

one mountain after another, poured from the Rhetian rocks into the soft bosom of Italy ²⁴. The beauties of the delicious plain, into which they had suddenly descended, affected them the more powerfully, as they still affect every traveller ²⁵, by contrast with the rugged savageness of the mountains which they had left behind. When news of their successful boldness reached their longing countrymen, ever discontented at home, the standard of foreign enterprise was crowded by new multitudes, who invaded, conquered, and colonised part of the territory between the Alps and Apennines, then cultivated by the Tuscans; from which, careless of every art but agriculture and arms, the Gauls diffused terror on all sides around them: compelled the neighbouring nations of Italy to receive their yoke; and about a century before the period which forms our present subject, sacked the less fortified part of Rome, and were on the point of storming the citadel. But fortune watched over the safety of this illustrious commonwealth, and rescued her feeble infancy from the gripe of those sanguinary assailants. The Veneti, a people agreeing with the Gallic invaders in appearance and manners, but differing from them in language, had made an irruption into their domestic territories ²⁶, and retorted their cruel devastations. The Gauls, stung with rage at this aggression, abandoned their new conquests; and flew to defend their homes, their household gods, and helpless families. On many future occasions they marched southward to Latium, and with the assistance of their brethren beyond the Alps, desolated the open country, and conquered in several battles ²⁷; but they never had reason to rejoice in the success of a single campaign; and their struggle with Rome, for the dominion of

Their conquests in Italy and struggle with Rome

²⁴ Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 17—33 & seq.

²⁵ I speak from a warm recollection of my own feelings.

²⁶ Polyb. l. ii. c. 17, 18. The Veneti according to Strabo, l. iv. p. 154. were a Belgic nation: and the Belgæ, who were the bravest people in Gaul, differed in language

from the Celtæ and Aquitani; the two other nations by whom Gaul was inhabited. Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i. c. i.

²⁷ Conf. Polyb. l. ii. c. 19. & seq. Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 9. & seq. l. viii. c. 20. l. x. c. 27. and seq.

C H A P.
X.

Their inva-
sion of the
countries
south of the
Danube.

Italy, during a period of an hundred and sixty-five years²⁸, exhibits the unequal conflict of brutal ferocity and wild enterprise, against disciplined valour and deep-working policy.

The lofty destiny of the power with which they so long contend-
ed, gives an interest to the *Italian* Gauls, which their *Illyrian* bre-
thren possess inherently in themselves, from the strangeness and
variety of their adventures. In modern times, navigation is per-
petually discovering new lands, but in remote ages of antiquity, the
love of wandering was only bounded by the discovery of new and
impassable seas. Could we make a fair estimate of the dangers en-
countered, and the obstacles overcome, the courage of the Gauls in
penetrating from the confines of the Rhine to those of the *Euxine*,
after exploring the gloom of the *Hercinian* forest, and settling their
colony of *Boij*, in the delightful irriguous district, still commemo-
rating this event in its name of *Bohemia*²⁹, would not perhaps be
disgraced by a comparison with the boasted exploits of our most
celebrated mariners. In the expedition of those fierce tribes, which
invaded the *Macedonian* empire, no notice however is taken of their
contrivances for passing the *Danube*, nor the smallest hint dropped
of any hostilities between them and the *Germans*. Though the
vague language of antiquity brings them from the extremities of the
ocean, from coasts repelling approach by rocks, tides, and sea mon-
sters³⁰, we may conclude, therefore, more probably, that they
marched immediately from the provinces south of the *Danube*, from
Noricum, *Pannonia*, or *Illyricum*.

Their arts
and man-
ners.

But the inquiry into what they were, is more important than
the question, from whence they either immediately or originally
came. The most curious indeed of the *Greeks* acknowledge their

²⁸ Rome was sacked Olymp. xcvi. 3. B. C. 350, The decisive victory of *Æmilius* was gained Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225.

²⁹ *Manet adhuc Boiema nomen Tacit. de Mor. Germ.* The word is plainly German. *Boieyheim*.

