VIEW

OF

ANTIENT HISTORY;

INCLUDING THE PROGRESS OF

LITERATURE

AND THE

FINE ARTS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A MAP OF THE ANTIENT WORLD.

BY

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VOL. II.

FROM THE BATTLE OF MARATHON, TO THE RISE OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR;

AND

SOLD BY J. MURRAY, No 32, FLEET-STREET.

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23-08-2010

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A VIEW

A VIEW OF ANTIENT HISTORY.

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AFTER the defeat of the Perſian forces at Marathon, the attention of Darius was occupied with two important objects, that ſuſpended his reſentment againſt the Grecian Republics. Egypt revolted from his way, and a dangerous competition, concerning the ſucceſſion to the empire, took place between two of his ſons. By his firſt marriage, with the daughter of Gobrias, three ſons were born to him before his acceſſion

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to the throne; and four by Atoſſa, the daughter of Cyrus, after his elevation to the royal dignity. In this conteſt, the eldeſt ſon of the King was preferred to the eldeſt ſon of Darius; and the right of ſucceſſion was determined in favour of Xerxes. Darius died ſoon after this event.

In the ſecond year of his reign Xerxes marched an army againſt the Egyptians; and, having ſubdued theſe revolted ſubjects, committed the government of Egypt to his brother Achemenes, and returned in the latter end of the year to his palace at Suſa.

Elated with his ſucceſs againſt the Egyptians, he reſumed the long-intended project of his father; and, prompted by reſentment as well as ambition, determined to make war againſt the Greeks. The character of the Perſians, for valour, was ſtill reſpectable; the counſellors of a youthful monarch, deſcended from a line of conquerors, would be diſpoſed to ſecond the impreſſion of his lofty mind, to emulate the glory of his anceſtors, and extend the boundaries of the empire.

Though the burning of Sardis, and the defeat at Marathon, might irritate the Perſian pride; yet, to take vengeance on the Athe-

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nians was not the ſole object of Xerxes: what Herodotus has ſuggeſted appears probable, that this ambitious ſovereign might meditate the ſubjugation of all Europe, however little of it was known to him; and look to the weſtern ocean as the termination of his career, and the boundary of his conqueſts *. Hence he entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, at that time the moſt powerful people of the weſt, in which it was agreed, that while the great King was to invade Greece in perſon, with all the force of Aſia, the Carthaginians, with three hundred thouſand men, were to attack the colonies of Greek extraction in Italy and Sicily, and thus, on the ruins of the Grecian name, to lay the baſis of univerſal empire. CHAP. XV.

HAVING thus armed the weſt under the command of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, and having aſſembled the eaſt under his own banners, he ſet out from Suſa in the fifth year of his reign, after having ſpent three years in making preparations throughout all the provinces of his wide-extended empire.

As maritime ſtates could not be ſubdued,

* Herod. lib. vii. cap. 8.

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or retained in ſubjection, without a naval power, he had fitted out an armament at ſea, adequate to the greatneſs of his undertaking. Twelve hundred and ſeven gallies of war, carrying, at a medium, two hundred ſeamen, and thirty Perſians, or Sacians, who ſerved as marines, were furniſhed by the Egyptians, Phenicians, Syrians, and the nations of Lower Aſia. Three thouſand tranſports of various dimenſions, containing, at an average, a crew of eighty men, attended the fleet. The whole amounted, according to Herodotus *, to about four thouſand two hundred ſhips, and above five hundred thouſand men. To render navigation ſecure from Aſia to Europe, and along the coaſts of Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, to the centre of the Grecian ſtates, a work of prodigious labour and difficulty was undertaken. Orders were given to dig a canal, in which two gallies might ſail abreaſt, acroſs the iſthmus which joins Athos to the continent of Thrace †. Navigation, even at preſent, is dangerous in the Ægean ſea; the frequent ſhipwrecks that had happened in this ſea, and the recent diſaſters which befel Mar-

* Herod. lib. 7, cap. 87.
† Herod. lib. 7, cap. 21.

donius

donius, in attempting to double the Cape of the Peninſula, probably ſuggeſted to Xerxes a magnificent undertaking, which, perhaps, originated more from policy than oſtentation. The neck of land was only half a league broad; and a monarch, who commanded the labour of millions, could eaſily have accompliſhed a work of greater difficulty. CHAP. XV.

WHEN the levies for the land army were completed, Xerxes came in perſon to take the command, and marched immediately to Sardis, where he paſſed the winter. To tranſport his forces with celerity, from Aſia to Europe, he ordered two bridges of boats to be raiſed on a ſtrait of the Helleſpont, about ſeven furlongs in breadth. The bridges were conſtructed, one to reſiſt the current, which is always ſtrong from the Propontis, the other to withſtand the winds, which are often violent from the Ægean ſea. This double range of boats was fixed by ſtrong anchors on both ſides on the oppoſite ſhores; large beams were driven into the earth, to which vaſt cables were faſtened, that reached over the whole extent of the veſſels from one ſide of the ſtrait to the other. The decks were ſtrewed with trees and planks, and the whole covered with earth, to ſerve as a ſolid

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bottom. Rails or battlements of wicker-work were raiſed on the ſides, to remove the apprehenſion of danger, and prevent the impetuoſity of the horſes from attempting the ſea. When the whole was finiſhed, a time was fixed for croſſing the Helleſpont upon this ſingular bridge; and, in the ſpace of ſeven days and nights, the army paſſed, in uninterrupted ſucceſſion, from Abydos in Aſia to Seſtus in Europe.

XERXES then directed his march acroſs the Thracian Cherſoneſus, and arriving at Doriſcus, ſituated at the mouth of the Hebrus in Thrace, he encamped his army; and, having given orders for his fleet to follow him along the ſhore, he pauſed to review his forces by ſea and land.

WHEN we conſider the multitudes which the monarchs of the eaſt have been accuſtomed to bring into the field, beſide the regular troops, and reflect on the immenſe preparations that were made for this war, we may conceive that a prodigious army would paſs in review on this occaſion. At the ſame time the exaggerated account of Herodotus ſhocks credibility. He eſtimates the land forces, aſſembled at Doriſcus, to have amounted to one million eight hundred thouſand fighting

fighting men; and, by the recruits that joined them on the march to Thermopylæ, to have increaſed to two million one hundred thouſand. He computes the fleet to have contained five hundred and forty thouſand* ſailors and marines, which, added to the land army, make two million ſix hundred and forty thouſand. To theſe he ſubjoins a groſs computation of ſervants, ſutlers, and other military followers, to nearly an equal amount; and thus calculates the force of Xerxes at five million two hundred and eighty-three thouſand two hundred and twenty men; beſides a numberleſs multitude of women, eunuchs, and ſlaves. CHAP XV.

No antient author has adopted this extravagant account; and even his own countrymen refuſed to give it credit. Iſocrates, Cteſias, and Diodorus Siculus, ſtate the military force at ſeven or eight hundred thouſand. The vanity of the Greeks led them to exaggerate the ſtrength, and magnify the

* In an inſcription placed on the monument erected to the memory of the Greeks who fell at the battle of Thermopylæ, it is mentioned, that the Spartans had fought againſt three million of men; an exaggeration which is contradicted by the hiſtorian who records it.

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numbers of an enemy whom they had conquered.

EARLY in the ſpring Xerxes ſent deputies to the ſeveral Grecian ſtates, to require the delivery of earth and water, as a mark of ſubmiſſion. He did not obſerve the ſame ceremony with regard to the Athenians and Spartans, as they had treated with inhuman cruelty, and in contradiction to the laws of war even among barbarous nations, the ambaſſadors entruſted with a ſimilar commiſſion by Darius his father. Many of the inferior commonwealths, intimidated by the greatneſs of the Perſian name, and diſcerning no bond of union among the Grecian powers, and no meaſures concerted in common for the general defence of the country, made the required acknowledgment to the ambaſſadors, and delivered earth and water as tokens of ſubmiſſion. Nor will this appear ſurpriſing, when we conſider the real hiſtory of Greece, and the ſtate of parties at that time.

IT was an opinion then generally entertained, that the power and forces of Perſia were not to be reſiſted. The Grecian colonies in Aſia Minor, ſuperior to the parent country in opulence and population, had attempted

tempted in vain to defend themſelves againſt Crœſus, a Prince of far inferior power; and, when they were ſubjected to the mildneſs of his government, they gained an acceſſion of happineſs by their ſubmiſſion. But now when that extenſive empire, which had not only incloſed within its boundaries the antient kingdom of Lydia, with its tributary ſtates, but had already made conſiderable advances into Europe; and which to a land army, numerous beyond conception, added the greateſt naval force that was ever known in the world; how was it to be oppoſed by a few inconſiderable ſtates, whoſe territories, if ſubdued, would hardly be diſtinguiſhed in the map of the Perſian empire? Hence, from apprehenſions for their own ſecurity, many of their inferior republics endeavoured to conciliate favour by an early ſubmiſſion to the great King, and acknowledged that ſubmiſſion by the delivery of earth and water *. The factions which prevailed in the Grecian commonwealths tended farther to prevent their confederacy in the common cauſe. The inſidious policy and domineering ambition of the Lacedemonians, had become odious to

CHAP. XV.

* Herod. lib. vii. cap. 138.

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CHAP. XV. the neighbouring ſtates, many of whom adopted the ſentiments of the Argians, "That the Spartan arrogance was become "intolerable; and that they would rather be "commanded by the Barbarians, than ſub-"ject to Lacedemon*."

IT was to the Athenians chiefly that Greece was indebted for its preſervation on this critical occaſion; their particular ſituation determined them to the part which they performed. The burning of Sardis during the Ionian rebellion; their treatment of the Perſian heralds, ſo contrary to the law of nations; and, above all, their recent and celebrated victory at Marathon, had rendered them ſo obnoxious to the Perſian deſpot, that they could hope for no terms in ſubmiſſion, but the moſt abject ſlavery or inevitable deſtruction.

INDEPENDENT of theſe circumſtances, their ſpirit was too much elated by their paſt ſucceſſes to ſolicit, or even to tolerate, a foreign yoke. The victory at Marathon had diſſipated their terror of the Medes, taught them to confide in their own courage, and inſpired them with enthuſiaſm and the love of

* Herod. lib. vii. cap. 148.

glory. Hence, says Herodotus, forming a plan for the general liberty of Greece, they rouſed to energy all the ſtates which were undecided in the cauſe, and, next under the Gods, repelled the Perſian invaſion. Eventful and alarming periods call forth extraordinary abilities, and great occaſions produce great men. Two illuſtrious Athenians, Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, now attracted the expectations of their countrymen, whoſe ſubſequent rank in hiſtory merits an intimate knowledge of their characters. CHAP. XV.

ARISTIDES was deſcended from a family of the higheſt claſs. An admirer of the Spartan conſtitution, he had carefully ſtudied the laws of Lycurgus; and hence, both from birth and education, became attached to the ariſtocratical party at Athens. Juſtice was the prevailing feature in his character, and the rule of his conduct both in public and in private life. Delicately diſintereſted, he refuſed to accept of employments from the recommendation of his friends, leſt it ſhould lay him under a dangerous obligation. Diſcerning the merit of others, but unconſcious of his own; it was he who firſt reſigned his day of command to Miltiades, in the former war. Contented with a ſmall fortune, he rejected the offers of his friends;

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friends; and, from his ſimple manner of life, might have been a citizen of Sparta. Indifferent about popularity, he acquired real fame. When a play of Eſchylus was performing, and the actor was repeating a verſe which deſcribes the character of Amphiaraus, "He "does not deſire to appear a virtuous man, "but to be ſo," the whole audience turned their eyes to Ariſtides.

THEMISTOCLES was a Plebeian by birth. Born with great abilities, ambition was his ruling paſſion. In early youth he ſhewed ſuch ſymptoms of a bold and fiery, and at the ſame time ſhrewd diſpoſition, that his maſter predicted he would either be a bleſſing or a curſe to his country. Humble from ambition, he courted the multitude; becauſe he knew it was only by them he could riſe. Affable and complaiſant, he was always ready to oblige; he knew all the citizens by name; and, ſolicitous to procure friends, paid little regard to the means by which they are acquired or retained. But if his moral qualities were doubtful, his political character was unrivalled; and in this regard, as Thucydides, a good judge of human nature, has obſerved, no perſon was more worthy the admiration of poſterity. He poſſeſſed that natural ſagacity,

city, the rareſt and happieſt talent for the management of public affairs, which, reſembling the perceptions of ſenſe more than the operations of intellect, ſeizes its object by intuition, and follows it with the certainty of inſtinct.

THESE two characters ſtood at the head of the different parties in the city. From their childhood they had been at variance, even in their ſports; a proof that their contrariety of opinion proceeded from a diſcordance of nature. Themiſtocles was the bolder genius; Ariſtides the gentler ſpirit. Forming great views, Themiſtocles looked to the end; conceiving humble intentions, Ariſtides regarded the means. The former was the greater ſtateſman; the latter the better man.

THE battle of Marathon had ſuggeſted a bold enterprize to the active mind of Themiſtocles. Revolving his ſcheme, he roamed the ſtreets at night, and told thoſe he met, that the trophy of Miltiades would not allow him to reſt: while the Athenians, after their victory over the Perſians, abandoned themſelves to joy, or renewed their old diſſentions. Themiſtocles conſidered that ſucceſs as the prognoſtic of a coming ſtorm, and repeated daily in the ears of his countrymen, that the Perſian

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Perſian war, ſo far from being ended, was but juſt begun. But before he made preparations for a danger that was diſtant, he thought it neceſſary to rid himſelf of a rival, who was ready on all occaſions to thwart his views.

THE Oſtraciſm had been already introduced into the Athenian ſtate, though by whom, or in what period, is unknown; by this, men eminent to ſuch a degree as to threaten the ſtate with danger, were baniſhed for ten years. This exile was not a puniſhment for a crime, but a kind of honourable retirement, and employed as a curb to the growing power of a dangerous citizen. Something ſimilar prevailed in many of the antient republics, and perhaps was neceſſary in ſmall ſtates, where equality prevails; though, among the Athenians in particular, it was frequently abuſed. The method of proceeding was this: The citizens took ſhells, and, having written upon them the name of the perſon they wiſhed to baniſh, carried them to the place appointed by law: then the magiſtrates numbered the ſhells; if they amounted to ſix thouſand, the ſentence of exile took place, leaving, however, to the baniſhed perſon the diſpoſal of his eſtate.

IT will appear ſurpriſing, that Themiſtocles

cles could raiſe the popular reſentment againſt a man ſo reſpectable and ſo amiable as Ariſtides; he effected it, however, by making that very title which atteſted his virtue, his accuſation. He whiſpered about, that Ariſtides, having aſſumed the name of Juſt, and frequently acting as judge between contending parties, had inſenſibly eſtabliſhed a monarchy, though without the title; and erected a throne, though without pomp or guards. "For "what conſtitutes a tyrant," ſaid he, "but "giving laws?" On a ſudden, and when it was leaſt expected, the citizens and countrymen flocked to the forum, and demanded the Oſtraciſm. A peaſant who could not write, and knew not this great man, applied to him to write the name of Ariſtides upon his ſhell. "What injury has that man done to you?" ſaid the virtuous citizen of Athens. "None at all," replied the ruſtic, "only I am weary of hearing him every where called the Juſt." Ariſtides wrote his own name upon the ſhell, and delivered it to the peaſant. The ſix thouſand ſuffrages were given: he received his ſentence with magnanimity; and, departing from the city, beſought the Gods, that the Athenians might never ſee the day which ſhould force them to remember Ariſtides.

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THIS unworthy ſtratagem would have left an indelible ſtain upon the memory of Themiſtocles, if it had not been effaced by his ſubſequent ſplendid and meritorious ſervices. Delivered now from a rival, who always oppoſed, and often obſtructed his deſigns, he applied to his grand project, putting his country in a ſtate of preparation for a war with Perſia, which he beheld at no great diſtance. He ſaw the weakneſs, and examined the reſources, of Athens. Happily ſituated for a marine, their fleet was inferior to that of the Eginatans, their neighbours. By becoming a maritime power, Athens would increaſe her wealth and extend her dominion.

EGINA was a little iſland or rock, ſituated in the Saronic Gulph, which divides the territories of Attica from the northern ſhores of Peloponneſus. The rocky and barren ſoil had early compelled the inhabitants to ſeek ſuſtenance from the watery element; the bark was ſoon improved into the veſſel; the troop of fiſhermen became a nation of merchants; and their naval experience and power, during the uſurpation at Athens, had arrogated the dominion of the ſeas.

ON the invaſion of Greece, under Datis,

the Æginetans were the firſt who acknowledged ſubjection to the Perſian King from enmity to the Athenians, their antient rivals in trade, and now become too powerful for them to contend with, unleſs aided by ſuch a ſtrong alliance as that period preſented. CHAP. XV.

THE conduct of the Æginetans, in delivering earth and water to the Perſian heralds, renewed the antient hoſtilities between them and the Athenians. This iſland being engaged in a ſubordinate alliance with Sparta, it was thought proper to demand, at the hand of the ſovereign ſtate, chaſtiſement of that people who had deſerted the cauſe of Greece, and joined the common enemy. The Spartans liſtened to the remonſtrance, and taking ten of the principal citizens from Ægina, ſent them hoſtages to Athens, as ſecurity for the fidelity of their countrymen. This mutual animoſity ſoon produced a naval war, which was carried on for ſome time with various ſucceſs, but with uniform animoſity and exertion. Theſe conteſts with Ægina merit attention, as they mark the cauſes and the progreſs of the Athenian greatneſs at ſea, and account for thoſe "*wooden walls*," which roſe up ſo ſuddenly the ſafe-

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guard and bulwark of Greece. The expedition to the coaſt of Ionia, and the ſiege of Sardis, had awakened the ſpirit, and improved the means of naval armaments; and the Æginetan war had taught the ſhip-builder and engineer the advantages of their art, and had given the mariner the courage and dexterity of habit.

HERODOTUS ſcruples not to affirm, that Greece owed its preſervation to this war, as it firſt obliged the Athenians to raiſe a marine *.

THE Athenians poſſeſſed a rich ſilver mine at Mount Larium, a part of Attica. As the treaſury was rich, it had been determined, in the true ſpirit of republican rapacity, that the revenue ariſing from the mine ſhould be appropriated to relieve the wants of the citizens, or be diſſipated in the public amuſements. While the minds of the people were agitated with the ſtrongeſt reſentment againſt the Æginetans, Themiſtocles propoſed, that this annual revenue ſhould be deſtined to the purpoſe of building ſhips of war, by which they might deſtroy the fleets of their antient rivals and enemies. The propoſal was adopt-

* Lib. vii. cap. 144.

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ed, and two hundred gallies were ſoon equip- CHAP.
ped, of a ſuperior ſize and conſtruction to any XV.
hitherto known in Greece *.

WHILE the army of Xerxes was approaching, thoſe republics which had determined to defend their liberties to the laſt, concerted meaſures for forming a common confederacy among all the Grecian ſtates. Deputies were ſent from the iſthmus of Corinth, conſiſting of repreſentatives from Athens and Lacedæmon, and from ſeveral ſtates of Peloponneſus. Having agreed to ſuſpend their antient quarrels and private animoſities, they ſent ambaſſadors to Argos, to Sicily, and to the Iſlands of Corcyra and Crete, to deſire ſuccours, and conclude a league againſt the common enemy. The inhabitants of Argos refuſed to join the confederacy, upon the pretence that they could not be admitted to an equal ſhare of the command. Gelo, King of Syracuſe, promiſed to aſſiſt them with a numerous army and a powerful fleet, on condition that they would make him generaliſſimo of all their forces by ſea and land. National pride and republican jealouſy prevented them from complying with his requiſition, while

* Plato de Legib. lib. 3.

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in the mean time, the approach of three hundred thouſand Carthaginians, commanded by Hamilcar, rendered his whole force neceſſary to defend Sicily. Moſt of the other ſtates ſubmitted to Xerxes. Theſpia and Platea alone took part with the Athenians and Spartans.

WHILE the deputies were ſitting at Corinth, and conſulting about the conduct of the war, intelligence was brought from Theſſaly, that the Perſian army had croſſed the Helleſpont, and was directing its march toward that frontier. As the Theſſalians had entered with alacrity and zeal into the confederacy, they expected that an immediate and effectual force would be aſſembled to guard the narrow paſſes which lead into their country. The celebrated valley of Tempe, between the mountains of Olympus and Oſſa, is the only paſſage from Lower Macedonia into Theſſaly. The Theſſalians ſuppoſed that the enemy would endeavour to penetrate into their country by this defile. Accordingly their ambaſſadors intreated and urged the confederated Greeks to ſend a powerful army from the ſouthern ſtates, to aſſiſt them in defending that important paſs. Their remonſtrance, delivered with energy, animated the heſitating councils

of

of the allied Greeks. A body of ten thou- CHAP. ſand foot embarked under the command of XV. Themiſtocles the Athenian, and Evœnetus a Spartan; and ſailing through the Euripus, marched acroſs the country, and occupied the valley of Tempe. As the Theſſalians excelled in cavalry, their horſe, joined to the infantry ſent from the other ſtates of Greece, were ſufficient to defend that inlet againſt the moſt numerous forces.

THE Grecian army had not been long in this ſituation, when a meſſenger from Alexander, ſon of Amintas, tributary prince of Macedon, announced to them, that the Perſian army, on its way to attack them, was immenſe and irreſiſtible; that there was another paſſage into Theſſaly, through Upper Macedonia; and adviſing them to make a timely retreat, to avoid being overwhelmed by the myriads of Aſia. Conſcious that their ſtrength was inſufficient to defend both paſſes, Themiſtocles and Evœnetus reimbarked their troops, and returned to the iſthmus of Corinth. Thus forſaken, and thinking themſelves betrayed, by their allies, the Theſſalians ſubmitted to the Perſian King, and entered with zeal into his ſervice.

THE Grecian confederacy, which remained to reſiſt the whole force of the Perſian em-

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pire, now conſiſted of a few little ſtates, whoſe united territories did not equal ſingle provinces in the kingdoms of modern Europe; neither was there among theſe any cordial unanimity, nor any general concert for employing their forces in one direction with vigour and effect. The critical ſituation of their affairs ſtruck terror into the reſpective ſtates. The oracles, which had ſuch a mighty influence in the antient world, were ambiguous and alarming. They denounced to the Lacedæmonians, that "Sparta or its King muſt fall." The reſponſe to the Athenians was, "to ſeek refuge within their wooden walls." While different opinions were given concerning the interpretation of the oracle, Themiſtocles (by whom it had probably been ſuggeſted) affirmed, "that their wooden walls were their fleet, to which the God deſired them to truſt for protection." This interpretation, ſupported by his eloquence and authority, was, at laſt, adopted, although Epicides, a preſumptuous and popular demagogue, oppoſed it with all his influence; and, ſeizing this occaſion to blacken the character, and fruſtrate the expectations of Themiſtocles, inſiſted that he himſelf ſhould be appointed to the chief command of the army.

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The ſagacious Themiſtocles, who knew the character of his opponent, ſilenced his oppoſition by a ſeaſonable bribe; and was unanimouſly choſen general. The Athenian gallies, being joined with thoſe of Corinth, Eubœa, Ægina, and the maritime ſtates of Peloponneſus, compoſed a fleet of three hundred ſail. They directed their courſe to the ſtrait, which ſeparates the coaſt of Eubœa from that of Theſſaly; and, taking their ſtation at the promontory of Artemiſium, waited for the arrival of the Perſian fleet. After having completely manned the fleet, the confederates were able, excluſive of their ſlaves, to muſter an army of ſixty thouſand men. The firſt ſtep taken by the allies was to ſend Leonidas, at the head of ten thouſand men, to take poſſeſſion of the defile of Thermopylæ, ſituated at the foot of Mount Oeta, between Theſſaly and Phocis, the only paſs by which the Perſian army could penetrate into Achaia. This paſs obtained its name from the adjacent hot ſprings, and was conſidered as the gate or opening into Greece. Near the plain of the city Trachis, the paſſage was fifty feet broad; but towards the north of Thermopylæ the mountains ſo cloſed, and towards the ſouth ſo preſſed upon the ſea, as not to admit two

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carriages to paſs abreaſt. No ſituation could be better adapted than this celebrated ſpot for the ſmall band of heroic Greeks to withſtand the multiplying myriads of Perſia. It had this further and ſingular advantage, that the ſtation of the Grecian fleet at Artemiſium was only fifteen miles diſtant.

XERXES, after marching through Thrace and Macedonia, came at laſt to the paſs of Thermopylæ, guarded by the Grecian troops. Theſe amounted to eleven thouſand men, four thouſand of whom were more immediately deſtined to defend the paſſage. Every man of that number was determined to conquer or to die.

THE Perſian monarch, meeting only with ſubmiſſion in his long march through Aſia and Europe, was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment when he found what he looked upon as an inconſiderable province, meditated reſiſtance, and that a handful of Greeks dared to diſpute his entrance into their country. Being informed by Demaratus that a ſmall number of men might, at this paſs, ſuſpend the motion of all his army, he ſent meſſengers to Leonidas, and the leaders of the Greeks, deſiring them to deliver up their arms. They anſwered, in the ſpirit and the ſtyle of Spartans,

tans, "Come and take them." The meſſen- CHAP.
gers then offered them vaſt poſſeſſions in land, XV.
on condition of their entering into an alliance with the Great King; but they replied, "That it was the cuſtom of their commonwealth to conquer lands by valour, not to acquire them by treachery." Excepting theſe laconic anſwers, they paid no attention to the Perſians, but continued their gymnaſtic exerciſes, entertained themſelves with muſic and diſcourſe, or adjuſted their long hair, according to their cuſtom, when they engaged in war. The meſſengers, on their return to the Perſian camp, deſcribed what they had ſeen and heard, and related the unexpected event of their commiſſion. It was beyond the conception of Xerxes, and therefore he could not believe that the Grecians were come to Thermopylæ for the ſole end of dying for their country. Accordingly he waited four days, expecting that they would retreat from his irreſiſtible army; but as they remained unſhaken and determined, he prepared to chaſtiſe their inſolence and obſtinacy.

On the fifth day, he gave orders to the Medes and Ceſſians of his army to attack the Greeks under Leonidas, and bring them alive into his preſence. Theſe troops advanced with ardor

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ardor to the engagement; but were ſoon repulſed with great ſlaughter, and ſhewed, ſays Herodotus, that Xerxes had a great many attendants, but few ſoldiers. The Sacæ, armed with hatchets, next advanced, but were compelled to retreat with equal diſgrace. At laſt the Perſian guards, called the *immortal band*, were ſent under the command of Hydarnes to finiſh the conteſt; but their numbers were uſeleſs on ground ſo confined, and their ſhort weapons were inſufficient when oppoſed to the Grecian ſpear. Their attacks, however, were often renewed, and varied in every direction. Numbers fell, but no impreſſion was made on the firm battalions of the Greeks. The Great King, who beheld the battle from an eminence, is ſaid to have ſtarted thrice in anxious emotion from his throne, and fearing leſt the flower of his army ſhould be cut off, ordered them to be recalled from the ſcene of action; yet hoping, from the ſmall numbers of the Greeks, that their ſtrength or courage would be exhauſted by the fatigue of inceſſant attacks, he ventured next day to renew the engagement. But the little army of Leonidas ſtill kept their ground; and the Perſians, after ineffectual endeavours to force their way through the defile, were compelled to retire with diſappointment and diſgrace.

WHILE

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WHILE Xerxes, anxious and perplexed, knew not what reſolution to take, Epialtes, an inhabitant of the country, induced by the hopes of reward, brought information of another paſs over the mountains of Oeta, ſeveral miles weſtward of that defended by Leonidas. Along this path, formerly frequented by the Theſſalians, but now unknown, except among the neighbouring inhabitants, he propoſed to conduct a detachment of twenty thouſand Perſians, who might attack the enemy in rear, while the main body aſſailed them in front.

THIS plan was immediately adopted by the Perſian generals. Towards the cloſe of the ſeventh day, after the arrival of Xerxes at Thermopylæ, twenty thouſand choſen men marched from the camp, under the command of Hydarnes. They advanced all night without interruption, and arrived by day-break near the ſummit of the hill, where a guard of a thouſand Phocians had been ſent by Leonidas to defend this important, though, as he thought, unknown paſs. A foreſt of oaks, with which the mountain was covered, had concealed the approach of the enemy.

THE Phocians, who had neglected the neceſſary precaution of advanced guards, were firſt alarmed by the noiſe of a multitude of men

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men treading among the fallen leaves; which, from the ſerenity of the atmoſphere, they heard at ſome diſtance.

HAVING diſcovered their danger, they immediately ran to arms; but in the moment of ſurpriſe, ſuppoſing themſelves the ultimate objects of the attack, they abandoned the paſs which they had been ſent to guard, and retreated to a higher part of the mountain, to gain more advantageous ground for defence. But as the object of the detachment was not to cut off this inconſiderable party, the prudent Hydarnes left them to enjoy their place of ſafety, and immediately ſeizing the paſſage, deſcended the mountain with celerity, to carry into execution the object of his expedition.

EARLY in the morning, information was brought by the ſcouts of the army, that the Perſians had paſſed the Phocian guard, and were deſcending towards the plain. Leonidas called a council of war to deliberate on this important and alarming information. All, except the Spartans, gave it as their opinion, that it was neceſſary to abandon a poſt which they could no longer maintain, and that, as their exertions in the preſent ſituation would be fruitleſs, it was prudent to reſerve themſelves for a more advantageous occaſion of ſerving their

their country. The debate ended in a general reſolution to retreat with ſpeed to their reſpective cities, the Lacedæmonians, Theſpians, and Bœotians only remaining. The Theſpians alone voluntarily continued with Leonidas. Their republic was united in the ſtricteſt alliance with Sparta, by which they had been often defended againſt the tyranny of the Thebans. The Bœotians were detained by the expreſs deſire of Leonidas, who kept them as hoſtages rather than auxiliaries, on account of the known diſaffection of their country to the Grecian cauſe. Theſe, with three hundred Spartans, all of them choſen men, and celebrated for valour, compoſed the army of Leonidas. CHAP. XV.

THE Spartan king, with his little band of heroic and ſelf-devoted followers, reſolved on this occaſion to exhibit to the world a memorable example of obedience to the laws of Lycurgus, which prohibited on whatever occaſion to deſert their poſt, or to fly from an enemy. The ſubjects of other ſtates might follow the dictates of prudence or expediency; but the Spartans could only hear and obey the voice of glory, and the call of their country.

PLACED in the poſt of honour by the general conſent of Greece, they choſe rather die than deſert

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deſert that ſtation, and they determined therefore, though at the expence of their lives, to confirm the pre-eminence of Sparta, to earn immortal fame, and to give an example of patriotiſm to the laſt ages of Greece. Animated by the example of their leader, each Lacedæmonian and Theſpian under his command devoted himſelf to death; but reſolved to die in ſuch a manner as ſhould be glorious to himſelf, and beneficial to his country. When he ordered them to "prepare the laſt meal of their lives, and to dine like men, who at night ſhould ſup with their fathers," they ſent up a ſhout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet.

When Hydarnes, with his detachment of twenty thouſand men, had nearly approached to the rear of the Greeks, a choſen band of Perſians advanced to the aſſault in front. To guard the defile, when they muſt inevitably be ſurrounded, was no longer an object to Leonidas, and his attendants; but to chuſe the ſpot, where, in ſacrificing themſelves, they might make the greateſt havoc among the enemy.

Conscious of certain death, it was now time to prepare for the laſt effort of generous deſpair. Advancing to the wideſt part of the valley,

valley, they attacked the Perſians with the moſt impetuous valour, ſpread a ſcene of carnage on all ſides, and in the confuſion that enſued, many of the undiſciplined barbarians were driven into the ſea, while numbers were trodden to death by their fellow ſoldiers. Leonidas fell early in the engagement, at the head of his heroic Spartans. The conflict however was continued favourably for the Greeks, till Hydarnes attacked their rear. Collected in themſelves, though retiring to return no more, they took poſt behind the wall of Thermopylæ. The Thebans took this opportunity of expreſſing their early attachment to the Perſians, and with outſtretched arms begged mercy of the conquerors. Many of them were killed in the act of ſurrendering themſelves; the remainder, being made priſoners, ſurvived only to infamy. The Lacedæmonians and Theſpians continued to fight with all the fury of deſpair, till the wall was broken down and the enemy entered by the breaches. It was no longer poſſible to reſiſt the weapons of ſurrounding multitudes; this undaunted band periſhed to the laſt man, overwhelmed rather than conquered by the Perſian arms. CHAP. XV.

To the memory of thoſe brave defenders of Greece,

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Greece, a magnificent monument was afterwards erected on the ſpot where they fell, bearing two inſcriptions; one in honour of all thoſe who had fallen on that occaſion, importing, that a thouſand Greeks had reſiſted the progreſs of the Perſian army, conſiſting of millions. The other, to the memory of Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans, expreſſed in a few ſimple words by the poet Simonides: "*Tell, ſtranger, at Sparta, that you wept over the aſhes of the three hundred, who devoted themſelves to death in obedience to the laws of their country.*"

TWENTY thouſand Perſians fell in this engagement, and among the reſt the two brothers of Xerxes.

THE action at Thermopylæ had ſerious and deciſive effects both upon the Perſians and the Greeks. It convinced the Perſians of the high ſpirit, and deſperate valour of that people with whom they were to engage, and taught them at what a price victory was to be obtained. The conduct of the Greeks on this occaſion merits our higheſt praiſe. When monarchy has become the general government of Europe; when ſtates are compoſed of ſubjects, not of citizens, and war is carried on by mercenary troops, it is difficult for us to conceive

ceive the feelings of freemen when their country was in danger, and their liberty at ſtake. Even the commonwealths which are under our inſpection, compoſed of merchants and manufacturers accuſtomed to the functions of civil life, give us but an imperfect idea of the martial republics of antiquity, and ſeldom produce examples of thoſe prodigies of valour which originate from enthuſiaſm and deſpair: The day of Thermopylæ announced the laſt reſolution of the Athenians and Spartans, to die free, rather than to live ſlaves; and taught the Great King, that with all the millions of the Eaſt, it might be poſſible to exterminate the Greeks, but it was impoſſible to ſubdue them.

