

by a sinewy arm. The brain, where entered the eager steel, rushed bloody to the earth from the wound. His strength is at once unbraced. He dropt the foot of the slain on the ground: on his face he fell on Patroclus; prone he lay, in death, on the dead ²⁵⁰.

"BUT Hector launched on the godlike Ajax his spear, that shone bright as it flew. Ajax saw the gleaming steel as it came; and, inclining, avoided its point: but the spear fell on warlike Schedius, the magnanimous son of Iphitus, by far the bravest of all the Phœceans. Him the hero struck in the throat: through his shoulder appeared, in blood, the eager point of the fatal lance: resounding he fell to the earth; over his body crashed harshly his arms. And Ajax struck the warlike Phorcys, the son of Phænops, illustrious in arms. Through his body passed swiftly the lance; the steel broke the cuirass in twain, and mixed its point with the entrails behind. Extended large he lay on the earth, and grasped the dust with his dying hand ²⁵¹.

"THE foremost of the ranks of the foe give way: illustrious Hector himself retires. Loud swell the shouts of the Argives: they drag the slain heroes away; Phorcys and the valiant Hippothous. From their bodies they tore their arms. Then had the Trojans in flight, driven headlong before the Argives, ascended to lofty Ilion; then the Argives had won renown, by *their own proper courage and force*, if Apollo had not roused Æneas to battle. Bounding forward in his arms, he stood far advanced beyond the line; and the Trojans turned their face from shameful flight: they

250. Id. *ibid.* "From the *fertile Larissa* far," adds Homer: (*Iliad.* lib. xvii.) Hence we learn, that a Pelasgian colony had been there planted before the Trojan war.

251. *Iliad.* lib. xvii.

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rushed onward against the Argives. Æneas launched with force his bright spear: he struck Leocritus, the gallant friend of the great Lycomedes. Before the slain Lycomedes stood in steel: he launched his beaming spear on the foe; he struck the shepherd of his people, brave Apisaon. Through his liver rushed eager the lance; straight his limbs are unbraced in death. From the fertile Paeon he came; and, next to the great Asteropæus, he was the bravest of his people in fight ²⁵².

“HIM, as he fell in his blood, pitied the mighty Asteropæus. Right onward he urged his course, ready to launch his spear on the Argives; but no opening appeared for his steel. Covered over with their bucklers they stood: they formed a circle round the fallen Patroclus, and stretched forward to the Trojans their spears. Through their lines rushed the godlike Ajax. He urged them to the battle with words, with deeds he urged them to fight. He permitted none to retreat from the dead; *none to rush forward from his line on the foe.* He commanded all to stand firm; to close round his spear their close ranks: hand to hand to urge their bright points ²⁵³. Such were the orders of mighty Ajax. The earth is drenched with purple blood; heaps on heaps sink the foe to the ground. The Trojans, with their allies renowned, fell mixed with the falling Argives. Nor the latter urged the fight without blood, though fewer they sunk in death. They remembered the words of the chief: close-compacted the warriors stood; and warded off death by their mutual aid ²⁵⁴.

“THUS fought the foes on the field, with all the rage of devouring flames. Deep darkness involved the

252. Id. *ibid.*253. Hom. *Iliad.* ubi sup.254. Id. *ibid.*

fight; in a cloud stood concealed the foes; who pushed their spears through blood and death, round the fallen son of Menæti^{us} ²⁵⁵. The other warriors of lofty Troy, and the Argives, bright-covered with mail, fought free in the air serene. *Spread over them is the splendour divine, the sharp light of the blazing sun. Nor cloud arose from the ample field, nor mist inwra^pt the mountain's head.* At intervals they fought dispersed; avoiding, with *mutual care*, their deadly spears as they flew. But the foes, who in the centre engaged, suffered woes, and wounds, and death; involved in battle, in darkness, in night ²⁵⁶.

LETTER
III

" THEN arose amid the crowd, in words like these, the voice of some Argive in arms; " O friends! urge " onward the war: it becomes not, we must not re- " treat. It were now disgraceful to fly to the ships: " here rather let the earth open wide, and closing over " us conceal our shame!—This were better for our " fame, than to suffer the car-rulling Trojans to drag " Patroclus hence to their lofty city, and to cover with " renown their arms." Then some Trojan exclaimed, " O friends! here let us urge the war; let none turn " his foot from the fight, though all were destined to " fall in death on the corse of the hero slain."—" On either side such words were used. The souls of the warriors are awakened; death rages amain over the field. The horrid clangor, the tumult, the noise of arms, swelled on the air, and rose to the brazen concave of heaven ²⁵⁷.

" HECTOR hurled his bright lance through the air, at the breast of the great Automedon. He saw the gleaming steel, as it came, and stooping forward avoided its point. Behind him it stood fixed in the ground:

255. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xvii.

256. *Id.* *ibid.*

257. *Iliad*. lib. xvii.

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the staff quivered as it sunk in the earth; but soon the strong spear remitted its force, as it shook. Then hand to hand had the heroes closed; then with their swords had they urged the fight, but the Ajaces rushed in between. They parted the combatants, as they glowed to engage²⁵⁸. Avoiding the battle of the chiefs, the leaders of Troy retired; Hector, the great Æneas, and Chromius in form like the Gods. They left Aretus," whom Automedon had slain, "in all his blood; mangled, torne, he lay on the ground. Automedon divested the slain of his arms; and glorying over the warrior thus, began: "This, at least, has lessened my grief for the fall of the son of Menæti^{us}; a part of the cloud of woe is dispelled, though less than his the renown of the slain."—"He spoke, and placed aloft in the car the bloody spoils of the hapless Aretus. Stained with gore are his feet and his hands. Like a lion the hero seemed, when drenched with the blood of some slaughtered bull²⁵⁹.

"AGAIN over the fallen Patroclus is kindled the dismal fight. Blue-eyed Pallas awaked the fierce strife. Inwra^{pt} in a purple cloud, she shot from heaven to the field. She entered the nations of Argos; she roused the soul of each chief to the fight. First she spoke to the son of Atreus, to Menelaus renowned in arms. A chief there was among the Trojans, Podes the son of Ætion; in wealth abounding, brave in war; the most honoured by Hector of all the warriors, who fought for Troy; his companion, his guest beloved: him, as he turned to flight, the yellow-haired Menelaus struck with his spear. Near the belt passed the eager steel: through and through rushed deadly the lance. Resounding he fell to the earth. The fee dragged the slain from his friends, to the deep ranks of

258. *Id. ibid.*259. *Hom. Iliad. lib. xvii.*

the Argive powers²⁶⁰." But then Hector, encouraged by Apollo, "advanced to the front of the battle, gleaming bright in his burnished steel; then *Jove took his dreadful Ægis, he hung it forward a gleaming portent: all Ida he wrapt in a cloud. His bolts issued forth from the gloom, and awful rolled his loud thunders on high. The whole mountain he shook as he launched: he gave victory to Troy, and turned the Argives to flight*²⁶¹."

"NOT unperceived by magnanimous Ajax, by Menelaus renowned in arms, Jove had inclined the scale, and given the changing victory to Troy. With words like these began aloud Telamonian Ajax, "Would that some friend were near to bear the tidings to the great son of Peleus!—He I deem knows naught of our state: the mournful tale has not yet reached his ear, that his friend beloved has fallen in the war. Nor can mine eyes perceive a chief, a fit bearer of news to Achilles. *Oppressed with darkness we fight; our steeds, ourselves are involved in clouds. O Father Jove! remove the gloom; free from darkness the sons of Argos:—restore the sun!—Give us to see with our eyes: destroy us at least in the light! as destruction seems good to thy soul*²⁶²."—"He spoke and Jupiter heard; he pitied the hero's tears: straight he dispersed the darkness, he removed the cloud from their eyes. The sun shone from his sky; the whole battle is covered with light²⁶³."

THEN it was resolved to send Antilochus, prudent Nestor's magnanimous son, to the illustrious son of Peleus, to let him know, "that fallen beneath the hand of the foe, lay slain the most beloved of his friends." Meantime it was found necessary, to give up the idea

260. Id. ibid.

262. Id. ibid.

261. *Iliad.* lib. xvii.263. Hom. *Iliad.* ubi. sup.

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of repelling the Trojans, and to attempt to carry off the corse of Patroclus by flight. This desperate service was undertaken by Meriones and Menelaus. "They raised the corse in their arms: aloft they reared it with all their force; loud swelled the shout of the Trojans, when the Argives raised the body from the earth. Right forward they rushed, like hounds pursuing a wounded bear; but when the Argives turned their face, the colour changed over their features through fear. None sustained the fight for the corse of the chief²⁶⁴.

"Thus with spirit they bear amain the hero's corse toward the ships of the Argives. Dreadful battle swells behind them, with noise; like a fire which invades, in its rage, *the wide streets of well-peopled towns*. Sudden it bursts to fight; the lofty domes sink dark in the broad-skirted flame. Resounding it spreads along, beneath the force of the roaring winds; such the horrid sound of bounding steeds, of men rushing forward in arms, when collected they poured on the *flight of the Greeks*²⁶⁵. Behind, the two Ajaces broke the rushing tide of the foe. Yet the foe pursued amain. Two godlike heroes led them on; Æneas, the great son of Anchises, and Hector, illustrious in arms²⁶⁶.

"Ah me! what change is this?"—cried Achilles, as he sat alone near the *lofty sterns* of the hollow ships:—"Why again fly the *long-haired Argives*?—Why "turn they their flight to the ships?—Much I dread, "that the deathless Gods have fulfilled the mournful "fears of my soul²⁶⁷."—"While thus he turned his dismal thoughts, came Nestor's illustrious son. Wide poured the warm tears from his eyes: he told at once

264. Id. *ibid*.266. Id. *ibid*.265. *Iliad*. lib. xvii.267. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xviii.

the mournful tale. On the son of warlike Peleus a dark cloud of sorrow arose. He *raised the ashes in both his hands: he poured them on his head, and disfigured his graceful face.* To his garments the dark dust adhered on every side. Large he is spread on the earth; covering a wide space, as rolling he lies. He *tears his heavy locks with his hands.* The captive maids issue forth from their tents, the bright prizes he had gained in war; which Patroclus had won in the field. Sad in soul they issued forth. Their mournful voice arose round the chief: they *struck their white breasts with their hands.* Their lovely limbs were unbraced with woe. Antilochus joined his grief to their tears: he *beld the mighty hand of Achilles;* for deep he groaned from his inmost soul. He *dreaded that the chief, in despair, would raise the steel against his life* ²⁶⁸."

As soon as the son of Peleus had given vent to his grief, he went, unarmed, to the trench beyond the wall of the Græcian camp. "There standing he raised his voice. When the Trojans heard, over their lines, the *brazen voice* of the all-subduing Achilles, the *souls of all shrunk with fear in their breasts* ²⁶⁹. Back they turned their sounding cars, presaging dreadful woes in their souls ²⁷⁰." Then the Greeks "*placed on a bier the mangled corpse* of the hapless Patroclus. His friends beloved *flood wailing around.* They bore him away to

268. Id. *ibid.*

269. On this occasion Homer introduces the *simile* of the *Trumpet*; which certainly was not in use in Greece or Asia Minor, at the time of the Trojan war, as he never mentions it in any of the charges to battle. Hence the merit he constantly ascribes to a *loud voice*. Yet was he not unacquainted with the importance of that spirit-stirring instrument; for he tells us, "*so shrilly loud arose the voice* of the dauntless son of the car-ruling Peleus, as *swells the sound* on the winds, when the *clear voice* of the *Trumpet ascends*; when ruthless foes surround with battle a town, and roll amain their whole force on its walls," *Iliad*. lib. xviii.

270. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xviii.

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the ships. Great Achilles followed their steps. *Warms poured the dark tears down his cheeks* ²⁷¹.

THIS happened about sun-set; or, to use the mythical language of Homer, "Juno graceful, with large rolling eyes, now sent the *unwearied sun*, unwilling, to the *waves of the main* ²⁷². His *splendid orb* is *sunk in the west*. The godlike Argives cease from their toils: from the perils of the bloody fight; from the labours of all-equalling war. The Trojans, on the other side, removed themselves from the dismal fray, and loosed their rapid steeds from their cars. To council they all convened. Even before the repast was prepared, the council was *standing held*: none *dared to sit down on the plain*; for terror had seized the Trojan host, when great Achilles presented his form to view ²⁷³." To them the prudent Polydamas began to raise his warning voice, Polydamas of Hector the faithful friend: on the same night were the heroes born; the *former* in council superior rose, the *latter* excelled at the spear. With soul devoted to the host, Polydamas thus began:

271. Id. *ibid*.

272. In JUNO, Homer seems generally to personify the lower region of the Heavens, the atmosphere of our earth; and in JUPITER, the *etberial region* or *higher Heaven*; where reside the *seeds of Fire*, and whence Juno derived her generative power. Hence the learned Blackwell remarks, "No wonder the mighty Agent that keeps up the round of generation, should assume a thousand forms to accomplish his ends; and as little that the active mass which surrounds the Globe, the AIR whose elastic spring produces such convulsions at the approach of FIRE, should be frequently embroiled with her imperious Mate." (*Mythol. Lett.* xii.) But when Homer adapts himself to vulgar apprehension, he uses a legendary language suited to vulgar prejudices, and represents, by Jupiter and Juno, the two Great immortal Beings supposed by the Greeks to preside in the Heavens; and thought to govern, in conjunction with the other Deities, the affairs of men. I have formerly, however, had occasion to observe, and I here repeat the remark, That *physical and moral allegory* are so blended, in the writings of Homer, with traditional fable, that there is often no reducing his mythology to any measure of common-sense.

273. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xviii.

"WEIGH with caution our state, O friends! to every side send the thoughts of your souls. As for me, I advise to retreat; this instant to march to the town: for distant far we remain from our walls. Whilst Achilles retained his wrath; whilst he raged against Atrides, less heavy was the weight of the arms of the foe: the Argives were less dreadful in fight. I then rejoiced to pass the night near their dark hollow ships; my hopes then arose to conquest: in thought, I saw their navy destroyed. But now other terrors arise: much I dread the great son of Peleus. Fierce, impatient, is the soul of the chief. He will not his valour confine to the field, where the Trojans and Argives have long tried the equal fortune of Mars. For the city the hero will fight; for our wives, for our tender dames. Let us, therefore, return to Troy: obey my voice! believe my words.

"If ye will obey my words, though sore dismayed and mournful in soul, through the night we may, in council, provide for the defence of ourselves and Troy. Our *lofty towers* shall *protect the town*; our *high gates* repel the force of the foe: our *gates fitted with massy planks*, long, polished, and *compacted with art*. At morning our towers we will man, and stand in arms on our lofty walls. With disadvantage, if he comes, he shall fight: fruitless battle he shall urge round our town; again the chief will return to his ships, after tiring his high-maned steeds in various circles round our walls. Though great his valour, he never will attempt to force our gates he can never succeed ^{274. 33}

274. Id. *ibid.*

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HECTOR

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HECTOR treated this sage advice with disdain. "Polydamas!" the hero said, "displeasing are thy words to my soul. Dost thou advise us to return, again to shut ourselves up within our walls?—Is it not enough, O friends! that *so long we have been cooped in our towers?*—But cease, imprudent man! disperse not thy fears through the host. Yet none of the Trojans will hear, I will not suffer them to hear. Listen all! *attend to my words*; let all obey the resolves of my soul. Prepare the supper through the host; let the army, by their tribes, take repast. *Remember the nightly guard!* Watch all in your martial arms. At morning, with the earliest light, ranged thick, we shall wake the dreadful strife before the hollow ships of the foe. If in truth the hero is roused, if Achilles descends to the fight, I shall *not shun him in the field: I will oppose him hand to hand*; or he shall mighty honour gain, or renown shall *cover my spear*²⁷⁵." Thus spoke the illustrious Hector: the Trojans *shouted over their host*²⁷⁶.

