeed, what probability is there, after their enslaving all the other states, that they should show a regard to us only, and admit us upon the foot of equals, if they may become our masters whenever they please; especially as their power increases daily, in proportion as ours lessens? A mutual fear between confederates is a strong motive to make an alliance

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lasting, and to prevent unjust and violent attempts, by its keeping all things in an equilibrium. If they left us the enjoyment of our liberties, it was merely because they could not intrench upon them by open force, but only by that equity and specious moderation they have shown us. First, they pretended to prove, from their moderate conduct in regard to us, that as we are free, we should not have marched in conjunction with them against the other allies, had they not given them just grounds for complaint. Secondly, by attacking the weakest first, and subduing them one after another, they enabled themselves, by their ruin, to subject the most powerful without difficulty, who at last would be left alone, and without support: whereas, had they begun by invading us, at the time that the allies were possessed of all their strength, and were able to make some stand, they could not so easily have completed their designs. Besides, as we had a large fleet, which would strengthen considerably whatever party we should declare for, this was a check upon them. Add to this, that the high regard we have always shown for their republic, and the endeavours we have used to gain the favour of those who commanded it, have suspended our ruin. But we had been undone, had not this war broken out; and of this the fate of others leaves us no room to doubt.

'What friendship then, what lasting alliance, can be concluded with those who never are friends and allies, but when force is employed to make them continue such? For, as they were obliged to pay court to us during the war, to prevent our joining with the enemy; we were constrained to treat them with the same regard in time of peace, to prevent their falling upon us. That which love produces in other places, was with us the effect of fear. It was this circumstance that made an alliance subsist some time, which both parties were determined to break upon the very first favourable occasion: let therefore no one accuse us for the advantage we now take. We had not always the same opportunity to save ourselves, as they had to ruin us; but were under a necessity of waiting a favourable juncture, before we could venture to declare ourselves.

'Such are the motives which now oblige us to solicit your alliance: motives, the equity and justice of which appear very

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strong to us, and consequently call upon us to provide for our safety: we should have claimed your protection before, had you been sooner inclined to afford it us; for we offered ourselves to you, even before the war broke out: we are now come, at the persuasion of the Bœotians, your allies, to disengage ourselves from the oppressors of Greece, and join our arms with those of its defenders; and to provide for the security of our state, which is now in imminent danger. If any thing can be objected to our conduct, it is, our declaring so precipitately, with more generosity than prudence, and without having made the least preparations. But this also ought to engage you to be the more ready in succouring us; that you may not lose the opportunity of protecting the oppressed, and avenging yourselves on your enemies. There never was a more favourable conjuncture than that which now offers itself; a conjuncture, when war and pestilence have consumed their forces, and exhausted their treasure: not to mention that their fleet is divided, by which means they will not be in a condition to resist you, should you invade them at the same time by sea and land. For, they either will leave us to attack you, and give us an opportunity of succouring you; or they will oppose us all together, and then you will have but half their forces to deal with.

'As to what remains, let no one imagine that you will expose yourselves to dangers for a people incapable of doing you service. Our country indeed lies at a considerable distance from you, but our aid is near at hand. For the war will be carried on, not in Attica, as is supposed, but in that country whose revenues are the support of Attica, and we are not far from it. Consider, also, that in abandoning us, you will increase the power of the Athenians by the addition of ours; and that no state will then dare to revolt against them. But in succouring us, you will strengthen yourselves with a fleet which you so much want; you will induce many other people, after our example, to join you; and you will take off the reproach cast upon you, of abandoning those who have recourse to your protection, which will be no inconsiderable advantage to you during the course of the war.

'We therefore implore you, in the name of Jupiter Olympius,

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in whose temple we now are, not to frustrate the hopes of the Greeks, nor reject suppliants, whose preservation may be highly advantageous, and whose ruin may be infinitely pernicious to you. Show yourselves such now, as the idea entertained of your generosity, and the extreme danger to which we are reduced, demand; that is, the protectors of the afflicted, and the deliverers of Greece.'