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From the Battle of THERMOPYLÆ, *to the Naval Victory at* SALAMIS.

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DURING theſe memorable operations, the Grecian fleet had anchored in the harbour of Artemiſium. That of the Perſians lay in the road that reaches from Caſtanæa, to the promontory of Sepias, on the Theſſalian coaſt. The road of Caſtanæa was open to the north and north-eaſt winds; and ſo little ſpacious, that an eighth diviſion only of the Perſian fleet could be moored in one line againſt the ſhore; the other ſeven rode at anchor, with the prows of the veſſels towards the ſea. The ſecond day after their arrival, a tempeſt blew from the north-eaſt, and the ſurges ſwelled to an amazing height. The line of gallies next the ſhore were drawn upon the beach; of the others many were driven from their anchors; ſome daſhed to pieces on the toreland of Sepias; others on the cliffs of Pelion; while ſeveral were wrecked near the town of Meliboea. Four hundred gallies were

ſunk or deſtroyed, in this ſtorm, beſides ſuch a number of tranſports, that the Perſians, dreading a revolt of the Theſſalians, erected a temporary fort againſt any ſudden attack, compoſed of the wreck of their veſſels. CHAP. XVI.

THEY ſoon quitted this inſecure ſtation, and, with eight hundred ſhips of war, beſides tranſports, ſailed into the road of Aphetæ, oppoſite to the harbour of Artemiſium.

WHEN the Grecian ſentinels, poſted on the Eubœan heights announced the fate of the enemy's fleet, a grateful ſacrifice was offered to "Neptune the Deliverer;" but, the approach of an enemy, whoſe ſhattered remains were yet formidable, converted their tranſports of joy into anxiety for their preſent ſituation.

THE Grecian fleet conſiſted of two hundred and ſeventy-one gallies with three tier of oars, beſides ſmaller veſſels. Each of theſe gallies carried a hundred and twenty rowers, beſides forty ſoldiers; but, on emergencies, the whole crew acted with arms. Of this fleet, more than one-half was furniſhed by the Athenians; yet ſuch was the preſent influence, owing to the antient pre-eminence of Sparta, that the allies refuſed to ſerve under any but a Lacedemonian commander. Eurybiades was therefore appointed admiral of the

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fleet. The moderation of the Athenian leaders, who acquieſced in this partial deciſion, and their ſuperiority to little paſſions in ſtill proſecuting with zeal the great object of the common confederacy, have merited and obtained the praiſe of antient and modern hiſtorians. But the genius of Themiſtocles, equally penetrating and provident, gained him an aſcendency which no political arrangement could preclude; and though Eurybiades had the name, he exerciſed the authority of admiral.

On the arrival of the Perſian fleet near the harbour of Artemiſium, an alarm ſpread on all ſides, and reached the commanders of the Grecian ſquadrons. It was propoſed in a council of war to retreat to the interior ſeas of Greece. The Eubœans, whoſe coaſts muſt thus have been left open to the invaſion of the Perſians, were alarmed at this reſolution. They implored Eurybiades that the fleet might remain for the protection of their iſland, at leaſt till they could remove their families and valuable effects to a place of ſafety. The Spartan admiral refuſed their requeſt. They then applied to Themiſtocles. The opinion which he had already adopted coincided with their deſire; and he told them, "that though their

their eloquence could not perſuade, their gold might influence the Grecian commanders, and that, for thirty talents *, he would engage that the fleet ſhould remain for the defence of their coaſts." The money was delivered into his hands. A diſtribution of eight talents, ſecured the acquieſcence of the other captains to his opinion, the remainder he retained in his hand, to be uſefully employed in future contingencies. CHAP. XVI.

THE Perſians, having recovered from the ſhock of their late misfortunes, prepared to attack the Grecian fleet; but confident in the ſuperiority of their numbers, and ſecure of victory, they delayed the attack till they had ſent two hundred gallies round Eubœa to prevent the enemy from eſcaping through the narrow ſeas. The Greeks being informed of this ſtratagem by Scyllias, a deſerter from the Perſian fleet, reſolved to ſail at midnight againſt the detached ſquadron; and, by attacking it ſeparately, turn the ſtratagem of the enemy againſt themſelves; but, having received no farther intelligence of it in the evening, they prepared to make an attack upon the Perſian fleet. Accordingly, about ſun-ſet, they advanced in order of battle.

* About ſix thouſand pounds.

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A ſharp engagement enſued, and the Greeks took thirty gallies from the enemy, though the victory was not deciſive. The approach of night, with a ſtorm, attended by rain and thunder, ſeparated the combatants. The Greeks retreated to the harbour of Artemiſium; the Perſians were driven to the coaſt of Theſſaly.

THE violence of the ſtorm drove the wrecks of the late engagement, and the dead bodies, againſt the ſides of the ſhips, and impeded the motion of their oars. Repeated flaſhes of lightning, amidſt the darkneſs of the night, ſerved only to diſcover the horrors of the ſcene, while the reverberation of the thunder among the neighbouring mountains of Pelion, ſtruck the mariners with the dreadful imagination that the gods were in this manner denouncing their vengeance. Nor was it unreaſonable that the Greeks in the Perſian fleet ſhould be agitated with ſuch ſuperſtitious fears, as, according to the creed of their age, they were making war againſt the divinities of their country. By good fortune rather than conduct the greater part eſcaped with ſafety into the Pegaſean Bay.

THE fate of the detachment which was to ſail round Eubœa was ſtill more diſaſtrous. Expoſed in an unknown ſea, and in a dark night,

night, to thunder, lightning, and ſtorm, they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, and met their fate among the dangerous rocks of the Eubœan coaſt. "Thus it was the will of the Deity," ſays Herodotus, "to reduce the Perſian force more nearly to an equality with the Grecian."

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NEXT day a reinforcement of fifty-three Athenian ſhips joined the Grecian fleet, and announced the deſtruction of the Perſian ſquadron on the Eubœan rocks. Encouraged and elated by theſe advantages, the confederates reſolved to attack the enemy in the duſk of the evening, which, from their knowledge of the coaſt was particularly favourable to their deſigns. They accordingly made the attempt, and, having ſeparated the Cilician ſquadron, from the main fleet, totally deſtroyed it, and in the night reſumed their ſtation at Artemiſium.

IRRITATED and diſgraced by repeated diſaſters and inſults from ſuch an inferior force, the Perſian commanders reſolved on the following day by one vigorous effort to repair their loſſes, and regain the honour of which they had been deprived. As the Greeks had gained their advantages by ſtratagem, and under covert of the night, they advanced

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to the attack at noon in the form of a ſemicircle, with a view to incloſe the enemy. The Greeks waited in the advantageous ſtation which they had choſen. The plan of attack formed by the Perſians appears to have been ill executed. In making their approach to the enemy, they croſſed and fell againſt one another. The battle, however, was more vigorouſly maintained than on any former occaſion. Five Grecian gallies were taken by the Egyptians, who appear to have ſignalized themſelves in that engagement. More than half the Athenian ſquadron was diſabled. The doubtful victory was claimed by the Greeks, who remained in poſſeſſion of the wrecks and the dead; but, from the diſtreſſes which their fleet had ſuffered, it was reſolved immediately to retreat to the interior ſeas of Greece. This reſolution was confirmed by the arrival of Abronychus, an Athenian, who related the event of the battle of Thermopylæ. They now retreated without delay, and, having paſſed the Euripus, they coaſted along the ſhore of Attica, and anchored at Salamis.

BEFORE the departure of the fleet, Themiſtocles, ever fertile in expedients for the good of his country, engraved on the rocks near the watering-place of Artemiſium, which he knew would

would ſoon be viſited by the enemy, the following inſcription: "Men of Ionia, your conduct is inexcuſable, in warring againſt your anceſtors, and endeavouring to enſlave Greece. Repair, therefore, the injury, and come over to our ſide. But if you are compelled by neceſſity to remain with the Perſian fleet, avoid acting againſt us when we come to an engagement. Remember that you are deſcended from the ſame blood with us, and that our quarrel with the Perſians was on your account." CHAP. XVI.

By theſe means the Grecian commander hoped either to recall the attachment of the Ionians to their antient friends, or at leaſt to render them ſuſpected to their new maſters *.

When the Grecians had quitted the road of Artemiſium, Xerxes gave orders that his fleet, after ravaging the coaſts of Eubœa, ſhould proceed to the harbour of Athens; while he himſelf, at the head of his immenſe army, intended to march, or rather to make a triumphal entry, into the territories of Attica. His route lay through the countries of Phocis and Bœotia, the latter of which had been early attached to the Perſian cauſe. The Phocians remained faithful to the Grecian confederacy,

* Herod. lib. viii. cap. 40, 41.

and

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and were farther confirmed in their attachment, after the Theſſalians, their antient enemies, had joined the Aſiatic invaders.

A NATURAL jealouſy and rivalſhip ſubſiſted not only between the Theſſalians and Phocians, but between all the Grecian ſtates: and that Thebes and Argos appeared on the ſide of Perſia, may in a great meaſure be attributed to their deſire of humbling the power of Athens and of Sparta.

WHEN the hoſt of Xerxes had entered the territory of Phocis, at the inſtigation of the Theſſalians, rather than from the cruelty of the Perſians, deſtruction was begun by fire and ſword. While the main body of the army followed the courſe of the Cephiſus, detachments plundered and burned to the ground, Charadra, Elatæa, and other flouriſhing towns. Even the ſacred walls of Abé, with its temple dedicated to Apollo, and celebrated for its oracles, did not prevent Theſſalian and Perſian fury from plundering the holy ſhrine, and appropriating the donations which ſuperſtition had amaſſed for ages. The people fled to the mountains, or were reduced to ſlavery.

AFTER theſe dreadful devaſtations were committed, the grand army marched through Bœotia

Bœotia towards Athens; a detachment was sent from Panopeus, to plunder the temple of Apollo at Delphi*. Instructed by the recent and disastrous fate of Abé, that religion was insufficient to protect the persons or the property of its votaries, the Delphians consulted the Oracle, "whether they should bury their treasures, or transport them to another country?" The Pythian propheteſs replied, "That Apollo would defend his own shrine." The cares of the Delphians were now confined to their own safety, and that of their families. They sent their wives and children across the Corinthian Gulph into Achaia. The men climbed to the tops of Parnassus, or descended into a vast cavern on the side of that mountain. All left Delphi, except sixty venerable ministers of religion, and the prophet of the God. When the Persian detachment drew near to Delphi, and were in sight of the temple of Minerva, the prophet saw the sacred armour, which it is unlawful for mortals to touch, brought by some invisible power from the innermost recesses of the fane, and laid before the edifice. No sooner had the advanced guard arrived at the chapel, which is

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* Herod. lib. viii. cap. 35.

in

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in front of the great temple, than the air was darkened; thunder and lightning ſmote them from heaven; two vaſt fragments rolled down from the mountain with prodigious violence, overwhelmed the proſtrate Perſians, while ſhouts of warlike acclamation echoed from the fane. The impious and hoſtile bands were ſtruck with a panic; the Delphians, believing from theſe manifeſt ſigns that the divinity defended his favourite manſion, ruſhed from their caverns and concealments, and ſlaughtered without reſiſtance theſe victims of ſuperſtitious terror.*, The ſurvivors fled with precipitation to Bœotia.

SUCH is the marvellous tale which the ingenuity of prieſts has invented, and popular ſuperſtition has believed; but "which, when ſtript of its preternatural machinery," ſays an ingenious and learned hiſtorian †, leaves an account remaining neither improbable nor defective. The prieſts, anxious for their treaſures, and for the credit of their Oracle concerted a meaſure equally bold and prudent. When a reſponſe from the unerring Oracle had inſpired the citizens with confidence, and their families were carried to a place of ſafety, the

* Herod. lib. viii. cap. 37, &c. † Mr. Mitford.

beſt

beſt and braveſt men were reſerved to defend the place. The uncommon mode of defence was well adapted to the ſituation and circumſtances of Delphi, as well as to its eſtabliſhed character for ſanctity. Surrounded by the ſummits of lofty mountains, the city was founded on crags and precipices. No way led to it but through narrow defiles, overhung with mountains, ſhadowed with wood, and commanded at every ſtep by faſtneſſes above. Every meaſure was taken to make the enemy believe that the place was totally abandoned, and to induce them to advance in all the careleſſneſs of ſecurity. The ſurpriſe accordingly appears to have been complete. A thunderſtorm among the mountains was no uncommon phenomenon. The rolling down of the rocky fragments proceeded from the inviſible, but not immortal hands of Delphians, who were concealed among the crags, and prepared to put them in motion. Perhaps artificial fires and exploſions might imitate thunder and lightning, and increaſe the horror. Many of the nations too, which compoſed the Perſian hoſt, were believers in the divinity of Apollo, and muſt have been ſtruck with the impiety of their attempt. In ſuch a ſtate of conſternation, the Delphians attacked them with

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every poſſible advantage. The few who ſurvived the engagement, and fled to Bœotia, readily adopted, and magnified the rumours of ſuperſtition, as an apology for their ſurpriſe and flight. The fragments of rock thrown down from the ſummit of the mountain, were preſerved in the chapel of Minerva, as the proofs and memorials of the miraculous protection afforded by the divinity upon that critical occaſion.

THE army of Xerxes entered the territories of Attica three months after they had croſſed the Helleſpont, and proceeding on their march, burned and plundered the cities as they advanced. The people of Peloponneſus, anxious only for their own intereſt, reſolved to bring all their forces within the Iſthmus, and fortify themſelves by a ſtrong wall from the one ſea to the other. After ſuch a baſe deſertion of the general cauſe, Athens, ready to be cruſhed under the whole weight of the Perſian power, appeared on the eve of deſtruction; ſhe owed her ſafety to the genius of Themiſtocles. This Athenian poſſeſſed greater and more various talents than the munificence of nature generally allots to one man. Daring in enterpriſe, cool in action, of a foreſight like prophecy, an apprehenſion that

ſeemed

ſeemed intuitive, and a memory, as himſelf confeſſed, retentive to a degree of pain. In times of danger, men naturally rank in their proper ſphere, and great abilities raiſe to the higheſt ſituations. By the aſcendency of his extraordinary character, he not only influenced the deciſions of the allies, but made the froward paſſions of the Athenian people ſubmit to his better judgment.

He had formerly perſuaded the Athenians to build a fleet; perceiving now that the city could not be defended, and that the ſea offered their only aſylum, he told them that the time was come, when, for the common ſafety of Greece, they muſt forſake Athens, and betake themſelves to their ſhips. This advice preſented nothing to the people but the mournful image of a total deſtruction, and they could not think, without trembling and horror, of abandoning their antient country, their native city, the temples of their gods, and the tombs of their anceſtors. As religion attached them to Athens, it was requiſite to diſengage them by religion. Greece had already been filled with Oracles favourable to the deſigns of Themiſtocles, the meſſengers ſent to conſult the ſhrine of Apollo, at Delphi, received, for anſwer, "That the city could only be ſaved by its *wooden walls*." Theſe Themiſtocles interpreted

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terpreted to be their ſhips, and added, "that the republic lived not in its edifices, but in its men; and that it was not houſes or walls, but the citizens which formed the city." Superſtition, the great engine of policy among the antients, was employed in another direction. It was believed that the temple of Minerva, in the citadel, was guarded by a large ſerpent, and at every new moon cakes were offered to this ſacred protector. The chief prieſt affirmed, that the cakes, which had never failed to be eaten by the hallowed ſerpent, now remained untouched; a proof that the goddeſs herſelf had abandoned the city. This, more than the eloquence of Themiſtocles, induced the Athenians to forſake their beloved city *.

A DECREE was then paſſed, by which it was ordained, "That Athens ſhould be committed to the protection of Minerva, their guardian goddeſs; that all ſuch inhabitants as were able to bear arms ſhould go on ſhip-board; and that the citizens ſhould provide for the ſafety of their wives, children and ſlaves." The gallant and heroic behaviour of Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, on this occaſion, deſerves to be recorded. Deſcended from a long line

* Herod. lib. viii. cap. 41.

of

of anceſtors, he was one of the principal pro- CHAP. XVI.
prietors of land in the commonwealth, and had he been governed by intereſted motives, would have been among the laſt to abandon his country. But when the proclamation was made to depart from Attica, Cimon, with a chearful countenance, and accompanied by the principal youths of Athens, marched in proceſſion through the moſt public parts of the city, in order to conſecrate their bridles (the enſigns of military ſervice) in the temple of Minerva, conveying to the people by this religious ceremony, that now they had no farther uſe for land forces, and that they ought to devote themſelves to the new ſervice which the critical ſituation of their country required. Then taking down one of the ſhields which hung upon the wall, he went with his companions to the margin of the ſea, and was the firſt who by his example inſpired his compatriots to venture with confidence on a ſtrange element, and to ruſh in a new channel to victory and renown.

HAVING tranſported their wives, children, and aged parents to the iſles of Salamis, Ægina, and the Trœzene, the Athenians began to embark. While they looked back upon the deſerted city, the ſcene drew tears from every

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eye. The lamentations of the women and children, from whom they had juſt torn themſelves; the howlings of the domeſtic animals which followed them to their ſhips, and the laſt looks of the old men, who, from neceſſity or choice, remained in the citadel to periſh, compoſed a mournful ſcene, from which the mind could not be removed, but by attending to the heroic reſolution of a whole people going into voluntary baniſhment and leaving their city for a while, that they might preſerve it for ever.

WHEN all the Athenians capable of bearing arms had joined the fleet at Salamis, a council of the commanders was held, to decide on their future motions. The important queſtion was agitated, "Whether they ſhould continue in the ſtraits of Salamis, or advance towards the iſthmus of Corinth, where the land-army was poſted under the command of Cleombrotus, the brother of Leonidas?" The confederates of Peloponneſus, whoſe territories lay near the iſthmus, adopted the latter motion, from a ſelfiſh deſire to defend their reſpective cities. Themiſtocles, who ſaw the defects of this narrow policy, oppoſed it with vigour. He affirmed, that it would be betraying their country to abandon ſo advantage-

ous a ſituation as that of Salamis; that in quitting the general rendezvous, the different detachments were likely to forſake the common cauſe; ſome would retire to their native harbours; ſome court the friendſhip, and ſubmit to the tyranny of Perſia, and others ſeek for liberty on a diſtant and unmoleſted ſhore. CHAP. XVI.

MEANWHILE the Perſian army, advancing from Thebes, burnt the forſaken towns of Theſpiæ and Platæa, and entering Attica, ravaged it without reſiſtance. On their arrival at Athens, they found nothing but ſilence and ſolitude within the walls. The citadel was ſtill defended by a feeble garriſon of prieſts and old men, who ſuppoſing it to be the "wooden walls" of the Oracle, confided in the divine protection. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, it was taken by aſſault; all within it were put to the ſword, and the city conſumed to aſhes.

ACCORDING to Herodotus*, information of this event was brought to the fleet, while the council of war was deliberating. It ſtruck ſuch an alarm, that ſome of the commanders haſtened to their gallies, and hoiſted their ſails in order to depart. Themiſtocles, encouraged and emboldened by his friend Mneſiphilus,

* Lib. viii. cap. 58.

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prevailed on Euribiades to ſummon another council; there, he repreſented the importance of preſerving Salamis, Megara, and Ægina, which upon their departure muſt fall into the hands of the enemy; the advantage of their preſent ſituation in a narrow channel, where the Perſians could not avail themſelves of their ſuperior numbers; and the certain dangers they run in withdrawing to the Corinthian iſthmus, where the army of Xerxes would attend the motions of his fleet, and the whole naval force be employed againſt them in the open ſea. Some of the commanders, particularly Adimantus the Corinthian, had the baſeneſs to object to the Athenian voice in council, as they had no longer a political exiſtence, and had no country or city to defend. Themiſtocles replied with moderation and magnanimity, "that the Athenians had indeed left their native ſoil and city, and conſidering their country as comprehended in their liberty, had left themſelves nothing to ſhare in with the allies, except the common dangers; but that they had it ſtill in their power to procure for themſelves a more happy eſtabliſhment, they had two hundred ſhips of war, and that if the confederates perſiſted in paying ſo little regard to the Athenians, they

they would in theſe ſhips embark their fa- CHAP.
milies, and withdrawing from the confederacy, XVI.
repair to Siris in Italy, the propitious ſpot of ——
ſettlement pointed out to them by the Oracle."
This formidable argument convinced or alarmed Eurybiades; and it was determined by the majority to remain in the bay of Salamis.

THE Perſian fleet, after continuing three days in the road of Artemiſium, ſailed through the Euripus to Phalerus, the principal port of Athens, which lay to the ſouth of the ſtrait occupied by the Greeks. The fleet and army having again met, a council of war was held to conſider the propriety of attacking the Grecian fleet in its preſent ſtation.

As the inclinations of Xerxes were known, his obſequious commanders, ever ready to flatter the paſſions of their ſovereign, were unanimous for a naval engagement. Artemiſia, the queen of Halicarnaſſus, a woman of a maſculine and heroic mind, who had fitted out five ſhips, which ſhe commanded in perſon, alone ventured to oppoſe the deciſion of the king and his council. She repreſented the ſuperiority of the Greeks in naval affairs, and the advantages of their preſent ſituation; adviſed Xerxes to avoid offenſive meaſures at ſea, and proſecute them by land; ſtated to him the impoſſibility

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that four hundred ſhips could long be ſupplied with provisions from the barren territory of Salamis, where they had no magazines; and judiciouſly remarked, that when neceſſity drove them to their reſpective ports, he might without difficulty make himſelf maſter of all Greece.

THE Perſian monarch ſhut his ears againſt theſe ſalutary councils, as he vainly imagined that the Greeks could make only a feeble and ineffectual reſiſtance. Accordingly it was agreed to attack the enemy next morning.

THEMISTOCLES, ſtill apprehenſive of the defection of ſome of his countrymen, ſent a confidential meſſenger to the Perſian fleet. Having obtained admiſſion to the preſence of Xerxes, he declared that he was ſent by the Athenian admiral, who was deſirous of revolting to the Perſians, to give an account of the diſſentions among the Grecian commanders, and of their intended purpoſe to make their eſcape during the darkneſs of the night; adding, "that an opportunity now offered, by intercepting their flight, of deſtroying at once the whole Grecian fleet." The ſtratagem was ſucceſsful; that very night the Perſian fleet began to move, and formed a ſemicircle from the point of Salamis to the port of Munychia, and the little

little iſland Pſyttalea was filled with Perſian CHAP. infantry, to extirpate the remnant of the XVI. Greeks, who, after the defeat of their fleet, might ſeek that aſylum.

THE firſt information of this arrangement was brought by Ariſtides, who, eſcaping in a ſmall veſſel, through the middle of the Perſian fleet, arrived at Salamis from Ægina, and forgetting every thing but the good of his country, communicated the important intelligence to Themiſtocles. Private animoſities and political diſſenſions were now ſuſpended; antient enmity was converted into generous emulation; and theſe heroic rivals now only vied with each other in promoting the common intereſt of Greece. Ariſtides accompanied Themiſtocles to the council of war, which was then ſitting, and delivered his intelligence in perſon. The truth of his information was ſoon confirmed by the arrival of a veſſel from the iſland of Tenos. The confederates, perceiving that they were now ſurrounded, made a virtue of neceſſity, and prepared to fight, as it was impracticable to eſcape.

THE Perſian fleet, conſiſting of 1200 triremes, diſplayed the naval force of more than half the known world; amidſt a crowd of uncouth and barbarous names, it contained the

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moſt ſkilful and renowned of maritime nations; and though inferior in the ſize and ſtructure of the veſſels, exceeded in numbers of men any naval armament of antient or modern times.

SINCE the retreat from Artemiſium, the Grecian fleet had been conſiderably reinforced, and now amounted to three hundred and eighty triremes.

THE naval engagements of the antients were very different from ours. Their gallies, always light, however large, and worked by their oars alone, could form in very cloſe order, and move in narrow ſeas. As their principal engine of offence was a ſtrong beak of iron or braſs, projecting from the prow, the ſailors always endeavoured to keep the head of the veſſel to the enemy. The chief object in naval combats was either to bring the prow of their gallies to bear directly upon the enemies broadſide, by which a veſſel was often ſunk, or by an oblique impulſe to daſh away ſome of its oars, by which it became unmanageable. Hence the importance of oars in action, by which alone attacks could be made or avoided in every direction. Various kinds of miſſile weapons were uſed, but, except when the attack with the beak ſucceeded, an engagement ſeldom terminated without boarding.

AT

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At the dawn of day both fleets were arranged in the order of battle. The Athenian line on the right was oppoſed to the Phœnician ſquadron; the Lacedæmonians on the left, to the Ionian diviſion. When the ſun aroſe, the trumpets ſounded, ſacred hymns and pæans were ſung, and the Grecian commanders endeavoured by all means to rouſe that ſpirit and vigour in their fleet which their timid and fluctuating councils had tended to deſtroy. As nothing eſcaped the vigilance of Themiſtocles, he delayed the attack till the regular breeze began to blow, which was adverſe to the enemy. Soon as this wind aroſe the ſignal was given for battle. The attack was vigorous and formidable on both ſides. The Perſians, confident in numbers, and conſcious that they acted under the eyes of the Great King, fought with more obſtinate bravery, and diſplayed a more ſpirited reſiſtance than on any former occaſion; but the wind was unfavourable to their vaſt and unwieldy ſhips; there was not ſufficient ſpace to bring their whole fleet into action, and the number of their veſſels ſerved only to embarraſs them in a narrow ſea. On the ſide of the Grecians the moſt ſteady diſcipline was preſerved; every movement was conducted with order and regularity; becauſe

all

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all was under the direction of one commander.

But among the various nations which compoſed the Perſian fleet, commanded by different officers, little verſed in naval affairs, even their courage and enthuſiaſm contributed to increaſe the confuſion and diſorder. While the Athenians and Æginetans had broke the Perſian line, the gallies out of action, which preſſed to its ſupport, ran foul of their own fleet, ſwept off the oars, and damaged the hulls of the Perſian ſhips. A ſcene of havoc and deſtruction ſoon followed; and the ſea itſelf, ſays the dramatic hiſtorian, (who diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the day of Salamis, and who united the warrior's wreath with the poet's garland) became almoſt inviſible from the fragments of wrecks and the floating bodies with which it was covered. On the left wing, the Lacedæmonians and Peloponneſians completed the victory. Many of the Aſiatic Greeks, attached to the country of their anceſtors, and remembering the advice of Themiſtocles, either declined engaging, or revolted to their countrymen; ſome of their gallies were taken, the remainder were ſunk or put to flight. Among thoſe who periſhed on this occaſion were many perſons of high rank, who fought by their exploits

ploits to court the favour of a monarch who beheld the ſcene of action. Forty Grecian gallies are ſaid to have been deſtroyed; but the crews were either taken up by other ſhips of their fleet, or ſaved themſelves by ſwimming to the neighbouring ſhore of Salamis. Ariſtides, with a detatchment of Athenians, landed on the Iſle of Pſyttalea, where a body of Perſian troops had been poſted to receive, as they expected, the feeble remains of the Grecian fleet. The Greeks, flushed with ſucceſs, attacked their aſtoniſhed foes; and Xerxes beheld from his throne the flower of his infantry cut off, ſurrounded with an immenſe army which could afford them no relief. CHAP. XVI.

AMONG thoſe who eſcaped in this fatal engagement was Artemiſia, the Halicarnaſſian queen. After diſplaying a more than maſculine courage during the action, and being among the laſt that fled, ſhe found herſelf warmly purſued by an Athenian galley, commanded by Amenias, brother to the poet Æſchylus. In this extremity, with all the promptitude of female invention, ſhe attacked the neareſt Perſian veſſel, commanded by Damaſithymus, a prince of Calynda in Lycia, with whom ſhe was in terms of hoſtility. The ſtroke of her galley was ſo well aimed, and ſo violent, that the

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the Lycian veſſel was inſtantly buried in the waves. Amenias, deceived by this ſtratagem, deſiſted from the purſuit, and the queen of Halicarnaſſus eſcaped.

THE important and deciſive battle of Salamis diſconcerted the councils, and deranged the meaſures of the Perſian monarch. No harbour was at hand, capable of protecting the ſhattered and diſpirited, but ſtill reſpectable remains of the fleet. On the night after the engagement, it was ordered to ſail for the Helleſpont. The Greeks, who expected a renewal of the action on the following morning, found that they had no enemy to encounter. The Perſian army diſappeared almoſt as ſuddenly as their fleet. In danger of periſhing for want of proviſions, they retreated to the wealthy and hoſpitable province of Bœotia, and thence marched into Theſſaly.

FROM the moment of defeat, Xerxes meditated to return with all poſſible expedition into Aſia. Perhaps the puniſhment of the Athenians, by the deſtruction of their capital, with the ſubjection of ſo many Grecian ſtates, might be regarded as a recompence, or held as an apology for ſuch an expenſive armament and extraordinary expedition. His courtiers might ſuggeſt to him, that he did not come to

Greece

Greece to combat againſt the winds and the waves; and might impute his inferiority at ſea to an armament compoſed of his conquered ſubjects; they might repreſent to him, that the valour of the Perſians had made him maſter of Athens, and that he had ſent its moſt precious ſpoils to the provinces of Aſia; they might perſuade him that, having obtained the great object of his ambition, he might return to an empire, whoſe affairs required his preſence, and leave to his generals the farther execution of his plans, and the completion of his conqueſts. CHAP. XVI.

THREE hundred thouſand men were ſelected from the army, and committed to Mardonius, to effect the conqueſt of Greece. Of theſe ſixty thouſand were appointed to march as a guard to the royal perſon, as far as the Helleſpont. Proper proviſion was made for theſe, as they were neceſſary to the pomp and the ſafety of Xerxes; but the innumerable multitudes of various nations, which followed the retreat of the monarch, ſuffered beyond deſcription during their march, which laſted forty-five days. After living by plunder from friends and foes, they were compelled to eat the herbs of the field, and even the bark and leaves of trees. Dyſenteries and the peſtilence carried

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carried off the miſerable relics which famine had ſpared, and when Xerxes reached the Helleſpont, ſcarcely a remnant was left of the myriads who a few months before had marched under his command. The bridges had been deſtroyed by a recent tempeſt, and the violence of the current; but the fleet was arrived. The Great King, whoſe armies had lately covered the land, and whoſe fleets had darkened the ocean, embarked with a ſmall retinue in a Phœnician galley, and having croſſed the ſtraits, endeavoured to forget his misfortunes by plunging into the moſt ſenſual and criminal pleaſures at Sardis*.

Herod. lib. viii. cap. 100, 114, 126.

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From the Battle of SALAMIS *to the Concluſion of the* PERSIAN *War.*

THE victory at Salamis was the moſt important and deciſive which the Greeks had ever obtained over the Perſians. In the firſt moments of triumph, it was propoſed to purſue the Perſian fleet to the Helleſpont, and at one blow to cruſh the naval power of the empire. This deſign, chiefly ſupported by the Athenians, was abandoned, and the maritime force of Greece employed againſt thoſe iſlanders who had forſaken the cauſe of their country, and attached themſelves to the Perſians. From them it was determined to exact fines to defray in part the expences of the war. CHAP. XVII.

THEMISTOCLES, whoſe great talents as a commander and a ſtateſman were ſullied by avarice, raiſed heavy contributions unknown to the other commanders, and applied them to his own private emolument: The Andrians alone having refuſed to comply with theſe exactions,

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exactions, their capital was beſieged, but without effect, and the fleet returned to Salamis.

THE approach of winter reſtored a tranquillity to the Greeks, of which they had been long bereaved. Agreeable to the piety of antient times, the moſt valuable articles of the ſpoil were ſelected, and offered to the gods, their propitious though inviſible protectors; the remainder was diſtributed in the fleet and army. By an antient and eſtabliſhed cuſtom, it was then to be decided, to whom the firſt and ſecond honors were due for military and naval merit. On this occaſion all aſſumed the firſt rank to themſelves, but a large majority aſſigned the ſecond to Themiſtocles*. This indirect but obvious preference given to the Athenian commander, was confirmed by the general voice of the people, and the judgment of Sparta. The Lacedæmonians could not refuſe the firſt honours for courage and conduct to their own admiral, who had been commander in chief; but they invented a new kind of reward for the Athenian commander; adjudging to him the prize of wiſdom and maritime ſkill, and therefore beſtowed on each the honourable mark of diſtinction, the olive

* Herod. lib. viii. cap. 23.

crown.

crown. Themiſtocles was alſo preſented with a magnificent chariot; and at his departure from Lacedæmon was eſcorted to the frontier by three hundred Spartans of the firſt families; an honour, ſays Herodotus, never paid to any other ſtranger*. CHAP. XVII.

AFTER the departure of Xerxes into Aſia, the Perſian fleet wintered in the ports of Samos and Cumæ. On the approach of ſpring, the whole aſſembled at Samos, and remained there, to hold the coaſts of Aſia and Thrace in ſubjection, as the recent victory at Salamis had removed that awe and terror with which the power of the Great King had formerly impreſſed the neighbouring realms.

AT this time alſo, Mardonius prepared to take the field with three hundred thouſand men; the flower of that army which Xerxes had conducted into Greece, and which was increaſed in ſtrength by the diminution of its ſuperfluous numbers. Senſible that the Athenians were the prime movers of the confederacy, and that their maritime power was a principal ſupport of their land forces, he attempted to detach them from the Grecian alliance; wiſely judging, that if this could be

* Lib. viii. cap. 124.