In consequence of this approved resolution, the Trojans remained in arms on the field, and "*took repast*. But the Argives, *throughout the long night, raised the voice of grief* for the fallen Patroclus. To them the son of godlike Peleus, deep-groaning began the woe. He laid *his slaughtering hands* on the breast of his friend beloved; while, from the depth of his soul, frequent broken sighs arose. "Vain was the promise, ye Gods!" exclaimed he, "which I made on that fatal day, when I confirmed in his lofty halls the soul of the hero Menætiüs. I told the hero, that *to Opuntia* his high-renowned son should return *laden with his portion of spoil*, after Iliön lay in ruins on the earth. "But Jove fulfils not, in all, the hopes of aspiring

275. *Iliad*. lib. xviii.276. *Id.* *ibid.*

"man!

“man!—Yet since thee I survive, O Patroclus! I will
“not cover thy corse with earth, till hither I shall
“bring in these hands the head of Hector. Twelve
“Trojan youths I will also slay, a *bloody offering at thy*
“*pyre!*—Meantime thou thus shalt lye in death, in
“*mournful state* before the ships. Around thy corse
“the *daughters of Troy*, and *deep-bosomed Dardanian*
“*dames*, shall over thee raise their mourning voice.
“Night and day shall descend their tears. Our *brigh*
“*sonquests in war* shall mourn; the *maids, whom in*
“*arms we acquired*, while *wealthy states fell subdued by*
“*our deadly spears* ²⁷⁷.”

BUT as soon as “Aurora, clad in saffron robe, rose
bright from the ocean,” Achilles, having got a new suit
of armour ²⁷⁸, “strode along the shore of the roaring
main,

277. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. viii. The Græcian chiefs seem to have been great favourites with the Asiatic ladies; as they, though violently seized by the blood-stained hands of the invaders of their country, could not only reconcile themselves to their condition, but feel a fond affection for the slayers of their husbands and brothers. (Hom. *Iliad*. passim.) It may also be observed, That the Græcian warriors, though ferocious even to a degree of savage barbarity, were tender of their female captives; (Id. *ibid*.) and so much addicted to women, that every chief had a kind of seraglio in his tent. (*Iliad*. lib. ix. et seq.) Even aged Nestor had his fair bed-fellow.

278. This armour is said to have been formed by Vulcan, *the workman divine!* and procured for, and presented to Achilles by his mother, *Thetis*; (Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xix.) probably because it was brought by sea from Lemnos, where the limping God was fabled to have his forge, and whence the Græcian army before Troy was supplied with wine. (*Iliad*. lib. vii. sub fin.) And as *whole fleets* arrived at the Græcian camp from that island, (Id. *ibid*.) the Greeks would, no doubt, be furnished with whatever the Lemnians could supply them. In exchange, some gave *brass*, some *steel*; some the *bides of oxen*, some *oxen themselves*; others *purchased wine with slaves*. (Hom. *Iliad*. lib. vii. sub fin.) The sovereignty of Lemnos was then held by Euneus, the son of Jason; (Id. *ibid*.) the *friend*, if not the *kinsman* of Achilles. (Strabo, *Geog.* lib. i. p. 45, edit. sup. cit.) If the *island of Lemnos* had not been famous

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main, and roused to council the heroes of Argos. Dreadful rose the *loud voice* of the king. From wing to wing the army heard. Even those that formerly remained remote from battle at the ships of the Argives; the *pilots*, who led them over the ocean; they, who *held the helms* in the main; they, to whom the *stores were in charge*; the *dispensers of victuals and wine*: all these to the assembly repaired, as great Achilles, who had so long abstained from fight, again made his appearance ²⁷⁹."

AT the council, a reconciliation took place between Achilles and Agamemnon. The presents formerly proffered were delivered. "*Seven tripods* the Græcian chiefs brought from the tent of Atrides," by his command, "*twenty caldrons of burnished brass, and twelve coursers unmatched in the race*: they brought *seven bright-blushing maids*, graceful in form, and expert in female arts; the *eighth was the blooming Briseïs*. Ulysses, preceding the other chiefs, bore *ten talents of gold*. Behind in long order came, *bearing gifts*, the young chiefs of the Argives. In the midst of the assembly the *whole treasure is placed* ²⁸⁰. Then rose the great Agamemnon. Talthibius, endowed with voice divine, held the victim-boar in his hands. Atrides *drew forth the knife*, which always hung by the large sheath of his deadly sword. He cut the bristles from the head of the boar: with *hands uplifted* to Jove he prayed. All the Argives sat in silence around. Beginning his prayer, he said, *eying the spacious face of the sky*!

"BEAR witness, O Father Jove! best and greatest of Gods; hear, O Earth! O Sun, attend!—hear,

in early times for the forging of metals, the Greeks would not have degraded the great Egyptian and Phœnician God, FATHER-FIRE, the Opifcer of the Universe, to the character of a Blacksmith, and made it his work-shop.

279. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xix,

280. *Id. ibid.*

"ye

“ye Furies, that dwell under ground, and punish per-
“jured mortals at death! that I *laid not my hand in*
“*force on the charms of the stately Briseïs; that I af-*
“*cended not by persuasion her bed.* Untouched she re-
“mained in my tents, unfulled are her beauties di-
“vine. If Atreides swears falsely in aught, may the
“Gods heap on him the woes, that overwhelm the
“perjured in soul²⁸¹.”—Talthybius threw the victim,
with speed, in the vast stream of the hoary main.
Then Achilles arose, amid the Argives, and thus spoke
aloud:—“O Father Jove! *from thee are derived the*
“*weighty woes of mortal men.* Nor had the son of
“Atreus ever moved my heart with his words,
“nor had he *torn from my side the maid,* but that Jove
“ordained it all. He decreed, by his councils divine, to
“urge so many souls of Argos to the goal of destructive
“death.—But haste! partake the strengthening repast,
“that sudden we may issue to war²⁸².”

“He spoke, and the council dissolved. The chiefs
departed, each to his own hollow ship. But the mag-
nanimous troops of Achilles *took in charge the rich*
treasure bestowed. The *wealth they placed in the hero's*
sents: they conducted to their place, the maids; the
coursets, to the *studd* of his steeds²⁸³.” As soon as
this service was performed, and the whole army had
taken food and wine, “the Argives poured from their
ships on the plain; so thick, that to heaven ascends the
dazzling gleam from the brightly-burnished helmets of
men; from the bossy orbs of rattling shields, the firm
breast-plates, the steel-pointed spears. The crash of
touching arms is heard. The ground hoarsly groans as
the warriors move²⁸⁴.”

281. *Iliad.* lib. xix.

283. *Hom. Iliad.* lib. xix.

282. *Id. ibid.*

284. *Id. ibid.*

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"IN the midst of the martial host, Achilles arms himself. He grinds his teeth in his dreadful rage. His eyes flash, like two flames of fire. With wrath relentless his soul burns, and grief resistless pervades his heart. In his fury against the Trojans, he puts on his armour; the splendid work of the artist divine²⁸⁵!—First the beauteous greaves on his legs he drew²⁸⁶, fastened before with silver clasps. The breast-plate on his breast he placed²⁸⁷: round his shoulders he threw his sword; beaming forth, with its *fludds of gold*. Before him he reared his *all-covering shield*; large, solid, and strong over its round²⁸⁸. It sent its bright beams afar, like the broad orb of the moon. His strong helmet on his head he placed: like a comet it shone. Dreadful nodded the plumes of gold, which Vulcan had poured thick on the crest²⁸⁹,

"THE hero tried himself in his armour; whether it fitted his body aloft, or lay with ease on his manly limbs." And, finding it every where easy and firm, "he took from its place his father's spear; the long, heavy strong javelin of Peleus, which none of all the Argives but

285. See note 178.

286. These *greaves* must have covered both the *legs* and *thighs*; for, otherwise, the *thighs* would have been left entirely naked, as we find no other armour provided for them. And that the *thighs* of the Greeks and Trojans were not so exposed, appears almost certain, from the few wounds inflicted on them, though less perfectly secured by the shield than the *belly*. In what manner the armour of the *legs* and *thighs*, if in one piece, could be fitted for walking, is not my business here to inquire.

287. The *breast-plate*, or *cuirass*, seems to have come as low as the *belt*, or *girdle*, which secured the loins. (*Iliad. passim.*) In the arming of Achilles no mention is made of the *girdle*. His Vulcanian armour must, therefore, have been complete without it. But, like all the armour of those times, it seems to have been open at the back.

288. This shield, like that of Idomeneus, and those of some Trojan chiefs, was formed wholly of metal. I forbear to say any thing of the *figures*, said to have been wrought upon it. These I consider as *poetical ornaments*.

289. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xix.

Achilles could wield in fight: the Pelion ash, which Chiron gave to his fire. Automedon, and Alcimus brave, joined to the car the steeds. The *studded bridles* are placed in their mouths: the reins extend behind, to the well-compacted seat of the car. Seizing the *bright whip* in his hand, Automedon leapt at once on the chariot: *behind* bounded aloft great Achilles, ready for war. Bright in his arms he stood, like the beams of the high-rolling sun²⁹⁰. Around the son of Peleus pour the Argives. The sons of Troy, on the other side, form darkly *on the rising ground*²⁹¹.

A FURIOUS engagement took place²⁹², in which the Greeks were victorious, and Achilles made dreadful havoc among the Trojans. "He slew the flying as they fled: the dark earth floated around with their blood. The whole axle of his car is stained with blood: the *seat itself is drenched with gore*; as sprinkled it bursts, on each side, from the feet of the couriers, from the *steel-surrounded orbs of the wheels*. Aloft sat the son of Peleus, eager to acquire renown. His *invincible hands*, as he *stretches them forth to deaths*, are *stained with dust*, with *clotty blood*²⁹³!"

IN this bloody pursuit, Achilles slew many distinguished warriors; and many more would have fallen by his hand, if the rivers Scamander and Simois, had

290. Id. *ibid*.

291. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xx. init.

292. This engagement was accompanied with a frightful uproar of the elements, poetically called the *Battle of the Gods*. "Dreadful thundered, from above, the Father of Men and of Gods. Beneath, Neptune struck the earth with his waves: the *mountains all shook their lofty heads*: *streamy Ida trembled to its base*; its cloudy summits *noddled on high*. *Troy tottered over all her walls*: the *navy shook, on the rocking shore*. Struck with fear was the *King of the Dead*; lest Neptune, as he *shook the huge world*, should *burst the earth*, and lay open to Gods and Men the secrets of his gloomy halls. *Iliad*. lib. xx.

293. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xx.

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not been suddenly swelled by a thunder-storm, accompanied with an earthquake, and choaked with the bodies of the slain. "He bounded with his spear in the stream of Scamander, or Xanthus: roused to wrath is the mighty God," to use the allegorical language of Homer; "furious he rears his *high-swollen waves*. From his channel he throws the dead; the bodies mangled by the steel of Achilles. These he threw, as he raged, ashore; loud bellowing, like an hundred bulls. The living he saved with his beauteous streams, *forming around them a watery wall*; but dreadful round great Achilles the *troubled water swelled and roared*. Leaning forward on his broad shield, he turned the current with the orb. But upborn are his feet by the stream. He seized a branchy elm in his hands; and issuing from the channel, with force, urged his flying steps over the plain. Nor yet desisted the *River God*: he reared his current above its banks; *darkning its colour, his flood arose*. He resolved to *turn Achilles from fight, to save the Trojans from ruin and death*²⁹⁴. Loud *roaring rushed along*, with foam, with blood, with heroes slain, the purple wave of the *Jove-descended streams*²⁹⁵!

THE waters, however, having subsided, in consequence of the action of the *sun, wind, sulphureous fire*, and *the clearing of the stream of Scamander of dead bodies*; "Achilles hung forward on Troy. He slew the people, he slew the steeds. In the lofty tower of the Scæan gate the aged Priam trembling stood. He saw the *large form* of the son of Peleus, and before him the flying Trojans: broken, scattered, they fled over the plain. "Much I fear," said he, "his dreadful chief will burst his way through our sacred walls." And he ordered the guards to hold wide-open the gates, to receive the flying troops. "Right to the city their way they

294. *Iliad*. lib. xxi.295. *Id. ibid.*

held,

held, parched with heat and whitened with dust. They crowded with joy through the gates. They breathed within their walls from toil. The whole city is filled with the host ²⁹⁶.”

LETTER
III.

HAVING “cheared with cooling draughts their souls,” the Trojans “manned their battlements; leaning forward with their steel to the foe ²⁹⁷.” Hector alone disdained to take refuge within the walls: he took his station “before the Scæan gate ²⁹⁸.” Meantime Achilles, who had been engaged, *under the burning heat of the sun*, in pursuit of a chief that he could not overtake, while the Trojans entered their gates ²⁹⁹, “bright strode toward the city; blazing, like a baleful star!”—Him Priam beheld: forth broke, in mournful accents, the aged king. He struck his head with up-lifted hands: he shrilly raised his wailing voice, in entreaty to his beloved son; but his son stood darkly at the gate. Much burned the soul of Hector, to mix in fight with Achilles ³⁰⁰.

“O HECTOR!” said Priam, stretching forth his withered hands, “stay not unsupported; meet not in fight this warrior, who in force excells thee far. Destructive chief!—would that he were as little loved by the Gods, as by Priam!—Then bloody bounds his corse should soon tear, and vultures flap

296. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxi. 297. *Iliad*. lib. xxii. 298. Id. *ibid*.

299. So I understand his pursuit of Apollo, under the form of Agenor. Smote by the piercing rays of the sun, and rendered almost frantic, Achilles pursued a Trojan warrior, or a phantom, far beyond the line of battle, when his whole attention ought to have been turned to the town. Hence the reproach of Apollo, in the true spirit of ancient allegory. “To thee was not given to discern the power divine in human form. Ceaseless fury has distracted thy soul!—The enemy is lost to thy spear: safe inclosed is the foe in his walls; whilst thou in idle pursuit hast hither diverted thy speed.” Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.

300. Id. *ibid*.

“round

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"round him their wings. A gleam of joy would arise
 "on my heart, bitter sorrow would half quit my soul.
 "Of many sons he me has deprived, of many gallant
 "sons; or slain, or sold captives to distant isles. Two
 "meet not now mine aged eyes, Lycaon and young
 "Polydorus³⁰¹. If wander their souls in the regions
 "of death, sorrow will ly deep on my heart: much
 "their hapless mother will mourn; but *for thee a*
 "*whole people will mourn!* the Trojans defenceless and
 "lost, shouldest thou yield thyself to death, subdued
 "by the son of Peleus. Yet enter thou the wall, my
 "son!—O save the Trojans, the Trojan dames; save
 "thine own important life: give not to Achilles re-
 "nown. Pity me, worne down with ills; pity, while
 "yet my senses remain, pity an unhappy king! whom
 "Jove, in the last extremity of age, has doomed to
 "misfortune's bitterest woes³⁰²."