The allies, struck with these reasons, admitted them into the alliance of Peloponnesus. An immediate incursion into the enemy's country was resolved, and that the allies should rendezvous at Corinth with two-thirds of their forces. The Lacedæmonians arrived first, and prepared engines for transporting the ships from the gulf of Corinth into the sea of Athens, in order to invade Attica both by sea and land. The Athenians were no less active on their side; but the allies, being employed in their harvest, and beginning to grow weary of the war, were a long time before they met.

During this interval, the Athenians, who perceived that all these preparations were made against them, from a supposition that they were very weak; in order to undeceive the world, and show that they were able to furnish a fleet without calling in any of their ships from before Lesbos, put to sea a fleet of a hundred sail, which they manned with citizens as well as foreigners; not exempting a single citizen, except such only as were obliged to serve on horseback, or whose revenue amounted to five hundred measures of corn. After having showed themselves before the isthmus of Corinth, to make a display of their power, they made descents into whatever parts of Peloponnesus they pleased.

They never had had a finer fleet. They guarded their own country, and the coasts of Eubœa and Salamis with a fleet of a hundred ships: they cruised round Peloponnesus with another fleet of the like number of vessels, without including their fleet before Lesbos and other places. The whole amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty galleys. The expenses of this powerful armament entirely exhausted their treasure, which had been very much drained before by those incurred by the siege of Potidæa.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly surprised at so formidable a

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fleet, which they no ways expected, returned with the utmost expedition to their own country, and only ordered forty galleys to be fitted out for the succour of Mitylene. The Athenians had sent a reinforcement thither, consisting of a thousand heavy-armed troops, by whose assistance they made a contravallation, with forts in the most commodious places: so that it was blocked up, both by sea and land, in the beginning of winter. The Athenians were in such great want of money for carrying on this siege, that they were reduced to assess themselves, which they had never done before, and by this means two hundred * talents were sent to it.

The people of Mitylene being in want of all things, and having waited to no purpose for the succours which the Lacedæmonians had promised them, surrendered, upon condition that no person should be put to death or imprisoned, till the ambassadors, whom they should send to Athens, were returned; and that, in the mean time, the troops should be admitted into the city. As soon as the Athenians had got possession of the city, such of the factious Mityleneans as had fled to the altars for refuge, were conveyed to Tenedos, and afterwards to Athens. There the affair of the Mityleneans was debated. As their revolt had greatly exasperated the people, because it had not been preceded by any ill treatment, and seemed a mere effect of their hatred for the Athenians, in the first transports of their rage, they resolved to put all the citizens to death indiscriminately, and to make all the women and children slaves; and immediately they sent a galley to put the decree in execution.

A. M. 3577. Ant. J. C. 427.

But night gave them leisure to reflect. This severity was judged too cruel, and carried beyond its due bounds. They imagined to themselves the fate of that unhappy city, entirely abandoned to slaughter, and repented their having involved the innocent with the guilty. This sudden change of the Athenians gave the Mitylenean ambassadors some little glimmerings of hope; and they prevailed so far with the magistrates, as to have the affair debated a second time. Cleon, who had suggested the first decree, a man of a fiery temper, and who had great influence over the people, maintained his opinion with

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

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much vehemence and heat. He represented, that it was unworthy a wise government to change with every wind, and to annul in the morning what they had decreed the night before; and that it was highly important to take an exemplary vengeance on the Mityleneans, in order to awe the rest of their allies, who were every where ready to revolt.