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done, the Perſian fleet would obtain a decided ſuperiority, and the Great King remain maſter both by ſea and land. With this view he ſent Alexander king of Macedon as his ambaſſador to the Athenian republic. That prince, a deſcendant of Hercules, was connected with the Athenians by the ſacred ties of hereditary hoſpitality. Though he was now a Perſian tributary, he had ſhewn himſelf, as far as his ſituation would permit, friendly to the Grecian cauſe. He was therefore well received at Athens, though his commiſſion was unwelcome. But as the news of his arrival quickly ſpread through Greece, and alarmed the jealouſy of the confederated ſtates, particularly of the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, whoſe enlightened policy at this period ſeems to have been equal to their ſpirit and valour, delayed his public audience before the aſſembly of the people till ambaſſadors arrived from Sparta.

UPON their arrival the public aſſembly was convened, and Alexander addreſſed them in the ſimple but energetic ſtile of antient eloquence. "Athenians, thus ſaith Mardonius, the commands of the king are come to me in theſe words: *I forgive the Athenians all their offences againſt me.* Now therefore, *Mardonius*,

Mardonius, thus do; reſtore to them all their territories, and add whatever themſelves ſhall chuſe, leaving them to be governed by their own laws; and if they will enter into an alliance with me, rebuild all the temples which have been burned. Such are the commands of the King. From myſelf I thus addreſs you: What can prompt you, O Athenians, to perſiſt in making war againſt a monarch whom you can never conquer, nor long reſiſt? To you even the army under my command is formidable; ſhould that be defeated, which you have no reaſon to expect, a greater force will be ſent againſt you. As a friend I intreat you not to expoſe your country to danger or deſtruction for a vain conteſt with the King, but to ſeize this favourable opportunity of terminating hoſtilities by an honourable and permanent peace. Enjoy your freedom, and let there be a fair and friendly alliance between us. Theſe things, O Athenians, I have ſpoke to you by the command of Mardonius. In my own name, and from my ſincere friendſhip for you, which my paſt conduct uniformly proves, I beſeech you to accept of the terms propoſed by Mardonius; for I ſee the impoſſibility of your long contending againſt a king, whoſe arm is of immeaſurable length, and whoſe

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power is irreſiſtible. Let the ſituation of your country admoniſh you, which is firſt expoſed to invaſion; nor reckon it an inferior honour, that you alone of all the Greeks are ſelected by the Great King to be his friends and allies."

WHEN the king of Macedonia had concluded his diſcourſe, the chief of the Spartan ambaſſadors began: "The Lacedæmonians have ſent us to requeſt that you will not loſe ſight of the intereſt of Greece, nor liſten to any propoſal from the barbarian. Such conduct would be unjuſt and perfidious in any Grecian ſtate, and moſt of all unbecoming you. This war, which Greece now feels in every part, was originally undertaken on your account. And ſhall the Athenians, who from antient times have diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt of mankind, by puniſhing tyrants, and aſſerting the liberties of others, become the authors of ſlavery to Greece. We ſympathiſe in your calamities, in the ruin of your city, and the loſs of your harveſts for two ſeaſons; but we, and the other confederates, are deſirous of making you reparation, and will ſupport your families during the continuance of the war. Let not therefore Alexander the Macedonian perſuade you

you by ſpecious words to deſert the common intereſt of Greece. A tyrant himſelf, he ſupports the meaſures of a tyrant. But you know, Athenians, that to tyrants and barbarians truth and juſtice are unknown. CHAP. XVII.

After a ſhort deliberation, Ariſtides, who was principal Archon, and preſided in the aſſembly, delivered, in the name of the Athenian people, the following anſwer to the ambaſſador of Mardonius; "We are acquainted with the power of the Perſian empire, and of its vaſt ſuperiority to Athens. With theſe, therefore, it was unneceſſary as well as cruel to inſult us. Yet to the defenders of liberty and independence no power is ſuperior. Return then, and tell Mardonius, that while that luminary (pointing to the ſun) purſues his courſe through the heavens, there ſhall neither be alliance nor peace with Xerxes; but that, aided by thoſe gods and heroes whoſe temples he has burned, and whoſe images he has deſtroyed, we truſt effectually to reſiſt every effort of his power. For yourſelf, come no more to the Athenians with ſuch diſhonourable propoſals, leſt we ſhould forget that you are our friend, and united with us by the ſacred bonds of antient alliance and hoſpitality."

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THE reply to the Lacedæmonians was in the high tone of offended merit. "Your apprehenſion that we ſhould accept the alliance of the Great King has perhaps too ſtrong a foundation in the general practice of mankind; but after ſo many and ſuch ſtriking proofs as you have had of Athenian patriotiſm and magnanimity, ſuch a ſuſpicion becomes as diſhonourable as it is unjuſt. Not all the treaſures of the Great King, nor the poſſeſſion of the fineſt country upon earth, ſhall ever ſeduce us to aid the Perſian arms in conquering and enſlaving Greece.

"THE temples and altars of the gods which have been plundered and profaned; our city which is in aſhes, and the tombs of our anceſtors which have been violated, call upon us for vengeance. We have alſo to avenge the cauſe of our allies, who are united to us by the indiſſoluble ties of deſcent, religion, language, and manners; and be aſſured, that the laſt ſurviving Athenian will ſpurn the barbarian alliance. Your kind offers to our families we gratefully acknowledge; but their future proviſion we now take upon ourſelves. All that we require of you is, to rival us in activity and reſolution. Your army muſt march without delay. The barbarian, as ſoon as he

is

is informed that we have rejected his propoſals, will again invade Attica. Let us therefore move with all expedition to Bœotia, and check his progreſs."

THE dignity and magnanimity of the Athenian leaders on this occaſion is equal to any thing which hiſtory records; but the conduct of the allies, particularly of the Lacedæmonians, by no means correſponded to this enthuſiaſm of public ſpirit. In a few weeks Mardonius, according to the conjecture of Ariſtides, followed the tract of Xerxes, and marched into Bœotia; but the Athenians looked in vain for the promiſed arrival of their Spartan auxiliaries. No meaſures were taken by their ungrateful and perfidious allies for the defence of Attica.

THUS deſerted by the confederates, the Athenians were compelled a ſecond time to abandon their country. Scarcely had they depoſited their valuable effects in Salamis, when Mardonius invaded Attica, and took poſſeſſion of Athens. This appeared a favourable opportunity to the Perſian general for once more attempting to ſeduce the Athenians to an alliance with Xerxes, while their minds were actuated with reſentment againſt the confederates, who had abandoned and betrayed them.

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He therefore ſent an ambaſſador to Salamis, offering the ſame terms which had formerly been propoſed by the prince of Macedonia. When the object of his embaſſy was laid before the council of five hundred, Lycidas alone judged it worthy of attention, and propoſed that it ſhould be referred to an aſſembly of the people. This circumſtance being divulged to the people, Lycidas, on quitting the council, fell a ſacrifice to patriotic enthuſiaſm: he was ſtoned to death. The widow and children of this unhappy man were devoted to a like fate, by the momentary frenzy of the Athenian women*.

BUT in the midſt of this popular ferment and outrage the law of nations was reſpected, and the ambaſſador was diſmiſſed without ſuffering any inſult.

AMBASSADORS had been ſent from Athens, with others from Platæa and Megara, to remonſtrate with the Lacedæmonians on the ſhameful neglect of their engagements. Inattentive to the danger of the Athenians, they were entirely engaged in defending the entry of the Peloponneſus, and building a wall croſs the Corinthian iſthmus, to prevent the enemy

* Herod. lib. ix. cap. 5.

from

from approaching by that quarter. The deputies upbraided them for their baſe and ungrateful conduct; and contraſted the treachery and puſillanimity of Sparta with the vigour and truly patriotic ſpirit of the Athenians. Overcome at laſt by the remonſtrances and reproaches of their own allies, the Lacedæmonians determined to take the field. Five thouſand Spartans, accompanied by thirty-five thouſand Helots, were ordered to march in the ſilence of the night, under the command of Pauſanias, regent during the minority of the young prince of Sparta. Next morning, when the Athenian deputies came to make their final complaint, they were ſurpriſed to hear that the Lacedæmonian army was already on its march to meet the Perſians.

WHILE Mardonius had any hopes of conciliating the alliance of the Athenians, he carefully ſpared their city and their territories; but when he found it impoſſible to detach them from the Grecian confederacy, he again laid waſte their country, and ſet fire to their cities, ſo that every thing which had eſcaped the fury of the firſt invaſion was now totally deſtroyed. Having been ſecretly informed by the Argives, that the Peloponneſians were in motion, he marched into Bœotia,

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tia, an open and flat country, commodious for the action of his cavalry, and for drawing up his numerous army in battle array. He extended his camp for many miles along the banks of Æſopus, from the Theban town of Erythræa, to the boundaries of the Platæans. The combined army of the Greeks, commanded by Pauſanias and Ariſtides, followed him thither, and poſted themſelves at the foot of Mount Cytheron, directly oppoſite to the Perſians, the river Æſopus flowing between the hoſtile camps.

THE Perſian army under Mardonius conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, the braveſt and beſt diſciplined of thoſe myriads which had followed Xerxes.

The Grecian heavy armed troops, conſiſting of free citizens, amounted to about thirty-nine thouſand; the light armed troops were the thirty-five thouſand Helots, and nearly an equal number of ſlaves, who attended the other diviſions of the army; the whole, including the Theſpians, who were irregularly armed, amounted to an hundred and ten thouſand. Herodotus makes no mention of cavalry in the Grecian army.

THE object of Mardonius was to draw the Grecian troops into the champaign country; where,

where, through the ſtrength of his cavalry, which has always been the chief reliance of Aſiatic forces, he promiſed himſelf an eaſy as well as certain victory. But Pauſanias would not move from his advantageous poſition. The Perſian commander therefore ordered Maſiſtius, his general of the cavalry, to harraſs the Grecian army, and, if he could, find an opportunity, to attempt an impreſſion. The Megarians were encamped on a plain, and poſted on the ſide the moſt expoſed to the cavalry. Maſiſtius attacked them, and was for a while reſiſted with vigour. Wearied out at laſt by repeated attacks, and the continual acceſſion of freſh troops, their leaders ſent a meſſenger to Pauſanias, announcing their diſtreſs, and intimating their reſolution to abandon a poſt which they could no longer defend. Pauſanias was unwilling to iſſue orders on ſuch an alarming occaſion, but expreſſed a deſire that volunteers could be found, who would exchange ſituations with the Megarians. The army was ſilent. The Athenians alone, with that magnanimity they had all along diſplayed, ſpontaneouſly offered their ſervices on this critical emergency. Three hundred heavy armed foot, with a large proportion of archers and pikemen, were ſent to occupy

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occupy this important poſt. Maſiſtius attacked them with his cavalry, but found his detachment unexpectedly harraſſed by the Athenian archers, and warmly received by the heavy armed foot. During the engagement, the horſe of Maſiſtius, being wounded by an arrow, threw him on the ground. His armour, which covered the whole body, like that of the knights in the times of chivalry, long reſiſted the weapons of the enemy, but he was at laſt pierced in the eye by a javelin which penetrated to the brain. A dreadful conflict enſued around the body of the dead. The Athenians began to give way, after having ſo long reſiſted the whole ſtrength of the Perſian cavalry; but being opportunely reinforced from the main army, they at laſt obtained poſſeſſion of the body, and put the Perſians to flight.

THE unwelcome tidings of the defeat of the cavalry, and the death of Maſiſtius, were received by the general and his attendants with tears, and all the violent emotions of Aſiatic ſorrow; and the loud lamentations of the whole army deplored the premature fate of one of the braveſt of the Perſian nobles. To the Greeks however this event was an object of no ſmall exultation. They were now taught by experience

experience how to reſiſt the formidable ca- CHAP. valry of Aſia; and the body of Maſiſtius, a perſonage high in rank and eſtimation among the Perſians, and ſecond in command to Mardonius, carried in triumph through the camp, was an animating ſpectacle to ſoldiers who had felt his valour, and dreaded his ſucceſs. XVII.

As the enemy, by their archers and cavalry, commanded both ſides of the Æſopus, the difficulty of procuring freſh water compelled the Greeks to abandon a ſituation which was otherwiſe advantageous. They marched along the foot of Mount Cytheron, and arrived at a plain within the Platæan territory, near the fountain Gargaphia.

In this ſituation diſſentions were likely to ariſe between the Athenians and Tegeans, concerning precedency in the line of battle. The Spartans, who had for a length of time been the leading people of Greece, had the command of the right wing as their unqueſtioned privilege. The Tegeans, who had long been deemed the braveſt ſoldiers in Arcadia, claimed the command of the left, as their poſt by antient preſcription; and though the fame as well as merits of the Athenians were infinitely ſuperior, no cuſtom had eſtabliſhed their ſuperiority. The diſpute was brought before an aſſembly of

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of the commanders. The Tegeans enforced their claim in a ſtudied harangue, ſupporting it by reciting the gallant actions of their anceſtors, and appealing to the Lacedæmonians, whoſe diviſion in their favour they thought themſelves entitled to expect. It was anſwered on the ſide of the Athenians: "The Greeks are aſſembled here, not to diſpute about the poſt of honour, but to fight the barbarians. Were we diſpoſed to boaſt of the illuſtrious deeds performed by our anceſtors, we could find more honourable vouchers in antiquity than the Arcadians have produced; but while we maintain *their* renown, we have our own to ſupport.

"LET the field of *Marathon* bear witneſs to Greece, and to the world, that we have not degenerated from the ſpirit or the glory of our anceſtors. There, unaſſiſted and alone, we fought and conquered in the cauſe of the whole Grecian community, and erected a trophy over the numerous army of the Great King. This victory, had we no others to enumerate, entitles us to a higher rank than the Tegeans. But this is not a time for conteſts of this kind: place us, O Spartans! where you pleaſe, there we will behave like brave men, engaged in the common cauſe of Greece."

AT

AT the concluſion of this addreſs, the Lacedæmonians cried out with one voice, "That the Athenians were more worthy than the Arcadians, and entitled to the moſt of honour."

AFTER the Greeks had filed off towards Platæa, Mardonius followed them with his army. There were Grecian prophets and diviners in each camp, who for a while retarded the engagement, by predicting victory to the party that acted on the defenſive, and threatening with a total overthrow the army that made the firſt attack*. Ten days accordingly elapſed in a ſtate of inaction; neither army ventured to paſs the Æſopus.

BUT the impetuous diſpoſition of Mardonius, and the proſpect of being ſoon in want of proviſions, at length determined him to diſregard the preſages of Grecian ſuperſtition, and to obſerve no cuſtoms but thoſe of the Perſians in giving battle. Accordingly, having called a council of the officers, he declared his intention of attacking the Grecian army on the next day; and gave orders to prepare for the engagement. Alexander, king of Macedonia, who, though a tributary of Perſia, was ſtill a friend to the Greeks, mounted his horſe at midnight, rode to the Athenian line, and

* Herod. lib. ix. cap. 37, 38.

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having found acceſs to Ariſtides, informed him of all that had paſſed*.

THE Athenian general immediately went to Pauſanias, and communicated the intelligence he had received. It was then deliberated in what manner they ſhould reſiſt the formidable attack expected next day, and order a battle which was to preſerve or extinguiſh the liberties of Greece. In the arrangement of Mardonius's army, it had been obſerved, that the native Perſians, the braveſt and moſt expert of the Aſiatic infantry, held the left of the line in oppoſition to the Lacedæmonians, and that the Bœotians and other Grecian auxiliaries occupied the right againſt the Athenians. Pauſanias wiſhed to change the order of the Grecian army; and propoſed that the Athenians, who alone of all the Greeks had fought and conquered the Perſians, ſhould again oppoſe them in the right wing; and that the Lacedæmonians, who had often defeated the Thebans, and were held ſuperior to all the Greeks, ſhould move to the left. Ariſtides conſented, and the Athenians accepted the change with exultation.

AT dawn of day Mardonius obſerved that the Grecian troops were in motion, and was informed of the change which was made in

* Herod. lib. ix. cap. 44, 45.

their

their arrangement. This induced him to poſtpone the attack, in order to make correſponding changes in the diſpoſition of his own army. The day was ſpent in theſe evolutions, and in ſome deſultory attacks made by the cavalry. A more ſerious attempt was made upon that part of the Spartan line which defended the Gargaphian fountain, in which the Perſian horſe remained maſters of the field. CHAP. XVII.

AT the approach of night, the Grecian army was without water; proviſions alſo began to fail, as their convoys had been intercepted by an unexpected incurſion of the enemy. They were thus again compelled to change their poſition. The ſecond watch of the night was the time appointed to march for the ground they purpoſed to occupy, which was a narrow valley near the ſource of the Æſopus, lying between that river and mount Cytheron. At the ſame time it was determined to ſend a detachment of the army to the mountains, to guard and conduct a convoy of proviſions to the new camp. But in the preſſure of danger, and the alarms of fear, the troops of independent ſtates little regarded the orders of the commander in chief, and inſtead of halting at the place propoſed, diſperſed and fled in ſo many different directions, that the Grecian

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army preſented, on the following morning, the appearance not of a regular march, but of a precipitate retreat.

THE fortunate obſtinacy of a Spartan officer was the accidental and extraordinary cauſe of the important and deciſive victory at Platæa. Anompharetus, who was ſecond in command to Pauſanias, urged the ſacred laws of his country (which forbid to retreat from an enemy) againſt the orders of his general. Incenſed at the boldneſs, but ſtruck with the novelty of this conduct, Pauſanias detained the Lacedæmonian troops, while the others were marching. Ariſtides, ever anxious for the benefit of the confederacy, ſuſpended the motion of his troops, and ſent to enquire into the cauſe of the delay. At the arrival of his meſſenger, Anompharetus, who had been in high altercation with his general, took up a large ſtone, and, according to the Grecian mode of voting, by caſting a ſhell or die into an urn, threw it before the feet of Pauſanias, ſaying, "With this die I give my vote, not to fly from the ſtrangers." Pauſanias deſired the Athenian to inform his commander of what he had ſeen, and to intreat of him that the Athenian troops might regulate their motions by thoſe of the Lacedæmonians. At the approach

approach of dawn he gave orders to the Spartans, with three thouſand Tegeans who remained with him, to march along the hills to the place of encampment; the Athenians directed their courſe in the plain below. At laſt Anompharetus, abating of his obſtinacy, ordered his detachment to follow, with a ſlow pace, the reſt of the army. CHAP. XVII.

WHEN Mardonius beheld the unexpected movement of the Grecian army, imputing their retreat to fear, and thinking he ſhould obtain an eaſy conqueſt, he ordered his ſoldiers to purſue the flying enemy. Having ſent the Thebans, and other Grecian auxiliaries, to the number of fifty thouſand, in purſuit of the Athenians, he advanced with the Perſian infantry againſt the Lacedæmonians, while the whole army followed with the hurry and confuſion of a barbarous multitude, eager to ſhare the ſpoils of certain victory.

THE battle was fought in two different places; the Athenians in the middle of the plain were engaged with the Grecian auxiliaries, while the Perſians attacked the Spartans at the foot of the mountain. The uneven and rugged ground at the bottom of the hill, with the Æſopus flowing at the bottom, were favourable for defence, and adverſe to the operations of cavalry. The Perſian infantry was

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therefore ordered to advance; a fierce engagement began. The Perſians, after having diſcharged their miſſile weapons, cloſed upon the Greeks, and ſhewed themſelves, ſays Herodotus*, neither inferior in courage nor in ſtrength. Had the excellence of their arms, or their ſkill in military diſcipline, correſponded to their valour, the battle of Platæa might have been fatal to the Greeks. But they wanted defenſive armour, and their ſhort weapons were unfit to encounter the long ſpears of the Greeks. They acted too without union or concert. Unacquainted with the advantage of a firm and compact formation, in which the Greeks excelled, they ruſhed forward in ſmall bodies, and were ſucceſſively defeated. As their efforts began to relax, notwithſtanding the acceſſion of new numbers to ſupply thoſe who were ſlain, the Greeks advanced upon them with the impenetrable depth and irreſiſtible force of their phalanx. The Tegeans made the firſt impreſſion, and the Lacedæmonians, puſhing forward, threw the Perſian army into confuſion.

MARDONIUS, who had flattered himſelf with an eaſy conqueſt, and had ſent his troops not ſo much in order to fight, as to purſue a

* Lib. ix. cap. 62.

flying

flying enemy, was ſeized with anguiſh and vexation at this defeat. The impatience and impetuoſity of his temper led him to form a fatal reſolution. Inſtead of retreating to the plain, and ſheltering his infantry under the protection of his numerous horſe, he determined to riſk the fortune of Perſia upon the preſent moment. At the head of a choſen body of cavalry, he haſtened to rally and ſupport his broken infantry. By a bold and well-conducted charge, he checked the progreſs of the Lacedæmonian phalanx, but he could not break the order, nor pierce the ranks of that firm and impenetrable body. After the braveſt of his officers, and numbers of ſoldiers, had fallen around him, he received a mortal wound from the hand of Aieimneſtus a Spartan. The death of the general, according to the cuſtom of the eaſt, was followed by the flight of the whole army. CHAP. XVII.

ARTABAZUS, the Parthian, and next in command to Mardonius, had uniformly condemned the meaſures of the general, with regard to the conduct of the war. As ſoon as he perceived the rout of the Perſians, he made a ſignal for his troops to quit the field; and with forty thouſand men, who were under his immediate orders, retreated towards Phocis.

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THE remains of the Perſian army took refuge in their fortified camp. They were vigorouſly purſued by the Lacedæmonians, who immediately attempted an aſſault; but, unacquainted with ſieges, and the mode of attacking intrenchments, they were baffled in the attempt, and repulſed with loſs. While the Lacedæmonians had obtained an unexpected victory over the Perſians on the hills, the Athenians were keenly engaged with the Grecian auxiliaries in the plain below. Of theſe, amounting to fifty thouſand, the greater part, little earneſt in the cauſe, either made a feeble reſiſtance, or fled. The Bœotians alone oppoſed with ardour the army of Ariſtides. Athenian valour, however, at laſt prevailed, and the Thebans were defeated. Here the Athenians, with equal patriotiſm and wiſdom, ſacrificed their particular enmity to the general cauſe; for, inſtead of purſuing the Bœotians, their inveterate enemies, they marched to the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, and arrived in time to render this glorious victory complete. They attacked with ſucceſs the fortification, which had hitherto baffled all the attempts of the other confederates; and burſt, in ſpite of all reſiſtance, into the Perſian camp. They were ſoon followed by the Tegeans

Tegeans and Spartans. A panic enervated the courage of the Perſians, they could not fight, and the wall prevented their eſcape; their prodigious numbers gave a colour to the apology that it was dangerous for the Greeks to give quarter. The reſentment of a free people, who were fighting for their national independence and political exiſtence, ſought its gratification in a general ſlaughter, rather than in a victory; and of two hundred thouſand Perſians, not three thouſand eſcaped the vengeance of the Grecian army. CHAP. XVII.

WHEN ſatiated with this ſcene of blood, the immenſe riches of the camp drew the attention of the conquerors. Xerxes, when he fled from Greece, had beſtowed the treaſures which he brought from Aſia on Mardonius his brother-in-law, and his other favourites. The opulence thus poſſeſſed by the Perſian ſatraps preſented a new ſcene to the frugal citizens of the little Grecian republics, of which they had hitherto entertained no idea. This maſs of wealth conſiſted of tables of gold and ſilver, embroidered couches, golden cups and goblets, brazen ſtalls and mangers, collars, bracelets, and ſcymitars, ornamented with gold and gems, female ſlaves, horſes

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and camels, together with many cheſts of Perſian money, which from that period continued long to be current in Greece.

A TENTH part of this booty, according to the rites of antient piety, was conſecrated to the gods; the general was preſented with a tenth of the remainder; and the reſt of the ſpoil was divided among the conquerors. Offerings of great value were dedicated at the ſhrines of Olympian Jove, Iſthmian Neptune, Delphian Apollo, and of Minerva the protectreſs of Athens.

AFTER the battle, a principal citizen of Ægina propoſed to Pauſanias to avenge the indignity offered by Xerxes to the body of Leonidas, which he hung on a croſs, by uſing the corpſe of Mardonius in a ſimilar manner. The Grecian general nobly replied, "They are little acquainted with true glory, who think that it conſiſts in imitating the cruelty of barbarians. If the eſteem of the Æginetans is to be purchaſed by ſuch actions, I ſhall be content with that of the Spartans, whoſe character conſiſts in moderation, and in ſhewing clemency to enemies who are humbled or fallen. The manes of my countrymen who fell at Thermopylæ are ſufficiently

ly avenged * by the many thouſand Perſians that cover the fields of Platæa." CHAP. XVII.

ANOTHER anecdote concerning Pauſanias deſerves to be recorded. The furniture of the royal houſehold was found in the tent of Mardonius almoſt entire, and moſt of the domeſtic ſlaves had eſcaped the maſſacre. Pauſanias ordered the Perſian cooks to prepare a magnificent entertainment, as if intended for Mardonius himſelf. His orders were carefully executed, ſplendid preparations were made, the ſideboard diſplayed a profuſion of gold and ſilver plate, the table was adorned with exquiſite elegance, and covered with all the luxuries of Aſia. As a ſtriking contraſt to the ſcene, he ordered the plain and frugal ſupper of a Spartan to be placed by the ſide of the Perſian banquet. Having then aſſembled the principal officers of the Grecian army, "Behold," ſays the general, "the egregious folly of Xerxes and Mardonius; living in ſuch luxury at home, they came thus far to wreſt from us our ſimple fare; and, accuſtomed to ſuch delicious repaſts, ventured to attack men who deſpiſe ſuperfluities, and have no wants but thoſe of nature."—We ſhall find, however, in the

* Herod. lib. ix. cap. 77, 78.

ſequel,

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ſequel, that Pauſanias himſelf was not proof againſt the corrupting influence of wealth and luxury.

THE burial of the dead was conſidered by the Greeks as an act of piety as well as humanity. Accordingly, thoſe who had fallen in the battle of Platæa were interred with the utmoſt pomp and ſolemnity, and monuments were erected in the field of battle to record their renown to ſucceeding ages.

THE emulation which ſubſiſted between the Grecian ſtates always bordered on jealouſy, and ſometimes broke out into hoſtilities. After the engagement, the Athenians and Spartans contended for the prize of valour with a zeal and animoſity that might have had the moſt ſerious conſequences, had it not been prevented by the influence of the Corinthian leaders. In a public aſſembly of the Greeks, to which the queſtion was referred, they propoſed, in order to prevent a dangerous and, perhaps, a fatal contention, that the firſt honours for military merit ſhould be aſſigned to the Platæans, whoſe zeal and valour had been equally conſpicuous both by ſea and land. Their commonwealth was too ſmall to excite jealouſy; their country had acquired a name by being the ſcene of a victory

ſo glorious and deciſive; accordingly the other Greeks approved the determination: Ariſtides aſſented on the part of the Athenians, and Pauſanias on that of the Lacedæmonians. CHAP. XVII.

As the battle of Platæa was fought in the latter end of September, the ſeaſon was not too far advanced for taking vengeance on thoſe perfidious Greeks who had appeared againſt their country, under the banners of the Perſians. It was determined to march into Bœotia, and to demand of the Thebans the leaders of the faction which ſupported the intereſt of the Medes. They were given up by their countrymen, and carried to Corinth; there they were condemned without trial, or the forms of law, and executed as traitors to Greece.

In the next general aſſembly, Ariſtides propoſed the following decree: that all the ſtates of Greece ſhould annually ſend their deputies to Platæa, in order to offer ſacrifices to Jove the deliverer, and the tutelary gods of the city; that every fifth year games ſhould be celebrated there, which ſhould be called *the games of liberty*; and that the ſeveral Grecian ſtates 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

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ſhould be conſtantly maintained for making war againſt the barbarians. The propoſitions having been approved and paſſed into a law, the Platæans were appointed to celebrate an anniverſary feſtival in honour of thoſe who had fallen in battle. This ceremony was performed with much pomp and ſplendor, and continued till the time of Plutarch.

ON the day that the Greeks gained the memorable battle of Platæa, their naval forces obtained a victory in Aſia, no leſs deciſive and important, over the remainder of the Perſian fleet, which had eſcaped from the engagement at Salamis. The Grecian fleet had wintered in the harbours of Ægina, under the command of Leotychides, one of the Spartan kings, and Xantippus the Athenian. Early in the ſpring ambaſſadors arrived from the Ionians, inviting them into Aſia, to deliver the Grecian cities from the tyranny of the barbarians. The Greeks, overjoyed at this invitation, ſailed directly for the coaſt of Delos, where they received intelligence from the Samians that the Perſian fleet, which had wintered at Cumæ, was now lying at Samos, and might be deſtroyed without difficulty or hazard. They immediately ſet ſail for Samos; but the Perſians, alarmed with the intelligence of their

their approach, retired to the neighbouring promontory of Mycalé, on the Ionian coaſt, where an army of ſixty thouſand men was encamped, under the command of Tigranes the Perſian. Here they drew their gallies upon the beach, according to the cuſtom of the antients, aud ſurrounded them with a ſtrong rampart. CHAP. XVII.

THE Greeks followed them to Mycalé, and landed their forces without oppoſition at ſome diſtance from the Perſian camp. To encourage his troops, Leotychides is ſaid to have ſpread a report, that their countrymen under Pauſanias had totally defeated the Perſians at Platæa; a report, which ſoon circulated through the army, and by kindling the enthuſiaſm, contributed to the ſucceſs of the Greeks. The confederated forces marched in two columns; one under the command of Xantippus, compoſed of the Athenian, Corinthian, and Træzenian troops, held their courſe along the ſhore; the other, conſiſting of the Lacedæmonians, with the remaining allies, went by the more inland and hilly road. The former diviſion arrived firſt, and, eager to monopolize the glory of the day, proceeded immediately to attack the camp; and conducted the aſſault with ſuch celerity and vigour, that they

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they had already entered the Perſian rampart before the approach of the Lacedæmonians. Their fortunate temerity was juſtified by the zeal and alacrity of the Aſiatic Greeks. The native Perſians fought with determined bravery, and ſupported that military character which they had acquired under Cyrus the Great. None of the other Aſiatic troops ſeem to have merited the name of ſoldiers, accordingly they ſhrunk in confuſion before the impetuoſity of the Athenians; but the Perſians ſtill remained unconquered, when the Lacedæmonians arrived: they were then overpowered, and almoſt entirely cut off. In this battle the Greeks ſuffered more than in any other during the war; and Perilaus, commander of the Sicyonians, was in the number of the ſlain.

FROM the field of battle there was no retreat by land, but by narrow defiles over a mountain. To provide for his ſecurity in the event of a defeat, the Perſian general had detached the Mileſians to guard the paſſes. But this precaution, inſtead of preſerving, operated to the deſtruction of their army. While the Spartans purſued the fugitives in that direction, the Mileſians, inſtead of protecting, intercepted their flight, and few of them eſcaped from the

the general ſlaughter. Tigranes, general of the land forces, and two of the principal naval commanders, were ſlain. Forty thouſand Perſians remained on the field, beſides thoſe who were ſlain in the purſuit; a ſmall remnant fled in confuſion and diſmay, nor dared to truſt to any nearer aſylum than the walls of Sardis, at that time the reſidence of the Great King: who might then reflect on "the prophetic tears he ſhed when he numbered his millions at the Helleſpont." CHAP. XVII.

THE victorious Greeks took poſſeſſion of the Perſian camp, ſet fire to their fleet, and returned to Samos with plunder and glory.

WHEN Xerxes heard of this double overthrow, and beheld in the fugitives from Mycalé the poor remains of his former greatneſs, he left Sardis with as great precipitation as he had formerly fled from Salamis; retreated to his diſtant capital of Suſa; and to obliterate the remembrance of his paſt diſaſters, gave himſelf up to alternate exceſſes of voluptuouſneſs and cruelty. Before his departure he ordered all the Grecian temples in Aſia to be pillaged and burned, an order which was ſo faithfully executed, that not one eſcaped, except the temple of Diana at Epheſus. This mandate was not the dictate of impiety, but of religion,

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religion, as the Magian theology prohibited the uſe of temples and images. This pious conflagration would procure him a character for ſanctity among the ſubjects of his empire; and perhaps too, the deſire of repairing his treaſury, exhauſted in the Grecian expedition, by the ſpoil of theſe temples, might be an additional inducement to accelerate their deſtruction; for he found in theſe ſacred edifices, and appropriated to his own uſe, immenſe riches, which the ſuperſtition of kings and people had accumulated during a long ſeries of ages.

THE battle of Platæa was fought in the morning, and that of Mycalé on the evening of the ſame day: a day which humbled the ambition of the Aſiatic monarch, and contracted the dimenſions of the Perſian empire; which delivered Greece from the terrors of tyranny and oppreſſion, and reſtored the Ionian colonies to liberty and independence; which, by reſcuing Europe from the dominion of Aſia, and marking the decided ſuperiority of the former to the latter, becomes intereſting and important to all ſucceeding ages.

IN the league between the monarch of Perſia and the Carthaginian republic, it was agreed, that while Xerxes in perſon invaded Greece with all the forces of Aſia, the Carthaginians

thaginians ſhould attack the Grecian colonies in Italy and Sicily. The foundation of Carthage, and its riſe and progreſs to commercial greatneſs and naval power have been already explained. The ambition of the Carthaginians, like that of all mercantile ſtates, was diſtinguiſhed by a ſpirit of monopoly, and a ſuſpicious jealouſy that other nations might become their rivals in commerce or in power. Twenty-eight years before the invaſion of Xerxes, they entered into a treaty with Rome, which had recently ſhaken off the regal yoke, where the ſtrongeſt ſolicitude is expreſſed to prevent that riſing republic from cultivating any correſpondence with the dependencies of Carthage *. CHAP. XVII.

The Grecian colonies in Sicily and Italy, which in a few years had acquired ſuch wealth and power as to merit the appellation of Great Greece, with better reaſon alarmed the jealouſy of the Carthaginian commonwealth. No wonder then that it beheld with pleaſure the mutual ſpirit of hoſtility in the Greeks and Perſians. The Carthaginians ſaw with a malignant joy the long and formidable preparations of the Great King to puniſh and ſub-

* Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 22.