"Thus the aged monarch spoke in his grief. He
 tore his hoary hair with his hands; but he changed
 not Hector's mighty soul. Hecuba, his mother, raised
 her parent-voice; loud-wailing, and drowned in her
 tears. With one hand she *laid her bosom bare*, with
 the other *her breast exposed*: "O Hector! my beloved
 "son," she said, "if ever with this parent-breast I
 "*settled thine infant cries*, oppose these lofty walls to
 "the rage of the ruthless, foe!—Enter the gate, too
 "daring chief! stand not to contend in arms with
 "Achilles. Alas! shouldest thou fall by his hand,
 "never shall these parent-eyes drench thee with tears
 "on the mournful bier. Far, ah! far remote from
 "her that bore thee, Hector! far remote from thy
 "high-born spouse, thee hostile dogs shall tear, at the
 "ships of the Argive powers³⁰³."

301. Both these Achilles had slain, since his reconciliation with Agamemnon. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xx. xxi.

302. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.

303. Id. *ibid*.

"Thus

"THUS addressed they the voice of woe, their suppliant voice to their son beloved: nor bent they Hector's daring heart. Resolved, he stands firm in his place. He waits the near approach of the mighty Achilles. Against a tower the hero leaned, on the bright orb of his spacious shield. Indignant rolled his thoughts within, and thus he spoke to his mighty soul: "Ah! what course shall I take?—shall I enter this gate and these walls?—I dread the reproach of the Trojans, of the Trojan dames with sweeping trains; I dread the voice of cowardly men. Thus, perhaps, they will say in mine ear, Hector trusting to his strength," as he had rejected the advice of Polydamas, "lost his people, and his country destroyed!—Thus they will speak aloud; for me then it were better far, or to return, having slain Achilles; or, for the city, to fall by his hands ³⁰⁴."

"WHILST this he revolved in his soul, near him advanced the great Achilles; like Mars, shaking high his bright helmet. Over his right-shoulder, shook aloft the Pelion ash: dreadful gleamed the brazen point. All his dazzling arms shot flame, like the lightning of father Jove; like fire, that burns with ceaseless rage; like the beams of the rising sun!—Mighty Hector, struck with fear at the sight, sustained not the hero's approach. Leaving the lofty gate behind, round the walls of Troy he fled. The son of Peleus darts forward with eager speed, Hector quick-moves his active limbs ³⁰⁵."

"BEYOND the high watch-tower they passed; beyond the fig-trees, that resound in the winds. They came to the river's copious source, to the two fountains of gulphy Scamander; one hot issues forth to the light,

304. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.305. Id. *ibid*.

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smoking as it rolls along ! the other, even in summer, flows cold as hail or driven snow, or water congealed into ice. Into amplexisterns fall the streams ; beauteous, wide, of marble formed. There the dames of the warlike Trojans, there their daughters, of splendid charms ! used to wash their graceful robes, in the quiet season of peace, before the Argives came to Ilion³⁰⁶. Beyond these the heroes bounded amain. One fled, the other hung on his flight. Nor for the victim, nor for its extensive hide ; nor for any wonted prize of the race, the heroes urged their rapid steps : they ran for the gallant soul of Hector, the breaker of steeds³⁰⁷.

“ As often as the son of Priam turned his long strides to the lofty Dardanian gates, when right forward he urged his course to the well-built Ilion towers ; that his townsmen aloft, from the walls, might pour their flying darts on the foe : so often the great son of Peleus rushed between, and drove him afar ; for he turned ever his steps near the wall of his much-loved town ! — But Achilles gave a sign to his warlike troops : he suffered them not to launch their pointed shafts on the flying chief ; lest another should share the renown which he wished wholly to enjoy³⁰⁸. When near each other the heroes came, bending forward with all their arms, Hector first silence broke, waving high his various helmet : — “ No more, son of godlike Peleus,” said he, “ I fly thy steps, or decline the fight. Thrice round the lofty city of Priam have I fled, nor sustained thy rage ; but now his soul bids Hector stop. I now oppose thee, chief ! in arms ; determined to slay or be slain. But let us call to witness the Gods ; for they the best witnesses are : they are guardians of oaths

³⁰⁶. Every particular, in this circumstantial description, bears such strong marks of truth, that we cannot doubt but Homer copied it from nature, and drew his accompanying facts from authentic information.

³⁰⁷. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.

³⁰⁸. Id. *ibid*.

"and leagues. Thy corse I shall not dishonour in aught, should Jove grant success to my spear, and call forth thy soul round my steel. Stripping thee of thy beautiful arms, I shall restore thy corse to the Argives. This also do thou, Achilles³⁰⁹!"

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III.

"STERNLY turning his eyes on the chief, the mighty son of Peleus replied, "Hector, most detested of men! speak not of leagues to me. As faithful treaties can never subsist between mankind and beasts of prey; as the wolf and timid lamb can never agree: so no friendship, no compact, no league, can ever subsist between Hector and me. One or other, this instant, shall glut with his blood fierce Mars. Rouse then all thy knowledge in fight: shew thyself dauntless and firm; a warrior unyielding and strong."—"He spoke, and threw his forceful lance. Illustrious Hector beheld, and shunned the gleaming point, as it came. Stooping forward, he avoided the death: above flew resounding the spear; and quivered as it sunk in the earth³¹⁰. Minerva drew the lance from the earth: she restored it to Achilles, unknown to Hector³¹¹.

"THE chief elated into hope, and thus addressed the great son of Peleus: "Thou hast wandered from thine aim Achilles!—Now, in thy turn, avoid the brazen point of my deadly spear."—"He spoke, and threw his mighty lance; nor strayed the bright point from its aim. He struck the shield of Achilles; resulting flew the lance from the orb. Rage darkened

309. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.

310. Id. *ibid*.

311. It is difficult to say, what we should understand by this manœuvre; whether the address of Achilles in recovering his spear, or the flight of some of the Myrmidons, in secretly conveying it to him. But it has much the appearance of fraud; and, in consequence of it, Hector fought under great disadvantage.

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the soul of the chief, that the spear had rushed in vain from his sinewy arm. He dejected in countenance stood, and thus desponding spoke: "Alas! the hour of Hector is nigh. Near me hovers destructive fate! No resource remains, no hope of escape!"—"This saying, his sword he unsheathed; his heavy sword, which hung loose by his side. High-bounding, he rushed on the foe, raising his beamy sword. Achilles, all-furious advanced: he filled his soul with savage rage: he stretched before his ample breast his high-wrought, solid shield. His four-coned helmet, with awful gleam, nodded high on the brows of the king. The mighty spear shook aloft in his hand. Eager wandered his eyes over illustrious Hector in search of a place for the wound. His beautiful body impervious remained; covered wholly with the *brazen armour*, which he had torne from the strength of the fallen Patroclus. A place, at last appeared to the chief, where *the shoulder joins the neck, near the throat; where death enters with fatal ease*. Through this Achilles drove, with mighty force, his spear. Through and through the neck, passed the eager point of the deadly lance. But the ashen spear divided not the windpipe in twain. The power of speech still remained to the unhappy chief ³¹².

"I ENTREAT thee," said Hector, now languid and faint, "by thy own great soul!—by thy knees, by thy parents beloved, not to leave me a prey to dogs at the ships of the Argive powers. But receive thou the rich stores of brass, *receive high-valued gold*; which my father will lay at thy feet, my mother now mournful in years. Restore thou my corse to my house, that the Trojans and Trojan dames may lay me, in death, on the pyre ³¹³."

312. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.313. Id. *ibid*.

"To him Achilles sternly replied, "Wretch! en-
 "treat me not by these knees, by my parents revered
 "and beloved: would that my fury and rage could
 "stimulate my heart so far, as *piece-meal to devour thee*
 "*wholly*; for the *woes thou hast thrown on my soul*.
 "But none shall drive from thy corse the hungry dogs
 "or birds of prey: no! should they lay at my feet *ten*,
 "*twenty-fold*, the *wealthy stores* which *Troy contains*
 "*within her walls*; and to their presents add the pro-
 "mise of more, no! should *Dardanian Priam weigh*
 "*thy body against his gold*; not for all should thy mo-
 "ther revered weep over thee, laid in death on the
 "lofty bier. But thee shall the birds of prey, and
 "hungry dogs devour on the plain³¹⁴."—"Well I
 "know thee," dying Hector replied, "deaf to pity, im-
 "placable, fierce; wholly steel is thy savage breast.
 "But thou, inexorable chief! take heed; for me
 "the wrath of some God may arise³¹⁵."—"Thus, as
 he faintly spoke, the shades of death involved the hero.
 His soul, heaving his graceful body, descended to the
 regions below; mourning his untimely fate, his vigour,
 his valour, his youth³¹⁵.

"To him, whilst even in death he lay, Achilles
 thus spoke: "*Die thou!*—I shall receive my fate, when-
 "ever it shall please the storm-ruling Jove, and the
 "other immortal Gods."—"He spoke, and withdrew
 from the slain his spear. Apart he placed the bloody
 lance, and loosed from the shoulders of the hero his
 arms. The rushing Argives poured around him.
 With wonder they surveyed the form, the awful
 beauty of Hector!—Nor stood an Argive near the chief
 that inflicted not a wound on the dead³¹⁶.

314. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.315. Id. *ibid*.316. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.

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“WHEN Achilles had spoiled the dead of all his arms, he thus began, standing in the midst of the Argives: “O friends! O leaders of Argos! princes of the nations in arms! now as the Gods have subdued this man beneath my deadly spear; this man, more destructive to Greece than all the sons of Troy combined! now let us haste in our arms, let us at once assail the town; that we may learn the state of the Trojans, their present disposition of soul: whether, as slain lies their hero, they will abandon their lofty city; or whether, though Hector has ceased to live, they will still maintain it ³¹⁷.”

THIS speech was dictated by sound policy; and if the counsel it offered had been followed, the Trojan capital, in all probability, would have been instantly taken. But the soul of Achilles was little under the government of political prudence. He soon recollected that, “at the ships lay the mangled Patroclus *unburied*.” “Him I shall never neglect,” said he, “while life informs with motion my limbs.” He, therefore, proposed that, instead of attacking Troy, “the youths of assembled Achaia, *singing Pæans* should return to their ships.”—“Let us drag the slain along,” added he: “we are *covered with mighty renown*. We have slain Hector; to whom the Trojans, over all their state, paid their vows, as to a present God ³¹⁸.”

“He spoke, and formed, in his wrathful soul, a deed unworthy of Hector. He bored his *finewy ancles* behind, and through them inserted a thong. To the car he bound them aloft. The hero’s head dragged along the ground. Placing the arms in the seat, Achilles ascended his car. He lashed his courses to speed; not unwilling they flew over the plain. The sand rose in

317. *Id. ibid.*318. *Hom. Iliad. lib. xxii.*

clouds around the dead; his *dark-brown locks* were trailed on the earth. His whole head, *so graceful before!* now lay involved, and soiled with dust. Great Jove had forsaken the chief: he gave him to the insults of foes: a sight of woe, in his native land ³¹⁹.

“ Thus soiled with earth dragged Hector’s graceful head. His mother *tore her hoary hair from the roots*: she *threw afar her splendid veil*; loud rose the screaming voice of her grief, when thus she beheld her son. Deeply groaned his father beloved ³²⁰. The whole people raised one cry of woe: over the town spread one general lament!—Not greater could their sorrow have been had lofty Ilion, wrapt wholly in flame, sunk down to its base in their fight ³²¹. ”

THIS consternation evinces the probability, That Achilles might have taken Troy, if he had led the Myrmidons immediately to the assault, on the fall of Hector. But he wasted so much time, in celebrating the funeral of Patroclus ³²², that the Trojans had leisure

319. Id. *ibid*.

320. *Iliad*. lib. xxii. Andromache was not yet informed of the death of Hector. “ But when she came to the tower, to the mournful troop of her friends, she stood wildly eying the field!—She beheld him dragged to the ships of the Argives. A sudden night obscured her soul; backward falling, she breathless remained. Wide poured from her graceful head the beautiful braids which bound her hair; the fillet, the net, woven wreath; the veil that shaded her beauty!—the veil, which golden Venus gave, on the day illustrious Hector brought her blessing from the halls of Ætion, giving many nuptial gifts to her sire. Around her stood her sisters in tears. They held her *raging* in their hands, and eager for death through woe.” Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.

321. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.

322. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxiii. The description of this funeral abounds with many curious traits of ancient manners, customs, and opinions, which I shall afterward have occasion to notice. Here I shall only offer a

PART I. sure to recollect themselves. He *secretly* sold the

few particulars, intimately connected with the history of the Trojan war. "The Greeks loosed their bounding steeds from the yoke. All convened around the ship of the godlike son of Peleus. He furnished the splendid funeral feast, in honour of his friend beloved. Many snow-white fatted bees are stretched on earth by the force of the steel; many sheep are laid in death; many screaming goats are slain; many bears with snow-white tusks, high-fed, and abounding in fat, are extended on spits before Vulcan's refounding flame. (Id. *ibid.*) But Achilles is conducted by the leaders of Argos to Agamemnon, the divine. Scarcely persuaded, he moved along, still raging in his soul for his friend. When they came to the lofty tent of Agamemnon, the sovereign of all, the king commanded the loud-voiced heralds to surround a mighty tripod with flame; and to entreat the son of Peleus to wash the gore of foes from his hands. Inflexible, the chief refused, adding a binding oath: "No, by Almighty Jove! the greatest and best of the Gods, I will not approach the bath; nor water shall be poured on my hands till I place on the pyre Patroclus, till I strew these locks on the dead!—When those rites shall be performed, grief will lessen its weight on my heart. Yet now, though sad, the feast I will share with the kings. But thou, with early morn, O Agamemnon! command the host to bring the wood; to rear aloft the mighty pile! such as is fit to send the dead to the dark region of mournful death." Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxiii.

The wood was cut on mount Ida, and chiefly carried on mules. When the huge pile they had reared, Achilles commanded all his troops to cover themselves with bright arms; to join each his bounding steeds to the car. "Obedient, at once they arose. They clothed themselves in burnished steel. They mounted their chariots with speed. Both the warriors and the drivers ascend. The cars moved slowly before, behind a cloud of infantry moved. In the midst, his most beloved friends bore the corpse of the hapless Patroclus. With their stern locks they covered the dead. Last of all came Achilles, bearing the head of his friend!—When they came to the destined place, the great son of Peleus stood apart from the pile, and cut his yellow locks again; his golden locks, which he had nourished with care." (Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxiii.) "An hundred feet spread the pile on each side. High on the top they laid the dead. Many fatted sheep were slain, many bees lay in death at the pyre. Stript of their hides they lay. Achilles wraps with their fat the dead. From head to foot involved he lay, the flayed carcases ranged on each side. He placed jars of honey and oil, low bending over the lofty bier. Four high-necked steeds he threw in the pile. Of nine dogs that belonged to the chief, he slew two to attend their lord. He transfixed with steel twelve youths, a bloody offering to the slain; twelve Trojans of parents renowned! so dreadful was the wrath of his soul." Id. *ibid.*

body of *Hector* to Priam³²³: and twelve days were allowed for the celebration of *His funeral*³²⁴: Before that term was elapsed, the Trojans may be supposed to have taken precautions for the defence of their city. Achilles fell beneath its walls³²⁵; and the remaining Greeks found much trouble in reducing it.