Diodorus, who had contradicted Cleon in the first assembly, now opposed his arguments more strongly than before. After describing, in a tender and pathetic manner, the deplorable condition of the Mityleneans, whose minds (he said) must necessarily be tortured with anxiety and suspense, whilst they were expecting a sentence that was to determine their fate; he represented to the Athenians, that the fame of their mildness and clemency had always reflected the highest honour on them, and distinguished them gloriously from all other nations: he observed, that the citizens of Mitylene had been drawn involuntarily into the rebellion, a proof of which was, their surrendering the city to them, the instant it was in their power to do it: they therefore, by this decree, would murder their benefactors, and consequently be both unjust and ungrateful, as they would punish the innocent with the guilty. He observed farther, that supposing the Mityleneans in general were guilty, it would however be for the interest of the Athenians to dissemble, in order that the rigorous punishment they had decreed might not exasperate the rest of the allies; and that the best way to put a stop to the evil, would be, to leave room for repentance, and not plunge people into despair, by the absolute and irrevocable refusal of a pardon. His opinion therefore was, that they should examine very deliberately the cause of those factious Mityleneans who had been brought to Athens, and pardon all the rest.

The assembly was very much divided, so that Diodorus carried it only by a few votes. A second galley was therefore immediately fitted out. It was furnished with every thing that might accelerate its course; and the ambassadors of Mitylene promised a great reward to the crew, provided they arrived in time. They therefore made extraordinary exertions, and did not quit their oars, even when they took sustenance, but ate and drank as they rowed, and took their rest alternately; and

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very happily for them, the wind was favourable. The first galley had got a day and night's sail before them; but as those on board carried ill news, they did not make great haste. Its arrival before the city had spread the utmost consternation in every part of it: but this consternation was increased infinitely, when the decree, by which all the citizens were sentenced to die, was read in a full assembly. Nothing now was heard in all places but cries and loud laments. The moment that the sentence was going to be put in execution, advice came that a second galley was arrived. Immediately the cruel massacre was suspended. The assembly was again convened; and the decree which granted a pardon was listened to with such silence and joy, as is much easier conceived than expressed.

All the factious Mityleneans who had been taken, though upwards of a thousand, were put to death. The city was afterwards dismantled, the ships delivered up; and the whole island, the city of Methymna excepted, was divided into three thousand parts, three hundred of which were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the rest divided by lot, among such Athenians as were sent thither, to whom the natives of the country gave a revenue of two * minæ for every portion; on which condition they were permitted to keep possession of the island, but not as proprietors. The cities which belonged to the Mityleneans on the coast of Asia, were all subjected by the Athenians.

[m] During the winter of the preceding campaign, the inhabitants of Platææ, having lost all hopes of succour, and being in the utmost want of provisions, formed a resolution to escape through the enemy: but half of them, struck with the greatness of the danger, and the boldness of the enterprise, entirely lost their courage when they came to the execution; but the rest (who were about two hundred and twenty soldiers) persisted in their resolution, and escaped in the following manner.

Before I begin the description of their escape, it will be proper to inform my readers, in what sense I use certain expressions which I shall employ in it. In strictness of speech, the line of fortification which is made round a city when besieged, to prevent sallies, is called 'contravallation;' and that which is made to prevent any succours from without, is named 'circum-

[m] Thucyd. l. iii. p. 185—188.

* The Attic mina was worth a hundred drachms, that is, fifty French livres.

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vallation.' Both these fortifications were used in this siege; however, for brevity sake, I shall use only the former term.

The contravallation consisted of two walls, at sixteen feet distance one from the other. The space between the two walls being a kind of platform or terrace, seemed to be but one single building, and composed a range of caserns or barracks, where the soldiers had their lodgings. Lofty towers were built around it at proper distances, extending from one wall to the other, in order that they might be able to defend themselves at the same time against any attack from within and without. There was no going from one casern to another without crossing those towers; and on the top of the wall was a parapet on both sides, where a guard was commonly kept; but in rainy weather, the soldiers used to shelter themselves in the towers, which served as guard-houses. Such was the contravallation, on both sides of which was a ditch, the earth of which had been employed in making the bricks of the wall.