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due the Greeks; and hoping, by the aſſiſtance of Xerxes, to cruſh for ever the objects of their hatred and their fear, entered with eagerneſs into an alliance which he condeſcended to ſolicit. Their preparations were in proportion to their animoſity: they collected an army of three hundred thouſand men, and a fleet of two thouſand ſhips, beſides three thouſand tranſports*. Hamilcar, the braveſt of the Carthaginian generals, commanded this expedition. Both parties adhered ſcrupulouſly to the conditions of the treaty, and poured their combined force into Magna Grecia. But the ſucceſs did not correſpond to theſe mighty preparations.

THE Grecian colonies in Italy and Sicily were at this time flouriſhing in arts and arms, and not only equalled, but exceeded the mother country in wealth, population, and power. Many cauſes naturally contribute to the rapid progreſs of colonies recently eſtabliſhed in a favourable ſituation. Almoſt all theſe cauſes combined in favour of the Achæans and Dorians, the principal emigrants to Italy and Sicily. They brought to a happy climate, and a ſoil of the utmoſt fertility, a knowledge of

* Herod. lib. vii. Diod. lib. xi.

agriculture,

agriculture, habits of induſtry, ſimplicity of manners, and an acquaintance with the theory of government, which led to an eſtabliſhment equally remote from anarchy and deſpotiſm; which, while it foſtered a ſpirit of independency, ſhewed at the ſame time the advantages of union and mutual ſupport. Under theſe combined advantages, the Grecian coloniſts ſoon became populous and powerful. At this period their minds were not corrupted, nor their bodies enervated by the vices attendant on riches and luxury; they were therefore the better able to repel the united attacks of Perſia and Carthage. CHAP. XVII.

If the warlike character and flouriſhing ſituation of Magna Grecia facilitated its defence againſt a foreign enemy, the wiſdom and vigour of the Sicilian monarch at that time enabled him to avail himſelf of all advantages that offered. Eleven years before the invaſion of Sicily, Gelon had aſcended the throne of Syracuſe. He had riſen from a private ſtation to ſovereign power; but exerciſed his authority with ſo much wiſdom and beneficence, that he was univerſally ſtyled the Father of his country, and his reign was ſaid to have reſtored the happineſs of the golden age. He was ignorant of the treaty which Xerxes had

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made with the Carthaginians; for the Sicilian writers, according to Herodotus, relate, that he was determined to aſſiſt the Greeks, if in that moment of time the Carthaginians had not made Sicily the ſeat of war.

THEY were invited to this iſland by Tyrillus, the tyrant of Himera, who had been deprived of his ſovereignty by the renowned Theron, king of Agrigentum. This laſt monarch had given his daughter in marriage to Gelon, and had eſpouſed his niece. The alliance of the two principal Sicilian ſtates ſeemed to promiſe happineſs to the whole iſland, when the appearance of the Carthaginian armament threatened its deſtruction. When Hamilcar ſet ſail from Carthage with an army of three hundred thouſand men, and two thouſand gallies, no ideas were entertained but thoſe of conqueſt. When they reached the land, they ſaid the war was finiſhed, as they dreaded no enemy but the ſea.

HAMILCAR landed his forces without oppoſition in the ample bay of Panormus, now Palermo, the capital of modern Sicily. The firſt care of this brave and experienced leader was to fortify two camps. One was to encloſe his ſhips of war, which, as was then the cuſtom, he had ordered to be drawn on ſhore, and

and to be guarded by his marine forces; the other was intended for his land army. He had ſurrounded both with entrenchments and ramparts; but no fortifications can reſiſt valour, when wiſdom directs its courſe, and preſence of mind ſeizes the moment of action. CHAP. XVII.

THERON employed proper meaſures to defend Himera, which the Carthaginians were preparing to beſiege, while Gelon was advancing to his aſſiſtance with an army of fifty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. On its march towards Himera, this army encountered a detachment of the enemy, and took ten thouſand priſoners. Among theſe was a courier from Selinus, a city near Agrigentum, which had ſecretly revolted to the Carthaginians. This meſſenger carried a letter to Hamilcar, informing him, that the cavalry he demanded would be ſent on a certain day. Gelon, who excelled in policy as well as courage, formed a ſtratagem on this diſcovery, which was equally bold and fortunate. He ordered a choſen body of his own troops to advance during the night to the camp of the Carthaginians, and to preſent themſelves to Hamilcar in the morning, as his auxiliaries from Selinus.

ON the appointed day, Hamilcar was of-

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fering a ſolemn ſacrifice to the ſtern divinity of Tyre and Carthage, who delighted in human blood; his ſoldiers, attentive only to the horrid act, ſtood by ſilent and unarmed. The cavalry of Gelon were admitted without ſuſpicion. While Hamilcar was immolating a noble youth to the ſanguinary demon of ſuperſtition, they ſtabbed him with a dagger, and inſtantly ſet fire to the fleet. Sentinels, poſted on the adjacent hills, notified to Gelon the ſucceſs of his cavalry, who availed himſelf of this favourable conjuncture to lead his army againſt the ſecond camp, which at firſt made a gallant reſiſtance; but when they heard that Hamilcar was ſlain, and beheld the conflagration of their fleet, they no longer thought of reſiſtance but of flight. A dreadful carnage enſued. A hundred and fifty thouſand men are ſaid to have fallen in the field, or in the purſuit. The remainder retired to an eminence, but proviſions failing, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. Twenty ſhips of war eſcaped the flames, and attempted to regain the Carthaginian harbours: but they were overtaken by a ſtorm, and all the crews periſhed, except a few individuals, who ſaving themſelves in a ſmall boat, conveyed the melancholy tidings to Carthage.

THE

THE ſpoils taken on this occaſion were of immenſe value. Gelon employed the greater part of them in adorning the temples in Syracuſe. A prodigious number of priſoners was alſo taken, who were diſtributed among the cities in Sicily, in proportion to the number of troops they had reſpectively raiſed on this memorable occaſion. According to the cuſtom of antient war, after putting irons on their feet, they employed them in cultivating the lands, and in building magnificent edifices for the utility and embelliſhment of Syracuſe and Agrigentum *. CHAP. XVII.

ALL the tyrants of Sicily now courted the friendſhip of Gelon; and the Carthaginians, who trembled within their walls, ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace. Not elated by ſucceſs, Gelon received them with no marks of exultation, and offered them peace on the following conditions: "That they ſhould pay two thouſand talents of ſilver, to be divided among the cities which had contributed to the expences of the war; that they ſhould erect two temples, one in Carthage, another in Syracuſe, where this treaty ſhould be depoſited; and that thenceforth they ſhould

* Cicero Orat. 4th in Verrum.

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abſtain from the horrid and deteſtable practice of profaning their altars by offering human ſacrifices to the gods."

SUCH a ſhining inſtance of philanthropy was more honourable than victory; the ſplendor of conqueſt diſappears amidſt the triumph of virtue, and we forget the hero when we behold the friend of mankind.

RETURNING to Syracuſe after ſo glorious a victory, he convened the aſſembly of the people, and ordered all the citizens to appear in arms. He himſelf entered the aſſembly unarmed, and without attendants, to render an account of his conduct. He repreſented to them the various meaſures of his government, the uſes to which he applied the public money with which he was intruſted, and the manner in which he had exerciſed the ſovereign authority to which he was raiſed; adding, that if they had any juſt reaſons to criminate his conduct, his perſon and life were at their diſpoſal. The profound ſilence with which they liſtened to his recital was ſucceeded by public acclamations from all quarters; and the names of Saviour, Benefactor, and Father of his country, were loudly repeated by a grateful and happy people. The Syracuſans, though jealous of their liber-

ty,

ty, perpetuated his power as their king, and passed a decree, conveying the crown to his brother after his decease. When the object of kings is to promote the happiness of their kingdoms, they acquire absolute power over the hearts of their people.

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The unlimited authority with which the Syracusans invested Gelon, enabled him to render them more important services. He is one of the few characters recorded in history, who, after acquiring the sceptre of a sovereign, and the laurel of a conqueror, became a greater and a better man. Having no more enemies to fear, he relinquished the projects of ambition, and studied to make his kingdom flourish by the labours of industry, and the works of peace. He conferred the rights of citizens on ten thousand foreigners, who had served under his standard with valour and fidelity; and by incorporating them with the community, added to the population of the capital, and augmented the power of the state. The encouragement of agriculture was to him an object of government. Accustomed to walk in the fields, he frequently honoured the husbandmen by his presence, and animated them by his conversation;

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ſation; appearing at their head with leſs pomp, but with more real dignity than when on other occaſions he marched at the head of armies. He encouraged the cultivation of the fine arts as well as the neceſſary. Under his patronage and direction, the capital was adorned with Carthaginian ſpoils; and thoſe works of ingenuity were produced, which in the age of Cicero were eſteemed among the moſt precious monuments of antiquity *.

THE golden medals of Gelon, which are ſtill preſerved, and of the fineſt workmanſhip, juſtify the panegyric of the Roman orator.

HE conſidered the poſſeſſion of ſovereignty as an obligation to defend the ſtate; and thought himſelf a king only for the good of his people. Diſmiſſing the pomp, parade, and licentiouſneſs of royalty, he aſſumed its cares and its toils; but found his zeal for the public welfare amply compenſated by the ſupreme delight of conferring happineſs on millions. Unfortunately for Syracuſe, he died after a ſhort reign of ſeven years, two years after the victories which he obtained over the Carthaginians. He was but juſt

* Cicero in Verr.

ſhewn

ſhewn to Sicily, to exhibit the pattern of a wife and a good king. He was interred without pomp, according to his own deſire; and what pomp could equal the proceſſion of a whole people in tears following his corſe twenty miles to the tomb? CHAP. XVII.

A SPLENDID mauſoleum was erected by the people to his memory, ſurrounded with nine towers of ſurprizing height and magnificence, and he was honoured with that religious veneration which was paid to demi-gods and heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demoliſhed the mauſoleum, and Agathocles the towers; but neither violence, envy, nor time, could extinguiſh the glory of his name, or aboliſh the memory of his heroic virtues and beneficent actions, which reverence and gratitude had engraved on the hearts of the Sicilians.

IN a ſtatue raiſed to perpetuate his fame, the monarch was forgot in the virtues of the man. They repreſented him in the habit of a ſimple citizen, ſuch as he had appeared in the aſſembly of the people, when he gave an account of his adminiſtration. A ſingular fate attended this ſtatue, and worthy of the motives for which it was erected. A hundred and thirty years after this period, Timoleon reſtored

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reſtored the Syracuſans to their liberty, and in order to eraſe all traces of their former tyrannical government, he ſold publicly the ſtatues of thoſe princes by whom they had been oppreſſed; but he firſt brought them to trial as ſo many criminals, and they were all unanimouſly condemned, the ſtatue of Gelon excepted, which found an eloquent advocate in the grateful admiration which the citizens entertained for that great man, whoſe virtues they revered as if he had been ſtill alive.

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From the Concluſion of the PERSIAN *to the Commencement of the* PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

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THE period which elapſed from the concluſion of the Perſian to the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, forms the moſt illuſtrious æra in the hiſtory of Greece. While the republics of the mother country triumphed over the fallen myriads of Aſia. Their proſperous ſettlements on the Adriatic and the Helleſpont intimidated the barbarians of Europe; the ſouthern colony of Cyrene checked the ferocity of the Libyans; and their flouriſhing deſcendants in Sicily obtained a complete victory over the Carthaginians, at that time the moſt powerful people in the weſtern world. While the north, ſouth, eaſt, and weſt bowed to the commanding genius of Greece, one republic, whoſe whole territory was ſcarcely equal to a French province, or an Engliſh county, riſing to a ſudden ſuperiority over the reſt, ſtood oppoſed to the whole weight

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weight of the Perſian empire, conducted the war with extraordinary ſucceſs, and at laſt impoſed conditions of peace as glorious and beneficial to the republic as they were humiliating and ignominious to the Great King. Athens, which now roſe to the command of Greece, erected, in a ſhort period of time, an extenſive though a divided and diſcontiguous empire. This ſmall but ambitious ſtate had ſettlements on the ſhores of Thrace and Macedonia, had ſupreme dominion in the Euxine and Ægean ſeas, and extended her ſway from Cyprus to the Thracian Boſphorus.

DURING this eventful and ſplendid period, the genius and taſte of the Greeks were as conſpicuous as their valour and patriotiſm; and Athens flouriſhed in arts, while ſhe triumphed in arms. A hiſtory of the events that contributed to this age of glory, which has enlightened and refined all ſucceeding ages, muſt be given not by general deſcription, but in particular detail.

WHEN the victories at Platæa and Mycalé had put an end to the Median war, the firſt care of the Athenians was to bring home their families and effects from the iſles of Salamis and Ægina. Returning to their native ſoil, they now began to raiſe their city from its

ruins, and to rebuild it on a larger ſcale. Works of public utility were preferred to thoſe of private convenience. In order to defend Athens from future attacks, it was propoſed to ſurround it with walls of an extraordinary height*. The partial confederacy of the Greeks, which was cemented only by their fears, was diſſolved by the happy concluſion of the Perſian war; and the jealouſy of Sparta at the growing power and reputation of Athens now began to appear. This imperious and domineering ſtate, little diſpoſed to bear a rival, had always watched the movements, and checked the riſing greatneſs of Athens. Jealous even of the liberty of the Athenians, after the baniſhment of the Piſiſtratidæ, the Spartans attempted to re-eſtabliſh Hippias on the throne. It was not to be expected that they could forgive them the victory at Salamis, and the glory of having delivered Greece from the Perſian yoke. Jealous with regard to the future, as well as envious of the paſt, they dreaded the conſequences of their new acquired maritime power; and were afraid that they might aſſume on land the ſame ſuperiority which they had diſplayed at ſea, and finally deprive Sparta of that authority and

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* Thucyd. lib. i. ſect. 90. Corn. Nep. Themiſt. vit.

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pre-eminence which hitherto it had enjoyed over the reſt of Greece. Hence, when Athens began to riſe from its ruins, they remonſtrated againſt its walls and fortifications, under the pretence that the Peloponnēſus ſhould be the only place of refuge to all the Grecian ſtates againſt a foreign invader; and that a city ſo fortified might, in the event of another invaſion, become a fortreſs to the Perſians. Themiſtocles (concerning whom hiſtory obſerves a profound ſilence during the laſt year of the war) eaſily penetrated the true deſign of the Lacedæmonians, though concealed under the ſpecious mask of public good, and perſuaded his countrymen to elude the Spartan artifice by ſimilar policy. The ſenate of the five hundred declared to the Spartan ambaſſadors that Athens would take no ſtep which was not conſiſtent with the good of the whole, and promiſed ſoon to give a ſatisfactory account of their meaſures by an embaſſy to Sparta. The Spartan deputies having returned, Themiſtocles was appointed ambaſſador to Lacedæmon, and according to a previous arrangment, was to be followed at a proper time by Ariſtides, whoſe character was equally reſpected in both commonwealths, and by Lyſicles, an orator of diſtinguiſhed abilities. The Athenian fortifications were

now carried on with the utmoſt expedition. The rich and poor, freemen and ſlaves, ſenators and artificers, women and children, all contributed their efforts to the patriotic work with unceaſing perſeverance, by night as well as day. The ruins of their edifices, temples, and even tombs, were employed as materials on this preſſing occaſion; and near a hundred years afterwards, the heterogeneous appearance of the wall plainly ſpoke the manner in which it had been erected *. CHAP. XVIII.

THEMISTOCLES, under the pretence that he waited for the arrival of his colleagues, had delayed to declare his commiſſion. At this time ſome perſons from Athens brought information of what was carrying on in that rival city. Not diſconcerted with this intelligence, nor with the conſequent reproaches of the Lacedæmonians, Themiſtocles affirmed, with his uſual addreſs, "That it was below the dignity of Sparta to liſten to the tales of unknown perſons; that the fidelity of Athens ought not to be ſuſpected; and that the truth ſhould be inveſtigated on the ſpot." This being ſeconded by the Ephori, (whom Themiſtocles had gained by ſeaſonable preſents) the

* Thucydid. lib. 1, cap. 89.

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Spartans conſented to ſend a ſecond embaſſy to Athens, and ſome of their moſt reſpectable citizens in the number.

WHEN theſe deputies arrived at Athens, they were detained as hoſtages for the ſafe return of Themiſtocles and his colleagues, who now had brought him the long-expected tidings that the fortifications were finiſhed. Diſſimulation was no longer neceſſary to the Athenian ambaſſadors: Themiſtocles therefore, in the name of the reſt, boldly declared to the Spartan aſſembly, that the Athenians, in fortifying their city with ſtrong walls, had only exerciſed the common rights of nature in providing for their own ſecurity; that after having performed ſuch ſignal and effectual ſervices to all Greece, it was an inſult to ſuſpect them of any intentions that were not honourable to themſelves and beneficial to the common cauſe; that they were now in a condition to defend their city againſt enemies, whether foreign or domeſtic; and that it was not much to the honour of the Lacedæmonians, that they ſhould deſire to eſtabliſh their ſuperiority, not on their own ſtrength, but the weakneſs of their allies. *

* Diodor. lib. xi. p. 437. Juſtin. lib. ii. cap. 15.

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THE Lacedæmonians diſſembled their reſentment, and the ambaſſadors on both ſides returned to their reſpective cities.

THEMISTOCLES, ever intent to increaſe the power of the republic, and to raiſe Athens to the command of Greece, urged his countrymen to finiſh the new harbour at the Piræus, as the antient harbour of Phalerium was too inconſiderable to anſwer the purpoſes of a commercial nation. The Piræus, from its natural advantages, which could eaſily be improved by art, was capable of forming a more commodious ſtation for the Athenian navy; and, poſſeſſing three ſpacious havens, could contain above four hundred veſſels. From the time he firſt entered on office, he projected this great undertaking, and was carrying it on with vigour, when the progreſs was interrupted by the Perſian invaſion. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Sparta, the work now advanced with rapidity, and by the joint efforts of the citizens, was brought to a fortunate concluſion in the courſe of a year. The walls were formed of ſtones of a prodigious ſize, firmly joined by iron bars, and ſo thick as to admit two chariots a-breaſt on the ſummit. The Piræus gradually became a populous town, and was after-

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wards connected with the city by what were termed the *long walls*, begun by Cimon and finiſhed by Pericles.

THE whole circumference of the Athenian fortifications, including theſe walls, and the circuit of the ancient city, amounted to about eighteen Engliſh miles.

THEMISTOCLES likewiſe procured a decree of the people to augment the fleet annually by the addition of twenty ſhips; and obtained particular privileges and immunities to be granted to artiſans and ſailors, in order to encourage their reſort to Athens. The object of this able politician was to direct the efforts of his countrymen to encreaſe their maritime power, and to obtain the empire of the ſea. Elated with the extraordinary ſucceſs which had attended their arms when acting in their own defence, the Greeks now began to wage offenſive war againſt the Perſians, and to meditate victories in the very heart of Aſia. Though many of the Grecian colonies had recovered their freedom during the conteſt, Perſian garriſons ſtill kept poſſeſſion of ſome of their ſea-ports in the Helleſpont, the Propontis, and the Ægean iſles. Fifty Peloponneſian ſhips commanded by Pauſanias, and thirty Athenian, led

led by Ariſtides and Cimon, being joined by various ſquadrons from the Greek cities of Aſia, ſwept the eaſtern ſhores of the Mediterranean, and delivered the iſland of Cyprus from the Perſian yoke; then returning near two hundred leagues towards the weſt, and proceeding northward to the Boſphorus of Thrace, they attacked Byzantium. That city, ſo celebrated in following ages, had been founded by a colony of Megareans, had become populous and flouriſhing, but was now oppreſſed and enſlaved by the Perſians. It ſeems to have been conſidered by them as a place of great importance, and was therefore defended with unuſual vigour. The ſiege was long and obſtinate; it fell at laſt by ſtorm into the hands of the Greeks. Many Perſians of the higheſt diſtinction were taken priſoners, and the conquerors were enriched by the ſpoils of that opulent city. CHAP. XVIII.

HITHERTO the Spartans had kept the lead in the confederacy. Pauſanias their king was ſtill veſted with the ſupreme command: the allies collectively ſtill ſubmitted to their juriſdiction; but now theſe powers were to paſs over to the Athenians.

As long as the Grecian ſtates contended only with one another, and waged petty

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wars upon the continent, Sparta, whoſe form of government had been firſt eſtabliſhed, held the aſcendancy in Greece; but when the neceſſity appeared of equipping a great fleet to defend their coaſts from invaſion, and the bolder project was formed of carrying the war into Aſia, the Athenians began to open their eyes to their ſituation; the idea of maritime power, ſuggeſted and enforced by Themiſtocles, was purſued by the people; and the poverty of Sparta prevented her from contending with Athens for the empire of the ſea. A revolution then took place in Greece, and from that period the republic of Solon has the advantage over that of Lycurgus.

THE power of a kingdom or commonwealth depends not only on its own conſtitution and ſtrength, but on the changes which take place in the neighbouring ſtates. As innovations, and even improvements, were prohibited by the laws of Lycurgus, Sparta could not keep pace with the other republics, and had no other method of preſerving her antient influence but by endeavouring to depreſs her neighbours.

THIS natural progreſs of things was accelerated by the corruption of the Lacedæmonian commander,

commander, and the diſtinguiſhed merits of the two Athenian leaders. The inſtitutions of Lycurgus, or rather the original cuſtoms of the Dorians, which he endeavoured to render perpetual in his commonwealth, were ſo adverſe to the manners of nations who were refined, or running the career of refinement, that intercourſe with ſtrangers, either abroad or at home, was ſtrictly prohibited by law. The ſingularity of Spartan manners could only be preſerved by their inſulated ſituation. The long continuance of the Perſian war, and the familiar acquaintance with Aſiatic luxury introduced by that event, tended to relax the ſeverity of Spartan diſcipline, and to open an entrance to ambition without principle, and diſſipation without taſte. The fame of Pauſanias, which hitherto had ſhone ſo bright, now ſuffered a total eclipſe. The large diviſion of the Perſian ſpoils allotted to him after the battle of Platæa raiſed him above the rank of a Spartan citizen, above that equality which the rigid laws of Lycurgus demanded. The diſorders ariſing from a ſudden flow of proſperity, incident to the beſt minds, were increaſed in Pauſanias by its continuance, and in particular by his recent victory at Byzantium. Tired of being the ſubject, though the ruler

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of Sparta, he aſpired to become the tyrant of Greece, through the aſſiſtance of Xerxes. For this purpoſe he ſet at liberty the Perſian nobles taken in the ſiege of Byzantium, and committed them to the care of Gongylus the Eretrian, with a letter to Xerxes, in which he promiſed to deliver Sparta, and all Greece, into his hands, on condition of receiving his daughter in marriage, and being appointed to govern this new province in the Perſian empire. Xerxes gave a favourable anſwer to theſe propoſals, remitted large ſums of money to gain over the Grecian leaders, and appointed Artabazus to aſſiſt in accompliſhing the revolution.

INTOXICATED with the dreams of ambition, and dazzled with the proſpect of future greatneſs, Pauſanias on a ſudden aſſumed a new character, and affected a different behaviour. Ambitious without policy, he could not conceal his deſigns till the moment of execution; but exchanged at once the ſimplicity and frugality of the Spartan life for the magnificent manners and ſuperb luxuries of Perſia. He was ſurrounded by a guard of Perſians, became difficult of acceſs to the other commanders, and diſplayed the equipage and ſtate of an eaſtern deſpot; he required

quired extraordinary honours to be paid to his perſon, treated the allies with inſufferable inſolence, and by the tenor of his whole conduct rendered the Spartan dominion odious to all the confederates. CHAP. XVIII.

THE Ionians in particular complained, that they had been no ſooner delivered from the fetters of Perſian tyranny, than they had been ſubjected to the more ſevere and oppreſſive domination of Sparta. The ſecret compariſon which they formed between this haughty, imperious, and tyrannical conduct, and the juſtice, moderation, and affability of Ariſtides and Cimon, induced the allies, with one conſent, to abjure the deſpotic authority of Sparta, and range themſelves under the generous protection, and gentle dominion of Athens. To the honour of the Spartans, they had the moderation, or magnanimity, or policy, to renounce their claim to the ſuperiority which they had hitherto exerciſed over the reſt of the Greeks. The Ephori, who ſaw that their inſtitutions were in danger, waved for a while all other conſiderations, and ſullenly acquieſced in the ſupremacy of Athens*.

ACCUSED of having carried on a treaſon-

* Iſocrat. Panathen.

able

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able correſpondence with the enemy, Pauſanias was recalled by the ſenate of Sparta to give an account of his conduct. Sufficient evidence of malverſation was found, though not enough to convict him of treaſon; and by diſtributing a portion of his prodigious wealth among his judges, he was only fined, and diſmiſſed from his office. The Spartans, to remove the odium which the inſolence of a ſingle tyrant had excited among the allies, ſubſtituted in his place ſeveral commanders with divided authority. Pauſanias returned in a private capacity with theſe officers to Byzantium, and again reſumed the pomp of Perſian manners, and renewed his ſecret practices with Artabazus. His increaſing arrogance and violence rendering him obnoxious to the Athenians, he was obliged to retire to Colonnæ, a city of Troas. There he received an order from the Ephori, bearing the ſolemn form of the Scytalè *, to return to Sparta, under the pe-

* The Scytalè was a ſmall ſlip of Parchment, rolled on wood, and then ſtamped with the decree of the commonwealth. Every Spartan in authority had a tally, which correſponded with this roller, and upon receiving any commands from the ſenate, purporting to be in form of the ſcytalè, he rolled the parchment on his tally, and if the writing kept its proper arrangement, he was certain that the command was authentic.

nalty

nalty of being declared a public enemy, and traitor to his country. He complied with the ſummons, and on his return was brought to trial before the judges. He was a ſecond time acquitted, and ſet at liberty, partly by the influence of his enormous wealth, and partly through the deficiency of legal evidence, it being the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the Ephori never to condemn a Spartan to death without a full and direct proof of the crime laid to his charge. This was at laſt furniſhed by the conduct of Pauſanias. One of his ſlaves, entruſted with a letter from his maſter to Artabazus, having obſerved that none of the couriers employed in this intercourſe ever returned, broke open the letter, and there found the uſual hint to diſpatch the bearer. This writing he carried to the Ephori, who adviſed him to take refuge in the temple of Neptune; thither he was ſoon followed by Pauſanias, to interrogate him concerning his conduct; while the Ephori, who were concealed in a corner of the temple, overheard their mutual confeſſions, and found ſufficient grounds of conviction from the teſtimony of the traitor himſelf. The hallowed edifice prevented him from being immediately ſeized; he was permitted to retire in ſafety; and having private notice that his life

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life was in danger, he took refuge in the temple of Minerva. It was held unlawful to take him by violence from this aſylum; but the entrance to the fane was blocked up by ſtones; the walls were ſurrounded by guards, and Pauſanias periſhed by famine.

THE death of this traitor did not reſtore his country to her antient pre-eminence in Greece. A few of the Peloponneſian ſtates acknowledged the dominion of Sparta, and ſubmitted to the authority of the commanders who ſucceeded Pauſanias; all the other members of the confederacy unanimouſly ranged themſelves under the ſtandard of Athens, and entruſted the command of the confederated fleet to the calm wiſdom and confirmed virtue of Ariſtides. The management of the national treaſury of Greece was committed to the ſame uncorrupted and benevolent hands. Hitherto the contributions of money neceſſary for carrying on the war againſt the Perſians had been impoſed by the Spartans; but in proportions ſo inadequate to the reſpective ability and opulence of the ſeveral cities as occaſioned frequent animoſities and contentions. The virtuous Ariſtides exerciſed this difficult and delicate office with no leſs prudence than equity. The whole annual

nual tax amounted to four hundred and ſixty talents*, and it was proportioned with ſuch accuracy and impartiality, that all the ſtates acquieſced without a murmur. CHAP. XVIII.

WHILE Ariſtides was advancing the intereſt, and enjoying the confidence of his country abroad, Themiſtocles was doomed to feel its ingratitude and capriciouſneſs at home. His unbounded paſſion for power, and his too frequently reminding the Athenians of the ſignal ſervices he had rendered to the republic, provoked the reſentment of a giddy multitude, and he was baniſhed by the oſtraciſm.

THIS temporary ingratitude of the Athenians would not probably have been of long duration, and Themiſtocles would have ſoon regained his conſequence at Athens, had not the Spartans, at this critical period, accuſed him of having been an accomplice with Pauſanias, and demanded his perpetual baniſhment or death as the only adequate puniſhment for his crimes.

THEMISTOCLES was at this time an unpopular character at Athens; the inſolent demand was therefore too eaſily complied with, although the accuſation was unſupported by

* About ninety thouſand pounds.

proof.

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proof. It is true that Pauſanias had diſcloſed his deſigns to Themiſtocles after he was expelled his country; and painting the injuſtice and ingratitude of the Athenians in the ſtrongeſt colours, had preſſed him to join in the conſpiracy; but Themiſtocles rejected the propoſal with indignation, and refuſed to join in the plot, though he concealed what had been entruſted to him as a ſecret. He anſwered by letter to the calumnies with which he had been charged, and repreſented to the Athenians "That, as he had ever been paſſionately fond of ruling, and would ſuffer no man to lord it over him, they might judge of the probability of his forming a deſign to deliver up himſelf and all Greece to the tyranny of enemies and barbarians."

HAVING been informed that the Athenian people, convinced of his guilt, had ordered him to be ſeized, that he might be tried by the Amphictyonic aſſembly, he retired to the iſland of Corcyra, and from thence to Epirus. Finding himſelf ſtill purſued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he took refuge at the court of Admetus, king of the Moloſſi, who had retained the deepeſt reſentment againſt him, becauſe the Athenians had refuſed him their aid, while Themiſtocles was in the plenitude

nitude of his power. Struck however at ſeeing the greateſt man of Greece, and the conqueror of Aſia, in his power, that prince received him with generoſity, and reſolved to protect him. But Sparta and Athens having threatened Admetus with war, Themiſtocles was compelled to ſeek another aſylum, and ventured to retire to Perſia, where a reward of two hundred talents had been offered to any one who would deliver him up. His character, the revolutions in his fortune, the verſatility of his genius, and his facility in learning the language, and adopting the manners of the Perſians, recommended him to the new king Artaxerxes, who gave him a palace to live in, married him to a noble lady, and loaded him with favours and honours.

ALTHOUGH there be no ſufficient reaſon to charge him with treaſon, he had been remarkably attentive to increaſe his private fortune, looking upon wealth as a ſtep to power. His friends had ſecured, and remitted to him his moſt valuable effects; yet it is ſaid he left property in Athens to the amount of a hundred talents*.

FROM the eagerneſs and rapacity with

* About twenty thouſand pounds.

which

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which this was ſeized by the Athenians, we may fairly conclude that to his riches he in a great meaſure owed his condemnation.

WHILE Pauſanias was puniſhed for his crimes, and Themiſtocles was baniſhed on account of his celebrity, his power, and his opulence, Ariſtides died of old age, to the univerſal regret of his countrymen. He remained in honourable poverty while he ſuperintended the public treaſury, and had all the wealth of Greece at his diſpoſal. The republic at his death bore the expences of his funeral. His ſon Lyſimachus was educated, and his daughters were married and portioned at the public expence. Plato delineates his character in a ſingle expreſſion, "Themiſtocles, Cimon, and Pericles, adorned the city with ſplendid edifices, porticoes, and ſtatues; Ariſtides ſtudied to fill Athens with virtue."

BY the baniſhment of Themiſtocles, and the death of Ariſtides, the conduct of the Perſian war devolved on Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades. His filial affection in diſcharging the fine impoſed on his father, in order to obtain the privilege of burying his dead body, early introduced him to the public eſteem. In the two memorable engagements at Salamis and Platæa, he ſignalized his valour, and attracted

attracted the admiration of his country. Ariſtides conceived an affectionate regard for this young hero, and diſcerned in his early efforts a capacity for the moſt important offices of the ſtate. To the talents requiſite for public affairs, he added the ſofter qualities of private life; and, while his courage and conduct, directed by juſtice and moderation, conciliated the jarring intereſts of the confederated forces, his amiable diſpoſition, and indulgent humanity, endeared him to his fellow citizens. The firſt operations of the fleet under his command were directed againſt the towns of Eion and Amphipolis, ſituated on the coaſt of Thrace, near the river Strymon. Amphipolis was taken, and, as the country was fruitful, he eſtabliſhed there a colony, conſiſting of ten thouſand Athenians. Eion made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and its ſingular fate deſerves to be recorded. It was in the power of Boges, the Perſian governor, to have capitulated, and to have retired to Aſia with his family and all his effects; but this he reckoned inconſiſtent with the zeal and fidelity he owed to his ſovereign, and determined to periſh rather than ſurrender. The city was aſſaulted with fury, and defended with the moſt perſevering bravery. Driven to deſpair at laſt by famine, he CHAP. XVIII.

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with his companions mounted the walls, and threw all their gold and ſilver into the Strymon; then deſcending, they ſet fire to a funeral pile, into which they threw their wives and children, after they had ſlain them with their own hands, and then deſperately ruſhed themſelves into the burning pile*.

THE whole coaſt of Europe, which had been ſubject to the Perſians, now yielded to the Grecian arms. Cimon, with the Athenian reinforcements, with thoſe of the various iſlands, and the maritime towns of the Ionian coaſt, found his fleet augmented to the number of three hundred gallies, and therefore in a condition to purſue the enemy into Aſia.

HE ſailed directly towards the coaſt of Caria, and, aſſiſted by the natives, reduced, in a ſhort time, all the Perſian fortreſſes in that province. Lycia ſoon afterwards yielded to the conqueror. Phaſelis alone, ſecretly aided by the Chians, who ſerved in the fleet of Cimon, made an obſtinate reſiſtance; but they were at laſt obliged to capitulate, to pay a contribution of ten talents, and join their whole naval force to the Grecian armament.