THE particulars of the siege, after the death of *Hector*, I shall not attempt to relate; as here Homer fails us, the only author who can be depended on, for what relates to the Trojan war³²⁶: It appears, however,

323. *Iliad*. lib. xxiv. As soon as Priam had resolved to go, under night, to the quarters of Achilles, "from the bridal chamber they bore, and placed aloft on the polished wain, the rich prize of the corpse of *Hector*." (Id. *ibid*.) The several articles are thus enumerated: "twelve beautiful robes, the venerable monarch withdrew from his stores; twelve single mantles, of ample size; twelve carpets, twelve beautiful cloaks; as many vests of glossy hue; ten talents of the purest gold; two burnished tripods, and four caldrons. A high-laboured bowl he produced; which *Thrace*, in solemn embassy, had bestowed on the sovereign of *Troy*: a mighty gift! but this the aged king spared not within his lofty halls; for much he wished, from his inmost soul, to redeem his son beloved." (*Iliad*. ubi sup.) Achilles accepted the ransom; (Id. *ibid*.) and it appears, that he had not only saved the body of *Hector* from dogs, but preserved it from corruption, in expectation of such a ransom. (Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxiv. *passim*.) His dragging it round the tomb of *Patroclus* is no contradiction to this remark.

324. That term Priam requested. "It shall be so," Achilles replied: "Aged Priam! thy commands are obeyed. For so long I will hinder the fight, and grant the request of thy soul." *Iliad*. lib. xxiv.

325. For so saying we have the general consent of tradition, and the authority of Homer; who perpetually anticipates the death of Achilles, and even hints at the manner of it. (*Iliad*. *passim*.) But the most pointed passage, in regard to that event, is found in the speech of the ghost of *Patroclus* to the son of *Peleus*. "Me destructive fate has involved," said (or seemed to say) the empty shade of the chief;—"the fate appointed at my birth. Even over thee, O Achilles! hovers fate. Thou art destined to fall before the walls of the high-born *Trojan*." Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxiii.

326. The farther progress of the siege may be seen in Virgil (*Æneid*.

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ever, from this venerable author, that *Troy was taken in the tenth year of the war, and burnt, by the Greeks*³²⁷. And that all the Trojans were slain, or carried into slavish captivity³²⁸. In a word, as *passion inflamed by the prospect of plunder, not policy, had dictated the Trojan war*, every stage of it was marked with cruelty and blood. And the issue of the sanguinary enterprize proved almost alike fatal to the victors, and to the vanquished.

THE Greeks, who survived the subversion of the kingdom of Troy, took no measures for establishing dominion over the country they had conquered: they did not so much as attempt to settle a colony in any part of it. Having accomplished their vengeance, and recovered the wife of Menelaus³²⁹, they embarked for Europe immediately after the division of the spoil³³⁰; and freed the remaining nations of Asia Minor from the terror of utter extirpation.

THE

lib. ii.) and in Tryphiodorus (*Ilioy Alois.*); but as these authors lived too long after the Trojan war, to be regarded as historical evidence, I shall make no use of them here.

327. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xii. xx.

328. *Iliad*. lib. xxiii. xxiv.

329. Hom. *Odyssey*, lib. iv. Helen again appears with all the dignity of a queen in the court of Sparta; (id. *ibid.*) and although she affects the character of a penitent, we discover the wanton through the fine disguise. She declares that "her *pleased bosom glowed with secret joy*," when Troy was taken by the Greeks; and that she then was conscious of remorse and shame, for "the effects of that disastrous flame, kindled by the imperious *Queen of Love*, which forced her to quit her native realm:" (Hom. *Odyssey*, ubi sup.) but she lays no blame on Paris. She respected Menelaus as a brave warrior, and a worthy and indulgent husband; but the libertine son of Priam was the man of her heart.

330. *Odyssey*, lib. iii. Agamemnon, indeed, stayed to offer sacrifices to the Gods, for his victory; (id. *ibid.*) and "half the Greeks respectfully obeyed the King of Men." (Hom. *Odyssey*, ubi sup.) But the most distinguished chiefs "unmoored at rising morn their ships, and brought

THE victorious chiefs were anxious to revisit their own dominions, where the greatest disorders had prevailed during their absence³³¹. But from their ignorance of navigation, their eager desire of reaching their several homes by the nearest course, and the bad state of their vessels, many of them were shipwrecked: some were thrown on unknown shores; and scarce one of them entered his destined port, but after a tedious and disagreeable voyage³³². On their arrival several princes were obliged again to put to sea, in quest of new territories; their paternal dominions having been seized by usurpers, or occupied by invaders³³³. The fate of others was yet more deplorable.

AGAMEMNON, whose passage home appears to have been the quickest of any of the Peloponnesian chiefs, was murdered soon after his return to Mycenæ; by his wife Clitemnestra, and her paramour Egisthus, who seated himself on the Argive throne³³⁴. But they were not suffered to enjoy in peace the fruits of their atrocious crime, or to indulge unmolested their guilty passion. Awful justice overtook them. A blow, from an unexpected arm, left mankind, in their punishment, a lesson to correct the dangerous example. Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Clitemnestra,

brought their captives and their stores on board." (Id. *ibid.*) And Menelaus speedily followed them, and "joined their fleet in the Lesbian bay." (Hom. *Odyssey*, lib. iii.) Nor did Agamemnon remain long behind. *Odyssey*, lib. iv.

331. Hom. *Odyssey*, lib. iii. iv. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. xii.

332. Id. *ibid.* The wanderings of Ulysses are well known; and Menelaus, having lost his pilot, (*Odyssey*, lib. iii.) was driven on the coast of Ægypt, where he was long detained by calms and contrary winds. Hom. *Odyssey*, lib. iv.

333. Hom. *Odyssey*, *passim*. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. xii.

334. Hom. *Odyssey*, lib. iii. iv. xi.

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who had fortunately escaped the sword of Ægisthus, returned privately to Mycenæ after an exile of some years; and, in revenge of his father's death, slew both the bloody usurper and traitorous adulterers³³⁵.

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By this signal act of vengeance, which put him in possession of his father's dominions, and a marriage with the daughter of Helen and Menelaus, Orestes added the kingdom of Sparta to that of Argos and Mycenæ³³⁶; and became the most powerful prince that ever had reigned in Peloponnesus. He found it necessary, however, in order to be establish his character, and clear himself from the imputation of guilt, in having laid violent hands on his own mother, to submit his cause to the court of Areopagus at Athens³³⁷. That famous tribunal gave a decree in his favour³³⁸, and all Greece was satisfied with the equity of the decision.

THE great power of Orestes, if not the vigour of his administration, preserved his dominions from the disorders that afflicted Greece, for sixty years after the termination of the Trojan war; a period in which piracy and rapine universally prevailed, and when several states repeatedly changed masters³³⁹. That licentious spirit, however, began to subside; and order and tranquillity were generally restored. But the return of the *Heracidae*, or descendants of Hercules, into Peloponnesus, during the reign of Tisamenus, the son of Orestes³⁴⁰, threw all things again into

335. *Odyssey* lib. iii.

336. Pausan. lib. ii. p. 60, edit. sup. cit.

337. Pausanias, lib. i. p. 27.

339. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. xii.

340. Pausan. lib. ii. p. 60.

338. *Id. ibid*

confusion in Greece; and entirely changed the face of affairs in that part of Europe, and also in Asia Minor.

LETTER
III.

THIS matter will require explication, my Lord,
and furnish subject for another Letter.

LETTER IV.

A General View of the Affairs of GREECE from the final Invasion, and Conquest of PELOPONNESUS by the HERACLIDÆ, to the Abolition of Regal Power at ATHENS; with an Account of the Settlement of the GRÆCIAN Colonies in ASIA MINOR.

WE have formerly seen ¹ in what manner Hercules was excluded the succession to the kingdom of Mycenæ, by the selfish policy of his grand-uncle Sthenelus, who gave the princely inheritance to his own son, Eurystheus. The toils and perils to which Eurystheus exposed this hero, in hopes of getting rid of so dangerous a rival, are well known under the name of the *Labours of Hercules*. The reputed son of Jove, however, surmounted every difficulty. But not being proof against the shafts of fate, he died in great agony about the fiftieth year of his age, in consequence of a poisoned shirt, ignorantly sent him by his wife Deïaneira, and left behind him many children by various mothers ².

THE children of Hercules were reared by different princes, who respected the memory of their father; but his legitimate sons solely by Ceix, king of Trachine. Unfortunately, however, the generous guardianship of Ceix, and the youthful valour of the sons of Hercules, awaked the jealousy of Eurystheus, who threatened to make war upon that prince, should he

1. Lett. II.

2. Apollod. lib. ii, Diod. Sicul. lib. iv.

yield them any longer an assylum at his court³. The Heraclidæ saw the necessity of quitting Trachine; and, in this extremity of their affairs, they applied for protection to all the states of Greece. Athens alone durst afford them shelter⁴. Eurystheus led an army against that city. He was met by the Heraclidæ, supported by the Athenians, and commanded by Hyllus, the eldest son of Hercules by Deïaneira, and by Theseus, king of Attica. The two armies joined battle, and Eurystheus was defeated and slain⁵; in consequence of which events, the kingdoms of Argos and Mycenæ passed as formerly noticed⁶, from the family of Perseus into that of Pelops.

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ELATED with their success, the Heraclidæ entered Peloponnesus. There they were joined by a number of adherents, and made themselves masters of many of the capital towns and districts in that peninsula⁷. But these conquests were soon abandoned. The country being afflicted with a desolating plague, the Heraclidæ consulted the Delphic oracle, in regard to the means of putting a stop to so terrible a calamity. The Pythia or priestess replied, That in order to avert that calamity, they must desist from their enterprise, but might renew it after *three crops*⁸. They obeyed, and returned at the end of three years, which they conceived to be the time fixed by the oracle.

ATREUS, the eldest son of Pelops, who had succeeded Eurystheus, his father-in-law, in the kingdoms of Argos and Mycenæ, collected a strong force to oppose the invaders⁹. When the armies of the two parties came within sight of each other, Hyllus,

3. Id. *ibid.*

4. *Iffocrat. Panathen.*

5. *Apollod. lib. ii. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv. Strabo, lib. viii.*

6. *Lett. II.*

7. *Apollod. et. Diod. ubi sup.*

8. Id. *ibid.*

9. *Diod. Sicul. lib. iv.*

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the leader of the Heraclidæ, proposed to decide the dispute by single combat, in order to save the effusion of blood. The offer was accepted, and a regular agreement made, That, if Hyllus was victorious, the Heraclidæ should immediately enter into possession of the contested kingdoms; but, if he was vanquished, that neither he, nor any of his kinsmen, should return into Peloponnesus for an hundred years. Hyllus was slain by the champion of Atreus, and the Heraclidæ withdrew according to treaty¹⁰.

THE descendants of Hercules, however, never lost sight of their hereditary claims. The recovery of their rightful inheritance, and even the conquest of the whole Græcian peninsula, continued to occupy their thoughts, and to fill their ambitious hearts with hope amid the wilds of Oeta and Parnassus, where they had obtained the rocky district of Doris: and at the expiration of the stipulated number of years, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, great grandsons of Hyllus, having collected a formidable body of Dorian and *Ætolian* followers, invaded Peloponnesus by sea¹¹.

Ant. Ch.
1104.

TISAMENES, the son of Orestes, at that time king of Argos and Lacedæmon, attempted to dispute the pretensions of the Heraclidæ, but without effect. He was vanquished in battle, and the gallant invaders made themselves instantly masters of his dominions¹². Corinth, Elis, and Messenia, also submitted to their arms¹³.

HAVING now no enemy to contend with, the Heraclidæ, according to the custom of the times, di-

10. Pausan. lib. ii. Diod. Sicul. ubi sup.

11. Pausan. lib. ii. Strabo, lib. viii.

12. Apollod. lib. ii.

13. Pausan. et Strabo, ubi sup.

vided their conquests by lot. The kingdom of Argos fell to the share of Temenus : Cresphontes obtained the territory of Messenia ; and Laconia was set apart for Eurysthenes and Procles, the infant sons of Aristodemus, who had died in the course of the war¹⁴. Elis was given, by the surviving leaders, to an Ætolian chief named Oxylus, who had contributed to the success of their enterprise. They bestowed Corinth on Aletes, one of their kinsmen ; and they spared Arcadia for friendly reasons ; Cresphontes having married Merope, the king's daughter¹⁵.

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SUCH of the subjects of Tisamenes, as discovered a resolution to maintain their independency, were politically permitted by the Heraclidæ to settle in the maritime district, which afterward became famous under the name of Achaia. The rest were driven into exile, or reduced to slavery ; and their possessions were divided among the Dorian and Ætolian adventurers, who claimed them as the reward of their valour¹⁶.

THUS did the descendants of Hercules recover their rightful inheritance, and the sovereignty of Peloponnesus return from the family of Pelops to the blood of Perseus. Nor did that peninsula alone feel the effects of this revolution. The Græcian states and countries beyond the Corinthian isthmus, suffered almost equally with those within it, from the *Return of the Heraclidæ*, as the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus is commonly called. The people first dispossessed threw themselves upon their neighbours ; and they, in their turn, carried desolation into more distant territories. The stronger every where drove out the weaker. Like the waves of an agitated sea, the Græcian tribes

14. Apollod. lib. ii. Pausan. lib. ii. Strabo, lib. viii.

15. Pausan. lib. iv.

16. Isocrat. *Panathen.* et in *Archidam.*

shocked

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DURING that turbulent and fluctuating period, when all security of possession was lost, and consequently all attachment to country, the first Græcian colonies in Asia Minor were planted. A body of Ionians, originally established in Attica, but afterward settled in Peloponnesus, had there remained in tranquillity till the last invasion of the Heraclidæ; when the Achæans being driven from the territory of Læconia, fell upon them, and forced them to quit that peninsula¹⁸. They sought refuge in Attica, their former country. But finding, in a course of years, the lands assigned them insufficient to support a growing population, they embarked with some Athenian adventurers; and landing on the coast of Asia Minor, between the river Hermus and the promontory of Poseidon, took possession of a district then bounded by Lydia and Caria; and which, in succeeding times, was from them called IONIA¹⁹. There they built Ephesus, Miletus, Teos, Colophon, Clazamena, Smyrna, Phocæa, and other cities²⁰. They also took possession of the islands of Chios and Samos, which were included in the Ionian confederacy.

THE establishment of this colony had been preceded by another settlement on the Asiatic coast, scarce less famous in history. A body of Æolians, having been driven from their possessions in Peloponnesus by the Dorians, who accompanied and supported the Heraclidæ in their conquest of that peninsula, found them-

17. Strabo, lib. ix. Pausan. lib. v. vii.

18. Id. *ibid*.

19. *Parian Chron.* Epoch. xxvi. Pausan. lib. vii. Strabo, lib. xiv.

20. Id. *ibid*. Smyrna was originally built by the Æolians, but afterward destroyed, and rebuilt by the Ionians. Herodot. lib. i.

selves obliged to look out for new lands. They accordingly put themselves under the conduct of Pen-
thilius, one of the sons of Orestes, who had taken
refuge in the island of Euboea; and after rambling,
for some time, unsuccessfully over the northern pro-
vinces of Greece, under his command, they crossed
the Hellespont under his son Echelatus, and settled on
the coast of Asia Minor, between Ionia and Mysia²¹.
There gradually extending their population, from the
river Hermus to the Hellespont, they gave to that
maritime district the name of *ÆOLIA*. In *Æolia*
stood Cume, Lampfacus, Abydos, Larissa, and many
other celebrated cities²².

Ant. Ch.
1096.

A THIRD colony passed from Greece into the Lesser
Asia during the same restless period. It was composed
of a body of Dorians, who had been put in possession
of the district of Megara by the Heraclidæ. Seized
with the roving spirit of the times, and hard pressed
by the Athenians, the greater part of the Dorians
quitted that territory, and seated themselves in a pro-
montory of Asia Minor, between Lycia and Caria, to
which they gave the name of *Doris*, or *DORIA*²³.
There they founded Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and several
other cities. They also spread themselves into
Rhodes, Cos, and the smaller contiguous islands²⁴.

Ant. Ch.
944.