The besieged first ascertained the height of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which composed it; and this they did at different times, and employed several men for that purpose, in order that they might not mistake in the calculation. This was the easier, because as the wall stood but at a small distance, every part of it was very visible. They then made ladders of a proper length.

All things being now ready for executing the design, the besieged left the city one night when there was no moon, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain. After crossing the first ditch, they drew near to the wall undiscovered, through the darkness of the night; not to mention that the noise made by the rain and wind prevented their being heard. They marched at some distance from one another, to prevent the clashing of their arms, which were light, in order that those who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked, to keep them from sliding so easily in the mire. Those who carried the ladders laid them in the space between the towers, where they knew no guard was posted, because it rained. That instant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, six on each side. They were followed by soldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the easier;

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and their shields were carried after them to be used in the conflict.

When most of them were got to the top of the wall, they were discovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades, in taking hold of the parapet to keep himself steady, had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole camp approached the wall without discovering the occasion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night, and the violence of the storm. Besides which, those who had staid behind in the city, beat an alarm at the same time in another quarter, to make a diversion; so that the enemy did not know which way to turn themselves, and were afraid to quit their posts. But a body of reserve, of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeseen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noise; and torches were held up towards Thebes, to show that they must run that way. But those in the city, to render that signal of no use, held up others at the same time in different quarters, having prepared them on the wall for that purpose.

In the mean time, those who had mounted first having possessed themselves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were set, and having killed those who guarded them, posted themselves there to defend the passage, and keep off the besiegers. Then setting ladders from the top of the wall against the two towers, they caused a good number of their comrades to mount, in order to keep off, by the discharge of their arrows, as well those who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as others who were hastening from the neighbouring towers. Whilst this was doing, they had time to set up several ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the rest might come up with greater ease. As fast as they came up, they went down on the other side, and drew up near the ditch on the outside, to shoot at those who appeared. After they were passed over, the men who were in the towers came down last, and made to the ditch to follow after the rest.

That instant the guard of three hundred, with torches, came up. However, as the Platæans saw their enemies by this light better than they were seen by them, they took a surer aim, by

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which means the last crossed the ditch, without being attacked in their passage: but this was not done without difficulty, because the ditch was frozen over, and the ice would not bear, on account of the thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the storm was of great advantage to them.

After all were passed over, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat; because it was not likely that they would flee towards a city of the enemy's. And accordingly they perceived the besiegers, with torches in their hands, pursuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that towards Thebes about six or seven *stadia, they turned short towards the mountain, and resumed the road towards Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived out of two hundred and twenty who had quitted the place; the rest having returned back through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the side of the ditch of contravallation. The besiegers, after having pursued them to no purpose, returned to their camp.

In the mean time, the Platæans who remained in the city, supposing that all their companions had been killed, (because those who were returned, to justify themselves, affirmed they were,) sent a herald to demand the dead bodies; but being told the true state of the affair, he withdrew.

[n] About the end of the following campaign, which is that wherein Mitylene was taken, the Platæans being in absolute want of provisions, and unable to make the least defence, surrendered upon condition that they should not be punished till they had been tried by the due forms of justice. Five commissioners came for this purpose from Lacedæmon; and these, without charging them with any crime, barely asked them whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war? The Platæans were much surprised, as well as embarrassed, by this question; and were sensible, that it had been suggested by the Thebans, their professed enemies, who had vowed their destruction. They therefore put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the services they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemisium, and that

[n] Thucyd. l. iii. p. 203—220. Diod. l. xii. p. 109.
* Upwards of a quarter of a league.