³⁰ *Pausanias Attic. l. i. c. 3.* Horace had before said,

*Te belluofus qui remotis
Obstreuit Oceanus Britannis.*

L. iv. Ode 14.

very imperfect" information, concerning those great divisions of Europe, which, in modern times, have been cultivated and improved into flourishing and powerful kingdoms. From the notices which they afford, we can only infer, that the inhabitants of Gaul, like those of Britain, Spain, and Germany, subsisted in that middle state of barbarism, which though elevated above the penury and gloom of savage life, was still further removed from the dignity and elegance of enlightened commonwealths. Their uncouth appearance, tumultuary governments, ferocious manners, and abominable superstitions, which made historians hesitate, whether the Gauls had not a natural unfitness for civilization, were accompanied, however, with such knowledge in the arts appertaining to war and agriculture, as usually denote a considerable degree of improvement in society. The use of iron and copper was familiar in their instruments or implements; the ore collected from the foaming torrents of their rivers was smelted into gold for the ornaments of both sexes³²; their houses, though formed wholly of wood, were so firmly constructed as to repel the inclemencies of a northern sky; and they had provided useful animals in such abundance, that the flower of their military force consisted in cavalry³³. In this last particular, they agreed with the Germans, with whom, in all other respects, those tribes³⁴ of the Gauls, at least, who invaded the Macedonian empire, should seem to have had much affinity. Their complexions, like those of the Germans, were fair; their long hair was for the most part red, which colour both nations heightened by art³⁵; and the Gauls as well as Germans were dreadfully distinguished by gigantic stature and unbridled ferocity. In their military expeditions, each Gallic

Persons,
armour, and
tactics.

³² Polyb. l. iii. c. 38. Conf. Herodot. l. iii. and iv. The distinction between the Gauls and Germans is particularly obscure. The latter, according to Strabo, l. vii. p. 290. were called *Germani* by the Romans, to express their genuine affinity with the Gauls. The Belgæ, the bravest nation in Gaul, Cæsar says were descended chiefly from

Germans. De Bell. Gallic. l. ii. c. 4.

³³ Diodor. l. v. c. 27.

³⁴ Pausanias, l. x. c. 20. Conf. Diodorus, l. v. f. 29. and Strabo, l. iv. p. 196.

³⁵ Strabo, loc. citat. extends the observation to the Gauls in general. Conf. l. vii. p. 250.

³⁶ Diodor. l. v. f. 28.

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X.



horseman was accompanied by two retainers, also mounted; one of whom assisted his master when unhorsed or wounded, and the other instantly succeeded to his place in the ranks. This singular arrangement was expressed by a word, which, like all the remains of the dialect of those Gauls, exactly corresponds with the language still spoken in Germany³⁶. The armour of their foot soldiers was suitable to their persons, and like them more remarkable for magnitude than firmness³⁷. Their *gæsa* were missile weapons, consisting of a wooden rod tipped with iron³⁸. Having thrown the *gæsum*, the Gaul had recourse to his broad sword³⁹, which differed essentially from the swords of Greece and Italy, in being formed, not to pierce or thrust, but chiefly to hack or strike, and therefore less fitted to inflict a dangerous wound, while the uplifted arm, by which it was brandished, invited the pointed weapon of a dextrous adversary⁴⁰. To ward off this danger, the Gaul interposed the orb of an ample though light buckler, his defence in war, his ornament in peace; for though his neck and arms were adorned by a golden collar and bracelets, yet the emblems, described on his Thyrius or shield, were the specific indications of his merit and renown⁴¹. To paint or carve these emblems, consisting in rude resemblances of fierce animals⁴², afforded an agreeable employment to his leisure. Each noble warrior was distinguished by his peculiar coat of arms, recording the glory of his ancestors or his own; and according to careful observers of human manners, the Gauls, like most ignorant Barbarians, were

Coats of
arms.

³⁶ Τὸ τοῦτο ὀνομαζοῦν τοὶ συγγραφεῖς τριμάρκιστον. Pausan. Phocic. c. ix. p. 645. Edit. Xyland. Trimarkisia, the termination is Greek, but the word evidently compounded of *drey*, three, and *mahr*, a horse. Yet the same Greek word is allied to the Cornish *marh*, the Welch and Armoric *mareh*, and the Scotch or Irish *marc*. Many words being common to the Teutonic and Celtic, little is to be built on such etymologies.

³⁷ Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 42.

³⁸ They were much used in fowling.

Strabo, l. iv. p. 136.

³⁹ Ἄντι δὲ τοῦ ξίφους σπαθὴς ὄνομα. Ibid. c. 301. The word *σπαθὴ* has passed to the modern Italians, "*spada*," through their admixture with the Gauls.

⁴⁰ Veget. de Re Milit. l. i. c. 12. The Romans were taught "*punctum non caesim ferire*," to thrust, not to cut or hack.