As these emigrations were made about the time the
republican spirit began to predominate in Greece, the
adventurers carried with them the same spirit into
their new territories. And that spirit, which taught
the Asiatic Greeks bravely to spurn the chains of
oriental despotism, may be said not only to have saved

21. Strabo, lib. ix. xiii. Vell. Patercul. lib. i.

22. Herodot. lib. i. Strabo, lib. xiv.

23. Strabo, lib. xiv. Pausan. lib. vii.

24. Id. *ibid*.

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THOUGH the Græcian cities in Asia Minor and the contiguous islands, like those on the European continent; were frequently governed by ambitious citizens, who under the odious name of *tyrants*, had usurped the supreme power, the basis of their interior policy was every where republican; each city having its senate and popular assembly. They had also their general assemblies, where affairs of national importance were discussed. The delegates of the Ionian cities, as we shall have occasion to see, met in the Panionian council; and the Æolian and Dorian cities had assemblies of a similar nature. Every public measure, in a word, wore the appearance of freedom in Asiatic Greece, however much particular states might be oppressed with civil tyranny.

THESE observations naturally lead me to speak of the abolition of royalty among the Græcian states in Europe; and to notice the most remarkable circumstances with which that general revolution was attended.

THE monarchical government which, in early times, universally prevailed in Greece, was extremely limited. The king, or head of the tribe, being no more than chief magistrate of the state, or rather the most eminent citizen in the community, could take no resolution but in conjunction with the heads of the principal families; nor adopt any public measure without consulting the body of the people²⁵. But moderate as

²⁵. Arist. *Polit.* lib. iii. Dion. Halicarnas. lib. v. Homer, *Odyss.* lib. viii.

that government appears to have been, it was always considered as an irksome restraint upon the volatile genius and ardent temper of the Greeks, which strongly tended toward democracy²⁶. And no sooner had the invasion of the Heraclidæ disturbed the regular order of succession, and consequently weakened the respect for regal authority, than the slightest incident was laid hold on to introduce the desired change; or even the smallest approach toward it, in hopes of at last perfecting the plan of equal freedom and independency. Kingly government, which had in many places degenerated into tyranny, was accordingly abolished, by degrees, in every Græcian state except Lacedæmon.

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Two events, preparatory to this change of government, are not a little interesting, exclusive of the consequences by which they were followed.

A QUARREL having arisen between the Thebans and Athenians concerning the possession of a frontier town, the armies of the two nations were preparing to decide the dispute by a general engagement, when Xanthus, king of Thebes, proposed to settle the matter by single combat; in order to save the loss of lives, as a great number of men must otherwise fall on both sides. But Thymætes, king of Attica, though of the blood of Theseus, declined the hostile competition. He was deposed, in consequence of his cowardice; and the Athenian sceptre was given to a Messenian prince, named Melanthus, who had bravely accepted the challenge, and slain the king of Thebes²⁷.

THE Thebans were deeply mortified at the death of their king; an incident which, joined to a long train

26. Homer, *Iliad*. lib. xvi. Plut. *Vit. These*.

27. Strabo, lib. ix. Pausan. lib. ix. Polyæn. *Strateg.* lib. i.

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of misfortunes that had afflicted their sovereigns, gave them a strong aversion against regal power, at the same time that it afforded them an opportunity of indulging their passion for freedom. They accordingly adopted a republican form of government²⁸; resolved that their happiness and misery should no longer depend upon the good or ill fortune of any one family, or their liberties on the will of any one man.

BUT the Thebans, in abolishing royal authority, lost their political consequence. A long night of obscurity involved Bœotia. It was split into many petty republics, among which a kind of confederacy subsisted; but which were jealous of each other's prosperity, and often hostile to the general interest²⁹. The Athenians were more fortunate in their change of government. And that change, which took place soon after the foregoing, was occasioned by a similar circumstance.

THE Heraclidæ, after the conquest of Peloponnesus, saw with a jealous eye the growing power of Athens, under Melanthus. He had afforded refuge to a number of Ionian and Messenian fugitives, expelled the Græcian peninsula by the Dorians, and still thirsting for revenge. No sooner, therefore, did the descendants of Hercules find themselves firmly seated in their new territories, than they declared war against the Athenians³⁰. Codrus, the gallant son of Melanthus, then filled the throne of Attica. His heroic valour was equal to the defence of his country, but the superstition of the times gave a new direction to his patriotism. The Heraclidæ having consulted the Delphic oracle concerning the success of their enterprise, had received for answer, "That the

28. Pausan. lib. ix.

29. Pausanias, ubi sup.

30. Strabo, lib. ix. Justin, lib. ix.

"party whose leader should be slain by the enemy, "would prove victorious." In consequence of this response, they issued, at the head of their army, an express order, that none of their men should kill the king of Athens ³¹.

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1068.

INFORMED of that order, and also of its cause, Codrus generously resolved to sacrifice himself for the safety of his people. The love which they bore to their prince made them keep a watchful eye over him, suspecting his patriotic purpose. In order to elude their affectionate vigilance, as well as to deceive the enemy, he cloathed himself in the habit of a peasant; entered the hostile camp in that mean disguise, with a faggot on his shoulder, and a pruning-hook in his hand; provoked a quarrel with a soldier; smote him, and fell by the sword of his humble antagonist ³².

THE tumult occasioned by the death of Codrus produced inquiry. His body was known. And the Heraclidæ believing, on the equivocal response of the oracle, that nothing but misfortune could now attend their undertaking, they withdrew their forces without hazarding a battle ³³.

THE pious patriotism of Codrus, in leaving Attica without a king, furnished the Athenians at once with a pretext for abolishing monarchy, and an occasion of indulging their violent love of liberty, by establishing a commonwealth. Disposed, as they pretended to give that generous prince a successor in the throne, but unable to find one worthy of such honour, they declared Jupiter alone to be thenceforth sovereign of Athens ³⁴.

Ant. Ch.
1068.

31. Id. *ibid.*

33. Id. *ibid.*

32. Pausan. lib. vii. Val. Max. lib. v.

34. Pausan. lib. vii. Strabo, lib. xiv.

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They chose, however, Medon the eldest son of Codrus their chief magistrate, under the name of *Archon*; and declared, That this high office should remain hereditary in his family; but that he and his successors should be accountable to the assembly of the people, for the due administration of public affairs ³⁵.

THE government of Sparta also experienced a change in this age of innovation. Eurysthene and Procles, the two sons of Aristodemus, to whom the kingdom of Lacedæmon fell in the distribution of the conquests of the Heraclidæ, instead of dividing the territory of Laconia between them, or reigning alternately, like some Græcian sovereigns in ancient times, were persuaded to reign jointly, and with equal power. They accordingly chose the city of Sparta as their common capital or seat of government; each of them bearing the title of *King of Lacedæmon*, and being acknowledged as such ³⁶.

BUT although royal authority was thus fully established at Sparta, in the descendants of Aristodemus, and subsisted in both branches of the reigning family, for seven hundred years, the state soon felt the enfeebling effects of divided sway ³⁷. Each of the kings, in order to strengthen his administration, found it necessary to court the favour of the people. This competition made the people too sensible of their importance; and eventually gave birth to the most daring licentiousness, upon which there was no curb. Anarchy, the worst of tyrannies, proved the consequence of unbridled liberty. The kingdom of Lacedæmon was continually split into two factions, which frequently came to blows. Even royal blood had been spilt, in these popular tumults ³⁸; and all the springs

35. Id. *ibid*.

36. Pausanias, lib. iii.

37. Plut. *Vit. Licurg.* Strabo, lib. viii.38. Plut. *ubi sup.*

of government seemed to be dissolved, when the wisdom and virtue of one man gave compactness and vigour to the political machine.

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YOUR Lordship will readily perceive, that I allude to the illustrious Lycurgus. The establishment of the institutions of the Spartan legislator forms a memorable æra in the history of Greece. But before we enter upon the investigation of that subject, which will open to our view many important objects of enquiry, and lead us to speculations of great moment in the science of human affairs, I must make a pause.

LETTER V.

SPARTA and the NEIGHBOURING STATES, from the
*Establishment of the Laws of LYCURGUS in LA-
 CONIA to the Conquest of MESSENIA by the LA-
 CEDÆMONIANS, with an Account of the Institution
 of the OLYMPIC GAMES.*

THOUGH Greece, as we have had occasion to
 see, was peopled by colonies from various
 countries, government and manners, in all its different
 states, were nearly the same during the heroic ages.
 This similarity continued till after the conquest of
 Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ. Then the republican
 spirit, which every where sprung up, gave diversity
 to government, and government had a necessary in-
 fluence upon manners. The change, however, was
 hardly perceptible for a while. That variety, and
 even contrast of manners, which prevailed among the
 Greeks in later times, beyond what has been known
 among any other people, ancient or modern, bearing
 one common name, and speaking the same tongue,
 was little obvious until the laws of Lycurgus began to
 produce their effect upon the character and manners of
 the Lacedæmonians, and those of Solon upon the tem-
 per and spirit of the Athenians.

THESE reflections naturally lead us to enquire after
 the origin of the institutions of the Spartan legislator,
 as an introduction to the subsequent part of the history
 of that celebrated state.

LYCURGUS, son of Eunomes king of Lacedæmon, the fifth in descent from Procles, and the tenth from Hercules, is said to have succeeded to the joint sovereignty on the death of his elder brother Polydectes, and in the seventh year of the reign of his colleague Archelaus. His virtues and talents gave promise of a just and able administration. But an unexpected, though natural circumstance, deprived his countrymen of that hope, and involved himself in a variety of difficulties. The widow of Polydectes declared herself pregnant. Yet more ambitious to retain the honours of a queen, than desirous to experience the tender cares of a mother; inflamed with amorous passion, or unwilling to suffer the neglect of widowhood, she secretly intimated to the new king, That, if he would agree to marry her, no child of his late brother should ever disturb him in the possession of the Spartan throne¹.

LYCURGUS, who had laid aside the ensigns of royalty, and assumed the title of *Protector*, as soon as he was made acquainted with the queen's pregnancy, thought it prudent to conceal his abhorrence of her atrocious purpose. He seemed even to enter into her views; begged that she would take nothing that might injure her health, or endanger her life; for he would so concert matters, that the fruit of her womb should be no bar in the way of their mutual wishes. And having thus quieted her anxiety on that delicate point, he took care, when the time of her labour drew nigh, to place trust-worthy servants about her person, with strict orders, that if she brought forth a son, they should convey the child instantly to him; but, if a daughter, to leave the infant with her women².

1. Plut. Vit. Licurg.

2 Id. ibid.

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THE politic and generous Protector was supping with the principal Spartan magistrates, when the queen was delivered; and the child, proving to be a son, was presented to him according to his commands. He took the boy in his arms, and said, addressing himself to the magistrates, "Spartans! a king is born to you;" then placed the infant prince in the royal seat, and named him *Charilaus*, or "the people's joy;" in allusion to the pleasure expressed on the occasion, by the company, at his own wise and liberal conduct, rather than at the birth of a king³.

GENEROUS and wise, however, as the conduct of Lycurgus was, and high as it placed him in the esteem of all good men, it failed to dissipate the dark suspicions raised by his enemies, and infused into the minds of the corrupted populace. Their selfish hearts, incapable of feeling the disinterested sentiments by which he was actuated, ascribed his magnanimous prudence to sinister motives. They imputed to him a design upon the liberties of the state⁴. In order to bely these suspicions; to avoid the resentment of the slighted queen, by whose adherents they had been excited; and fully to vindicate the honour of his character, Lycurgus condemned himself to a voluntary banishment.

WHETHER this sage patriot had conceived, before his departure from Sparta, the idea of reforming the constitution of his country, antiquity has left us to conjecture. We are only told, on good authority, that he visited *Ægypt* and *Crete*⁵, where government and legislation were supposed to have attained the highest degree of perfection. And it appears, from his institutions, that he must have carefully studied the

3. Plut. ubi sup.

4. Id. ibid.

5. Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*

Ægyptian polity, and that the Cretan constitution was the model after which he framed the Spartan.

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WHILE Lycurgus was contemplating that famous system of government, the work of the elder Minos, (which we have formerly had occasion to consider⁶) and storing his mind with political maxims, the kingdom of Lacedæmon was a prey to internal dissensions. The people were turbulent, and the magistrates without authority. Even regal sway was set at naught, by the licentious multitude. Archelaus was a weak prince, Charilaus a minor. All subordination was lost, and lawless anarchy reigned triumphant.

THESE disorders made the Spartans severely sensible of the value of their late Protector; who, during his short but vigorous administration, had restored domestic tranquility. They accordingly sent deputies to solicit his return⁷; indirectly declaring themselves willing to submit to any body of laws, which he should think necessary for the reformation of the state. All orders of men joined in the request⁸.

AFTER having received several embassies to this purpose, Lycurgus returned to Sparta; and in compliance with the general wish of his countrymen, assumed the high character of legislator. But he found, on entering upon his arduous and dangerous office, more obstacles to surmount than his sagacity had foreseen; more changes to effect, and consequently more prejudices to combat. He discovered that, instead of some partial innovations, it would be necessary to new-mould the constitution of the state, in order to accomplish the desired reformation⁹. With that view, he boldly di-

Ant. Chr.
1784.

6. Lett. II, of this work.

8. Id. *ibid*.

7. *Plut Vit. Lycurg.*

9. *Plut. ubi sup.*

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gested his celebrated political system; which had for its object the perfecting of government, by an equal division of power and of property.

THE Spartan legislator, however, aware of the difficulty of establishing institutions, which would militate so strongly against the selfish and voluptuous passions of man, bethought himself of a happy expedient for silencing all opposition. Well acquainted with the influence of superstition upon the human mind, and with the awe inspired by divine authority, he went to the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, before he made known to his fellow-citizens that plan of government which he meditated, and fully opened his purpose to the Sooth-saying God. The Pythia saluted him with the title of "*companion of the Gods!*" and rather God than man;" assured him that Apollo was propitious to his undertaking, and that the state which he should constitute, under the auspices of the Prophetic Divinity, would prove the most illustrious in Greece¹⁰.

Ant. Ch.
784.

FORTIFIED with this famous response, Lycurgus gave the name of RHETRÆ to his institutions; thereby insinuating, that he had received them from the oracle¹¹. And having thus added the voice of Heaven to the veneration of his country, he proceeded without obstruction to the execution of his plan. His first and grand step toward a new constitution was, the establishment of a senate; in order to maintain an equilibrium of power between the Lacedæmonian kings and people, and to repress the usurpations of either. This senate consisted of twenty-eight members, chosen by the legislator from among the leading men in whom he could most confide. But the future election of senators, who commonly held their seats during life, was committed to the assembly of the people¹².

10. Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*

11. *Id. ibid.*

12. Arist. *Polit.* lib. ii. Xenoph. *Rep. Laced.*

THE Spartan government, after the establishment of the senate, was, properly speaking, neither monarchical, aristocratical, nor democratical, but mixed, like the British constitution; a compound of all the different forms. The two kings remained, but their sway was very limited. They were only the first citizens in the state ¹³. They had, however, the power of peace and war; were entitled to receive ambassadors, and entrusted with the superintendence of religion ¹⁴. As commanders in chief of the armies of the republic, they had the honour of leading the van, in all military expeditions, and of bringing up the rear on their return ¹⁵; and beside being first served at the public meals, each had a double portion of victuals assigned him ¹⁶.

THE kings of Lacedæmon, among their other prerogatives, enjoyed that of being perpetual presidents of the senate: and the importance of this prerogative was not small. The senate alone had the right of proposing and investigating public measures. No debate on any such subject could originate in the assembly of the people. But to the people belonged the power of deliberating on the resolutions of the senate, and of ultimately sealing with approbation, or putting a negative upon every such resolution ¹⁷.