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of Platææ; and particularly in Lacedæmonia, at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their slaves. The only reason (they declared) of their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was, to defend themselves from the hostilities of the Thebans, against whom they had implored the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpose: that if it was imputed to them for a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not however entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former services. 'Cast your eyes,' said they, 'on the monuments of your ancestors which you see here, to whom we annually pay all the honours which can be rendered to the manes of the dead. You thought fit to intrust their bodies with us, as we were eye-witnesses of their bravery: and yet you will now give up their ashes to their murderers, in abandoning us to the Thebans, who fought against them at the battle of Platææ. Will you enslave a province where Greece recovered its liberty? Will you destroy the temples of those gods, to whom you are indebted for victory? Will you abolish the memory of their founders, who contributed so greatly to your safety? On this occasion, we may venture to say, our interest is inseparable from your glory; and you cannot deliver up your ancient friends and benefactors to the unjust hatred of the Thebans, without overwhelming yourselves with eternal infamy.'

One would conclude, that these just remonstrances should have made some impression on the Lacedæmonians; but they were biassed more by the answer the Thebans made, which was expressed in the most haughty and bitter terms against the Platæans; and besides, they had brought their instructions from Lacedæmon. They adhered therefore to their first question, 'Whether the Platæans had done them any service since the war?' and making them pass one after another, as they severally answered 'No,' they were immediately butchered, and not one escaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner; and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the same unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken prisoners, were reduced to slavery. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from Megara and Platææ; but the year after they demolished it entirely. It was in this

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manner that the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, sacrificed the Platæans to their animosity, ninety-three years after their first alliance with the Athenians.

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

SECT. IV. THE ATHENIANS POSSESS THEMSELVES OF PYLUS AND ARE AFTERWARDS BESIEGED IN IT. THE SPARTANS ARE SHUT UP IN THE LITTLE ISLAND OF SPHACTERIA. CLEON MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF IT. ARTAXERXES DIES.—*The sixth and seventh Years of the War.* I pass over several particular incidents of the succeeding campaigns, which differ very little from one another; the Lacedæmonians making regularly every year incursions into Attica, and the Athenians into Peloponnesus: I likewise omit some sieges in different places: [p] that of Pylus, a little city of Messenia, only four *hundred furlongs from Lacedæmon, was one of the most considerable. The Athenians, headed by Demosthenes, had taken that city, and fortified themselves very strongly in it; this was the seventh year of the war. The Lacedæmonians left Attica immediately, in order to go and recover that place, and accordingly they attacked it both by sea and land. Brasidas, one of their leaders, signalized himself here by the most extraordinary acts of bravery. Opposite to the city was a little island called Sphacteria, from whence the besieged might be greatly annoyed, and the entrance of the harbour shut up. They therefore threw a chosen body of Lacedæmonians into it; making, in all, four hundred and twenty, exclusive of the Helots. A battle was fought at sea, in which the Athenians were victorious, and accordingly erected a trophy. They surrounded the island; and set a guard over every part of it, to prevent any of the inhabitants from going out, or any provisions being brought into them. A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425.

The news of the defeat being come to Sparta, the magistrate thought the affair of the utmost importance, and therefore

[o] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 232.
[p] Ibid. l. iv. p. 253—280. Diod. l. xii. p. 112—114.
* Twenty French leagues.

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came himself upon the spot, in order that he might be better able to take proper measures; when concluding that it would be impossible for him to save those who were in the island, and that they at last must necessarily be starved out, or be taken by some other means, he proposed an accommodation. A suspension of arms was concluded, in order to give the Lacedæmonians time to send to Athens; but upon condition that in the mean time they should surrender up all their galleys, and not attack the place either by sea or land, till the return of the ambassadors: that if they complied with these conditions, the Athenians would permit them to carry provisions to those who were in the island, at the *rate of so much for the master, and half for the servant; and that the whole should be done publicly, and in sight of both armies: that, on the other side, the Athenians should be allowed to keep guard round the island, to prevent any thing from going in or out of it, but should not attack it in any manner: that in case this agreement should be infringed in the least, the truce would be broken; otherwise, that it should continue in full force till the return of the ambassadors, whom the Athenians obliged themselves by the articles, to convey and bring back; and that then the Lacedæmonians should have their ships restored, in the same condition in which they had been delivered up. Such were the articles of the treaty. The Lacedæmonians began to put it in execution, by surrendering about threescore ships; after which they sent ambassadors to Athens.