AFTER the aſſaſſination of Xerxes, by Artabanus,

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. Plat. in Cimon.

tabanus, captain of his guards, his third ſon Artaxerxes, known by the appellation of Longimanus, was raiſed to the throne. The dangers which threatened a ſceptre, acquired by intrigue and aſſaſſination, occupied the beginning of his reign, and prevented him from turning his attention to the Grecian conqueſts and invaſion. But after he was firmly ſeated on the throne, he began to think of ſtopping the progreſs of the Greeks in the leſſer Aſia. Having recovered the iſland of Cyprus, he meditated the defence of Pamphylia, which lay open to the attacks of the enemy. For this purpoſe he collected a numerous army on the banks of the Eurymedon, while his fleet, of four hundred ſail, was ordered to approach the mouth of that river, to co-operate with the land army. CHAP. XVIII.

THE enterpriſe which Artaxerxes had foreſeen, was now undertaken by Cimon. The Grecian fleet, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty gallies, engaged the Perſian near the coaſt of Cyprus. The engagement was obſtinate and bloody. The barbarian fleet was at laſt defeated, and, being vigorouſly purſued to the coaſt of Cyprus, the veſſels were aban-

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doned by their crews, and fell into the hands of the conquerors*.

CIMON had now on board his fleet above twenty thouſand Perſians. The army, which was encamped on the banks of the Eurymedon, were ſtill ignorant of the battle, and its conſequences. From theſe circumſtances the intuitive diſcernment of Cimon conceived a ſtratagem for ſurpriſing the Perſian camp, which was carried into execution on the evening of the ſame day. A choſen body of Greeks dreſſed themſelves in the Perſian habit, and embarking in the Perſian veſſels, ſailed up the river Eurymedon. They were received without ſuſpicion into the camp, as countrymen and friends. Having thus gained admiſſion, on a Grecian ſignal, they attacked with every advantage an aſtoniſhed and unprepared enemy. When Cimon had penetrated to the general's tent, the whole army was ſeized with an univerſal conſternation and panic; a few ſaved themſelves by flight, the reſt fell without reſiſtance by the hands of an enemy, the more formidable from being unexpected and unknown.

HAVING gained two celebrated victories in

* Thucid. lib. i. cap. 137.

one

one day, Cimon returned in triumph to Athens, with a prodigious number of priſoners, and the immenſe ſpoils of the Perſian camp. After a tenth had been dedicated to Apollo, a conſiderable part of the remainder was employed in ſtrengthening the harbour and the fortifications of Athens. Cimon received a valuable ſhare as general, which he beſtowed on the public. He erected various ſtructures for the ornament of the city; planted the academy with groves, laid it out in delightful walks, and introduced into it a ſtream of water. He ordered his delightful gardens and orchards to be at all times open to his fellow citizens. He kept an abundant, but plain table, to which he invited all perſons: rich and poor, citizens and ſtrangers were made welcome; and he aſſiſted with his liberality, not only particular friends, but the greater part of the Athenians. When he walked through the city, the ſervants who attended him, had orders to put money privately into the hands of the poorer citizens; and to give cloaths to ſuch as were in want of them. This magnificent liberality of Cimon was practiſed without oſtentation, or intereſted motives; for he acted ſpontaneouſly not politically, and with regard to party was in-

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violably attached to the ſide of the nobility.

In the following year Cimon ſailed towards the Helleſpont, and, having expelled the Perſians from the Thracian Cherſoneſus, of which they had lately taken poſſeſſion, he laid ſiege to Thaſus, whoſe inhabitants had revolted againſt the Athenians. This ſiege is remarkable for having continued three years, and for the obſtinate reſiſtance of the beſieged, by which they expoſed themſelves to the ſevereſt calamities of war. It was declared a capital offence for any perſon to talk of ſurrendering the city; and the women, no leſs inflexible, cut off their hair to make ropes for the military engines. The city accordingly withſtood the beſiegers, till famine had carried off moſt of its inhabitants.

Cimon next ſet ſail to the ſhore oppoſite to Thrace, and landing his troops ſeized on all the gold mines on thoſe coaſts, and ſubdued the country as far as Macedonia.

The Greeks were meditating an expedition againſt the Perſian garriſons in Cyprus, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of that fertile and delightful iſland, when the troubles of Egypt opened a new career to their arms. The Egyptians, diſguſted with a foreign yoke, revolted

volted from Artaxerxes, and choſe Inarus, an adventurous Libyan chief, for their king. Neither deficient in valour nor in policy, this prince diſpatched an embaſſy to Athens, requeſting the aſſiſtance of that victorious commonwealth to deliver them from the odious yoke of Perſian bondage, which they had long felt and lamented *.

THE Athenians, equally deſirous to humble the pride and to ſhare the ſpoils of Perſia, accepted the invitation with pleaſure, and ordered their fleet of two hundred ſhips, which was deſtined againſt Cyprus, to ſail for Egypt. Soon after their arrival in that kingdom, an army of three hundred thouſand men, under the command of Achæmenes, one of the brothers of Artaxerxes, appeared on the banks of the Nile. A great battle was fought, in which the Perſian general and a hundred thouſand of his ſoldiers were ſlain. Thoſe who eſcaped fled to Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; the victors immediately purſued them, and ſoon became maſters of two diviſions of the city; but the Perſians having fortified themſelves in the third, which, from the colour of its works, had

* Thucidid. lib. 1.

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obtained the name of the white wall, a vigorous ſiege commenced, which was ſuſtained with perſeverance and obſtinacy on the part of the beſieged.

To make a diverſion of the Athenian forces, Artaxerxes ſent ambaſſadors to the Lacedæmonians, with the moſt profuſe offers, to engage them to make war againſt the Athenians. This offer being rejected, he raiſed another and more formidable army than the former, and gave the command of it to Megabazus, a man equally renowned for his conduct and bravery. Exhauſted by the fatigues of a ſevere ſervice, and enfeebled by the diſeaſes of a torrid climate, Inarus was compelled to raiſe the ſiege; and, being defeated in an engagement, retreated with the remains of the allied army to Biblos, a city in the iſland of Proſopis, which is ſurrounded by two arms of the Nile. In beſieging Proſopis, the Perſians had recourſe to an extraordinary expedient; by diverting that arm of the Nile in which the Athenian fleet lay, they opened a paſſage for the whole army to enter the iſland. Inarus capitulated, and the Egyptians laid down their arms. The Greeks, with their uſual intrepidity, ſet fire to the fleet, and reſolved to die ſword in hand, like the

the Spartan band at the battle of Thermopylæ. Struck, perhaps alarmed with their heroic reſolution, Megabazus thought it prudent to allow them to retire in ſafety. They attempted to reach the Grecian ſettlements in Cyrenaica; but few of them ever reviſited their native country, the greater part periſhed in the burning ſands of Libya. In addition to this ſeries of calamities, a reinforcement of ſixty ſhips, which the Athenians had ſent to the aid of their countrymen in Egypt, was defeated and deſtroyed in that very arm of the Nile which had already proved ſo diſaſtrous to the Greeks. CHAP. XVIII.

THUS ended the fatal war carried on by the Athenians during ſix years in Egypt; that kingdom now ſubmitted to the conqueror, and was reunited to the empire of Artaxerxes.

THESE calamities abroad, together with troubles at home, which ſhall be mentioned in the ſequel, prevented the Athenians from their long-projected expedition againſt Cyprus. They however at laſt equipped a fleet of two hundred veſſels, which ſailed for Cyprus under the command of Cimon. Having notice that the Phœnician and Cicilian fleets were at ſea, Cimon determined to bring them to

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to an engagement before they could land their ſuccours upon the iſland. His attack was ſucceſsful, above a hundred ſhips were taken; the remainder took refuge on the coaſt of Cilicia; whither being purſued by the Greeks, they were totally defeated, and the Perſian detachments who marched to ſupport them involved in their deſtruction. The Grecian fleet returned in triumph to Cyprus. The ſiege of Salamis, the next object of Cimon, proved unſucceſsful, from the conſequences of a wound he had received in the attack of Citium, which prevented his wonted exertion.

TIRED with a war, in which he had ſuſtained ſo many diſaſters and defeats, Artaxerxes ſent orders to his generals to conclude a peace with the Athenians. Plenipotentiaries were choſen on both ſides, and the terms of the treaty were as honourable and advantageous to Athens and its allies as they were humiliating to the Perſians. The conditions of peace were the following:—"That all the Grecian colonies and cities in leſſer Aſia ſhould be declared free and independent; that no Perſian ſhip of war was to appear on the ſeas between the Cyanean and Chelidonian iſlands, that is, from the Euxine ſea to the coaſt of Pamphilia; that the armies of

of the Great King were not to approach within three days journey of the ſea on the Aſiatic coaſt; and that the Athenians and their allies ſhould withdraw their forces from Cyprus, and abſtain from invading the dominions of the Perſian king.'

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SUCH was the termination of a war, which, from the burning of Sardis, had continued with little interruption during the ſpace of fifty-one years; a war no leſs remarkable for its ſtriking events than its important conſequences, and glorious concluſion. A ſmall but magnanimous republic, which firſt refuſed to acknowledge the uſurped authority of the Great King, defended its liberty againſt the whole force of the Perſian empire, brandiſhed in its turn the hoſtile ſword, and, making Aſia not only the ſeat of war but of victory, dictated to its haughty invader the moſt humiliating conditions of peace.

WHILE the treaty was negociating, Cimon died of the wounds he had received at the ſiege of Citium. He was the laſt of the Grecian generals who performed any memorable atchievement againſt the Perſians, and was long remembered and regretted by his countrymen for all the qualities which ennoble the hero, or adorn the man.

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THE ſudden riſe and extraordinary progreſs of the Athenian empire was not beheld without emotion and envy by the Grecian ſtates. The Spartans, in particular, were deeply affected with the rapid proſperity of their antient rival. Their fall from the r former preeminence in Greece, the command of the confederated allies conferred on the Athenians, the valuable conqueſts and celebrated victories of Cimon, who daily added to the wealth and ſplendor of his country, were ſeriouſly felt by the jealous ariſtocracy of Sparta, who had determined to make war on the Athenians, twenty years before the concluſion of the peace with Perſia. But the immediate burſt of their lurking animoſity was ſuſpended by a calamity ſudden, dreadful, and unexpected. A tremendous earthquake laid Sparta in ruins, and twenty thouſand Lacedæmonians periſhed in this devaſtation. To heighten the calamity, the ſlaves or helots, conſidering this as a favourable occaſion to recover their liberty, aſſembled in crowds from the villages, and attempted to maſſacre ſuch as had eſcaped the earthquake; but finding them aſſembled, and drawn up in order of battle, by the prudent foreſight of Archidamus, they retired from the capital, and, ſtrengthened

ſtrengthened by the Meſſenians, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong fortreſs Ithomé, from which they continued to infeſt for many years the territories of Laconia. The Spartans, who were not ſkilful in ſieges, could not expel this inteſtine enemy; accordingly, in the third year of the war, they applied for aſſiſtance to the Athenians, who had acquired diſtinguiſhed reputation in this branch of military ſervice. Ephialtes the orator, who belonged to the party of Pericles, maintained, that, ſo far from aſſiſting an ambitious rival, they ought to congratulate themſelves upon her diſgrace, and ſuffer Sparta to be buried under her own ruins. The generous ſoul of Cimon adopting better maxims of policy, expoſed the dangerous ambition that would thus injure the general cauſe of Greece, and leave Athens without a counterpoiſe. The required aſſiſtance was therefore ſent under his command; but the Spartans, ſuſpicious that the Athenians favoured the Helots and Meſſenians, ſoon diſmiſſed them, on pretence they were no longer wanted; and, as the other auxiliaries were retained, the Athenians eaſily penetrated their true motives, and conceived a juſt reſentment for this inſtance of jealouſy and diſtruſt.

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By the aſſiſtance of the Piſans, and other ſtates hoſtile to Sparta, the fortreſs of Ithomé held out ten years. The Lacedæmonians were ſo much exhauſted by this war, that the Helots and Meſſenians, though at laſt obliged to ſurrender, obtained terms which plainly indicated the enfeebled ſtate of Sparta: they were permitted to retire in peace from the Peloponneſus with their families and effects. The Athenians, to puniſh the Spartans for their unjuſt ſuſpicions, received theſe wandering exiles with kindneſs, and aſſigned Naupactus, a ſea-port on the Criſſean gulph, for a place of ſettlement.

Argos, the next powerful republic of the Peloponneſus, at this time weakened by internal commotions, could make no oppoſition to the increaſing power of Athens. From various motives, the Argives had not joined the Grecian confederacy during the Perſian war. Mycenæ, with the other principal cities in the Argive territory, either really moved with indignation at this dereliction of the common cauſe, or glad of ſo fair a pretence for revolt, loudly exclaimed that traitors to Greece were unworthy to rule over them, and, ſupported by foreign alliance, aſſumed and maintained independence. Similar cauſes contributed

tributed to enfeeble and lower the conſidera- CHAP.
tion of the Theban republic. The conduct XVIII.
of this ſtate during the Perſian invaſion was held in deteſtation by the ſmaller communities in Bœotia, and they unanimouſly determined to ſhake off the Theban yoke. The Thebans, unable to aſſert their ſuperiority, gave way for a time to the combination; but when they beheld the Spartans, after the recovery of Ithomé, in a condition to aſſiſt them, they endeavoured, by promiſing their moſt cordial efforts againſt the Athenians, to obtain the aid of Sparta to reinſtate them in their former dominion over Bœotia. The propoſal was accepted by the Spartan ſenate, whoſe paſſions and policy were equally intereſted in raiſing a rival to Athens beyond the iſthmus. During their preparations for this important purpoſe, Myronides the Athenian general was ſent with fifteen thouſand men to ſupport the Bœotian confederacy. A deciſive victory which he obtained near the walls of Tanagra, which Diodorus compares to thoſe of Marathon and Platæa, eſtabliſhed for a time the independency of the Bœotian cities, and the humiliation of Thebes. Pericles, who had now aſſumed the government of Athens, placed Athenian garriſons in ſeveral of the

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Bœotian fortreſſes, and, having ſent Tolmidas to ſcour the coaſt of the enemy, he next year appeared there in perſon, a terror and ſcourge to the Lacedæmonians and their allies; but ſoon after the raſh and precipitate Tolmidas was totally defeated and ſlain in an attack upon Thebes; and this important check given to their career induced the Athenians to liſten to terms of accommodation. They agreed, on condition that their citizens, who had been made priſoners in the late engagement, were reſtored, to abandon their conqueſts in Bœotia, and to relinquiſh all pretenſions to Megara and Corinth.

SUCH was the truce of thirty years, concluded by Chares for Athens, and Charondas for the allies, in the fourteenth year preceding the Peloponneſian war.

THIS treaty, although it circumſcribed the ambition of the Athenians in one direction, left them at liberty to purſue it in another. It threw no obſtacle in the way of their long-projected ſcheme of diſtant domination.

THIS deſign, equally daring and magnificent, was finally accompliſhed by Pericles, whoſe extraordinary character merits a particular delineation.

HE was deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious families

families in Athens. His father Xantippus commanded at the celebrated battle of Mycalé, and his mother Agariſta was niece to Cliſthenes, who expelled the Piſiſtratidæ. His education was entruſted to the firſt philoſophers of the age, particularly Anaxagoras of Clazomené, denominated the *Intelligence*, from his being among the firſt who taught that all human affairs were under the direction of a wiſe and benevolent Mind, who preſided over the univerſe. From the ſtudy of philoſophy, which was then confined to a few, he derived an elevation of mind and a dignity of character, which prepared him to act a ſuperior part in public life: but, though attached to this ſcience, he did not loſe the ſtateſman in the philoſopher; but ſelecting what was uſeful to his future purpoſes, gave his chief application to the ſtudy of eloquence, the great engine of influence and power in a popular government. He poſſeſſed a natural elocution, which he cultivated and refined with all the graces of art. A ſtriking dignity of manner and deportment, an uncommon elevation of ſentiment, an animated elegance of ſtile, accompanied with the graces of a melodious voice, operated like

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enchantment on the Athenian aſſembly; and raiſed him to a kind of abſolute power in the hearts of the people. The cotemporary poets aſſerted that he lightned, thundered, and agitated all Greece.

THE dawn of ſuch ſuperior talents, inſtead of contributing to his ſudden elevation, rendered him the object of ſuſpicion to jealous republicans, who fancied they remarked in his vigorous and deciſive character ſomething which might bear the commonwealth from its proper bias. His perſon, countenance, and voice were ſaid to reſemble thoſe of Piſiſtratus, who, by popular virtues and ſpecious arts, had overturned the free government of his country. As Pericles had carefully ſtudied the genius and character of the Athenians, he knew that an averſion to tyranny, an unbounded love of liberty, and a jealouſy of ſuch citizens as were diſtinguiſhed by their birth or great talents, were the predominant paſſions of that people. To remove their jealouſies, and elude their apprehenſions, he withdrew from the ſcene of public affairs, and leaving the city for the camp, ſeemed only ſolicitous for military honours. His abilities, which qualified him to excel in every direction,

direction, ſoon raiſed him to diſtinction in arms, and he was held inferior only to Cimon in military merit. CHAP. XVIII.

WHEN Ariſtides was dead, Themiſtocles baniſhed, and Cimon engaged in foreign expeditions, he judged it a proper ſeaſon to appear on the public ſcene, and aſſume the character of a ſtateſman. In his abſence he had formed a ſtrong party in his favour by his agents Charinus, Epialtes, and Menippus, before his opponents were aware; and taken a ſtrong hold in the affections of the people, which their united powers and policy could not looſe. To ſhake the credit and authority of his rival Cimon, who admired the Spartan conſtitution, and ſupported the power of the nobles, he devoted himſelf entirely to the party of the people. He not only defended the intereſts of the multitude againſt the rich and noble, but appeared to adopt their foibles; he flattered their vanity, indulged their taſte for pleaſure and profuſion, and carefully kept alive their antient antipathy to the Spartans, who, as the haughty lords of Greece, were particularly obnoxious to the Athenian populace. As his fortune did not permit him to equal the magnificent entertainments and profuſe donations of Cimon, he made it

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his firſt care to inſinuate himſelf into that branch of the adminiſtration which held the management of the public funds. He could then oppoſe profuſion to profuſion, and, in the abſence of private wealth, ſquandered the treaſures of the ſtate.

THE ſituation of the times, and ſome changes which had gradually taken place in the Athenian government, favoured the views and meaſures of Pericles, to alter the balance of the commonwealth, and raiſe the conſequence of the people.

WHEN the Athenians, in conſequence of the Spartan incapacity, and the treachery of Pauſanias, were raiſed to the command of the fleet, they were alſo appointed to the management of the national treaſury of Greece. A ſyſtem of conqueſts by ſea, of maritime empire, and at laſt of dominion over her allies, was the natural conſequence of the particular ſituation of Athens at that period.

THE annual ſubſidy entruſted to the adminiſtration of the Athenians amounted to four hundred and ſixty talents; from this and other reſources, ten thouſand talents had been gradually amaſſed. This common treaſure was depoſited at Delos, but was intirely at the command of the Athenians; nor was their diſpoſal

diſpoſal of theſe public funds accounted for to the other ſtates of the league. Their ſovereignty over the perſons of the allies was as firmly eſtabliſhed as over their fortunes, while the military authority of Cimon was ſtrengthened by the affection and gratitude of the Aſiatic and other Greeks, whom he reſcued from danger, or delivered from oppreſſion.

BESIDES the ſubſidies in money with which the allies were taxed, they were obliged to furniſh their complement of ſhips and of men. Many of the ſcattered iſlands and petty ſtates, grew weary of perpetual hoſtilities, when there were no enemies to invade, and no dangers to alarm; and were deſirous of repairing the ravages of war, by an aſſiduous attention to the arts of peace. The Athenians took advantage of this diſpoſition which began to prevail among the allies, and allowed ſuch ſtates as were averſe to the toils and the dangers of war, to compound for military ſervice, by furniſhing a certain number of ſhips, and an annual contribution of money. Two important conſequences followed from this event; an increaſe of their revenue, and an extenſion of their empire. This contribution, at firſt voluntary, ſoon amounted to a hundred thouſand

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pound. It was gradually augmented and raiſed by Pericles to three times the original ſum *. A prodigious income, conſidering that the proportional value of money to labour, was then ten times higher than at preſent.

THE power and empire of the Athenians were extended by the ſame means. The allies, from being warlike in the field, began inſenſibly to loſe their martial ſpirit, and applying to huſbandry or menial trades, acquired the mean and degrading ſpirit of theſe profeſſions. The Athenians on the other hand, being continually engaged in maritime or military expeditions, acquired courage, ambition, a ſpirit of enterprize, and all the qualities which lead to ſuperiority and dominion. Thus the people purchaſed maſters to themſelves at their own expence; and they who had formerly been confederates and allies, became now in ſome meaſure the ſubjects and tributaries of the Athenians.

OTHER ſtates who penetrated the policy, and wiſhed to prevent the deſigns of the ruling republic, withdrew from its command; but this proved only fatal to themſelves, for theſe refractory ſtates being ſubdued, became an

* Thucydid. lib. 1.

acceſſion

acceſſion to the dominion of the Athenians. Thus their ſuperiority at ſea was ſtrengthened by the conqueſts of Ægina and Eubœa; and thus the contumacy of the Thaſians afforded a pretence for the ſeizure of their gold mines, and ſerved to increaſe the funds of the republic. CHAP. XVIII.

THE contributions to the general depoſit, which were at firſt voluntary, were ſoon converted into a permanent revenue, from which period the Athenians adopted a fixed ſcheme of conqueſt, and a concerted ſyſtem of command. As republics are the moſt deſpotic of all governments, imperious exactions were often made, and tyrannical decrees enacted by the aſſembly of the people, that affected the independency of the inferior ſtates in alliance; till the ſovereignty of Athens became ſo firmly eſtabliſhed on precedents and habit, that many of the petty republics deemed it expedient to negociate terms of ſubmiſſion. Not ſatisfied with this natural current of dominion, they embroiled themſelves in the quarrels of their neighbours to extend their own power; and holding out protection to every free city, found in its inteſtine commotions new means of uſurpation, and in its foreign wars new ſubjects of conqueſt. The Megareans applied for

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their aid againſt Corinth; and the conſequence was the ſtationing of an Athenian garriſon in the citadel of Megara: the Mileſians required their aſſiſtance againſt Samos; and the reſult of the alliance with Miletus was the poſſeſſion of Samos. Whenever they were called to the aſſiſtance of a ſtate or city againſt its enemies, it was their conſtant policy to ſend ſome of their ſuperfluous numbers to inhabit part of the conquered or ceded territory; and ſuch a colony was always found to be an encroaching neighbour, and in times of trouble an imperious garriſon *. So attached were the Athenians to this mode of colonization, that Pericles ſent out a number of emigrants, who ſeized the country of the Sybarites, and under the name of Thuſis, eſtabliſhed a ſettlement in Italy, which continued to acknowledge the Athenian name and authority.

I HAVE already mentioned the attempts of Sparta, Thebes, and Argos, to reduce the power, and circumſcribe the dominions of Athens. On one occaſion only they were ſucceſsful. The army of Tolmidas was entirely defeated at Coronea by the Bœotian

* Thucydid. lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 13.

forces;

forces; but this was only a check to the ambition, not to the greatneſs of Athens. The power of that republic was not deſtined to uſurp the ſovereignty of inland provinces, it was rather adapted to diffuſe itſelf on coaſts and on iſlands. They had indeed captured ſome cities, and colonized ſome territories in Thrace, in Theſſaly, and Upper Greece; but their dominion ſpread with greater facility, as well as ſecurity on the maritime countries of Cherſoneſe, of the Helleſpont, and of Aſia Minor, and prevailed in the iſlands of Ægina, Eubœa, Lemnos, Samos, and Zacynthus. CHAP. XVIII.

CONSIDERING the commonwealth as inſtituted by Solon, and re-eſtabliſhed by Cliſthenes, the great body of the people, though in poſſeſſion of freedom, had little influence in the government. Superior opulence, and hereditary dignities ſeparated the Patrician families from the Plebeian, and the legiſlature had entruſted the higher functions of the ſtate excluſively to the former, from whoſe rank in life reſponſibility was to be expected. But various cauſes had contributed, in the times I am now reviewing, to raiſe the plebeian ſcale and give conſequence to the people. The Perſian war had raiſed every name to reputation that

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that was inſcribed on the trophy at Marathon; while the rich ſpoils of Platæa and Mycalé, Byzantium and Eurymedon, devolved hereditary opulence to the family of almoſt every combatant in theſe memorable engagements.

THE riches of the conquerors flowed from the threefold ſource of plunder, territory, and captives taken in war; the firſt procured competence and independence to the citizens; the laſt, employed in the menial arts, gave them leiſure to mingle in the councils of their country, with the elevation and conſequence of men who had fought her battles, and conduced to her victories.

FROM this influx of wealth among the inferior ranks, the Cenſus was increaſed, more citizens crowded into public life, and the ſtate of Athens became more democratic.

EVEN the virtuous, but ſometimes impolitic Ariſtides, in order to conciliate the people to his deſigns, weakened the baſis of the conſtitution, and by favouring the plebeian ſcale, diſconcerted the balance of Solon, while he annulled the excluſive pretenſions of the ariſtocracy to the archonſhip, and procured a law, by which the Athenian magiſtrates ſhould be promiſcuouſly choſen from the four claſſes of citizens. This innovation prepared the way

for the ſtill greater changes, introduced twenty years afterwards, and gradually completed by Pericles; a revolution which gave a new form to the commonwealth, and finally terminated in the ruin of Athens. CHAP. XVIII.

As he had devoted himſelf to the party of the people, to ſecure their attachment, he ſupplied the defect of his own fortune at the expence of his country. He divided the conquered lands, and diſtributed the public revenues among the citizens. He annexed penſions to all public employments, and appointed ſalaries to thoſe who aſſiſted at the public tribunals, and the aſſemblies of the people. The new ſituation in which the Athenians were placed with regard to their diſtant allies and colonies, rendered it neceſſary to make ſome alterations in their conſtitution. Pay was properly introduced into the Athenian army; when diſtant expeditions and the defence of foreign communities rendered it requiſite to hire ſoldiers wherever they could be found, and when the Athenians had not only to arm in their own defence, but for the protection of their allies. But no ſuch neceſſity exiſted for appointing ſalaries to the whole people of Athens for the natural exerciſe of their political functions, which they were called upon to

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to perform, not only from a ſenſe of duty, but a ſentiment of dignity. As the progreſs of corruption is always ſlow, a ſmall ſum, but which was gradually augmented, was regularly divided among the citizens, for every deliberation which they held, and every cauſe which they determined.

THIS introduced another change, ſtill more injurious to the dignity and the morals of Athens. The deſire of reaping theſe emoluments of juſtice, made the people deſirous of bringing all cauſes and deliberations before their own aſſemblies and tribunals. This deſign was artfully accompliſhed by Ephialtes, a bold and unprincipled demagogue, whom Pericles employed as a proper engine to effect ſuch meaſures as were obnoxious to the better party in the commonwealth, and ſo odious that he durſt not ſupport them by his own perſonal authority. While Pericles was engaged in foreign wars, his obſequious and zealous partizan promoted his ruinous politics. With the aſſiſtance of a powerful faction, he ſubverted the fundamental laws and antient cuſtoms of his country; drew from the ſenate and the tribunal of the Areopagus the cognizance of the moſt important cauſes, and thus deſtroyed the firmeſt bulwarks of the Athenian conſtitution,

tion. Ephialtes was at laſt aſſaſſinated, but not till the evil had taken root; and henceforth we ſhall find that all important matters of deliberation were brought, in the firſt inſtance, before the popular aſſembly. CHAP. XVIII.

HAVING contrived to gratify the avarice and the ambition of the Athenian citizens, Pericles ſtudied alſo to indulge their paſſion for pleaſure. The people of Athens were extremely addicted to dramatic entertainments, and to gratify their propenſity to this favourite amuſement, Pericles ordered theatres to be erected of marble, and embelliſhed with the moſt elegant ornaments of art. He opened the treaſury to furniſh the ſuperb decorations of the ſtage, and appropriated a part of the public revenue to enable the poorer citizens to gratify, without expence, their reigning propenſity. By theſe and ſimilar arts, Pericles had gained ſuch an aſcendant over the minds of the people, that he poſſeſſed and exerciſed abſolute power under a republican form of government. There was no difference, ſays a Roman hiſtorian *, between Piſiſtratus and Pericles, except this, that the one exerciſed a tyrannical authority

* Valer. Max. lib. 8, cap. 9.

by

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by the force of arms, and the other by the vigour of his eloquence.

THE revolution which immediately took place in the character, manners, and conduct of the Athenians, was the natural conſequence of theſe changes in the government, and of the influence which great and ſudden proſperity generally operates on the minds of men. Under the adminiſtration of Ariſtides, Cimon, and Pericles, the revenues of the republic had been augmented threefold, and its dominions extended in a far greater proportion. The fertile ſoil and happy climate of Attica, its ſilver mines and quarries of marble, had greatly contributed to enrich the induſtry of the inhabitants; but its central ſituation in reſpect to Greece, to the iſlands of the Egean, to Aſia, to the Helleſpont, and to Egypt, and its commodious havens, open to every wind, were advantages which far tranſcended thoſe of natural produce, or local wealth. Athens was the reſort of the traders of every country, and the common emporium of the known world. The Athenian gallies commanded the eaſtern ſhores of the Mediterranean, their merchant-men poſſeſſed the traffic of the adjacent countries. Their magazines in the capital abounded with metals, ebony,

ebony, ivory, and all the materials of the arts that conduce to utility or ornament; and, according to Xenophon*, "all that was delicious in Sicily, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Lydia, or in Pontus, was in greater excellence at Athens, and to be purchaſed with more certainty than in the reſpective countries." A people who had enriched themſelves by commerce and war, thought they were entitled to reap the fruits of their labours and their victories. CHAP. XVIII.

MAGNIFICENCE and elegance in public edifices, in temples, theatres, ſtatues, and pictures, generally precede the introduction of luxury into private life. As a patron of the elegant arts, Pericles merited not only the praiſes of his own age, but of all poſterity. As Themiſtocles had fortified, Pericles embelliſhed his native city with beautiful edifices, that ſoon rendered it the ornament of Greece. With a taſte for the liberal arts and ſciences, he enjoyed the moſt ample means of encouraging genius and rewarding merit. He had removed the treaſury of Greece from Delos to Athens, and, as no immediate exigency required the application of theſe funds to the common cauſe, they were liberally beſtowed in

* De Repub. Athenian.

encouraging

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encouraging every ſpecies of ingenious induſtry, and elegant taſte. Phidias, the celebrated ſtatuary, was appointed ſuperintendant of the public works, who aſſembled the firſt artiſts of Greece, and, without envy, gave encouragement to them all. Unleſs we had the concurring teſtimony of antiquity, as well as the admired remains which ſtill appear, it would be difficult to believe, that in the courſe of a few years there ſhould have ariſen ſo many temples, altars, theatres, ſtatues, baths, gymnaſia, and porticoes, whoſe exquiſite elegance gave foreigners a high idea of Athenian genius and power, and attracted the admiration of ſubſequent ages. Athens aſſumed a new form from the hand of Pericles. Pomp and magnificence, elegance and taſte, ſupplied the place of its original ſimplicity and rudeneſs. But private luxury began to accompany this public profuſion, and the beſt citizens diſcerned an approaching corruption of manners.

MEAN while the allies, and the opponents of Pericles, loudly complained of his laviſhing the public funds, which ought to remain appropriated to the exigencies of war, to deck Athens with ſuperfluous ornaments at the expence of plundered provinces. Pericles replied, "that the Athenians were by no means

reſponſible for their conduct in this reſpect to the allies, who ought to remain ſatisfied with the powerful protection they received from the invaſion of the barbarians; that ample proviſion having been made for the neceſſities of war, it was juſt and proper that a portion of their wealth ſhould be beſtowed in diffuſing plenty among the induſtrious citizens, and giving immortal renown to the city of Athens."

THE orators too, of the oppoſite party, attacked him with great vehemence, particularly Thucydides, the brother-in-law of Cimon. He was patronized by the Athenian ariſtocracy, and ſet up by them to oppoſe the unjuſt pretenſions, and circumſcribe the illegal authority of Pericles. He did not poſſeſs the military talents by which Pericles was diſtinguiſhed in an eminent degree, but by his wiſdom and candor he had acquired an aſcendancy over the people. The contention between theſe candidates for popular favour roſe to ſuch a height that it became neceſſary that the one or the other ſhould be expelled the city. The artifice and addreſs of Pericles prevailed, and Thucydides was baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm. Having now become ſole maſter of Athens, he adminiſter-

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ed the affairs of the republic at his pleaſure, and reigned over it with abſolute power in its moſt flouriſhing period.

THE ſplendid fortune and continual ſucceſs of the Athenians; the preſumption inſpired by their victories over the Perſians, of which they aſcribed the whole merit to themſelves; the affected diſplay of their ſuperiority to the Spartans, and their inſolent behaviour to their allies in excluding them from all deliberations that concerned the general welfare, had deeply offended ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, and raiſed a powerful confederacy againſt them, of which the Lacedæmonians were the head. Various incidents had contributed to this war; various pretences were employed by the Lacedæmonians to juſtify the commencement of hoſtilities; but the true cauſe is aſſigned by the judicious Thucydides *:—"The dominion of Athens had become too extenſive and abſolute to be any longer regarded with paſſive envy by the neighbouring ſtates; they ſaw their fame eclipſed, their liberties endangered, and, if they did not find, were ready to make ſome pretext for hoſtilities, and league together to pluck the eagle's wing before ſhe

* Lib. 1. Sect. 23.

gained

gained a pitch above the flight of vengeance." CHAP. XVIII.