THE Spartan senate, however, notwithstanding that check upon its proceedings, was found to possess too extensive powers, and to lean too much toward regal authority. In order to counteract this dangerous tendency, and effectually counterbalance the preponderation of the aristocratical part of the constitution, Lycurgus constituted the Ephori ¹⁸; five annual magi-

13. *Id.* *ibid.*

14. Herodot. lib. vi.

15. *Id.* *ibid.*16. Herodot. ubi sup. Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*17. Xenoph. *Rep. Lacœn.* Plut. ubi sup.

18. Herodot. lib. vi. Xenoph. ubi sup.

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strates, whose proper business it was to protect the rights of the people, and watch over the administration of government ¹⁹. These magistrates were chosen by the people in full assembly, and generally from among the most vigilant citizens ²⁰.

THE privileges of the Ephori were many; and their controuling power was so strong, that it might be called the *bridle*, and they themselves, by their combining and invigorating influence, the *sinews* of the Spartan state ²¹. To them it belonged to convoke, prorogue, and dissolve, the *less* and *greater* assemblies of the people; the former composed of the inhabitants of the capital, the latter of the free inhabitants of the country, including its several towns and villages. They could expel, imprison, and even punish with death, any obnoxious senator ²². They monthly exchanged with the kings, whom they could fine or put under arrest, solemn oaths of fidelity; the kings swearing, in their own name, to govern according to the established laws and customs; and the Ephori, in the name of the people, to support the authority, and protect the persons of the princes of the blood of Hercules, while they should so reign and rule ²³.

SUCH was the system of government founded by Lycurgus at Sparta; a system which, although composed of seemingly discordant parts, remained longer entire, than the constitution of any other Grecian state. This permanency it chiefly owed to that equitable distribution of power, which it contained; and which, by a happy temperament, kept alive the jealous spirit of liberty, without suffering the shocks of the *dæmon* of anarchy. The vigour, and even the union

19. Plato, de Leg. lib. iii.

21. Xenoph. et Plato, ubi sup.

23. Id. ibid.

20. Arist. Polit. lib. ii.

22. Xenoph. Rep. Lacœ.

of the Spartan state, was preserved, according to the intention of the legislator, by the perpetual emulation and competition that animated the breasts of its citizens; and which may be called the *two Brands*, by which their public virtues, their courage and patriotism, were kindled and fed with fire.

FROM the equitable distribution of power, Lycurgus proceeded to the more equal division of property; aware that no people, how well balanced soever their government, can long retain either liberty or independency, unless some sense of national dignity and personal equality inform the mind of every free citizen. Property, in the kingdom of Lacedæmon, was then very unequally shared. A large proportion of the people had truly no honest means of subsistence²⁴. The rich wallowed in abundance, while the necessitous if not predatory poor, were at once debased and oppressed²⁵.

IN order to remedy these evils, Lycurgus, after numbering the people, divided the whole territory of Lacedæmon into thirty-nine thousand equal shares; nine thousand of which he appropriated to the citizens of Sparta, as their particular domain; and the remaining thirty thousand shares, he assigned to the inhabitants of the country²⁶. Desirous yet farther to abolish the distinctions of rich and poor, but sensible of the impracticability of a division of moveable property, the Spartan legislator prohibited the use of gold and silver coin; called in, as far as possible, all that was in circulation; and ordered that thenceforth iron money, which he took care to get stamped and issued, should only be received in payment of any debt, or as the value of goods²⁷.

24. Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*25. Id. *ibid.*26. Xenoph. *Rep. Lacœn.* Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*27. Id. *ibid.*

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NOR did the austere vigilance of Lycurgus stop here. That concealed wealth might not enable any man to indulge in luxury at home, nor such indulgence excite the desire of riches, he commanded all the male citizens to eat together in public, as in Crete; and each, in turn, to contribute his monthly quota toward the common meal²⁸, fifteen messing together at one table²⁹. And these public tables, beside repressing luxury, became so many schools of public virtue and political wisdom; the old and young freely conversing together on all subjects of national interest or national glory³⁰.

HAVING thus provided for the internal stability of the state, the Spartan legislator took measures for securing it against foreign enemies. He had already in a manner annihilated private property, in order to eradicate luxury: he now proscribed the usual means of acquiring wealth. Still keeping his eye on the Cretan constitution, without servilely copying the institutions of Minos, he committed not only the labours of husbandry, but the exercise of all mechanical arts, solely to slaves, who bore the name of *Helots*³¹; reserving to the Lacedæmonians, or free inhabitants of Laconia of all descriptions, no profession beside that

28. In this particular, the ordinances of Lycurgus, with respect to eating in public; differed from those of Minos: the Cretan public meals, perhaps more wisely, were furnished at the expence of the state. Those of Sparta, regulated by public authority, were however sufficiently meagre. The most exquisite dish was a kind of pottage, known by the name of *Black Broth*. Plut. ubi sup.

29. Plut. *Vit. Lyeurg.* 30. Xenoph. *Rep. Lacon.* Plut. *Vit. Lyeurg.*

31. The most received opinion concerning the origin of this name is; That Helos, a Lacedæmonian town, having attempted to establish its independency, was reduced by force; that the inhabitants, as a punishment for their temerity, were condemned to the most humiliating slavery and precluded the possibility of ever recovering their liberty, by a law of the Spartan council, forbidding them to be emancipated or sold to foreign states; and that their posterity thus multiplying, and being generally dispersed over Laconia, the name of *Helot* became common to all the Lacedæmonian slaves, afterward acquired by conquest or otherwise. Vid. *Acad. des Inscriptions* tom. xxiii. et auct. cit.

of arms, nor any care but the welfare of the community³².

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IV.

IN conformity with this fundamental law, which constituted the Lacedæmonians a nation of soldiers and politicians, Lycurgus framed a number of regulations or making them superior in prowess, and keen-sighted in whatever concerned the interests of their country, beyond every other people in Greece. And what is still more to his praise, they became, in these particulars, as we shall have occasion to see, the very men he wished to form them; unequalled in political sagacity, military courage, conduct, discipline, and the whole science of war. But they grew, at the same time, insolent, haughty, ambitious, and cruel, as might have been foreseen; turning against their neighbours, without any regard to justice or humanity, those arms and that hardy valour, which were meant for their own defence. Yet must I not omit the singular, if not in all respects praise-worthy ordinances, in the code of manners, which gave them eventually the power, as well as the inclination, of committing such violences; and which have all a remote reference to a state of hostility.

THE attention of Lycurgus to the personal qualities of the people, on whose minds he meant to ingraft his institutions, discovers a truly philosophic spirit, unfettered by vulgar prejudices. He encouraged marriage, and even enjoined it, as a duty; but the parties were not allowed to contract it until they had attained

32. Herod. The Romans, who recruited their legions chiefly from the sturdy class of husbandmen; and who allowed patriotism to spring naturally from the happy possession, and free use of private property, while they laid a wider basis for power, raised a firmer column of public security.

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the age of maturity, that they might produce strong and healthy children³³. Yet farther to promote this great end, the Lacedæmonian virgins, instead of the sedentary employments of the loom and the needle, common to the other young women of Greece, were ordered to occupy themselves, like the youths, in running, wrestling, and throwing the quoit or javelin³⁴. These exercises they generally performed *naked*, the better to tone their fibres. And on certain high festivals they danced publicly in the same shameless condition, in order to provoke the desires of the men; and, conscious of the influence of their charms, leeringly dispensed praise and blame to their admiring lovers³⁵.

NOR did the care of the sage legislator for improving the breed of the Lacedæmonians stop here. As a check upon the excess of desire, and to prevent the new-married men from emasculating their vigour in the arms of their active and full-formed brides, they were commanded to sleep in the common dormitory, along with their male companions, and durst only visit their wives by stealth³⁶. The early matrimonial commerce of the Spartans was, therefore, a kind of perpetual intrigue; both sexes being obliged to contrive occasions of meeting one another secretly, and of retiring without being observed³⁷. So that their passions, thus held in play, were kept from languishing; while their constitutions were preserved from suffering, by too frequent indulgence.

ALL these ordinances, however, were not thought sufficient by Lycurgus, for giving to the bodies of his

33. Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*35. Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*37. Plut. *ubi sup.*34. Xenoph. et Plut. *ubi sup.*36. *Id. ibid.*

countrymen that health, symmetry, and vigour, which he wished them to possess, and esteemed essential to the welfare of the community. He had already sacrificed female delicacy on the altar of patriotism, in commanding the young women to wrestle and dance publicly without any veil to modesty: he next offered up conjugal fidelity to the same idol; and with it all jealousy in the intercourse of the sexes. Married women, like all other property, may be said to have been held in common at Sparta. Husbands were permitted to borrow each others wives; and even required, under certain circumstances, to lend the partners of their bed, for the purpose of *mending the breed*³⁸. And this pretence was so easily forged, that young and handsome married persons, who happened to be less fortunately matched, found little difficulty in reciprocally contributing to the support of the state, while they indulged their mutual wishes.

BUT the perfecting of the Spartan breed demanded a yet higher sacrifice than either virgin modesty or the sanctity of the marriage-bed; a sacrifice over which humanity must ever mourn, though strictly enjoined by the laws of Lycurgus. All children, as soon as born, were ordered to be carried to a public office, where certain aged persons were appointed to examine them; and if they happened to be diseased, feeble, or deformed, they were thrown into a deep cavern in the neighbourhood of mount Tygetus. But if they were well-shaped, strong and healthy, they were delivered to nurses provided by the state³⁹; and who by their skill, in judiciously co-operating with nature, became famous over Greece, and perhaps saved as many lives as the severity of the legislator destroyed.

38. Xenoph. *Rep. Lacen.* Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.* et *Numa.*

39. *Id.* *Ibid.*

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AT seven years of age the boys were taken from their parents, and put under public preceptors; no Lacedæmonian being permitted to rear, or educate his children, but according to the mode prescribed by law. The preceptors were chosen from among people of the first consideration, and seem to have regarded themselves as fathers of the children of the state. Accordingly their chief object, in educating the Spartan youths, was to mould the passions, sentiments, and ideas of their pupils, to that form which might best assimilate with the constitution of the republic; and so to exercise the powers of both body and mind, as to raise them to the highest possibility of performing every thing useful to the community; to make them bold, vigilant, and skilful warriors, yet obedient soldiers; with a strong sense of honour, stimulated to heroic deeds by the desire of applause and apprehension of shame, but ever ultimately governed by the love of their country, which might be considered as the main spring of their souls ⁴⁰.

THE Spartan education and discipline could scarcely be said ever to cease. After twelve years of age the boys, whose former mode of life had been abundantly austere, were permitted to wear only one garment, and that equally in winter as in summer; to sleep on no better beds than reeds, which they themselves must gather: and they were compelled to go barefooted at all seasons. As they approached manhood, their discipline was increased in austerity; their stated labours, which left them hardly a vacant hour in the day, being augmented, in order to curb the impetuous passions of youth ⁴¹. Nor was there found any remission of those labours, unless during military service. Then many indul-

40. Xenoph. et Plat. ubi sup.

41. Plat. *Vit. Lycurg.* Xenoph. *Rep. Lacœn.*

gences were wisely allowed; and to such a degree, that the camp might be regarded as a scene of ease and luxury by the Lacedæmonians, who there took pleasure in adorning their persons, and seemed to give up their hearts to mirth⁴². Before the age of thirty, no man was allowed to take part in public affairs at Sparta. For ten years later, it was not reputable for the Lacedæmonians to devote themselves to political or juridical business; and sixty years of persevering virtue were necessary to entitle any candidate to a seat in the senate⁴³.

To these civil ordinances Lycurgus added certain military maxims, or laws, in the same spirit. He forbid the Spartans to surround their city with walls, lest security should lead the them to remit their vigilance in its defence; and he enjoined them not to pursue, after battle, a flying foe, for various reasons—lest their ardour should blind them against latent danger; the utter destruction of their enemies unstringing the nerve of their courage, or the thirst of conquest incite them to covet extensive dominion, which his institutions were not calculated to preserve⁴⁴. He also forbid them to make war by sea; which, as he had cut the sinews of their commerce, in abolishing the use of the precious metals, he knew they could not support: and he desired them to beware of continuing hostilities long against the same people, lest they should teach their adversaries their method of fighting⁴⁵. He made it shameful for them to fly before an enemy, how superior soever in force; so that death or victory, in battle, was the lot of every Lacedæmonian; or a fate worse than death, disgrace! an infamy, that excluded them from all civil and military employments⁴⁶.

42. Id. *ibid.*43. Xenoph. *ubi sup.*44. Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*45. Id. *ibid.*46. Xenoph. *Repub. Lacœn*

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IN order to enable the Lacedæmonians to maintain, in the field, that high military character, which the tone of their bodies and the temper of their minds, as formed by the laws of Lycurgus, were so well fitted to support, their forces were arranged in a masterly manner, and nearly resembling the disposition of the armies of modern Europe ⁴⁷. The Spartan army was formed into a certain number of *Mores* or brigades, composed each of four *Lochoi* or regiments. The *Lochos*, which consisted of five hundred and twelve men, was divided into four *Pentecostyes*, and each *Pentecostys* into four *Enotomies* ⁴⁸. All these different bodies, from the *Mora* downward, were commanded by officers subordinate in rank to each other; and the whole army, by one of the joint kings of Lacedæmon ⁴⁹.

THE Spartan troops were uniformly cloathed in *Red*, by the direction of Lycurgus; in order to prevent the soldiers from perceiving their loss of blood, or the enemy from discovering their wounds ⁵⁰. Their arms consisted of large bucklers, pikes or spears of moderate length, and strong short swords, with two edges ⁵¹. They advanced to battle with the greatest alacrity, yet most exact regularity, keeping time with their steps to the sound of flutes or pipes ⁵²; and so perfect was their discipline, that through the hottest engagement, they preserved unbroken that beautiful order with which they began the action, and which enabled them to give a celerity to all their evolutions, and an im-

47. Xenophon ascribes the military, as well as the civil code of Sparta, to Lycurgus. But that enlightened philosopher and historian lived in too late an age to be able to judge, with any degree of accuracy, what arrangements were made by the sapient legislator, and what might be attributed to subsequent improvements.

48. Thucyd. lib. v. et Xenoph. *Repub. Lacon.*

49. Id. *ibid.*

50. Xenoph. *Repub. Lacon.*

51. Id. *ibid.*

52. Xenoph. *ubi sup.* Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*

pulse to their efforts, that filled their enemies at once with admiration and terror ⁵³.

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V.

BUT the austere institutions of Lycurgus, which, in raising to such a height the political and military virtues of the Lacedæmonians, paid no regard to the milder qualities, to the culture of the heart; and which, by inspiring a ferocity of disposition, that threw a kind of horror over their manners, may be said to have debased, instead of ennobling the character of man, were very unfriendly to general happiness.

ATTENTIVE only to the safety of the state, the Spartan legislator, in forming a community of patriotic soldiers, always ready for action, forgot that they were free citizens, who had a right to taste of every social delight, and to dispose of their time and their talents as they thought proper, unless in a season of danger; not the hireling bands of a despot, whose interest it is to extinguish every sentiment of humanity, and strangle every finer feeling in its birth, in order to render the instruments of his tyranny more fit for their barbarous service. For the Lacedæmonians, in the full enjoyment of political freedom, were the slaves of their own legislative system; which, by a bold effort of speculation, may be said to have founded the welfare of the republic on the misery of the individuals that composed it.