Being admitted to audience before the people, they began by saying, that they were come to the Athenians to sue for that peace, which they themselves were, a little before, in a condition to grant: that it depended only upon them to acquire the glory of having restored the tranquillity of all Greece, as the Lacedæmonians consented to their being arbitrators in this treaty: that the danger to which their citizens were exposed in the island, had determined them to take such a step as could not but be very grating to Lacedæmonians: however, that their affairs were far from being desperate, and therefore,

* For the masters, two Attic chœnices of flour, making about four pounds and a half, two cotyles, or half pints of wine, and a piece of meat: with half this quantity for the servants.

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that now was the time to establish, between the two republics, a firm and solid friendship; because the affairs of both were still fluctuating, and fortune had not yet declared absolutely in favour of either: that the gods frequently abandoned those whom success makes proud, by shifting the scene, and rendering them as unfortunate as they before had been happy: that they ought to consider, that the fate of arms is very uncertain; and that the means to establish a lasting peace, is not to triumph over an enemy by oppressing him, but to agree to a reconciliation on just and reasonable terms: for then, conquered by generosity and not by violence, his future thoughts being all employed, not on revenge, but on gratitude, he makes it both his pleasure and his duty to observe his engagements with inviolable fidelity.

The Athenians had now a happy opportunity for terminating the war, by a peace which would have been no less glorious to them, than advantageous to all Greece. But Cleon who had a great ascendant over the people, prevented so important a benefit. They therefore answered, by his advice, that those who were in the island should first surrender at discretion; and afterwards be carried to Athens, on the condition of being sent back from it, as soon as the Lacedæmonians should have restored the cities which the Athenians had been forced to give up by the last treaty; and that these things being done, a firm and lasting peace should be concluded. The Lacedæmonians demanded that deputies should be appointed, and that the Athenians should engage to ratify what they should conclude. But Cleon exclaimed against this proposal, and said, it was plain they did not deal fairly, since they would not negotiate with the people, but with individuals, whom they might easily bribe; and that, if they had any thing to offer, they should do it immediately. The Lacedæmonians, finding there was no possibility for them to treat with the people, without advising with their allies, and that if any thing were to be granted by them to their prejudice, they must be responsible for it, went away without concluding any thing; fully persuaded that they must not expect equitable treatment from the Athenians, in the present state of their affairs and disposition occasioned by their prosperity.

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As soon as they were returned to Pylus, the suspension ceased; but when the Lacedæmonians came to demand back their ships, the Athenians refused to give them up, upon pretence that the treaty had been infringed in some particulars of little consequence. The Lacedæmonians inveighed strongly against this refusal, as being a manifest perfidy; and immediately prepared for war with greater vigour and animosity than before. A haughty carriage in success, and want of faith in the observance of treaties, never fail, at last, to involve a people in great calamities. This will appear by the sequel.

The Athenians continued to keep a strict guard round the island, to prevent any provisions from being brought into it, and hoped that they should soon be able to starve out the enemy. But the Lacedæmonians engaged the whole country in their interest by the views of gain, by affixing a high price upon provisions, and giving such slaves their freedom as should convey any into it. Provisions were therefore now brought (at the hazard of men's lives) from all parts of Peloponnesus. There were even divers who swam from the coast to the island, opposite to the harbour, and drew after them goat-skins filled with pounded linseed, and poppy-seed mixed with honey.

Those who were besieged in Pylus were reduced to almost the like extremities, being in want both of water and provisions. When advice was brought to Athens, that their countrymen, so far from reducing the enemy by famine, were themselves almost starved; it was feared, that as it would not be possible for the fleet to subsist during the winter, on a desert coast which belonged to the enemy, nor to lie at anchor in so dangerous a road, the island must by that means be less securely guarded, which would give the prisoners an opportunity of escaping. But the circumstance they chiefly dreaded was, lest the Lacedæmonians, after their countrymen were once extricated from their danger, should refuse to hearken to any conditions of peace; so that they now repented their having refused it when offered them.