THE immediate occaſion of this war was a quarrel between the republic of Corinth and its flouriſhing colony Corcyra. Suddenly elated with commercial and naval greatneſs, the Corcyreans had long with-held thoſe marks of deference and reſpect which Grecian colonies were accuſtomed to pay to the parent ſtate. In this ſtate of things the citizens of Epidamnus, a colony of Corcyra, implored the aſſiſtance of Corinth againſt the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, who, joined with a large body of their own exiles, had become not only troubleſome, but formidable, and even threatened to attack the town. They had firſt ſought protection from Corcyra, who refuſed their requeſt, partly reſtrained by the ſecret practices of the Epidamnian exiles, conſiſting of the principal families of that maritime republic. The Corinthians, more from hatred to Corcyra than affection for the Epidamnians, readily ſupplied the latter with a conſiderable body of troops.

WHEN the Corcyreans were informed that the Corinthians had interfered in the affairs of their colony, fired with indignation, they inſtantly appeared with a fleet of forty ſail be-

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fore Epidamnus, and peremptorily demanded the readmiſſion of the exiles, and the expulſion of the foreign auxiliaries. The demand was rejected with contempt, and hoſtilities immediately commenced. The Corinthians, eager to defend the place, and to protect their own citizens now encloſed within the walls of Epidamnus, increaſed their armament to ſeventy-five ſail. The Corcyreans, with a fleet ſuperior in numbers, haſtened to meet them, and, as they ſurpaſſed them in naval ſkill as well as courage, gave them a total defeat. Fifteen Corinthian veſſels were ſunk or deſtroyed, and Epidamnus ſurrendered to the victors.

THE Corcyreans erected a trophy on the promontory Leucimnè, and their victorious fleet for two years kept poſſeſſion of the neighbouring ſeas. In taking vengeance on the confederates of Corinth, they ſet fire to the ſhips of the Elians in the harbour of Cyllene. This attack on a people venerated for their ſanctity, provoked the ſouthern ſtates of Greece, who were likewiſe excited by the Corinthians, who, ſince their defeat, had been uſing every exertion at home and abroad to repair their diſgrace, and to chaſtiſe what they deemed the rebellion of their colony.

THE rulers of Corcyra, in the mean time, were

were not idle, and, knowing the enmity that ſubſiſted between the Athenians and Corinthians, they ſent ambaſſadors to Athens to implore the aſſiſtance of that republic; at the ſame time an embaſſy was ſent from Corinth to counteract the views of Corcyra. The claims of each were ſtated at large before the aſſembly of the people; but the eloquence of the Corcyreans was beſt adapted to convince an ambitious republic, and its daring leader; who conſidered that Corcyra was a powerful maritime ſtate, and conveniently ſituated for invading the lower coaſts of the Peloponneſus, of Sicily, and of the whole borders of the Mediterranean. The Athenians, however, had a reſpect for appearances, and, to avoid the idea of violating the peace, concluded merely a defenſive treaty with the Corcyreans, which, in caſe of an attack, ſtipulated that they ſhould afford to each other mutual aſſiſtance.

AFTER this agreement was confirmed, ten Athenian ſhips were ordered to reinforce the fleet of the Corcyreans. An engagement ſoon took place between the two armaments, in the narrow ſea that ſeparates Epirus from Corcyra. The Corinthians gained a complete victory, deſtroyed ſeventy ſhips of the enemy,

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and were purſuing the feeble remains of their fleet, when they were ſtopped in their career by the Athenian ſquadron, which, according to its inſtructions, had taken no part in the engagement, and now only interpoſed to prevent the utter deſtruction of their Corcyrean allies.

THOUGH the Corinthians had been thus ſucceſsful againſt Corcyra, yet, dreading the vengeance of its new auxiliary, they laboured to call off the attention of the Athenians to the defence of their own diſtant colonies. Many of them, they knew, bore the yoke of Athens with regret; among theſe they fomented the ſpirit of revolt, and prevailed on ſome openly to rebel. Among the reſt, Potidæa, which, though a Corinthan colony, was yet a tributary of Athens, yielded to the ſuggeſtions of the Corinthians. A ſupply of two thouſand men was ſecretly diſpatched from Corinth; but the Athenians having received information of this event, ſent out a fleet of forty ſail and beſieged the city.

THE Corinthians and their confederates of Peloponneſus now made their laſt appeal to the Spartans, whoſe jealouſy of Athens gave them every hope of ſucceſs in their appeal. The repreſentatives of the different ſtates vied with each other in the ſeverity of their com-

plaints againſt the injuſtice and oppreſſion of that power which had ſo long tyranniſed over Greece; and the haughty replies of ſome Athenians, who had deſired to be heard in defence of their republic, and not contribute to conciliate the minds of the Spartan ſenate. King Archidamus alone ſeems to have adviſed moderation and pacific meaſures; but a popular aſſembly, inflamed by the ſpeeches they had heard, and ſpurred on by their jealouſy of Athens, were more diſpoſed to liſten to Sthenelaides, one of the Ephori, who exclaimed with violence, "Men of Sparta! what room is there for deliberation? while we deliberate, our enemies are in the field. Let us inſtantly march and combat like Spartans." Sthenelaides prevailed, and the fatal war was determined.

But a numerous, and in ſome meaſure divided confederacy, could not act with the promptitude of a ſingle power; and it was not till almoſt a year after this warlike determination, that they were prepared to invade the territories of Athens. In the mean while they endeavoured to amuſe the Athenians with pacific overtures, where their demands were purpoſely ſo extravagant as to excite indignation, rather than to produce conciliatory meaſures.

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THESE demands were indeed received at Athens with indignation, but at the ſame time with a timidity which marked the capricious and fluctuating character of an Athenian multitude. While they had nothing to fear, they admired the bold and ardent meaſures of Pericles; but when danger approached, they ſeemed willing to conſider him as a headſtrong leader, whoſe ſchemes were more perilous than advantageous. His opponents took this opportunity of impeaching the character of the man, and finding fault with the adminiſtration of the politician. But before they openly attacked himſelf, they vented their reſentment againſt his friends, and framed accuſations againſt Anaxagoras, Phidias, and Aſpaſia.

THE firſt was accuſed of impiety, and of explaining the phenomena of nature in a manner inconſiſtent with the popular religion. He maintained that the order and beauty of the univerſe ſhewed it to be the work of one Supreme Being, poſſeſſed of wiſdom and benevolence. The philoſopher, aware of the prejudices of the people, ſecured his ſafety by flight; and the firſt undoubted Theiſt of antiquity was obliged to fly his country on the accuſation of atheiſm.

PHIDIAS was condemned for having engraved

graved repreſentations both of Pericles and himſelf on the ſhield of his celebrated ſtatue of Minerva. For this imaginary crime, the inimitable artiſt was expelled from a city which might almoſt have been called the work of his own hands.

A DISORDERLY life, and attempts to ſeduce the virtue of the Athenian matrons, were the charges brought againſt Aſpaſia. This lady was a native of Ionia; to perſonal beauty ſhe added attractions of a higher kind, and was celebrated for her knowledge, wit, eloquence, and extraordinary abilities. The moſt diſtinguiſhed men of Athens took pleaſure in her converſation, and Socrates was wont to ſay that from her he learned rhetoric. She inſpired the moſt tender ſentiments into the breaſt of Pericles, who is even believed to have married her. He pleaded her cauſe with ſo much force of argument and warmth of paſſion, that the judges, convinced by his reaſoning, and affected by his tears, pronounced her innocent. The impeachment of Pericles himſelf ſoon followed the attack upon his chief friends. But after the moſt ſtrict and minute enquiry it appeared that he had adminiſtered the finances of his country with equal probity and judgment, that his expences had never exceeded

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ceeded the income of his private fortune, and that he was on the day of his trial no richer than when firſt intruſted with the public money. He was honourably acquitted, and he now beheld himſelf a greater favourite with the people than before his trial. In this criſis of popular affection he pronounced with irreſiſtible effect that celebrated ſpeech, which brought on the Peloponneſian war, and decided the fate of Greece.

"I CONTINUE ſtedfaſt, Athenians, to my former declarations, that we ought not to comply with the demands of an unjuſt and overbearing foe. In the preſent moment, the glory, the exiſtence of the republic depend upon our ſteady adherence to this ſalutary maxim.

"IT is not to the decree againſt Megara that we are to attribute the late conduct of the Lacedæmonians. Their jealouſy and envy have been long apparent, and they are now meditating our humiliation or deſtruction. We ſteadily refuſed to repeal the decree complained of, and yet they have every day riſen higher in their inſolent requiſitions; what an exorbitancy would they have reached had we puſillanimouſly complied with their firſt demand? What then are we to expect from

negociation, when the appeal ought already to have been to the ſword? From this appeal we have every thing to expect: our adverſaries every thing to fear. CHAP. XVIII.

"THE natural ſtrength, the ample revenue, and the various reſources of the republic, promiſe the moſt favourable event to our arms. Above ſix thouſand talents are now in the treaſury; we receive ſix hundred annually in tribute; the temples are rich in ornaments of gold, and the maſſy ſpoils of the Perſian camp are ready to be melted down in a caſe of exigency. By land we are ſtrongly fortified, and three hundred ſhips of war are ready to defend our coaſts. We can inſtantly march againſt the enemy with thirteen thouſand heavy-armed troops, while our foreign garriſons are complete, and a body of ſixteen thouſand men is left for the defence of Attica. We can beſides muſter 2,000 archers, and light-armed troops, and 1,200 cavalry. The vaſt extent of our dominions, from Corcyra and Zacynthus on one ſide, and from Ægina and Eubœa on the other, ſeems to embrace the whole circuit of the Grecian ſeas. We poſſeſs the great cluſter of the Cyclades, and to theſe and other iſlands of the Ægean, have lately added the capital acquiſition of Samos.

Many

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Many of the inſular and maritime ſtates, which are not ſubject to our government, will aſſociate their fleets to our naval power, from their commercial habits or their fears. Thus Chios and Leſbos are ready to join us. Our poſſeſſions on the continent are ſo happily ſcattered, that they may be called choſen garriſons of Greece. We have Platæa on the Bœotian, Naupactos and part of Acarnania on the confines of the Ætolian territory; northward, Eion, Amphipolis, and many cities of Theſſaly and Thrace, belong to our republic; thence eaſtward, the entire Cherſoneſe, Byſantium, Seſtos, and other towns on the Helleſpont, ſubmit to our authority; many likewiſe of Ionia, Caria, Lycia, and Pamphilia are ſubordinate to our ſovereignty. In ſhort, a thouſand tributary cities * own the ſway of Athens. Our influence too is in many quarters extended or ſtrengthened by our colonies. The intereſts and the feelings of the Athenians now prevail in our ſettlements in the Cherſoneſe; in the diſtricts of the Beſaltæ in Thrace; among the Hiſtriæi in Eubœa, in Naxos, the iſles of Andros, Scyros, Samos, Amphipolis, and the countries of the Haliartii and the Chalci-

* Ariſtoph. veſp.

denſes.

denſes. Looking round to the wide-extended ſovereignty and to the ſtations of the enemy, Athens ſeems to be ſituated in the very center of the field of war, ready to diſpatch ſuccour and annoyance to every point of the circle *. CHAP. XVIII.

"WHAT, on the other hand, is the ſituation of our enemies? United by a principle of animoſity, their attack may be violent, but its duration muſt be ſhort. To you, Athenians, the Lacedæmonians cannot be formidable, as they are without money, the ſinews of war, and without a fleet, which alone can render them reſpectable in Greece. The Peloponneſians, with their ſuperior numbers, may invade Attica, and ſolicit you to an engagement, which it is your buſineſs to decline. To you, whoſe fleets bring ſupplies from every quarter of your empire, the devaſtation of your country is of ſmall importance; but if the Peloponneſus is laid waſte, your enemies muſt ſtarve or ſubmit. Your ſoundeſt policy then conſiſts in defending your city, and preſerving the empire of the ſea, which will ultimately give you the ſuperiority, and maintain your aſcendancy in Greece. But, to ſhew our

* Thucyd. lib. ii. Strabo, lib. viii. Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. and xii. Pauſan. Plutarch in Pericles.

moderation,

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moderation, and to evince to every unprejudiced Grecian that Athens does not aim at tyranny, or court hoſtilities, let us diſmiſs the ambaſſadors with this anſwer: "That we will revoke our prohibitory edicts reſpecting the Megareans, if the Spartans and other ſtates of Greece will aboliſh ſimilar laws which they have enacted; that we will reſtore freedom to ſuch cities as were independent at the laſt peace, if the Spartans will do the ſame with regard to their dependants; that we are ready to ſubmit all matters in diſpute to a peaceable deciſion; and that, whatever reception theſe equitable propoſitions may meet with, we will not be the aſſailants, but are fully prepared for a vigorous defenſive war."

THIS ſpeech was received by the aſſembly with univerſal applauſe; the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed with the anſwer propoſed by Pericles, and communicated it to their reſpective ſtates. From this time all negociation ceaſed, and ſoon after the Peloponneſian war began.

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Of the Riſe and Progreſs of Literature, and the Fine Arts, in GREECE.

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THE riſe of literature forms one of the moſt curious and intereſting articles in the hiſtory of man. No diſtinction is more ſtriking than that which obtains between the neceſſary arts and thoſe which are called beautiful or fine. Superadded to the ſenſes, and powers which operate to ſelf-preſervation, there are others of a different kind, which tend only to pleaſure. What at firſt view may appear ſurpriſing, the latter are the moſt important, as well as brilliant; the improvement, embelliſhment, and pleaſure of ſociety, chiefly flow from them, and the character of men and of nations is reſted upon the degree of perfection to which they are advanced.

THE origin of the fine arts is to be traced back to the origin of ſociety. The God of nature directs the uſe of all the faculties he hath given; the underſtanding and the fancy court their peculiar pleaſures, as well as the external ſenſes;

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ſenſes; and in every favourable ſituation man diſplays the finer powers of his frame.

MEN were eloquent before the invention of letters, and diſcovered a taſte for the fine arts, when they had made little progreſs in the neceſſary. The habitations of barbarians are rude in their conſtruction, but in their poetry there is a ſublimity and enthuſiaſm which can ſcarcely be imitated in refined ages.

As the arts aroſe in the moſt antient times, the cultivation of them has been univerſal. It is to no purpoſe that authors have ſingled out a few countries, as the ſeat of the arts, and appropriated the productions of genius to particular tracts of the earth. Wherever men have beheld the beauties of nature they have imitated or deſcribed them; wherever they have had paſſions or feelings they have expreſſed them; there have been poets, painters, and muſicians, in every quarter of the globe.

BUT although the rudiments of the arts and ſciences are to be found every where, it has been reſerved to a few nations to carry them to perfection.

THE Egyptians are entitled to the praiſe of invention. The arts as well as the ſciences originated in Egypt; but, the art of written language excepted, they ſtill remained in their

infancy. The oriental nations have cultivated the arts and ſciences from time immemorial, but they never attained to refinement in the one, nor perfection in the other. At a very early period they made a certain progreſs, beyond which they have never advanced. CHAP. XIX.

It was reſerved to Greece to ſtrike out elegant forms, and introduce refinement and taſte. From this native country of the muſes, the ſtrain of literature both in antient and in modern times is derived. The Greeks ſet the firſt example of perfection in the arts; the ſpecimens of genius which they exhibited fixed the ſtandard of elegant nature; and their early productions ſtill continue models to mankind. Sublime and pathetic eloquence, refined poetry, beautiful painting, perfect ſculpture, fine architecture, impaſſioned muſic, genuine hiſtory, aroſe in theſe celebrated republics; from them they were introduced among foreign nations, and handed down to ſucceeding ages. The ſtatues and buildings in Egypt, which diſcover good taſte, were executed by Grecian hands. Antient Balbec in Syria, antient Palmyra in Arabia, had not thoſe regular magnificent palaces and temples till the ſovereigns of theſe countries called in artiſts from Greece. In the ruins of Perſe-

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polis, built by the Perſians, we find nothing but a rude magnificence, and the remains of barbariſm, while the monuments of Balbec and Palmyra are ſtill, under their ruins, maſter pieces of architecture.

LITERATURE and the arts among the Romans were derived from the fountain of Greece. The conqueſt of Aſia introduced opulence into Rome, and the conqueſt of Greece afforded the means of gratifying the taſte for elegance, which ariſes from the poſſeſſion of wealth. The Grecian ſtatues and paintings were purchaſed by the Romans; the Grecian philoſophers and orators enlightened and refined their barbarous conquerors. For a long period of time the Greeks were the only perſons at Rome who cultivated the liberal arts with any degree of ſucceſs. Grecian artiſts adorned the walls of Roman palaces with paintings, built the temples, the porticos, and the triumphal arches of theſe maſters of the world. The Romans adopted the Grecian philoſophy. Their beſt poets, Virgil, Horace, and Terence, imitated or tranſlated the Grecian authors.

THE introduction of faſhions and modes from one country to another hath generally taken place in a different ſituation of affairs.

A nation

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A nation in the height of proſperity and grandeur hath often attracted the ſtudy and imitation of its neighbours. The taſte for French literature, and the diffuſion of the French language, prevailed among the neighbouring nations in conſequence of the greatneſs and celebrity of Lewis the XIVth. The arts of England too followed the progreſs of their arms, and after the glories of the laſt German war, our language and literature were ſtudied on the continent. But Greece, when ſtript of her political power, when a province of Rome, preſerved her ſovereignty in the ſciences and in the arts, exerciſed a nobler empire than that of arms, civilized her conquerors, and gave law to the human mind. Athens ſtill continued the nurſery of learning, and the academy of the Roman empire. All who aſpired to ſpeak with eloquence, or to cultivate good taſte, frequented Athens, and ſtudied under the great maſters of oratory. The Grecian learning continued a requiſite branch of education; the Grecian tongue was the language of politeneſs, and, what will appear ſurprizing, ſurvived the Roman in its purity, remaining without any conſiderable variation from the time of Homer to the taking of Conſtantinople

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ſtantinople by the Turks, that is during the ſpace of three thouſand years.

AFTER the taking of Conſtantinople in the fifteenth century, the Greeks, who fled for refuge into Italy, introduced the ſtudy of their language; letters began to revive, and genius to awake. The antients were ſtudied and imitated. Their poetry, painting, ſculpture, and architecture, were models to the moderns, and Greece became again the ſchool of the arts and ſciences. Beſides, therefore, their claim as a nation, the Greeks have a further title to our attention, as in ſome meaſure the parents of literature and the anceſtors of the human mind.

IT is a curious but well authenticated fact in the hiſtory of all nations, that poetical compoſition has been antecedent to proſe, and that the firſt authors were the bards or rhapſodiſts. Among the ſpecies at large, as well as among individuals, imagination and ſenſibility, the true ſources of poetical inſpiration, precede the improvement and expanſion of the reaſoning faculty. Lively and impreſſible minds are led by an inſtinct of nature to expreſs their feelings, whether of pleaſure or pain, to celebrate the gods whom they worſhip,

ſhip, the heroes they admire, and the events which they wiſh to deliver down to poſterity. Every ear is ſenſible to the charms of harmony; and poetical numbers, eſpecially when recommended and enforced by the accompaniments of muſic, muſt have given univerſal pleaſure. CHAP. XIX.

POETICAL compoſition, thus introduced by nature, was continued by neceſſity. Before the invention of letters, and in the abſence of written records, the ear was called to the aid of memory, and verſe was ennobled, as being the ſole vehicle of religion, learning, and hiſtory. Hence memory was deified, and the muſes conſidered as her immediate offspring*. Compoſitions of every kind aſſumed a poetical form. Hiſtory was delivered, philoſophy was taught, laws were promulgated, in verſe; the hiſtorian, the moraliſt, and the legiſlator, all who applied their genius or their reaſon to the purpoſes of inſtruction or entertainment, communicated to the public the fruits of their ſtudy through the medium of metrical numbers. Hence an opinion of ſomething elevated and even ſacred became annexed to the character of bard; a poetical genius was

* Heſiod. Theogon. v. 52.

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eſteemed an effect of divine inſpiration, and a token of celeſtial favour; and the poet who carried with him the chronicle of paſt and of preſent times, enjoyed the rights of univerſal hoſpitality, and was admitted to diſtinguiſhed honours. Perſons in the higheſt ſtations of life were ambitious to excel in this literary career. Achilles, as we are informed by Homer, ſung to his lyre the praiſes of departed heroes; Amphion, to whoſe poetical and muſical powers ſuch amazing effects are aſcribed, reigned in Thebes; Melampus obtained the royal dignity in Argos; and Chiron, the wiſe centaur, though entitled by his birth to rank among the princes of Theſſaly, preferred the cultivation of his poetical talents to ambition, and, retiring to a cavern in Mount Pelion, conveyed inſtruction in verſe to the celebrated heroes of the Trojan war.

AMONG the antient Greeks, as among the rude inhabitants of modern Europe, the character of muſician was joined to that of poet. Verſe ſeems to have been always ſung, and muſical accompaniment was deemed eſſential to its perfection.

THE early muſic of Greece was probably neither artificial nor intricate. But it is difficult to ſuppoſe that the elegant perceptions and

and fine organs which gave form to a moſt harmonious language, and to a ſtructure of verſe, which, under the diſadvantages of a modern pronunciation, is ſtill univerſally captivating, could have produced or tolerated a vicious and inelegant ſtile of melody. Simplicity in muſic as well as in poetry is perfectly conſiſtent with elegance, and what is moſt affecting in both is generally the moſt ſimple. CHAP. XIX.

THE early poets, of whom any memorials remain, were not natives of Greece, but of Thrace or of Aſia Minor. Homer mentions Thamyris the Thracian contending in ſong with the muſes themſelves in Peloponneſus *. Olen the Lycian was the inventor of the Grecian hexameter verſe; and his hymns, which were ſung at the feſtival of Apollo at Delos, in the time of Herodotus, were the moſt antient known to the Greeks. The hymns of Thamyris and Orpheus were admired for their ſingular ſweetneſs even in the time of Plato; and the Thracians, Thamyris, Orpheus, Muſæus, Eumolpus, with Olen the Lycian, were the acknowledged fathers of Grecian poetry, and the firſt who at-

* Iliad. lib. ii. ver. 595.

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tempted to reclaim their countrymen from barbarity, and to introduce that refinement of manners, taſte, and language, which in ſubſequent ages diſtinguiſhed a Greek from a barbarian *. Olympus, the father of Grecian muſic, whoſe compoſitions Plato calls divine †, was a Phrygian. The Thracian Greeks were probably deſtroyed in early times by the hoſtile incurſions of their northern neighbours; many of the Aſiatic Greeks too were compelled to leave their original ſeats in conſequence of the Ionic and Æolic migrations; but letters did not ſuffer by the change. Ionia was probably the birth place, and certainly the reſidence, of Homer. In his geography of countries he ſpeaks of them as more or leſs diſtant in proportion to their bearing from the Ionian territory. He deſcribes zephyrus as a rude and boiſterous wind. This circumſtance appears ſo inconſiſtent with the ſoft and gentle quality of the zephyr celebrated by the poets of all times, that it has been urged againſt Homer as an error in deſcription. But an ingenious and modern traveller ‡ has vindicated the

* Ariſtoph. Ranæ. † Plato Minor, p. 318.

‡ Mr. Wood. See his Eſſay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer.

poet,

poet, by informing us that the cold wind which blows from the Thracian mountains upon the Ægean muſt of courſe be a weſt wind with regard to Ionia. Heſiod, next to Homer in fame, was born at Cumæ; and the remaining maſters of epic poetry, as they are generally ſtiled, Antimachus the Colophonian, Panyoſis of Halicarnaſſus, and Piſander of Camirus, were all natives of the Aſiatic coaſt.

IT is no leſs remarkable, that the nine lyric poets, except Pindar the Theban, and Steſichorus the Sicilian, were born in Leſſer Aſia, or the iſlands of the Ægean ſea. The moſt antient proſe writers too, Cadmus of Miletus, and Pherecydes of Syros, boaſted the ſame origin; and in a ſubſequent age, Halicarnaſſus gave birth to Herodotus, the father of legitimate hiſtory.

NOT only poetry and hiſtory, but painting, ſculpture, and architecture, firſt roſe to eminence in this enchanting climate, and derived their firſt improvements from the ingenuity of the Ionians. They imitated and ſurpaſſed the arts which they found practiſed among the cultivated and refined nations of Phrygia and Lydia; they blended their muſic with their own, and by that means improved both; they firſt rivalled and then excelled them in all

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all the arts of deſign, in painting, ſculpture, and architecture. This country alſo gave birth to Ariſtagoras, who was the inſtructor of Pericles, and the philoſopher of *mind*, who firſt announced to antiquity the exiſtence of a Supreme and All-perfect Being, the Creator of the world.

LITERATURE, taſte, and ſcience having originated in Leſſer Aſia, were gradually diffuſed from that country over Greece, Italy, and Sicily.

IT is a ſubject not unworthy of inveſtigation, to enquire into the cauſes that contributed to the riſe and progreſs of literature and the arts in Ionia.

A LIVELY ſenſibility to the works of nature is the firſt ingredient in the character of the poet or the painter. The various regions of the earth are diſtinguiſhed by nature by a particular complexion, a boldneſs of feature, or a gentleneſs of expreſſion. The weſtern coaſt of the Aſiatic continent is univerſally acknowledged to be one of the moſt delicious countries in the world, remarkable for the fertility of its ſoil, and excelling Greece in the ſalubrity of its fine climate, which was no leſs pleaſing to the ſenſes than enlivening to the imagination. The gay and ſmiling aſ-

peſt

pect of a pictureſque region, under an unclouded ſky, diverſified by hills and vallies, interſected by rivers, broken by bays and promontories, and adorned with natural beauties and noble proſpects, excites thoſe emotions which give birth to poetry. Alone with nature in her favoured haunts and delightful receſſes, men feel with vivacity, and give vent to their feelings in animated language, which is believed to flow from inſpiration.

THE profeſſion of a bard, which is ſo important in every barbarous period, attracted uncommon attention and reverence about the time of the Trojan war, and after that event. In thoſe ages religion was one of the great principles of government, and valour was the firſt virtue held up to admiration. But the bards chiefly contributed to ſupport the ſyſtem of religion by their theogonies or genealogies and hiſtories of the gods, and powerfully recommended the practice by the beautiful hymns with which they adorned the ſacred ceremonies. While they incited men to piety by ſinging the praiſes of the gods, they animated them to valour by celebrating the glory of departed heroes. Both were ſingularly adapted to affect that ſuperſtitious

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ſtitious temper and romantic fancy which were the prevailing characteriſtics of the Grecian tribes in the early ages.

BEFORE the invention of letters and multiplication of books, men gained their knowledge like Ulyſſes, by *viſiting many cities and converſing with many men.* The reſpect and veneration annexed to the character of bard ſecured to that claſs of men a welcome reception at all religious feſtivals and public ſolemnities. The characters and events of a rude unpoliſhed age, in which human nature ſhoots wild and free, and hiſtory has often the air of romance, is highly favourable to heroic poetry. The Trojan war, in which all Greece was united againſt Aſia, the fate of Priam's family, and the fall of his antient kingdom, the wanderings and adventures of the Trojan and Grecian heroes after the taking of Troy, opened a wide field for poetical narration and deſcription, and preſented ſubjects ſuitable to the dignity of the epic muſe. Homer was not the firſt, though certainly the moſt ſucceſsful bard who attempted this theme. The admiration of his countrymen who heard him recite, in ſublime and animated ſtrains, the heroic atchievements of antiquity, has been ſeconded and confirmed by the approbation of

of all ſucceding times. When poetry is tranſmitted by oral communication, ſucceeding poets learn to repeat the verſes of their predeceſſors. Traditionary poetry, like traditionary knowledge, receives alterations and improvements from age to age. After frequent repetition the ear rejects what is diſcordant, the taſte what is diſguſting, congenial fancy ſuggeſts additional embelliſhments, and the early poems of nations receive the laſt poliſh. In this manner the Iliad and Odyſſey gradually aſſumed the form in which they now appear.

HOMER lived before the return of the Heraclidæ into Greece *. After that event, the great Æolic and Ionic migrations operated a complete revolution in the ſtate of Lower Aſia, and filled it almoſt entirely with new inhabitants.

THE ÆOLIC MIGRATION immediately followed the conqueſt of Peloponneſus by the deſcendants of Hercules. Penthilus, one of the ſons of Oreſtes, accompanied by multitudes of his countrymen, formed a ſettlement in Eubœa. Malaus and Clenes, ſprung from Agamemnon, aſſembled a num-

* Mitford, p. 160.

ber

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ber of Peloponnesian fugitives in Locris, and passing thence to Asia Minor, founded the town of Gima. Thus the whole sea coast, from Cynicus on the propontis to the river Hermus, together with the island of Lesbos, was settled by emigrants from Bœotia and Peloponnesus, and received the name of Æolia.

THE great IONIC MIGRATION took place at a later period, and was conducted by Neleus and Androclus, the younger sons of Codrus, upon the succession of Medon to the archonship. It consisted of a vast multitude of adventurers, many Athenians, and almost all the Ionian and Messenian families which had taken refuge at Athens from the Dorian invasion. They took possession of Lower Asia, from the river Hermus southward to the promontory of Posideion, together with the rich islands of Chios and Samos; and, associating with all the Greek inhabitants, founded twelve cities, which rose to opulence and power. These were Miletus, Ephesus, Myus, Lebedos, Priene, Colophon, Teos, Erythrea, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Chios, and Samos; to which was afterwards added Smyrna, obtained from the Æolians. These cities, though separately governed by their own magistrates, maintained a bond of political con-

nection with each other, and held occaſionally a general council, in which they deliberated concerning the intereſts of the confederacy. The territory thus acquired on the continent of Aſia ſcarcely reached any where forty miles from the ſea coaſt, but extended near four hundred in length from the north of Æolis to the ſouth of Ionia. CHAP. XIX.

SOUTHWARD of this tract, and in that corner of Aſia which retained the name of Caria, the Træzenians founded Halicarnaſſus, which ſoon excelled the parent city. The neighbouring iſland of Rhodes was early peopled by a Grecian tribe, and is celebrated by Homer for its proſperity and power. By a happy form of government, and a ſucceſsful application to commerce, the Rhodians flouriſhed early in arts and arms, and extended their authority over a conſiderable portion of the neighbouring continent. Halicarnaſſus and Rhodes were the two principal Grecian ſtates in Aſia, whoſe people took the appellation of Dorians.

THE colonies which migrated to Ionia from Athens, after the death of Codrus and the abolition of the royalty, carried along with them the principles of liberty, which at that time diſtinguiſhed the Athenians, and became general

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general in Greece. While they retained the ſame ingenuity, the ſame enthuſiaſm, and the ſame poetical and pleaſing ſyſtem of ſuperſtition which they derived from their European anceſtors, they poſſeſſed advantages peculiar to themſelves. Haraſſed by internal diſſentions, and torn by the ſtruggle of contending factions for power, Athens continued in poverty and barbarity till the time of Solon; but its colonies in the eaſt enjoyed profound peace, and acquired ſudden proſperity. From their vicinity to Phrygia and Lydia, the beſt cultivated and moſt opulent regions of Lower Aſia, they learned the arts of induſtry and ingenuity; to dye wool, to work mines of gold, to mould figures in bronze, and to cultivate the fine arts. Availing themſelves of their ſituation, they turned their attention to foreign commerce, which had been neglected by the Phrygians and Lydians. Commanding the mouths of great rivers, and poſſeſſing convenient harbours, they ſoon made ſuch progreſs in maritime and inland trade as raiſed ſeveral of their cities, particularly Miletus, Colophon, and Phocæa, to wealth and power *. In the eighth century before Chriſt, they had an in-

* Strabo. p. 582.

tercourſe

tercourſe with Egypt, and for a length of time monopolized the trade of that country. Thus bleſſed by the advantages of nature, and enriched by the acquiſitions of art, they felt a deſire, or found a demand for new and more refined pleaſures, and began to cultivate the elegant arts and amuſements which ſpring from leiſure, and miniſter to luxury. Elegance, gaiety, tenderneſs, and ſometimes dignity, characteriſe the Ionian muſe. The paſſionate and tender Sappho breathed the ſenſibility and ardour of love; while her lover Alcæus, though he chiefly indulged the gay and ſportive ſtrains of the muſe, poſſeſſed a genius fitted for ſubjects of greater dignity *. Voluptuous gaiety, the pleaſures of love and of wine, are the ſole themes of Anacreon, as they were the chief purſuit of his life. The character of an elegant voluptuary is uniformly preſerved in his works; and his ſtyle is diſtinguiſhed by an original ſimplicity, purity, and ſweetneſs. The tender Simonides indulged the plaintive tones of elegy, and melted the heart to ſorrow. Steſichorus attempted higher ſtrains, and ſung of battles and heroes. But

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* Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1.

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of theſe poets, celebrated by the Greeks, and imitated by the Romans, a few fragments only remain, ſufficient to make us regret the injury that we have ſuſtained by the ravages of time.

PAINTING and ſculpture, as well as poetry, aroſe in the delightful and inſpiring climate of Ionia. The Grecian religion, which was ſo favourable to the cultivation of poetry, was no leſs propitious to the progreſs of the other imitative arts. When wealth and refinement are introduced among a people, they aſpire to have temples worthy of their divinities, and ſtatues that repreſent and ſeem to realiſe their perfections. The popular ſuperſtition was happily adapted to the art of the painter and the ſtatuary. Abſtract eſſences and metaphyſical powers were unknown to the Grecian theology. As the divinities of Greece were believed to poſſeſs the human form, though infinitely more perfect and ſublime, the artiſt, by comparing and ſelecting the elegant forms of nature, and exalting his conceptions to ideal excellence, could, without ſhocking probability, give a ſupernatural dignity to his work. The happy climate of Ionia too, producing the human figure

figure in its moſt exquiſite proportions, exhibited that living and real beauty which in leſs favoured regions is the work of fancy or abſtraction.