As in forming a community of soldiers Lycurgus forgot that they were citizens, in forming citizens he forgot that they were men, endowed by nature with many generous passions, and capable of reciprocating many noble sentiments, beside those that concerned the state: he therefore not only endeavoured to re-

53. Xenoph. *Repub. Lacœn.*

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move to a distance every thing that might minister to luxury or effeminacy, but to crush in the bud all the softer sympathies, and leave the Lacedæmonians no other passion but the love of glory and of their country. He attempted to make them superior to interest, to pleasure, and even to pain⁵⁴; to stifle in their breasts the voice of natural affection, with all the charities of father, son, and brother⁵⁵. The Spartan and the patriot swallowed up every inferior relation, and with them all the domestic virtues, and all the sweets of private life.

PRIVATE happiness, which cannot subsist without the affectionate discharge of domestic duties, is however the only solid foundation for public virtue, national prosperity, or public happiness. And true patriotism, and true heroism, are intimately connected with humanity of disposition and generosity of spirit. But the Spartans, of all people ever dignified with the appellation of *civilized*, were perhaps the most obdurate and illiberal. And that complexion of heart and mind was the necessary effect of their austere education and political system. Having properly no employment but that of arms, to which they were trained from their infancy, and few tender cares, they lost all compassion for the sufferings of their fellow-creatures; or if they retained any sympathetic affection, it was only for the

54. On the annual celebration of a festival, instituted by Lycurgus in honour of Diana Orthia, all the Spartan boys were whipped, until the blood ran down upon the altar of that cruel goddess. And this flagellation was performed in presence of the magistrates of the city, and under the eye of fathers and mothers; who, instead of compassionating their children, ready to expire from the severity of the lashes, to which they frequently fell martyrs, exhorted them to suffer patiently the discipline inflicted, and without seeming to be conscious of any uneasy sensation. Cicero, *Tuscul.* lib. v. Pausan. lib. iii. *Plut. Vit. Lycurg.*

55. See what was formerly said concerning the inquest upon new-born infants, &c.

companions of their dangers and toils. For the unarmed Helots, by whose industry they subsisted, they had no bowels of pity.

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V.

NEVER was human nature so degraded, as in the abject condition of this miserable class of men, who might have envied the lot of labouring cattle. As if their dog-skin cap, and sheep-skin vest, had not been sufficient to remind them of their servile state, they were compelled to submit, once a day, to a certain number of stripes, without having deserved them from their imperious masters ⁵⁶. They were prohibited every thing liberal or manly, and every thing humiliating, and even debasing, was commanded them ⁵⁷. A stately figure, or graceful mien, if discovered in any of their young men, was equal to a sentence of death: the ill-fated youth was instantly dispatched, and his master was fined for too much indulgence ⁵⁸. The Helots, in a word, were at once the slaves of the public and of private persons. They were accordingly lent in common; and, to complete their misfortunes, any one might wantonly punish them for the smallest fault, and to any degree, as they had no power of claiming the protection of the laws ⁵⁹.

WE must not, however, ascribe to the disciplined inhumanity of the Spartans all the cruelties practised upon the wretched Helots. Some of these may be imputed to a radical defect in the political arrangements of Lycurgus, rather than to the austerity of life imposed by his institutions. By committing the labours of husbandry, and the exercise of all mechanical arts, exclusively to slaves, instead of sharing them with, if not assigning them solely to an inferior order of free men,

56. Athen. lib. vi. xiv.

58. Athen. ubi sup.

57. Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*

59. Id. *ibid.*

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who would have augmented the power of the state, and become its firmer support in every season of danger, he raised up, in the accumulating numbers of the Helots, a formidable body of internal enemies; ever watchful of an opportunity to recover their freedom, and take vengeance on their oppressors.

THE jealous fears, and alarming apprehensions, necessarily resulting from such a perilous situation, made the Lacedæmonians have recourse to many cruel measures for breaking the spirit, and thinning the growth of the Helots. One atrocious expedient, or rather institution, for the latter purpose, named the *CRYPITIA* or *ambuscade*, is too singular, and well attested to be omitted in the history of this extraordinary people, though humanity shudders at the recital.

THE public preceptors occasionally ordered some alert Spartan youths, selected for that horrid purpose, to disperse themselves in the country, armed with a dagger, and furnished with some necessary provisions. The better to execute their barbarous commission, they commonly concealed themselves in unfrequented places through the day; and falling forth at night, assassinated all the Helots they could find. At other times, they wantonly fell upon these unarmed men, and unhappy victims of political jealousy, in the fields by day, and put to the dagger the strongest and most comely of them⁶⁰.

BUT this horrid institution, (which is ascribed by Aristotle to Lycurgus) and every other occasional expedient being found insufficient to prevent the overgrowth of the Helots, it was usual for the Ephori, we are told, in entering upon office, to declare war

60. Plut. *Vit. Lycurg.*

against them, and to massacre them under pretence of law⁶¹. LETTER
V.
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MUCH honour is, however, due to Lycurgus, after every deduction from the merit of his institutions. He is the only legislator in ancient or modern times, who has made the breed of the human race an object of national policy; and if he had paid as much attention to the moral, as to the physical qualities of man, he would have been the greatest cultivator of his species the world ever knew. For the age in which he lived, he was a prodigy of civil wisdom, political sagacity, and military skill. And his country soon experienced the salutary effects of his laws. They gave such tone to the Spartan constitution, that the Lacedæmonians, lately a distracted and divided people, began instantly to act with concert and vigour, and secretly aspired at dominion over the neighbouring states.

IPHITUS, king of Elis, attentive to the progress of this ambition, and sensible of his inability to contend with the Spartan power, ingeniously contrived to secure his territory, and promote the welfare of his subjects, by a policy very different from that of Lycurgus. Taking advantage of a tradition, That the Heraclidæ, in bequeathing to his ancestor Oxylus the country of Elis, or Elia, and the guardianship of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, had consecrated this district to the presiding Divinity, he endeavoured to interest all the descendants of Hercules, and even all Greece in its protection. In order to confirm the received tradition, and thus encircle his kingdom with a wall of sanctity, he applied to the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, for the renewal of certain sacred games which had, in more ancient times, been occasionally celebrated on

61. *Arist. Polit. lib. ii.*

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the fertile banks of the river Alpheus, near the city of Pyfa, in honour of the Olympian God ⁶².

THE ministers of superstition, ever willing to extend its sway, readily listened to the request of Iphitus. He obtained a response, as favourable to his purpose, as he could have wished. The discontinuance of those *sacred games*, he was told by the Pythia, or supposed divinely inspired priestess, having drawn down the indignation of Jupiter, and of Hercules, his deified son, by whom they were first celebrated, had been the cause of all the calamities, with which Greece had long been afflicted ⁶³. The king of Elis was, therefore, commanded by the Oracle to proclaim a truce, or general cessation of arms, to all the Græcian states, that were willing to partake in the Olympian festival, or desirous of averting the vengeance of the offended God ⁶⁴.

INVESTED with such high authority, Iphitus took measures, for not only renewing the Olympic games, but connecting them intimately with the most solemn religious ceremonies, and rendering their celebration perpetual and regular; every fifth year, or after an interval of four complete years ⁶⁵. And the spirit of the times, and the genius of the Græcian people, happily conspired with the views of the Elian prince.

Ant. Chr.

776.

Olymp. i. i.

No sooner was the armistice proclaimed, than all men desirous of distinguishing themselves by feats of strength or agility, repaired to Olympia. There hostile animosity being laid aside, the subjects of the several states of Greece joined in one common sacrifice to Jupiter, and emulously contended for the palm of

62. Pausan. lib. v.

63. Id. *ibid*.

64. Pausan. *ubi sup*. Phlegon. ap. Euseb. *Cbron*.

65. Id. *ibid*.

glory in various kinds of gymnastic exercise⁶⁶. And so strong was the passion of the Greeks for athletic competitions, that the Olympic Games continued to be celebrated with splendor for more than a thousand years; and with such regularity, that the Olympiad became the great canon by which the Greeks computed time. Hence the rapturous exclamation of the learned Scaliger :

“O HOW fortunate was it, that the ancient Greeks should think of celebrating, with so much devotion, every fifth year, their Olympic Games ! Hail, venerable Olympiad ! thou guardian of dates and æras ! affertrix of historical truth, and curb upon the wild licentiousness of chronologers !—But for thee, all things would still have been covered under the thick veil of darkness⁶⁷.”

THE *civil and political influence* of those games upon the *whole* Græcian people, to whom their peri-

66. The five gymnastic exercises most celebrated by the ancients, and which were exhibited in succession at Olympia, when the games had attained their perfect form, consisted of running, leaping, wrestling; throwing the disk or quoit, and boxing. To these were added, in more polished times, two equestrian exercises; the chariot-race, and common horse-race. (Pausan. lib. v. vi.) Iphitus is said to have at first revived only the foot-race, or *stadion*; so called from the length of the course, which consisted of the eighth part of a Græcian mile, or about an hundred and twenty-five English paces. See West's *Dissertation on the Olympic Games*, et auct. cit. and M. Burette, *Mémoires dans l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*.

67. Scalig. *Chron. Euseb.* Chronologers in general, however, do not compute the Olympiads from the institution of the Olympic festival by Iphitus, but from the twenty-eighth celebration, when Corcebus is said to have been victor in the foot-race, one hundred and eight years later. But as no memorial is preserved of any transaction in Greece, either civil or military, during that long interval, Sir Isaac Newton seems fully justified in striking it out, and affixing the same date to both events; namely, the year 776 before the Christian æra. And his chronology, in this particular, has here been followed, in preference to that commonly received.

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odical celebration, at Olympia, supplied the want of a common capital, and became a centre of social and sacred union, as well as a field of generous emulation, was great beyond the example of any similar institution in the history of the human race⁶⁸. But this subject I shall afterward have occasion to illustrate in tracing the progress of society in Greece. Here it will, therefore, be sufficient to observe, that the *institution* of the Olympic festival was followed by *particular* political advantages, which far exceeded the most sanguine hopes of Iphitus. It served not only to protect the little territory of Elis against the dreaded invasion of more powerful neighbours, but gave a kind of sacred character to the inhabitants, as the hereditary priesthood of Jupiter. War could never approach their country, without drawing down upon the impious invaders the wrath of Heaven⁶⁹. Hence they neglected to fortify their towns, and devoted themselves chiefly to agriculture and the pleasures of a country life⁷⁰.

BUT the lands of every people in Peloponnesus were not, like those of the Elians, protected by sacred bulwarks. The Lacedæmonians therefore, in finding the growth of their power, under their austere institutions, and in projecting the consequent enlargement of their territory, cast their eyes upon other adjacent states; and, after trying their arms and new discipline against the Arcadians and Argives, who

68. See West's *Dissertat. on the Olympic Games*, sect. xvii. et auct. cit.
69. Strabo, lib. viii.

70. Polybius, lib. iv. Nor could they engage in *offensive war*, as we learn from Phlegon, (ap. Euseb. Chron.) without violating their sacred character. Being disposed to take part in such a war, they sent to Delphos to know the sense of the Oracle of Apollo. The Pythia answered, in the name of the God, "Defend your own country, if attacked, until the return of the fifth year, which brings peace with it; but refrain from war, being yourselves the examples and arbiters of amity and concord in Greece." Phlegon, ap. Euseb. Chron.

zealously united in defence of their respective boundaries, the kingdom of Messenia was finally marked out by the disciples of Lycurgus as the object of Spartan ambition ⁷¹.

THAT fertile country, which lay to the west of Laconia, and on the coast of the Ionian sea, was still governed by the descendants of Cresphontes; to whom it had fallen, as formerly related, in the division of the conquests of the Heraclidæ ⁷². But neither a sense of this common consanguinity, nor a consciousness that the people of the two states were of the same Doric origin, could prevent the kings of Lacedæmon from forging various pretences for quarrelling with their Messenian neighbours. Repeated injuries accordingly took place on both sides, and were repeatedly retaliated by each party.

AT length the Spartans, having secretly completed their military preparations, and bound themselves by oath not to desist from hostilities until they had accomplished their purpose, invaded the Messenian territory without any declaration of war; and, as an awful prelude to the projected conquest, took possession of Ampheia, a frontier town, after putting the unarmed inhabitants to the sword ⁷³.

Ant. Chr.
743.
Olymp.
ix. 2.

ROUSED rather than discouraged by that unexpected blow, Euphaes, king of Messenia, pursued the most efficacious measures for defeating the designs of the enemy. Sensible of his inability to contend, in the field, with the disciplined valour of the Lacedæmonians, he ordered his subjects to take refuge in the fortified towns, and watch every opportunity of fall-

71. Justin, lib. iii. Pausan, lib. iv.

72. Lett. IV.

73. Pausan. lib. iv.

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Ant. Chr. 739.
Olymp. x. 2. **ELATED** with the prospect of a decisive trial of strength, which they had so long fought in vain; and of ascertaining, by a general engagement, the issue of a tedious war, the Lacedæmonians, who had remitted their ineffectual efforts to reduce the Messenian towns, eagerly flew to arms; and marched to meet their exasperated enemies with all the confidence of victory. The Messenians did not decline the combat. But the martial ardour of both armies was checked by certain unforeseen circumstances; by the sudden swelling of a rivulet, that intersected the plain between them, and the subsequent interposition of night. And next morning, the Spartan generals found the Messenian camp so strongly fortified, that they judged it prudent to lead home their disheartened troops, without attempting to storm it ⁷⁴.

THE austere fathers of the senate, enraged at the pusillanimous behaviour of their younger countrymen, reproached them with the violation of their oath, and ordered them again to take the field. The disgrace was felt by every order in the state, and the most vigorous measures were taken for wiping it off. The whole military force of Laconia was assembled; and, after setting aside a sufficient number of free men for the internal safety of the country, an offensive army of twenty thousand combatants was mustered.

THIS formidable body, commanded by Theopompus and Polydorus, the two kings of Lacedemon, was opposed by the Messenian army under Euphaes, in the neighbourhood of Ampheia. Though conscious of his inferiority in numbers and in discipline, the Messenian prince resolved to give battle to the enemy; trusting for success to the intrepid valour inspired by patriotism, to the thunder-cloathed arm of vengeance, and the gigantic efforts of despair. Filled with that heroic sentiment, he thus addressed his faithful subjects, and the associates of his danger: "It is not only for your king and country that you are to fight, as the melancholy fate of Ampheia will inform you: it is for your lives and liberties, and for those of all that are dear to you; of your fathers, brothers, wives, and children ^{75.}"

AT these words the Messenians rushed into action, agitated by all the passions that can inflame hostile animosity, or give perseverance to fortitude. The Spartans, yet in the bloom of youthful manhood, received their impetuous antagonists with the cool courage of experienced veterans. But the Spartan phalanx, although firm, wanted strength to sustain the collected blows that were hurled against it by the Messenian column. The call to exertion was not equal. Ambition, the love of glory, and the fear of shame, were feeble incitements, in comparison of the motives by which the Messenians were actuated. The ranks of the Spartans were accordingly broken by the vigorous impulse of their more awakened competitors, whose rapid shock was irresistible.