Cleon saw plainly that these complaints would all fall upon him. He therefore began by asserting, that the report of the

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extreme want of provisions, to which the Athenians, both within and without Pylus, were said to be reduced, was absolutely false. He next exclaimed, in presence of the people, against the supineness and inactivity of the leaders who besieged the island, pretending, that were they to exert the least vigour and bravery, they might soon make themselves masters of it; and that had he the command, he would soon take it. Upon this he was immediately appointed to command the expedition; Nicias, who was before elected, resigning voluntarily that honour to him, either through weakness, for he was naturally timid, or out of a political view, in order that the ill success, which it was generally believed Cleon would meet with in this enterprise, might lose him the favour of the people. Cleon was greatly surprised as well as embarrassed; for he did not expect that the Athenians would take him at his word, he being a finer talker than soldier, and much more able with his tongue than his sword. He for some time desired leave to wave the honour they offered him, for which he alleged several excuses: but finding that the more he declined the command, the more they pressed him to accept it, he changed his note; and supplying his want of courage with rodomontade, he declared before the whole assembly, with a firm and resolute air, that he would bring, in twenty days, those of the island prisoners, or lose his life. The whole assembly, on hearing those words, set up a laugh, for they knew the man.

Cleon however, contrary to the expectation of every body, made good his words. He and Demosthenes (the other chief) landed in the island, attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from post to post, and gaining ground perpetually, at last forced them to the extremity of the island. The Lacedæmonians had gained a fort that was thought inaccessible. There they drew up in battle array, faced about to that side where alone they could be attacked, and defended themselves like so many lions. As the engagement had lasted the greatest part of the day, and the soldiers were oppressed with heat and weariness, and parched with thirst, the general of the Messenians, directing himself to Cleon and Demosthenes, said, that

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all their efforts would be to no purpose, unless they charged the enemy's rear; and promised, if they would give him but some troops armed with missive weapons, that he would by some means or other find a passage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain steep and craggy places which were not guarded, when coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a sudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage, and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble resistance; and being oppressed with numbers, attacked on all sides, and dejected through fatigue and despair, they began to give way: but the Athenians seized on all the passes to cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demosthenes, finding that should the battle continue, not a man of them would escape, and being desirous of carrying them alive to Athens, they commanded their soldiers to desist; and caused proclamation to be made by a herald, for them to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion. At these words, the greatest part lowered their shields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of suspension of arms was agreed upon; and their commander desired leave might be granted him, to dispatch a messenger to the camp, to know the resolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coast; and after several messages, a Lacedæmonian advanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided that they did not submit to dishonourable terms. Upon this, they held a conference; after which they surrendered at discretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raising a trophy, and restoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after distributing the prisoners among the several ships, and committing the guard of them to the captain of the galleys.

In this battle a hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell, out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at first; so that there survived not quite three hundred, a hundred and twenty of whom were Spartans, that is, inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The siege of the island (computing from the beginning of it, and including the time employed in

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the truce) had lasted threescore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus; and Cleon's promise, though so vain and rash, was found literally fulfilled. But the most surprising circumstance was, the capitulation that had been made; for it was believed that the Lacedæmonians, so far from surrendering their arms, would die sword in hand.

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

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

The year following, as soon as the season would permit the Athenians to put to sea, they sent the ambassador back in one

[q] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 285, 286.

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of their ships at the public expense; and appointed some of their citizens to wait upon him to the court of Persia, in quality of ambassadors. Upon landing at Ephesus, they were informed that Artaxerxes was dead; whereupon the Athenian ambassadors, thinking it not advisable to proceed farther after this news, took leave of Artaphernes, and returned to their own country.

END OF VOLUME II.

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