In the ſeventh century before our era, the elegant arts and productions of the Ionians embelliſhed the wealthy capital of the Lydian kings, and were diffuſed over the dominions of the European Greeks. Alarmed by the incurſions of a Cimmerian horde, many of the Ionian artiſts emigrated to the wealthy cities of Sicyon and Corinth, where they found protection and encouragement. Bathycles, a native of Magneſia, celebrated for its painters, fixed his reſidence at Sparta. By order of the ſenate, he made the throne of the Amyclean Apollo, the ſtatues of Diana Leucophryne, of the Graces and the Hours, and all the other ornaments within the conſecrated precincts of the temple. The following century, Scillis and Dipenus, natives of Crete, enriched many cities in Europe, as well as in Aſia, by their productions; and ſoon afterward Anthermus and Bupalus gave to the world thoſe works which were the admiration of the moſt enlightened ages of Greece and Rome. The ring of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, made by Polydorus, and mentioned with ſuch

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applauſe by Pliny *, was likewiſe the work of this age.

BUT Athens gradually ſurpaſſed the fame of her colonies, and became the ſeat not only of empire but of literature, the fine arts and philoſophy.

THE conqueſt of Lydia, by Cyrus the Great, contributed to this event. Crœſus, the magnificent monarch of that wealthy kingdom, had aſſembled the Ionian ſages and men of letters at his court. When the Lydian monarchy was annexed to the Perſian empire, literature took refuge at Athens, to which Piſiſtratus and his ſon Hipparchus invited the learned and ingenious, to embelliſh their court, and poliſh the Athenians. I have mentioned that Piſiſtratus collected the Iliad and Odyſſey of Homer, and inſtituted a public library for the benefit of men of ſcience. His ſon Hipparchus augmented the collection of books begun by his father, and extended the ſame patronage and protection to the learned. He gave a penſion to the poet Simonides to reſide at his court, and ſent a fifty-oared galley to bring Anacreon to Athens.

AFTER the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ

* Lib. xxxvii. Sect. 4.

literature

literature and refinement declined among the Athenians. An unſettled government, torn by the factions of Cliſthenes and Iſagoras, and ſubject to rapid revolutions, was little adapted to the cultivation of letters, or an intercourſe with the muſes. A high-ſpirited people were more intent on action than ſpeculation, and had to run their career in arms before they began their progreſs in arts. A rude kind of drama had been introduced, and was exhibited in the villages of Attica in the cart of Theſpis; Ionia had ſent philoſophers to preſide over the education, and form the minds of the illuſtrious youth; but no art or ſcience flouriſhed at Athens till after the Perſian war. CHAP. XIX.

THE ſingular and ſplendid events of that war heightened the ſpirit and ardour of the Greeks, and gave a new elevation and enthuſiaſm to the Athenian character. The ſpoils of Aſia enriched the conquerors of Mardonius and Tigranes. The profuſion of gold and ſilver found in the Perſian camp after the battles of Platæa and Mycalé; the inundation of wealth poured into the country from the ſucceeding victories of Cimon, when Greece waged offenſive war againſt Aſia for plunder as well as victory, enriched individuals as well

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as the ſtate, and was diffuſed among the body of the people. Cimon, whoſe original patrimony was inſufficient to diſcharge his father's debt to the public, ſuddenly became poſſeſſed of ſuch immenſe wealth, that feaſting the Athenian people was to him an ordinary expence.

THE redemption of priſoners taken in battle produced a new acceſſion of wealth to the conquerors; while the former, employed in menial arts and handicraft trades, gave leiſure and competence to the latter to enjoy a higher rank, and purſue more elevated occupations. The companions and fellow ſoldiers of Miltiades, Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, and Cimon, appeared in the public aſſembly with the conſequence of thoſe who had fought the battles, contributed to the victories, and ſhared in the glories of their country. Perſons ſo elevated by national pride and perſonal importance, diſdained to practiſe the mechanical profeſſions; to find them more congenial and elegant employment, a decree paſſed prohibiting ſlaves from the exerciſe of painting and ſculpture. Thus the mechanical and liberal arts were ſeparated at Athens; and the latter being appropriated to free citizens, received additional dignity. From that period the moſt ambitious

ambitious mind diſdained not the pencil or the chiſel; the labour as well as the deſign ennobled genius and led to fame. Hence grandeur of conception was combined with the moſt elegant execution; nor was the time employed on the work any conſideration to the artiſt who laboured for immortality. The celebrated ſtatue of Laocoon employed the lives of a father and his two ſons *. CHAP. XIX.

ANOTHER circumſtance which contributed to the progreſs of refinement and the arts at Athens, was the adminiſtration of Pericles, who, beſides an elegant taſte derived from nature and improved by education, poſſeſſed a liberal ſpirit and unbounded power. Pericles comes not at preſent to our view as the miniſter, or rather dictator of the republic, but as a patron of letters; enlightened by the philoſophy of Anaxagoras, and poliſhed by his intercourſe with the accompliſhed Aſpaſia, he ſaw and felt the value of thoſe arts which adorn ſociety and refine manners. With a taſte for the liberal arts and ſciences, Pericles enjoyed the moſt ample means of rewarding them. The bank of the general contributions had been removed from De-

* Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 7.

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los, and no immediate exigency demanding the application of theſe treaſures to the common cauſe, he converted them to the purpoſes of embelliſhing the city, with a zeal and aſſiduity that ſoon rendered Athens the ornament of Greece, and gave it the empire in arts as well as in arms; nor did Pericles find it difficult to procure the conſent of his countrymen to this uſe of the public funds, and to employ in adorning the city the treaſures which had been given for its defence. Dramatic poetry, philoſophy, architecture, ſculpture, and painting were now cultivated with ſucceſs, and attained to diſtinguiſhed honours.

Dramatic Poetry.

THEATRICAL entertainments form, in all countries, a curious and uſeful ſubject of ſpeculation, as they not only mark the national feelings and character, but give additional ſtrength to thoſe feelings, and that character, from which they are derived. But in Greece the theatre was an object of capital importance and dignity; dramatic repreſentations formed a ſtriking part of religious worſhip, and the expence of ſupporting them exceeded that of the army and navy together. No people

people were ever ſo paſſionately attached to theſe entertainments as the Athenians. Their chief employment and delight was to amuſe themſelves with works of genius and taſte, and to judge of the dramatic performances that were repreſented by public authority ſeveral times in the year, particularly at the feaſts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets diſputed for the prize. So widely diffuſed was this taſte, that the common people committed to memory the fine paſſages of this poet, and learned to repeat the philoſophical ſentiments and poetical numbers of Euripides.

THE drama, in antient as in modern Europe, aroſe from the ceremonies of religion. The names of Tragedy * and Comedy † ſufficiently point out their origin. Amidſt the feſtivity and joy of the vintage, the Greeks had been early accuſtomed to ſing the praiſes of Bacchus in extemporary ſtrains. At theſe feſtivals they had been accuſtomed not only to chant Dithyrambic hymns to the bountiful god of wine, but alſo to repreſent by action the exploits and atchievements aſcribed to him by the poets, and tranſmitted by antient

* Τραγωδια, the ſong of the Goat.

† Κωμωδια, the ſong of the Village.

tradition.

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tradition. Dramatic imitation being eſtabliſhed in the ſacred ceremonies, was gradually extended; and the poets, inſtead of reciting, repreſented the ſtriking events or agreeable fictions of antiquity. As the more ſerious parts of the Dionyſian feſtival gave riſe to tragedy, ſo the gayer and more ludicrous introduced comedy. The Athenians were extremely addicted to raillery and invective, and at the vintage feſtival gave a looſe to the wildeſt and moſt licentious extravagance. The women maſked, and diſguſed with lees of wine, and the men dreſſed in rude groteſque habits like ſatyrs, vented ſuch irregular ſallies as their inebriated imaginations furniſhed on the inſtant. The ſatire and ſcurrility they indulged in theſe village amuſements, their maſks and diſguiſes in the hairy habits of ſatyrs, their wanton ſongs and dances at the phallic ceremonies, form a complete outline of the firſt drama. When dialogue and repartee were added, it became a maſque, and in this ſtate it is diſcovered in very early times in the villages. Having aſſumed the ſhape of a drama, it attracted the curioſity of the villagers; who, in return for their amuſement, decreed to the performer a prize, which conſiſted of a caſk of wine. The firſt form of theſe

theſe dramatic exhibitions was very different from their ſubſequent improvements; yet, to ſhew the attachment of the Greeks to their antient cuſtoms, they always retained the ſong of the chorus as a principal part of the performance, the cuſtom of concealing the faces of the actors with a maſk, and the diſtribution of prizes to the moſt ſucceſsful competitor. Even the dark bombaſt of the Dithyrambic hymn continued till the time of Æſchylus, and marks ſome of his tragedies; and the licentiouſneſs and obſcenity of the vintage ſongs diſtinguiſhed and diſgraced Athenian comedy till the age of Menander.

REWARDED with the praiſe of the villages, the rural poets were led by a natural ambition to exhibit their dramatic entertainments at the capital. Accordingly, in the fifty-fourth Olympiad, Suſarion, a native of Icarius, preſented a comedy at Athens on a moveable ſtage or ſcaffold. This was the firſt drama exhibited in that city; the author on theſe occaſions was the actor of his own piece; and the rude interludes of Bacchus and the ſatyrs were introduced occaſionally by the Sileni and Tityri, whoſe ſongs and dances were epiſodical to the drama. Comedy at that time appears not to have been committed to writing.

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writing. The firſt author of written comedy was Epicharmus the Sicilian, who being entertained in an elegant court at Syracuſe, rejected the mummeries of the ſatyrs, and compoſed his drama on a more regular and refined plan.

TRAGEDY was of a later invention, and owed its rude beginnings to Theſpis, who introduced one actor to the relief of the chorus, whoſe ſongs and dances formerly conſtituted the whole drama. From Theſpis, tragedy deſcended through Pratinas, Carcynus, and Phrynichus, to Æſchylus, the firſt tragic poet whoſe works have been tranſmitted to poſterity.

WHEN this new ſpecies of compoſition was introduced, many ingenious competitors began to enter the career of fame, and to contend for theatrical honours. Theſpis was ſucceeded by Pratinas, a native of Peloponneſus, who wrote fifty tragedies. He entered the liſts with Chærilus and Æſchylus, before the battle of Marathon, and gained the prize by one of his compoſitions.

PHRYNICHUS was the diſciple of Theſpis. He firſt introduced the meaſure of tetrameters, as the trochaic foot is moſt proper for dancing, and the drama of that age was accompanied

companied with dances characteriſtic and explanatory of the fable. Dancing was ſo eſſential a part of the early drama, and the people were ſo much attached to the old Bacchanalian cuſtoms, that the early reformers of tragedy found it a difficult taſk to make the dance accord to the ſubject of the ſcene. This part of the ſpectacle was generally under the direction of the poet, who was often a principal performer; but when he was incompetent to this part of his duty, he called in the aſſiſtance of a profeſſed ballet-maſter, who formed dances upon the incidents of the play, and inſtructed the chorus how to perform them. The tragedy of Phrynichus, on the ſiege of Miletus, the capital of Ionia, which had been lately ſacked by the Perſian troops, made a moſt wonderful impreſſion on the audience. The deplorable fate of a city, founded by one of their colonies, and whoſe mournful ſtory was recent in their remembrance, diſſolved the whole audience into tears, and operated ſo powerfully on the patriotic feelings of the Athenians, that the magiſtrates prohibited, by a public edict, any poet in future to recall that melancholy ſubject. This author bore away the prize by his tragedy the Pheniſſæ, which Themiſtocles was at the charge of repreſenting,

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ing. From this drama Æſchylus took the deſign of his celebrated tragedy the Perſæ. Literary excellence of every kind does not riſe from ſudden and ſingle efforts, but from gradual and progreſſive attempts. There were heroic poets before Homer, and dramatic authors of reputation before Æſchylus.

THE theatre had now aſſumed a new form. Inſtead of ſcaffolds or booths, which contained both the ſpectators and the actors, a building of more ſolid materials and of a more regular form was conſtructed. The actors wore maſks adapted to the characters which they repreſented, were adorned with long robes and flowing trains, and trod the ſtage in buſkins.

ÆSCHYLUS was the ſon of Euphorion an Athenian, and born in the laſt year of the ſixty-third Olympiad. He had attained the flower of manhood at the battle of Marathon, in which he acquired diſtinguiſhed renown. His three brothers, Aminias, Euphorion, and Cynegyrus, ſignalized their valour in the ſame action, and ſhared the honours of the victory. Though Æſchylus had reaſons, which all poſterity have approved, to ſet a high value on his poetical talents, yet, like Alcæus, he preferred his military character to his literary one, and, in the inſcription which he com-

poſed for his tombſtone, he appeals to *the field of Marathon and the long-haired Mede.* The brave and gallant ſpirit which glowed in his family gives a ſtrong and manly colouring to his compoſitions. His genius, like his valour, is keen and daring, and his pen, like his ſword, is a weapon of terror. The ſpectacle which his drama exhibits, is that of one ſublime though ſimple ſcene of awful magnificence. His ſentiments and his diction accord with his ſubject; and though he is accuſed of having written his tragedies in a ſtate of ebriety, yet they do not diſcover the traces of a diſordered fancy, though often of an inflated imagination.

ATTENTIVE to every ſubſidiary art which could give ſucceſs to his dramas, he inſtructed the chorus in the dances introduced into the piece, and taught the performers to dreſs with elegance and propriety. His taſte in theſe decorations was ſo dignified and correct, that they were imitated by the prieſts and miniſters of religion in their ſacred veſtments. The dances which he compoſed for his tragedy of the Seven Chiefs were peculiarly adapted to the ſcene, and performed with extraordinary applauſe. He ſometimes exceeded the juſt bounds of dramatic effect. In his tragedy of the *Eumenides*,

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Eumenides, Oreſtes is repreſented at the bottom of the theatre, ſurrounded by the furies, laid aſleep by Apollo. Upon their awaking with wildneſs and deſpair in their looks, geſtures, and accents, the whole theatre was petrified with horror; pregnant women brought forth the untimely fruit of their womb, and children died of the fright. So dreadful was the ſcene, that the magiſtrates interpoſed to prevent ſuch ſpectacles in future, and reduced the number of the dancers from fifty to twelve.

THE candour of this poet is apparent from his well-known declaration, "That his tragedies were but fragments from the magnificent repaſts of Homer." The elevation and dignity of his mind are equally conſpicuous from the remarkable appeal which he made when the dramatic prize was voted to one of his competitors from prejudice and envy—"I appeal to poſterity," ſaid Æſchylus, "and to poſterity I conſecrate my works, in the aſſurance that they will receive that reward from time, which the partiality of my cotemporaries refuſes to beſtow."

THIS prophetic appeal was ſoon verified, for after his deceaſe the Athenians held his name in the higheſt veneration, and enacted a decree

decree for defraying the expence of repreſenting his tragedies out of the public treaſury. Eight of his tragedies received the prize during his life, and more after his death. A ſtatue was erected to his memory at Athens, and a painting was publickly exhibited repreſenting his valour in the battle of Marathon. CHAP. XIX.

In the latter part of his life he retired to the court of Hiero in Sicily, where he was received with the honours due to his genius; and after reſiding there about three years, died in the ſixty-ninth year of his age.

When Eſchylus was in the ſole poſſeſſion of the theatre, and applauded by the public voice, a young rival ſtarted up to diſpute with him the palm of dramatic poetry. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonna, a conſiderable village in Attica, in the ſecond year of the ſeventy-firſt Olympiad. He ſtudied in his compoſitions to attain a regular, ſupported dignity, and avoided the ſounding, ſwelling, gigantic diction of Eſchylus, which reſembles the tumultuous ſhouts of battle, rather than the nobler harmony and ſilver ſound of the trumpet. His firſt production gained him diſtinguiſhed applauſe. When the bones of Theſeus were brought to Athens by Cimon, a diſpute was appointed between the

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tragic poets: Sophocles had the boldneſs to enter the liſts with Eſchylus, and the felicity to carry the prize. An union of dignity and eaſe, of ſtrength and ſoftneſs, characteriſe the Sophoclean buſkin. From the peculiar ſweetneſs of his diction, he was ſtiled the Attic Bee. He retained the vivacity and vigour of his genius to extreme old age. His ungrateful and impious children ſummoned him before the judges, on the pretence of lunacy, that they might obtain a decree to take poſſeſſion of the eſtate. He made no other defence than by reading the tragedy of Oedipus at Colonna, which he was then compoſing. The judges were delighted with the performance, and he carried his cauſe unanimouſly. He was twenty times crowned victor in the dramatic conteſts, and is ſaid to have expired in a rapture of joy, on being declared victor contrary to his expectation. He died in his ninetieth year, and the figure of a hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the appellation which had been aſcribed to him from the ſweetneſs of his verſes.

EURIPIDES was born in the firſt year of the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad * at Salamis, whi-

* 420 years before Chriſt.

ther

ther his father Meneſarchus and his mother Clito had retired, when the Athenians left their city at the approach of Xerxes. He applied himſelf at firſt to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his maſter; but the dangers which threatened that illuſtrious ſage, who had nearly fallen a victim to his philoſophical tenets, inclined him to the ſtudy of dramatic poetry, which had riſen to high reputation. He was the ſcholar of Socrates, and his works diſcover his profound application to philoſophy. CHAP. XIX.

EURIPIDES is the moſt tender and pathetic of all the Grecian dramatic authors. Alexander of Pheræ, a cruel tyrant, burſt into tears at the repreſentation of the Troades, (written by this poet) and left the theatre before the concluſion of the play, profeſſing that he was aſhamed to weep for the diſtreſs of Hector and Andromache, when he had not felt the leaſt compaſſion for his own citizens, whom he had put to the ſword. The beautiful and ſublime of moral ſentiment which run through his works have, by the conſent of ages, eſtabliſhed his title to the appellation of the philoſophic tragedian.

IT was reſerved to this poet to perfect the chorus in the Grecian tragedy, the chief diſ-

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tinction between the antient and modern drama. The office of the chorus was to give uſeful counſels and ſalutary inſtructions, to eſpouſe the ſide of innocence and virtue, to be the faithful depoſitary of ſecrets, and to ſupplicate the gods to raiſe the humble and depreſs the haughty. In the muſic of the chorus there was more variety, and in the poetry more animation than what could with propriety be admitted into the mere dialogue part of the drama: this, together with the ſplendour of the dreſſes, and the various dances of this numerous groupe, at once highly entertained the eye, and affected the heart. To recommend and enforce moral inſtruction, by the power of a happy imagination and harmonious numbers, was frequently attempted in the choruſes of Eſchylus and Sophocles, but ſeems to be the conſtant object which Euripides had in view.

Comedy.

WHILE tragedy roſe and flouriſhed in this manner at Athens, comedy, which had been leſs cultivated, began to attract attention. This ſpecies of compoſition aſſumed three different forms at Athens, partly from the genius

nius of the poets, and partly from the influence of the government. CHAP. XIX.

THE antient comedy retained the remains of its original rudeneſs, and the licentiouſneſs which diſtinguiſhed the Cart of Theſpis. Though it had become regular in its plan, it had not learned to be modeſt and reſerved. Ariſtophanes and his cotemporaries, repreſented real tranſactions, with the names, habits, geſtures, and the likeneſs painted on the maſks of whatever perſon they thought proper to ſacrifice to public deriſion. They aſſumed the privilege to direct the public meaſures, to reform the commonwealth, and to adviſe the people on the moſt important occaſions. Nothing was ſpared in a city ſo licentious as Athens. Generals, magiſtrates, the government, nay, the gods themſelves, were attacked by the ſatirical pen of the poets; and all was well received by the people, provided the comedy was entertaining, and the attic ſalt not deficient.

CRATINUS, *Eupolis*, and *Ariſtophanes* *, the principal authors of the Old Comedy, were preceded by Epicharmus and Phormis, natives

* Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Ariſtophaneſque Poetæ, &c. Horace.

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of Sicily, Chronides and Magnes, Athenians, and Dinvilochus of Agrigentum. Cratinus and Eupolis obtained the applauſes of the people, by the keenneſs and boldneſs of their ſatire againſt the magiſtrates and nobility, whom they expoſed to public ſcorn. Of the former nothing remains; of the latter a few fragments only are to be found. It is ſufficient to mark their character to mention, that they exceeded Ariſtophanes in licentiouſneſs, obſcenity, and abuſe.

THIS latter poet was an adopted, not a native citizen of Athens. He was diſtinguiſhed by his vivacity and wit in converſation, and his company was coveted by the greateſt characters of the age. Plato ſhared many feſtive and ſocial hours with him, and Socrates ſat up whole nights in his company. He attained an aſcendency in Athens, which, at this diſtance of time, appears extraordinary. All the honours that a poet could receive were publicly beſtowed upon Ariſtophanes by the Athenians, nor did they confine their rewards to honorary prizes only, but decreed him fines and pecuniary confiſcations, from thoſe who attacked him with ſuits and proſecutions. In vain Dionyſius the Syracuſan invited him to his court, though Plato had frequently ſolicited

licited the attention and patronage of that tyrant. The king of Perſia conſidered him as the moſt conſpicuous perſonage in Athens. In giving audience to the Greek ambaſſadors, his firſt enquiry was after the comic poet, who put all Greece in motion, and directed its force againſt Perſia. He acted the ſame ſplendid part on the theatre, which Demoſthenes afterwards performed in the public aſſembly. He made his moſt diſtinguiſhed figure during the Peloponneſian war; the mal-adminiſtration of government, and the miſconduct of generals at that time, afforded ample ſubject for his wit and ſatire. CHAP. XIX.

His works have been generally eſteemed the ſtandard of Attic writing in its elegance and purity; and if any perſon wiſhes to know the Athenian language, as it was ſpoken by Pericles and his cotemporaries, he muſt ſeek for it in the ſcenes of this poet. The antient critics, both Greek and Roman, who had the comic theatre of Athens before them, give him a decided preference to his cotemporaries and ſucceſſors.

He is celebrated for a poignancy and felicity of colloquial expreſſion, an attic ſalt and ſpirit, which the Roman language could never attain. His chief excellence conſiſts in rail-

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lery and ridicule. The verſatility of his genius led him to deſcribe every rank and condition of life; and none ever touched the ridicule in characters with better ſucceſs, or knew how to convey it with more keenneſs and force. But to reliſh his works, one muſt have been his cotemporary. The ſubtile ſalt and ſpirit of the Athenian raillery is evaporated through length of time; and what remains has become flat, inſipid, and diſguſting.

THE low buffoonery, and groſs indecency which often diſgrace his works, aroſe from the character of his audience, the bulk of which was compoſed of an unrefined and illiberal mob. The remarkable depravity of taſte among the inferior people, appears from their having baniſhed Cratinus and his company, becauſe his comic ſcenes were deficient in groſſneſs and obſcenity.

THE antient comedy ſubſiſted till the time of Lyſander, who, having made himſelf maſter of Athens, changed the form of the government, and committed the adminiſtration to thirty of the principal citizens. The ſatirical liberty of the theatre was reſtrained by theſe tyrants, to whom it was offenſive. The people had no longer any ſhare in the govern-

ment,

ment, nor dared they perſonally, or by means of the poets, preſume to cenſure the conduct of their maſters. It was prohibited to call living characters by their names upon the ſtage; but the ingenuity of the poets ſoon contrived means to elude the intention of the law. By drawing well-known characters under feigned names, the malice of the audience was gratified in a more refined manner. This was called the Middle Comedy, of which there are ſome inſtances in Ariſtophanes.

When Alexander the Great had defeated the Thebans, and ſecured to himſelf the empire of Greece, he gave a farther check to the licentiouſneſs of the drama. Hence the New Comedy took its riſe, which, without perſonal or political alluſions, held the mirror up to nature, and expoſed a general, but faithful picture of private life.

In this refined comedy Menander bore away the palm; and though Philemon was preferred to him in his lifetime, ſucceeding ages made him ample compenſation. The elegance and delicacy of this poet may be judged of by the imitations of Terence.

Philoſophy.

At this period the Grecian philoſophy was divided into two ſects, the Italian and the Ionic;

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Ionic; both of which were ſubdivided into ſeveral others. Pythagoras was the founder of the firſt; and Thales, the Mileſian, was at the head of the ſecond. Pythagoras was born at Samos, when it was the moſt opulent and flouriſhing of all the Grecian iſles. He was inſtructed in the learning known in that age, which conſiſted chiefly in muſic, poetry, and the gymnaſtic exerciſes. He ſtudied eloquence under Pherecydes of Siros, the firſt Greek author who wrote in proſe. The fame of Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Leſbos, and Bias of Priene, and the other wiſe men who flouriſhed in the Ionian iſlands, excited the kindred ambition of Pythagoras, who ſeems to have been early animated with the deſire of acquiring renown, and diffuſing inſtruction. According to the practice of the age, he travelled in queſt of wiſdom, and reſided ſeveral years in the antient kingdom of Egypt, which was then reſorted to by all the ſages of antiquity. By the favour of Amaſis the king, who opened his ports to the Greeks, he was inſtructed in the wiſdom, and initiated in the myſteries of the Egyptian prieſts. In the colleges of theſe learned men he ſtudied geometry, and probably became acquainted with all they knew concerning the nature of the Divinity, the human ſoul, and

and the ſyſtem of the univerſe. Neither did he neglect the ſtudy of the ſymbolic writing of the ſacerdotal order, which, with their artful policy, had placed them at the head of the ſtate. When he reviſited his native country, he found it under the domination of the artful and fortunate tyrant Polycrates. Having opened a ſchool in Samos without ſucceſs, he travelled to the continent of Greece, where he met with all that admiration and regard which were due to his virtues and ſuperior knowledge. CHAP. XIX.

AFTER viſiting Sparta, and ſtudying the laws of Lycurgus, he took up his reſidence in the capital of Magna Grecia, about the fortieth year of his age. He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the public places, and diſplayed his dexterity in thoſe exerciſes which were deemed faſhionable, as well as manly accompliſhments. He was no leſs admired for his ſkill in muſic and medicine, and for his mathematical and phyſical knowledge.

ALL the vices attendant on luxury were predominant in Crotona, and its inhabitants were at the ſame time extremely ſuperſtitious. Pythagoras, who himſelf ſeems to have had the ſame failing, artfully employed ſuperſtition as his great engine of reform. He aſſumed the moſt ſtriking peculiarity of dreſs and

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and manners, his reverence for the gods, and ſcrupulous attention to religious ceremonies, were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed, and a veil of ſecret myſticiſm overſhadowed all his words and actions. By theſe means he attracted the veneration of the public, and his inſtructions were liſtened to as the unerring dictates of the Divinity. Some exaggeration is to be ſuſpected in this account. But it appears certain that Pythagoras, by ſelecting his diſciples from perſons of influence in the ſtate, by the intimate and ſecret ties with which they were united, by the noted characteriſtics which diſtinguiſhed them from their fellow-citizens, and which procured eſteem and reverence, became, in a few years, all-powerful in Crotona. The power of this new order of men ſoon extended over Italy and Sicily, as well as over the ſtates of antient Greece; and the Samian ſage, without oſtenſible office or power, ſeems to have governed not only the philoſophical, but the political world. The revolution effected at Crotona, in the morals and manners of the inhabitants, if the concurring teſtimony of antiquity is to be credited, was equally rapid and extraordinary. The women became modeſt and reſerved. The young men preferred philoſophical ſtu-

dies

dies to juvenile pleaſures. Ambition learned to be humble, and avarice to be generous. CHAP. XIX.

PYTHAGORAS, like the wiſeſt and greateſt men of antiquity, preferred an Ariſtocratical government to every other, an opinion founded on experience; ſince, under that form, Sparta, Rome, and Carthage, roſe to their higheſt proſperity and grandeur. The rules which he laid down for regulating the conduct of his diſciples, and his ſyſtem of morality, very much reſemble thoſe of the Bramins, as they have been unfolded to us ſince our intercourſe with India.

MAGNA Græcia had, for forty years, reaped the advantages ariſing from the inſtitutions of Pythagoras, when a war broke out between the citizens of Crotona and Sybaris. The city of Sybaris, by the fertility of its ſoil, and its reſources in navigation, manufactures, and commerce, had attained to great proſperity and population. But opulence and luxury had corrupted the minds, and debilitated the bodies of the inhabitants, whoſe proverbial effeminacy has been handed down to modern times. They were totally defeated by the army of Crotona, under the command of Milo, the Olympic conqueror.

BUT the ruin of Sybaris involved in it the

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fate of Crotona. Intoxicated with ſucceſs, the lower ranks, by the inſtigation of the artful Cylon, whoſe ferocious manners had excluded him from the order of Pythagoras, contended with animoſity for an equal diviſion of the conqueſt; a refuſal produced a conſpiracy, which ended in the ſlaughter or expulſion of the magiſtrates. Pythagoras did not long ſurvive the misfortunes of his favourite city: he died at Metapontum, in Lucania, at a very advanced period of life. His diſciples were diſperſed over Italy, Sicily, Greece, and ſome of them ſought refuge in the deſerts of Egypt.

Of the Ionic Sect.

THE Ionic Sect was founded by Thales the Mileſian, who was born in the firſt year of the thirty-fifth Olympiad, or ſix hundred and forty years before the birth of Chriſt. Like the other ſages of antiquity, he applied himſelf firſt to the ſtudy of legiſlation, and, on particular emergencies, gave ſeaſonable counſels to his countrymen; but afterwards retiring from the tumult of public affairs, he devoted himſelf to philoſophy, and travelled into Egypt, from which he is ſaid to have returned with great intellectual improvement.

HE

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He was the firſt who inſtructed the Greeks in geometry. Many of the elementary propoſitions which now appear under the name of Euclid, were invented by Thales, or introduced by him from Egypt. He directed his ſtudies to aſtronomy with equal ſucceſs; he traced ſome of the circles of the ſphere; and taught his countrymen that eclipſes could be predicted.

He placed the earth in the centre of the ſolar ſyſtem, and believed it to be ſpherical. He knew that the moon ſhone by the reflection of the ſun's rays, and repreſented the movements of the celeſtial orbs in a ſphere, of which he was the inventor.

He taught that water was the firſt principle of things; and that, ſuſceptible of an endleſs variety of forms, it became the matter of bodies the moſt oppoſite. He ſeemed to recognize no other firſt cauſe; and the ſame doctrine had been already taught by ſome Indian ſages. He probably collected many of his doctrines in Egypt; but, from all that can be gathered concerning a perſon who lived in ſo remote a period, he appears to have been a man poſſeſſed of high intellectual powers, who, from his own fund, added much to the ſtore of human knowledge.

He

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He was ſucceeded in the Ionic ſchool by Anaximander, one of his diſciples. He taught that infinity is the origin and the termination of all things; that innumerable worlds ſpring from it to be deſtroyed and re-produced; and that, while every thing changes, infinity itſelf is eternal and unchangeable. He was the firſt of the Greeks who traced geographical maps, and brought ſun-dials into uſe; but theſe had been long known in Aſia.

Anaximenes, his fellow-citizen, friend, and diſciple, appears to have been little more than the interpreter of his opinions.

The philoſophical ſpeculations of Thales were purſued by other ingenious men beſide his immediate ſucceſſors, particularly by Xenophanes of Colophon, Leucippus, Parmenides of Elea, and Heraclitus of Epheſus. The ſyſtem of Leucippus was rendered famous by what ſome have called the improvements of Democritus of Abdera *, and afterwards adopted by Epicurus, whoſe falſe and impious tenets Lucretius has illuſtrated and adorned with all the graces of poetry.

Anaxagoras of Clazomenè, tranſported the ſchool of Anaximenes to Athens, where

* Div. Laert. lib. 9.

he

he taught thirty years. It was he, as I have already mentioned, who firſt announced to the Greeks the exiſtence of a Supreme and all-perfect Being, the Creator of the world. The diſciples of Thales and Pythagoras had admitted ſpirit as a principle of nature; but they do not appear to have had a diſtinct idea of it, or properly to have diſcriminated it from matter. According to the juſter and nobler ſyſtem of Anaxagoras, the Almighty Creator was altogether ſeparate and diſtinct from his works; and he conſidered the ſoul of the world as a metaphorical expreſſion, to denote the laws which the Deity had impreſſed upon matter. CHAP. XII.

He taught, that the ſun was larger than Peloponneſus; that the moon was inhabited; that the comets were irregular planets, and that the rainbow was produced by the refraction of the ſun's rays. Theſe two laſt opinions, however, were only the fortunate conjectures of a man of genius, and not founded on a ſeries of obſervation.

Instead of being rewarded by the grateful admiration of his countrymen for his ſublime diſcoveries in theology, he was accuſed of impiety. Pericles, his ſcholar and his friend, could not protect him; on the contrary, one

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great object of the accuſation was to render Pericles ſuſpected of holding the ſame ſentiments. To avoid a trial, Anaxagoras withdrew to Lampſacus, where he died.

HE was ſucceeded by Diogenes of Apollonia, and Archelaus of Miletus, the inſtructor of Socrates, and the laſt teacher of the Ionic ſchool. This philoſophy, thus tending to the improvement of intellect, and the refinement of morals, was unhappily arreſted in its progreſs by the riſe of the Sophiſts.

THESE pretended ſages, but real impoſtors, had lately riſen to diſtinction, and ſpread themſelves over Greece. Inſtead of ſtudying to attain the character, and to follow the maxims of calm contemplative wiſdom, they were governed by ambition and avarice, entered into the intrigues and buſineſs of the world, and made a trade of their pretended knowledge. They wandered from city to city to exhibit their talents, and to vend their eloquence. They were attended by crouds of novices, whom they made philoſophers at a fixed price. They pretended to poſſeſs univerſal knowledge, and taught all the arts and all the ſciences, though metaphyſics and oratory were the chief ſubjects of their ſpeculations. By adapting the tone of their diſcourſe

courſe to the taſte of their audience; by throwing a veil over the vices, and gilding the follies of the opulent and the great, they gained admiſſion into the beſt company, and were enabled to live with elegance and ſplendor. They ſuggeſted the materials, and planted the ſeeds of the libertine and ſceptical ſyſtems of philoſophy, which were afterwards introduced into Greece. CHAP. XIX.