THE discipline of Sparta however, in this extremity, gave her troops an advantage which discipline

PART I. alone can confer: it enabled them again to form, and dispute the field with the seemingly victorious enemy. But during the momentary confusion, the strength of individuals had been tried; personal injuries and insults had been given and received; and the pride of personal prowess was now added to martial ardour. Even the contending kings were fired with this passion. Regardless of the laws of war or the dictates of humanity, man encountered man with the ferocity of the lion and the tyger, and with all the rancour of private revenge. The battle raged more hotly than ever. No quarter was given, no mercy was craved. The dying warrior spent the last effort of his strength in dealing vengeance, or in animating his companions to inflict it on the foe. The carnage on both sides was dreadful; yet was the contest maintained with unabated courage by both, when night put a stop to the business of death. And, what is not a little remarkable, neither party laid claim to victory; but each, when morning appeared, craved a suspension of arms for the purpose of burying the slain ⁷⁶. The Spartans afterward retired, without offering to renew the struggle for dominion; nor did the Messenians attempt to lift a sword, for the farther establishment of their independency ⁷⁷.

BUT although the bloody conflict was thus left undecided, the state of the contending powers was very different after the battle. If the Spartans had not cause to rejoice, they had great room for consolation, and even for hope. They had lost the flower of their army; but that loss could soon be repaired by a community of soldiers. The Messenians had suffered no less severely; and they could not recruit their forces

76. Pausan. lib. iv,

77. Id. *ibid.*^a

with the same facility. Nor was this the only disadvantage under which that gallant people laboured.

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IN consequence of the former inroads of the Lacedæmonians, who had industriously destroyed the fruits of the earth, and cruelly cut off the husbandman with his hopes, the Messenians in the fortified towns had been reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon unwholesome food; and famine was now followed by pestilence, its usual attendant, which rendered the inhabitants of the smaller towns unable to resist the renewed assaults of the ravaging enemy. As a desperate remedy for these evils, Euphaes ordered his people to abandon those abodes of misery, and take refuge with him among the mountains of Ithome; in a place strongly fortified by nature, and which he surrounded with works that made it impregnable in that age⁷⁸.

THE first public measure which the Messenians took, after sheltering themselves in Ithome, was to consult the Delphic oracle concerning their future destiny, and the means of appeasing the anger of the Gods; they being still apprehensive of famine, and afflicted with the contagious distemper it had occasioned. The Pythia, who is supposed to have been under Spartan influence, replied, That they must sacrifice a virgin of the royal race, in order to procure the intercession of Apollo. The lots were accordingly cast; and the daughter of Lyciscus, sprung from Æpytus, the son of Cresphontes, was marked out as the victim. But the paternal affection of Lyciscus proved stronger than his public virtue. Although the diviner declared that *reputed daughter* to be supposititious, and, therefore, not a proper sacrifice, he went secretly over to the enemy,

78. Pausan. ubi sup.

PART I.

instead of waiting the issue of the captious dispute ; and carried his daughter with him ⁷⁹.

ALARMED at this desertion, the desponding Messenians were ready to sink under their superstitious terrors, when Aristodemus, the head of a distinguished branch of the royal family, patriotically offered to sacrifice his amiable and undisputed daughter, for the preservation of his distressed country. But against that cruel sacrifice new objections were urged. An enamoured youth, to whom the maiden had been betrothed, insisted that she was not at her father's disposal but his. And finding this argument disregarded, he daringly affirmed, in order to save his beloved bride, that the daughter of Aristodemus, not being a virgin, could not satisfy the requisition of the oracle ; protested that she had yielded to the ardour of his passion, although their marriage rites had not yet been celebrated ; and that she was now pregnant, in consequence of such criminal indulgence.

ENRAGED at the impudent attempt to fix a stain upon the honour of his daughter, and blind to the generous motive, the indignant father slew her with his own hand ; and publicly ripped up her womb, in proof of her innocence ⁸⁰. That innocence was pathetically acknowledged by the sighs and tears of the agonizing multitude, who imprecated vengeance on the impious calumniator. The Messenian priests, however, demanded another victim, as this had not been regularly sacrificed. But Euphaes, supported by the voice of all the families of the Herculean race, declared that the command of the oracle had been fully complied with, as the blood of a royal virgin had been shed ; the manner of sacrificing being of no importance ⁸¹.

79. Pausan. lib. iv.

80. Id. *ibid*.

81. Pausan. *ubi sup*.

And his naturally brave people, believing their peace with Heaven was made, prepared themselves resolutely to defend Ithome to the last extremity.

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THE perseverance of the Messenians in this resolution, and the obstinacy of the Lacedæmonians in pursuing their utter destruction, awakened more strongly the attention of the people of the neighbouring states. The Arcadians and Argives, who had long been jealous of the domineering spirit, and ambitious views of the disciples of Lycurgus, came to a resolution to support the king of Messenia; while the Corinthians, a maritime and commercial people, whose interests did not interfere with those of Sparta, leagued themselves with that republic ⁸².

IN consequence of these alliances, the war in Peloponnesus became more general. Emboldened by the presence of their confederates, the Messenians ventured again to quit their fortifications, and face the exulting enemy in the field. In the first regular engagement, they gained an advantage over the Lacedæmonians, but lost their gallant king. He was mortally wounded in animating his men by his heroic example, and his body was with difficulty recovered ⁸³.

EUPHAES, having left no issue, was succeeded in the Messenian throne by Aristodemus; whose valour and conduct justified the choice of his fellow-citizens, in conferring on him the disputed sceptre. For five years did he baffle all the efforts of Sparta to subvert the liberties of his country; and, in one great battle, he defeated the united forces of the Corinthians and Lacedæmonians. But the difficulty of supporting his army in a country that had been so long the scene of

⁸². Pausan. in *Lacon*, et *Messen*.

⁸³. Id. *ibid*.

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war, and which was still ravaged by the barbarous invaders, who were constantly reinforced with fresh troops, drove him at last to despair. He stabbed himself on the tomb of that daughter, whom he had ferociously slain⁸⁴.

Ant. Chr.

724.

Olymp.

xiv. 1.

THE Messenians now destitute of a leader, in whose abilities they could confide, abandoned Ithome, after sustaining a siege of five months. The more resolute spirits sought independency among their allies, in Arcadia and Argos, or in more distant countries; and the remainder of the people, dispersed over that territory, which was now become an accession to the kingdom of Lacedæmon, were forced to submit to such conditions as the haughty victors thought fit to impose upon them⁸⁵. They were required to pay to their conquerors, after taking an oath of allegiance, one half of the annual produce of their lands; and, as a mark of their subjection, a certain number of both sexes were ordered to appear at Sparta in mourning, on the death of her kings and senators⁸⁶.

SUCH was the issue of the first Messenian war; after which Greece appears to have enjoyed profound peace, for several years, and an uncommon degree of internal tranquillity. Population rapidly increased; and the adventurous Greeks, not having sufficient room at home, continued to diffuse themselves in colonies. Beside their successful emigrations to the neighbouring islands and the coast of Asia Minor, already mentioned, they had early established settlements in the islands of Cyprus, Sicily, and Sardinia; and in the southern division of Italy, afterward known by the name of *Magna Græcia*⁸⁷. But

84. Pausan. lib. iv.
Strabo, lib. viii.

85. Id. ibid.
87. Dion. Halicarnas. lib. i. Strabo, lib. v. vi.

86. Pausan. ubi sup.

these

these first settlements were of small consideration, in comparison of those that succeeded them.

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V.

THE Corinthians now founded in Sicily the famous city of Syracuse, which quickly rose to eminence, and became the capital of a wealthy and powerful state. They also planted a colony in the island of Coreyra, in the Ionian sea; and that colony soon spread itself to the neighbouring continent, and founded in Illyricum the cities of Epidamnus and Apollonia⁸⁸. Meanwhile a body of emigrants from Chalcis, in Eubœa, (an island on the coast of Attica, and early peopled by the Athenians) under the conduct of a Messenian chief, and supported by a band of his brave but unfortunate countrymen, gave a beginning to the renowned city of Rhegium; seated on the extreme point of Italy, which narrows the Sicilian strait⁸⁹. And Tarentum, no less distinguished among the towns of Magna Græcia, was founded during the same tranquil period, by a body of Spartan refugees⁹⁰. The circumstances which occasioned this last emigration, are sufficiently curious to merit a short detail.

THE first Messenian war having been protracted beyond expectation, the Spartan wives became impatient at the absence of their husbands; and represented to them, That the state would be ruined unless population was continued, should they even prove ultimately successful in their enterprise. In order to provide against that danger, without violating the oath by which they had bound themselves, at setting out on the second expedition, "not to return home until they had subdued their enemies," these inflexible warriors came to a singular resolution. They sent back, with the consent of the senate, all the young men in the army who were

88. Strabo, lib. vii.

89. Strabo, lib. vi.

90. Id. ibid.

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under the military age at the time the oath was taken, and enjoined them to cohabit promiscuously with the married women⁹¹.

THE boys that sprung from this irregular commerce were distinguished by the name of Parthenians, in allusion to the condition of their mothers⁹². And little delicate as the Lacedæmonians were, in regard to the integrity of the persons of their wives, they were not so devoid of all moral sentiment, as to overlook the public stain in the birth of the Parthenians. After the close of the war, these unhappy children of lust and political necessity were, therefore, held in contempt by the conquerors of Messenia. As they knew not their fathers, they belonged to no family, and could claim no inheritance, although entitled to all the other privileges of Spartan citizens.

THIS despised and neglected condition induced the Parthenians to associate closely together in youth; and, when they arrived at the age of manhood, even to league themselves in confederacy with the depressed Helots. A plot which they had formed against the state was discovered; yet were they treated with singular lenity. Instead of being punished in proportion to the degree of their criminality, they were only expelled the community; and, in order to remove them to a greater distance, and thus effectually prevent their future machinations, they were furnished with every thing necessary for establishing a settlement beyond the limits of Peloponnesus⁹³. They accordingly emigrated under the conduct of Philanthus, their leader in the abortive conspiracy; and, having crossed the Ionian sea, they landed on the south-east coast of Italy,

Ant. Chr.
714.
Olymp.

91. Pausan. lib. iv. Strabo, b. vi. Justin, lib. iii.

92. Aristot. *Polit.* lib. v.

93. Strabo et Justin, *ubi sup.*

and

and there built the city of Tarentum, at the bottom of the delightful bay to which it had the honour of giving the same name⁹⁴.

LETTER
V.

AFTER the expulsion of the Parthenians, the Lacedæmonians enjoyed almost thirty years of public and domestic peace. And during the greater part of that term, as well as during the ten years immediately preceding it, the Messenians quietly submitted to the hard conditions imposed upon them by their imperious masters. But their servitude became, at length, too grievous to be patiently borne, by men who had not lost all memory of their former independency, or to whom any hope remained of recovering the rights of a free people. The boldest youths of the second generation, who had not experienced the calamities of war, and whose indignant hearts beat high with martial ardour, looked therefore anxiously around for a determined leader; under whom they might renew that generous struggle, in which their unfortunate fathers had failed, and gloriously attempt to regain their station among the Græcian states. Such a leader they found in Aristomenes; a young man distinguished by every mental and personal quality that can exalt the character of a hero, and who had the advantage of deducing his descent from Hercules, through a long line of Messenian kings.

THE Messenians, however, were not so transported by their zeal for liberty, as to lose sight of the dictates of political prudence. Before they ventured to appear in arms, they privately sent deputies to gather the sentiments of the Arcadians and Argives, the former allies of the Messenian state. Both nations encouraged them, by the most flattering promises of assistance, in

94. Id. *ibid.*

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Ant. Chr.

685.

Olymp.

xxiii. 4.

their purpose of throwing off the Spartan yoke. Aristomenes accordingly assembled a body of his countrymen, and attacked the Lacedæmonians at the village of Daræ. There an obstinate battle was fought; and, although the victory was left undecided, the Messenians were so much pleased with the gallant behaviour of their leader, that they saluted him on the field with the title of *King*⁹⁵. Aristomenes declined the invidious honours of royalty, but accepted the office of commander in chief, with the appellation of *General*; which, in that age, implied a superiority in military prowess, as well as in rank, and in the conduct of armies.

THE Messenians had no reason to repent their generosity, nor Aristomenes to blame his moderation. They committed to him the whole conduct of their affairs; and he proved himself worthy of their confidence, by a guardianship regulated by the most disinterested patriotism, and distinguished by acts of the most exalted heroism. Immediately after the battle at Daræ, he performed an exploit almost too bold for historical credibility. Sensible of the influence of an auspicious omen at the beginning of a war, he hastily travelled to Sparta in disguise; entered that city by night; and hung up in the temple of Minerva a shield, with an inscription upon it, intimating that Aristomenes dedicated that offering to the warlike goddess, from the spoils of the Lacedæmonians⁹⁶.

THE fame of this adventure was followed by the consequences Aristomenes had foreseen. It inspired the Messenians with the most romantic courage, which they displayed in many enthusiastically valorous deeds; while it filled their enemies, apprehensive of having lost the favour of Pallas, with superstitious ter-

95. Pausan. lib. iv.

96. Id. *ibid*

rors. In order to avert the misfortunes they feared, the Spartans consulted the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos. The Pythia replied, That they must demand a general from Athens to conduct the future operations of the war.

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No response could have been more mortifying to the pride of Sparta; yet was she forced to make the humiliating request. And the jealousy of Athens, although little willing to contribute to the exaltation of a rival's power, durst not oppose the injunction of the oracle. But the Athenians, in complying, attempted to defeat the end proposed by obedience. They sent to Sparta a lame man, named Tyrtæus, who had never been distinguished by any military exploit, or invested with any command; and who had hitherto exercised the profession of a schoolmaster 97.

THE Lacedæmonians, however, received him as a leader appointed by Heaven; and a poetical talent, which he possessed, seemed to mark him out to them as the peculiar instrument of Apollo, sent for their exaltation.

MEANWHILE Aristomenes, after having garrisoned the sea-ports of Pylus and Methone, had collected into one body all the Messenians able to bear arms. And that formidable army of native troops was reinforced with succours, not only from Arcadia and Argos, but also from Elis and Sicyon, which had acceded to the confederacy; and by Messenian refugees, from various countries. The Lacedæmonians had likewise assembled their whole forces, under Anaxander, one of their joint kings, and Tyrtæus the Athenian. And the united strength of Laconia was augmented by the auxiliary aid of the Corinthians, the former allies of the Spartan state, and by the friendly assistance of the citizens of Lepara, who had thrown off the authority

97. Pausan. ubi sup.

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of Elis⁹⁸. These combined armies met in the large plain of Stenyclara, on the frontiers of Messenia; where, in three successive engagements, the field was obstinately disputed, but in each of which the Lacedæmonians were forced to give ground, notwithstanding their dependence upon divine assistance.

THE last and most bloody of those engagements was fought at a place called *the Boar's Monument*. There both parties charged with the most determined courage; and the issue of the battle appeared doubtful, when Aristomenes, at the head of a chosen band of Messenian youths, attacked the principal division of the Spartan army, commanded by the king in person, and broke it or cut it in pieces. He afterward attacked a second, and even a third body that remained firm, and with equal effect. The Lacedæmonians and their allies yielded in every quarter to the shock of their antagonists. They fled; were pursued with great-slaughter; and a decisive victory remained to the Messenians⁹⁹.

THE rapid success of Aristomenes, however, instead of inducing him to relax his military efforts, served but to inflame his patriotic zeal. He not only followed the fugitive enemy beyond the boundaries of Messenia, but deeply invaded Laconia, and pillaged several towns. Astonished at such a reverse of fortune, and humbled by the loss of a gallant army, the Lacedæmonian kings, and the venerable fathers of the Spartan senate, remonstrated against the farther prosecution of the war; and seemed disposed to permit the Messenians to enjoy that liberty and independency, which they had so gloriously recovered. The same opinion was adopted in the assembly of the people, and approved by the allies of the Spartan state. Tyrtæus alone remained

98. Id. *ibid*.

99. Pausan. lib. iv.