WHILE in ſeveral of the Grecian commonwealths they were allowed full liberty to diſplay their abilities, and practiſe their artifices, the ſon of Sophroniſcus made it his chief object at Athens to detect their falſe reaſoning, expoſe their impious frauds, and unveil the hypocriſy of their character. This illuſtrious ſage, and virtuous man was born in the fourth year of the ſeventy-ſeventh Olympiad, forty years before the Peloponneſian war. His father was a ſculptor, and his mother a midwife. He followed, for ſome time, the profeſſion of a ſtatuary with ſucceſs; for in the time of Pauſanias, a Mercury, and the graces of his workmanſhip, were to be ſeen at Athens. But whatever benefit or reputation he might have acquired by cultivating an art which was admired at that period, and encouraged by the magnificent pa-

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tronage of Pericles, he chearfully ſacrificed them to the natural bias of his mind, which led him to cultivate ſcience, and recommend virtue. In his youth, he was the diſciple of Archelaus, who delivered the doctrines of Anaxagoras, his maſter. The natural philoſophy of that age, which delivered theories concerning the origin, deſtruction, and renovation of worlds, and the inexplicable movement of the heavens, ſtars, and planets, gave little ſatisfaction to a mind, that preferred to ſhadowy and uncertain ſpeculations, ſtudies that lie within the compaſs, and conduce to the benefit of mankind. He was the firſt who conceived the idea of bringing philoſophy down from heaven to earth, to place it in cities, and introduce it into private life. He acknowledged, with Anaxagoras, the Supreme Intelligence, who regulates the operations of nature, and the affairs of the world. From the wiſdom and juſtice of the Deity, he inferred his moral adminiſtration of the univerſe. He taught the immortality of the ſoul, and a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in another life. He ſtudied to diſcover the laws of divine providence, and inculcated a compliance with thoſe laws. Wherever he could be of uſe, there he was to be found, conveying

conveying the precepts of his philoſophy with all the addreſs of manly inſinuation; grave, didactic, or witty, as beſt ſuited his audience; he was always eloquent, always perſuaſive. CHAP. XIX.

THE example of this practical philoſopher, illuſtrated and recommended his doctrines. He bore arms in many campaigns, was preſent in many actions, and always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct. We ſhall find him, towards the cloſe of his life, acquiring the higheſt honour in the ſenate, and giving the moſt illuſtrious proofs of his ardent zeal for juſtice, without being intimidated by the greateſt dangers.

To confirm the probity of his diſciples, it was requiſite to expoſe the fallacy and artifices of the Sophiſts, who employed their time in corrupting the morals of youth. As the ſole aim of theſe harangues was to dazzle their audience with the glitter of eloquence, and by their ingenuity in ſpeaking on each ſide of a queſtion, he did not attack them in a direct manner by a continued diſcourſe. He employed the more artful addreſs of irony, a weapon which he knew how to uſe with much dexterity and delicacy. Whenever he met with the Sophiſts, aſſuming the appearance of ſimplicity, he propoſed his doubts with a diffi-

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dent and modeſt air, and aſked ſimple queſtions in a plain manner. Theſe pretended maſters of wiſdom heard him with a ſcornful attention, and, inſtead of giving him a direct anſwer, entered upon their common places, and delivered a vague harangue without coming to the point. Socrates, after extolling their ingenuity and eloquence, entreated them to adapt themſelves to his capacity; and as he was incapable of comprehending or retaining ſo many fine and exalted notions, begged that they would anſwer his queries in a few words. When he had once obliged them to move from their entrenchments, and brought them to give a preciſe anſwer to his queſtions, he led them on from one to another, till he involved them in the moſt abſurd conſequences; and after having reduced them to a mortifying ſilence, or ſtill more mortifying contradictions, complained that the *learned men* would not condeſcend to inſtruct him. The youth began to perceive the incapacity of their teachers; their admiration was changed into contempt; and the name of Sophiſt became odious and ridiculous.

A POWERFUL party, who had been long celebrated for their wit and eloquence, and were in high reputation among the great, would not be

be attacked without endeavouring to retaliate; CHAP. XIX.
eſpecially as they had been wounded in their two moſt ſenſible parts, their fame and their intereſt. It will appear from the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, that Socrates experienced from theſe haughty impoſtors, whom he had unmaſked, all that could be feared or apprehended from the moſt malignant envy, and the moſt invenomed reſentment.

CHAP. XX.

Containing the Hiſtory of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

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THE Peloponneſian war was of twenty-ſeven years duration, and, while it depopulated the country, at the ſame time exhauſted the finances of Greece. In the courſe of its continuance, both parties experienced the moſt cruel calamities, and diſplayed a courage that might have procured them the greateſt advantages over their common enemies.

I HAVE already obſerved, that the jealouſy entertained by Sparta, and other Grecian ſtates, at the recent and rapid progreſs of Athens to greatneſs and dominion, was the real, though concealed cauſe of this war. All the ſtates within the Peloponneſus, except the Argives, joined the Lacedæmonians, who were further aided by the Megarians, Locrians, and Bœotians. The Athenians counted, among their allies, the inhabitants of Chios, Leſbos, and the citizens of Platæa; and received the

the ſupport of their tributary countries, Ionia, the Helleſpont, and the territory of Thrace. CHAP. XX.

HOSTILITIES were firſt committed by the Thebans, who attacked Platæa, an independant city of Bœotia, in alliance with Athens. They were admitted into the city by the treachery of the Ariſtocratical faction; but the Platæans, perceiving the ſmall number of the enemy, attacked them with fury during the night, above a hundred fell, two hundred were taken priſoners, and afterwards put to the ſword. The Athenians, on receiving news of this attack, ſent ſuccours and proviſions to Platæa.

THE ſword being now drawn, both parties prepared openly for war: all Greece was in motion, and ambaſſadors were ſent to diſtant countries to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Greeks and Barbarians. The majority eſpouſed the ſide of the Lacedæmonians, eſteeming them the deliverers of Greece; becauſe the Athenians, forgetting their former moderation and gentleneſs in command, had alienated the greater part of their allies by the ſeverity of their government, and incurred the hatred of other ſtates, who were apprehenſive of becoming their dependents.

AFTER the attack on Platæa, the Lacedæmonians

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monians marched two-thirds of their forces to the iſthmus of Corinth. Archidamus, one of the Spartan kings, diſpatched an ambaſſador to the Athenians, to require of them to relinquiſh their pretenſions; but the Athenians commanded the meſſenger to retire, without deigning to give him an anſwer. Upon this, the Lacedæmonians marched towards Attica with an army of ſixty thouſand men, while that of the Athenians amounted only to eighteen thouſand; but to make compenſation for the difference, they had a fleet of three hundred gallies.

THE counſel of Pericles to the Athenians, was to waſte the enemies ſtrength by protracting the war; as they had not ſufficient forces to oppoſe the enemy, their wiſeſt plan was to retire with their effects into the city, and ſhut themſelves up in it without hazarding a battle. Accordingly the inhabitants of the country ſought an aſylum in Athens.

MEANWHILE the Lacedæmonians entering Attica, beſieged OEnoe; but being compelled, after a few ineffectual aſſaults, to abandon that attempt, they advanced ſtill nearer to the city, and encamped within half a league of the walls. It required all the art and addreſs of Pericles to prevent the Athenians, exaſperated at

at the ſight of the ravages committed on their country, from ſallying forth to attack the enemy; but, by means of his abſolute power over the paſſions of the multitude, he kept both the ſenate and people from aſſembling to deliberate, notwithſtanding the reproaches, inſults, and menaces of his enemies. He diſpatched, in the mean time, a fleet of a hundred ſail, to lay waſte the coaſts of Peloponneſus, which being joined by that of the allies, made a deſcent on Laconia, and ravaged the territories of Sparta. CHAP. XX.

INTELLIGENCE of theſe ravages committed in Laconia, and the difficulty of ſubſiſting in a deſolated country, induced the Lacedæmonians, and their allies, to withdraw from Attica.

AFTER the Lacedæmonians had retired, the Athenians appropriated a thouſand talents, and a hundred ſhips, for the more immediate defence of their country; and prohibited any perſon, under pain of death, to propoſe a different application of theſe reſources. They afterwards ſent a ſquadron to expel the rebellious inhabitants of Ægina from their poſſeſſions. To theſe iſlanders they imputed the principal cauſe of the war. Their territory was divided by lot among the inhabitants of Athens.

Pericles

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Pericles then led out the army againſt the hoſtile province of Megara, and ravaged their territory.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the campaign, the Athenians concluded an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odripians in Thrace; and in conſequence of this treaty, his ſon was admitted a citizen of Athens. They alſo entered into an accommodation with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, and reſtored to him the city of Thermæ.

AT the approach of winter, the Athenians celebrated funeral rites to the memory of thoſe brave men who had fallen ſince the beginning of the war. For this purpoſe, a large tent was erected to contain the bones of the ſlain, which were covered with flowers and perfumes. To the place of public ſepulture in the Ceramicus, the moſt ſplendid ſuburb of Athens, they were conveyed in cypreſs coffins, on the day appointed for the funeral obſequies. Attended by perſons of every age and rank, the remains of theſe citizens were committed to the tomb, and Pericles was appointed to pronounce their eulogium. This celebrated oration, or one made by the hiſtorian, is to be found in Thucydides; but whether real or fictitious, it is, in every reſpect,

ſpect, ſuited to the character of the orator, and admirably calculated for all the ends he had in view. CHAP. XX.

In the beginning of the ſecond campaign, the Lacedæmonians and their allies again invaded Attica, which was afflicted by a more dreadful diſaſter. The plague, which was ſaid to have originated in Ethiopia, and had ſpread its ravages over Egypt, and a great part of Perſia, at laſt communicated its contagion to Athens. This fatal malady, which baffled the power of medicine, turned Athens into a ſpectacle of horror; the braveſt ſoldiers and beſt citizens periſhed in the moſt excruciating pains, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of agony and death.

The confederates did not neglect to avail themſelves of this opportunity for committing devaſtations in Attica. They now penetrated beyond the city, and ſpread devaſtation over every part of the Athenian territory, not ſparing even the plains of Marathon, where Athens had nobly bled for the cauſe of Greece.

Pericles, ſtill adhering to his eſtabliſhed maxim, not to expoſe the ſafety of the ſtate to the hazard of an engagement, would not permit his troops to ſally out of the city; but having fitted out a fleet of a hundred veſſels, he

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he ſailed through the Saronic gulph, and ravaged the coaſts of Elis, Argos, and Laconia. Having arrived on the Argolic coaſt, the Athenians laid ſiege to the ſacred city of Epidaurus; but the plague again breaking out in the fleet, they abandoned the enterprize, as the calamity was attributed to the anger of Æſculapius, who was its patron, and ſuppoſed protector. They were equally unſucceſsful againſt Trœzenè, Hermione, and other cities of Peloponneſus. Overwhelmed by theſe accumulated calamities, murmurs againſt Pericles, and a general deſpondency, took place. Ambaſſadors were ſent to Sparta to ſupplicate for peace on any terms; but even an audience was denied them. The popular rage recurred of courſe with double force upon Pericles, whom they conſidered as the author of all their calamities, who at laſt aſſembled the people, and endeavoured to vindicate his meaſures. But his eloquence and addreſs were exerted in vain; the feeling of preſent evils rendered them inſenſible to every other conſideration. They deprived him of the command of the army, and impoſed on him a conſiderable fine.

THE public diſgrace of this great man was embittered by afflictions of a domeſtic nature. Xantippus, his eldeſt ſon, a youth of a profuſe

a profuſe and extravagant turn, unable to bear the ſtrict œconomy of his father, was among the firſt to murmur at his conduct, and to exclaim againſt him in all public places. This ungracious youth was cut off by the peſtilence, while at the ſame time many of the firmeſt and moſt uſeful friends of Pericles, with the remains of his numerous and flouriſhing family, periſhed by the ſame fatal diſorder; but the ſtrength of his mind was not ſhaken by theſe diſaſters, till the death of Paralus, the laſt of his children. That deſolating ſtroke ſuſpended his fortitude. When he was to put the crown of flowers upon the head of his deceaſed ſon, the hero yielded to the parent; he could not ſupport the cruel ſpectacle, nor conceal the tranſports of his grief, which forced its way in ſobs, inarticulate cries, and a flow of reluctant tears. CHAP. XX.

THE Athenians, whoſe character was marked by fickleneſs and inconſtancy, and who were led by the paſſions of the moment, ſoon repented of the injury they had done to Pericles. Their obſervation convinced them, that they had no other perſon capable of directing their affairs; they therefore implored his forgiveneſs, and entreated him to reſume the adminiſtration, and to command the army.

MEANWHILE

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MEANWHILE Potidæa, which had been beſieged almoſt three years, could no longer endure the miſeries of famine, and ſurrendered on conditions. The inhabitants were permitted to depart from the city with their wives, children, and ſome of their effects; Potidæa was re-peopled by an Athenian colony.

SOON after this event, Pericles died of the peſtilence; according to Plutarch, of a languiſhing conſumption. The hiſtory of his life delineates his character. Brave, magnanimous, eloquent, political, he was qualified to take the lead either in the council or the field; he roſe to diſtinction and authority by his admirable and unparalleled eloquence; and, by the power of that talent, governed the fickle and capricious Athenians with abſolute power for the ſpace of forty years. He employed this vaſt and extenſive authority with ſuch mildneſs and moderation, that his adminiſtration was never charged with tyranny. His talents for war were eminent and conſpicuous; yet he cautiouſly avoided all military expeditions, till he was almoſt certain of ſucceſs; and when engaged in hoſtilities, depended more on ſtratagem than the impetuoſity of courage. He managed the revenues with irreproachable diſintereſtedneſs, ſo far as regarded his private

private fortune: as an individual, he lived with the moſt exemplary œconomy; while he gloried in the magnificence of Athens, whoſe opulence was the fruit of his wiſe adminiſtration, and which owed its magnificence to his taſte, and his encouragement of the arts. In his laſt illneſs, his death-bed was ſurrounded by ſome of the principal citizens, who celebrated his illuſtrious exploits and numerous victories; for while he was general of the Athenian army, he had erected nine trophies, in memory of as many battles he had gained. After hearing their encomiums, "You extol," ſaid the dying ſtateſman and philoſopher, "a ſeries of actions, in which fortune had a principal ſhare, and which are common to me with many generals; but you forget the moſt glorious circumſtance of my life, *that no citizen ever wore mourning on my account.*"

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THE confederated army invaded Attica for the third time. All the inhabitants of Leſbos, except thoſe of Methymne, determined to renounce their alliance with the Athenians. Senſible of the great loſs they would ſuffer by the defection of that iſland, the Athenians ſent out a fleet of forty gallies to attack that of the Mitylenians, who, being repulſed,

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propoſed terms of accommodation. A ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities having taken place, the Mitylenians ſent ambaſſadors to Athens and to Lacedæmon at the ſame time. The Lacedæmonians informed the deputies that they ſhould be fully heard at the approaching Olympic games, where the other allies would be preſent to aſſiſt at the conference. From the ſpeech of the ambaſſadors, as tranſmitted to us by Thucydides, we find that they aſſigned the ambition, tyranny, and oppreſſion of the Athenians, not their preſent calamities, as the reaſon that induced the Leſbians to break that treaty, and relinquiſh that alliance. The allies, as was to be expected, were ſatisfied with their declaration, and admitted them into their confederacy.

IT was alſo reſolved in this aſſembly to proſecute the war againſt Athens more vigorouſly than ever. Receiving intelligence of the vaſt preparations making againſt them, the Athenians equipped a fleet of a hundred ſail, and appearing ſuddenly off the promontory of the Corinthian iſthmus, made a deſcent upon Peloponneſus, while another fleet protected the coaſt of Attica. Never had they raiſed ſuch a formidable armament with ſo much celerity; it ſtruck ſuch terror into the Lacedæmonians,

Lacedæmonians, that they immediately hurried back to the defence of Laconia. The Athenians, in the mean time, ſent a detachment of a thouſand ſoldiers to the ſiege of Mitylene, and the town was inveſted by ſea and land. Preſſed by famine, and receiving no aſſiſtance from Sparta, the citizens were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The authors of the revolt, amounting to more than a thouſand, were conveyed to Athens and put to death. Orders were at the ſame time iſſued to maſſacre the reſt of the inhabitants by way of example; but this ſanguinary decree was almoſt inſtantly revoked by the returning good ſenſe and humanity of the people. The town was then diſmantled, and the whole iſland, Mitylene excepted, was divided by lot among the citizens of Athens. CHAP XX.

THE city of Platæa had been inveſted by the confederates in the preceding year. This ſiege was rendered remarkable, not only for the obſtinate reſiſtance of the beſieged, but for its being the firſt recorded in the Grecian hiſtory that was conducted with any kind of regularity. Both parties employed ramparts and mounds of earth; the one to attack, the other to defend. It is not a little aſtoniſhing, that ſo inconſiderable a town as Platæa,

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which contained only four hundred citizens, and eighty Athenians, ſhould have made a long and vigorous reſiſtance againſt a powerful army. The enemy changed the ſiege into a blockade, and ſurrounded the town with two ditches. The beſieged at laſt, having loſt all hopes of relief, attempted to make their eſcape, which the half of them effected by a daring ſtratagem ſuggeſted by deſpair. The remainder, affrighted at the dangers attending the effort, continued in the town, but finding themſelves unequal to its defence, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Eight Spartans were ſent to decide their doom. In vain did the wretched Platæans allege in their own defence, that they had been compelled, through neceſſity, to eſpouſe the ſide of the Athenians, in order to obtain their protection againſt the Thebans, their antient oppreſſors. They were all butchered in cold blood; their wives were ſold, and their city conſumed to aſhes. Such were the calamitous effects of the violent and furious hatred, which now reciprocally poſſeſſed the minds of the Athenians and Spartans, that each party, after the hour of victory, carried their revenge to the moſt ſanguinary and ſavage extremes. This was the mournful and diſaſtrous fate of the

the Platæans, who, during the Perſian war had obtained an honourable name in arms, and performed the moſt important ſervices to their country. CHAP. XX.

In the four hundred and twenty-ſixth year before the Chriſtian era, the plague broke out afreſh at Athens, and ſwept multitudes to deſtruction. According to the regular opening of every campaign, the confederates invaded Attica, and the Athenians made a deſcent on Peloponneſus. The ſiege and capture of Pylus, a ſmall town of Meſſenia, by Demoſthenes, the Athenian commander, forms the moſt memorable event of this campaign. The Lacedæmonians, being anxious to recover poſſeſſion, it became the ſcene of very extraordinary military operations. A detachment of four hundred Spartans ſeized the little iſland of Sphacteria, oppoſite to the city. The Athenians ſurrounded the iſland, and cut off all ſupplies of proviſions. The ſiege, however, went on ſlowly; but Cleon and Demoſthenes being joined in command, they landed in Sphacteria, and drove the enemy to the extremity of the iſland; but the Lacedæmonians, having poſſeſſed themſelves of a fortification, defended it with the moſt deſperate valour. At laſt, the commander of the

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Meſſenians, having diſcovered a difficult paſs which led to the fort, marched that way, and appearing unexpectedly on the rear of the Lacedæmonians, called to them to lay down their arms. Exhauſted with the fatigues of the day, the Lacedæmonians complied with the ſummons, by laying their ſhields upon the ground; and, after a ſhort conference, ſurrendered at diſcretion. After the happy termination of this ſiege, which continued ſixty-two days, the Athenians erected a trophy. The Lacedæmonian priſoners were carried to Athens, and thrown into priſon till peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed; with threats, at the ſame time, to put them all to the ſword, if the Lacedæmonians made any more incurſions into Attica.

THE four campaigns which followed the reduction of the ſmall iſland Sphacteria, were diſtinguiſhed by few important events. The Athenians, under the command of Nicias, took the little iſland of Cythera, ſituated near Cape Malea, on the Lacedæmonian coaſt, from which they infeſted the whole country.

BRASIDAS, on the other ſide, marched towards Thrace. The Lacedæmonians were induced, by ſeveral motives, to undertake this expedition,

expedition. They believed, that they would thus compel the Athenians, who had invaded Laconia, to divide their forces. The Thracians had invited them to their country, and offered to pay the army. They rejoiced alſo at any occaſion of ridding themſelves of the Helots, whom they expected to riſe in rebellion after the taking of Pylus. They had already diſpatched two thouſand of theſe devoted wretches in a moſt ſhocking manner. They iſſued a proclamation, purporting, that ſuch of the Helots as had rendered important ſervices to the ſtate in the laſt campaigns, ſhould enter their names in the public regiſters, in order to their being emancipated; accordingly two thouſand gave in their names. They were led in proceſſion through the temples, with garlands of flowers on their heads, as if, in reality, they had been going to receive their liberty. When this ceremony was over, they ſuddenly diſappeared, and were heard of no more. A ſtriking inſtance of the jealous policy and atrocious cruelty of the Spartans, who, on the ſhadow of ſuſpicion, were led to commit the moſt enormous crimes, and did not heſitate to make the ſanctity of religion, and the majeſty of the gods, ſubſervient to their perfidious deſigns.

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ACTUATED by ſimilar views, they ſent ſeven hundred Helots to accompany Braſidas in his Thracian expedition. He took Acanthus, Stagyra, and ſeveral other cities, and laid ſiege to Amphipolis, a place of much importance to the Athenians, as ſupplying them with timber. Accordingly, Thucydides the hiſtorian was ſent to its relief; but the town was taken before his arrival. His countrymen, however, afflicted with the loſs, baniſhed him at the inſtigation of the bold and profligate demagogue Cleon. The Athenians, having about the ſame time advanced into Bœotia, under the command of Hippocrates, were defeated near Delium, by the Thebans.

HITHERTO, the loſſes and advantages had been pretty equally balanced; and the rival Republics grew weary of a war, which involved them in a prodigious expence, without procuring them any real benefit; a truce for a year was therefore concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The news of this accommodation highly offended Braſidas, as it ſtopped him in the career of his conqueſts, and diſconcerted all his projects. Cleon, on the other hand, who had acquired an aſcendancy at Athens by his vehemence, preſumption,

preſumption, and plebeian eloquence, incited his countrymen to renew the war. Thus a coward on one ſide, and a hero on the other, oppoſed the tranquillity of Greece; the former, becauſe the war veiled his vices and miſdemeanours; and the latter, becauſe it added new luſtre to his reputation; but their death, which happened at the ſame time, prepared the way for a new accommodation.

THE Athenians had appointed Cleon to command the army, which was ſent to oppoſe Braſidas. Cleon, elated by his laſt fortunate undertaking, attempted to retake Amphipolis; but Braſidas, informed of his intentions, took poſſeſſion of the town. To increaſe the preſumption and temerity of Cleon, the Spartan general, who was well acquainted with his character, affected to be intimidated by his approach. Deceived by this appearance, Cleon neglected every precaution, and the diſcipline of his army was relaxed. Braſidas, having made the neceſſary preparations, ſallied forth ſuddenly, and attacked the left wing of the Athenians, which, being the ſtrength of their army, made a vigorous reſiſtance; but ſix hundred of them being ſlain, the whole army turned their backs and fled. Struck with terror and trepidation, Cleon betook himſelf

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himſelf to flight, but was killed by a Spartan ſoldier before he could make his eſcape from the field of battle. Braſidas was wounded in the engagement; and when it was over, was carried into the city, where he ſurvived his victory but a few moments. He was a general, no leſs diſtinguiſhed by conduct than courage, and deſerves to rank among the Lacedæmonian heroes. It was the mother of Braſidas, who, hearing her ſon applauded as being ſuperior to all other generals, replied, "My ſon was brave; but Sparta, I doubt not, has many braver citizens."

THE two perſons who had been the chief obſtacles to peace, having fallen in the late engagement, both parties ſeemed more inclined to an accommodation, and a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities took place. Accordingly, after mutual conferences, a truce was agreed on for the ſpace of fifty years, between the two commonwealths and their reſpective allies. This pacification was greatly forwarded by Pliſtonæa, one of the Spartan kings, and Nicias the Athenian general, who was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his probity and patriotiſm in the aſſembly, than by his courage and ſkill in the field. The treaty was concluded ten years after the declaration of the

the war. The Bœotians and Corinthians were extremely offended and diſguſted at the peace, and employed their utmoſt efforts to excite new animoſities; but Nicias perſuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to conclude an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, which would render them more formidable to their allies, and more aſſured with regard to each other. In conſequence of this new arrangement, the Athenians reſtored the priſoners they had taken in the iſland of Sphacteria. CHAP. XX.

NOTWITHSTANDING this treaty of peace, the war was very diſtant from a concluſion. Before the expiration of the firſt year, animoſities ſprung up afreſh between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and both parties prepared for hoſtilities. Alcibiades, who now began to appear in the public aſſemblies, was principally active in breaking the peace of Nicias, and renewing the Peloponneſian war.

THIS extraordinary youth was brought up in the houſe of his uncle Pericles. His education ſeems to have been neglected; for the inſtruction of his youth was committed to Zopyrus the Thracian, one of Pericles's ſlaves, and ill qualified for ſuch an arduous and ſublime employment. Nevertheleſs, his noble birth, his great opulence, and the authority

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thority of his guardian, conſpired to give him high ideas of his own importance, and to inſpire his mind with premature plans of ambition, which proved in the end pernicious to himſelf, as well as fatal to his country. His uncommon talents, and promiſing reputation, drew the attention of Socrates; who diſcerning in him a ſingular mixture of good and evil qualities, beſtowed incredible pains on his inſtruction, and ſtudied to remedy the defects of nature by the leſſons of philoſophy. But it was the eloquence of Socrates as a public teacher, and the graces of his converſation, more than his moral lectures and his virtuous life, that induced Alcibiades to become his diſciple.

AT his firſt appearance in the Athenian aſſembly, he diſplayed a bold and eccentric genius, capable of the greateſt and moſt hazardous deſigns. He poſſeſſed a ſingular verſatility of character; he could with eaſe accommodate himſelf to all companies, and conform to every ſituation. He made the tranſition from virtue to vice, and from vice to virtue, with equal facility and ardour; and the people applied to him the obſervation of Homer concerning Egypt, "That it produces excellent medicines, and pernicious drugs in equal abundance."

abundance." Although he was addicted to pleaſure, and even debauchery, at Sparta he lived according to the laws of Lycurgus, and exceeded the Spartans in temperance and ſobriety. In Ionia he aſſumed the ſoftneſs and effeminacy of the natives; and in the Perſian dominions he rivalled the ſuperb Satraps in oriental luxury and magnificence. Ambition, however, had the aſcendancy in his mind; and even in frivolous diſputes, he always contended with eagerneſs, and aſpired to victory. He poſſeſſed, indeed, moſt of the qualifications which were requiſite to form a leader in the Athenian aſſembly. His illuſtrious, though remote, and perhaps fabulous deſcent from Ajax, the manly gracefulneſs of his perſon, which captivated the love and admiration of all who beheld him, and even of the philoſophic Socrates; his expertneſs in the affairs of the commonwealth; his immenſe wealth, which he ſpent in magnificent profuſion, and laviſhed in public entertainments to the people, dazzled all eyes, and commanding the reſpect, invited the confidence of his fellow-citizens. When, to all theſe endowments and advantages, are added his popular eloquence, and his ſuperior knowledge in the military art, it is eaſy to trace his ſubſequent progreſs to pre-

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eminence

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eminence and power in Athens. His faults were conſtrued into the negligencies of a great character; his affectation of ſuperiority, which would have been accounted criminal in any other citizen, was referred to ignorance of the world; and his wild exceſſes were conſtrued into the effervescence of a luxuriant and youthful mind.

WITH ſuch talents and ſuch a temper, it will be readily conjectured that Alcibiades was not born for the repoſe of his country. He had employed every effort to traverſe the treaty of peace which had been lately concluded between Athens and Sparta; but failing in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent it from taking effect. He ſtudied ſecretly to detach the Argives from the Spartan intereſt, and to irritate his countrymen againſt the Lacedæmonians, becauſe they had ſurrendered the fort Panactum in a ruinous condition, and not fortified according to the terms of the treaty. He endeavoured alſo to render Nicias ſuſpected by the people of too ſtrong an attachment to the intereſts of Sparta. At the treaty of peace, the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors had addreſſed themſelves only to Nicias, in whom they repoſed confidence, and totally neglected Alcibiades, though his anceſtors had enjoyed the

the rights of hoſpitality in their republic. This was a rival, therefore, whom he wiſhed to remove; and opportunities ſoon preſented themſelves for accompliſhing all his deſigns. CHAP. XX.

THE citizens of Corinth contributed to renew the war, which had originated from their quarrel with their colony Corcyra. The article in the league between Athens and Sparta, granting a power to each to make ſuch alterations in the treaty as ſituations and circumſtances might demand, the Corinthians conſidered, or affected to conſider, as portending ſomething fatal to the rights and liberties of Greece, and endeavoured to inſpire the citizens of Argos with ſimilar ſentiments. The Argives, having remained neuter during the former part of the war, could now appear in full vigour, and with an unexhauſted treaſury to maintain their rights, which, it was alledged, had been ſhamefully abandoned and betrayed by the Spartans: and they ſeemed willing to regain their antient ſuperiority in the Peloponneſus. The inhabitants of Mantinæa and the Elians joined the Argive alliance, and it ſoon received a new addition of ſtrength from the Macedonian allies.

THIS confederacy was ſoon rendered more formidable, by the junction of a power no leſs

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reſpectable than the Athenian republic. This unexpected event which, while it ſhocks modern ideas, illuſtrates antient manners, aroſe from the machinations of Alcibiades. Ambaſſadors from Sparta arrived, who declared to the ſenate that they were inveſted with full powers to put an end to all diviſions and animoſities. Next day they were to receive audience from the popular aſſembly, and to deliver their propoſals. Alcibiades, apprehenſive of their ſucceſs, endeavoured to engage them in a conference. Having invited them to an entertainment, during which he expreſſed an uncommon regard for their republic, and the warmeſt wiſhes for the ſucceſs of their embaſſy, he afterwards told them, that one circumſtance affected him with much concern, their declaration before the ſenate that they were inveſted with full powers. He intreated them to beware of repeating this declaration in the aſſembly, as the people, extravagant in their pretenſions, and rapacious in their demands, would not fail to avail themſelves of this circumſtance, and inſiſt on conditions injurious both to the intereſt and the honour of Sparta. He concluded with aſſuring them, that if they concealed their full powers, he would ſupport them with all his influence;

influence; procure the reſtoration of Pylus; and prevent the accompliſhment of the Argive alliance. The Spartans confided in the man whom they had formerly offended; looked upon Alcibiades as an extraordinary ſtateſman and politician; and ſoon found that they had not erred in their conjecture.

NEXT day the people being aſſembled, the ambaſſadors were introduced. Alcibiades enquired of them the ſubject of their embaſſy, and the extent of their powers. According to the pre-concerted plan, they anſwered, "That they came to propoſe an accommodation, but were not inveſted with full powers." "No later than yeſterday," ſaid the artful politician, affecting a tranſport of indignation, "they declared their full powers to the ſenate, and to-day they deny them before the aſſembly of the people. But ſuch is the hypocriſy and duplicity of their republic. It is thus they have reſtored Amphipolis and the Macedonian cities! And it is thus, Athenians, that they have given you poſſeſſion of Panactum, diſmantled and demoliſhed! Nay, after concluding a league with Athens, and ratifying it by a ſolemn oath, they have baſely and audaciouſly infringed it, by entering into an alliance with Thebes, your determined

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and devoted enemy. Men of Athens! can you ſtill ſubmit to ſuch injuries and indignities? Or is it conſiſtent, either with your juſtice or your honour, that theſe traitors, who call themſelves ambaſſadors, ſhould remain longer within your walls?"

No language can expreſs the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the ambaſſadors, who, gazing wildly on one another, could ſcarcely give credit to their eyes or their ears. Nicias, unacquainted with the baſe ſtratagem of Alcibiades, wondered at their folly, and partook of their diſgrace. Retiring abruptly from the aſſembly, they departed with indignation to Sparta, and their departure announced the renewal of hoſtilities. The Athenians ſoon afterwards joined the Argive alliance; appointed Alcibiades their general; and ſent troops to Pylus, in order to ravage Laconia.

At this period, Nicias and Alcibiades enjoyed all authority in Athens. The former had wearied the patience of the people, by his firm perſeverance in oppoſing their unjuſt inclinations; the latter had provoked their reſentment, by his inſolent behaviour and his profligate life. Alcibiades was ſupported by the young men, who were eager for war; Nicias by the aged citizens, who knew the

value of peace. Both were in danger of being baniſhed by the oſtraciſm, through the intrigues of Hyperbolus, a bold but abandoned man, who poſſeſſed ſome influence in the republic, and who was ſometimes employed by the people to humble thoſe in exalted ſtations; but Nicias and Alcibiades, wiſely uniting their intereſts, procured the baniſhment of Hyperbolus. The oſtraciſm, which was looked upon as an honourable exile, and which had never before been inflicted but on perſons of ſuperior merit and renown, was henceforth aboliſhed as having loſt its dignity, by being exerciſed upon a ſubject ſo contemptible.

THE eccentric, but vigorous character of Alcibiades, had gained an unaccountable aſcendancy over the minds of the people, though they were well acquainted with the defects and vices of his character, which he hardly endeavoured to conceal. The diſſolute luxury in which he lived, made every virtuous Athenian bluſh. He expreſſed too an averſion to the cuſtoms of his country, and a diſregard to religion and the gods. The intelligent and ſerious citizens dreaded, leſt by his addreſs, his boldneſs, his eloquence, and his extravagant profuſion to the people, he ſhould riſe,