⁴¹ Θυρίαις ἀνδρῶν καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν. Diodr. l. v. c. 30.

⁴² Thence the word expressing their shield from the German word *Thier*, a wild beast.

extravagantly

extravagantly fond of finery, and totally corrupted by ostentation and vanity; vices which rendered them insolent in prosperity, and meanly abject under the first reverse of fortune.

C H A P.

X.

Both parts of their character are illustrated in their transactions with the Greeks. The behaviour of their ambassadors to Alexander, while that conqueror was encamped near the Danube, made him say contemptuously, "The Gauls are an arrogant people." The glory of the Macedonian hero repelled the hostility of neighbours, who, under the pretence of embassies, explored an opportunity for inroads.

Boastful
character

Their first expedition into Thrace was conducted by Cambaules in the reign of Lysimachus. The invaders proceeded to the foot of mount Hæmus, but the reception which they met with made them retreat precipitately homewards. They resumed their undertaking during the bloody and distracted usurpation of Ptolemy Keraunus⁴⁴. At that period, so favourable to their views, the Gauls under three distinguished leaders poured into Thrace and Macedon; the former country was ravaged by Cerethrius, the latter fell a prey to Belgius and to Brennus. The petty chieftains of Thrace, who had recently emancipated themselves, as we have seen, from Keraunus, sought refuge in their walls and fastnesses. The inhabitants of Pæonia beheld from their battlements the sword of Brennus raging uncontrouled in that northern division of Macedon. Belgius carried desolation into the southern provinces; but had not the rashness of Keraunus equalled his cruelty, Pella, Diium, and other strongholds might have sheltered his army and subjects, until the Gallic hurricane had spent its rage. But the mad Keraunus, who, in the language of an ancient historian, thought it as easy to gain victories as to commit crimes⁴⁵, hurried inconsiderately to the field. The Macedonians were broken

They invade
Macedon
and slay
Keraunus.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 2.
B. C. 279.

⁴⁴ Arrian *Exped. Alexand.* l. i. c. 4. & Polybius, l. ii. c. 32 & seq. & l. iii. c. 75. & Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 28. & passim. Strabo, l. iv. p. 195, is more favourable to the Gauls, calling them a simple people and without malice, *οὐκ ἔχοντες κακότητα*.
⁴⁵ Pausanias, l. x. c. 19.
⁴⁶ Justin, l. xxiv. c. 4.

and

C H A P. and put to flight by enemies far inferior to themselves both in armour and in discipline. Ptolemy, fighting on an elephant ^{x.} ⁴⁶, was wounded and made captive. His dead body became a sport to the Gauls; and his head, being fixed on a lance, was carried through their ranks in barbaric triumph ⁴⁷.

They are repelled by Softhenes, but return with increased numbers. Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

Upon the death of this usurper and tyrant, the Macedonians, to resist the torrent of invasion, elected a new king or general. Meleager reigned two months; his successor Antipater was denominated the Etesian, because his command lasted forty-five days ⁴⁸, the ordinary period of the Etesian winds. Softhenes, a man adored by the multitude ⁴⁹, assumed the helm of government, skilfully eluded the assailing tempest, watched his opportunity of attacking the enemy with advantage, defeated the Gauls in battle, and slew Belgius their leader. But this tide of prosperity was not of long continuance. The invaders retreated to their brethren, still employed in ravaging Pæonia and Thrace; and, from thence proceeding to their possessions near the Danube, tempted their countrymen, who had hitherto declined the expedition, with an alluring account of Macedon, recently adorned by the spoils of the East; expatiating on the wealth and luxury of its cities, the lofty grandeur of its palaces, the splendour and magnificence of its temples. To their rude eloquence, they are said to have joined the artifice of exposing the most puny of their Macedonian captives covered with rags, in contrast with the tallest of the Gallic youth richly ornamented and proudly armed ⁵⁰. Animated with the hope of an easy conquest, the Gauls prepared for emigration in swarms, compared poetically by Callimachus to the twinkling stars of a winter's night, and with less philosophical inaccuracy to the thick descending flakes of drifted snow ⁵¹. History

⁴⁶ Memnon apud Phot. c. xv. p. 718.

⁴⁷ Pausan. l. x. c. 19.

⁴⁸ Diodor. Fragm. l. xxi. p. 641.

⁴⁹ *Διποταμος* will bear this sense, though Justin translates *ignobilis*; very inconsistent-

ly, since he had just before called him "*unus ex principibus*," l. xxiv. c. 5.

⁵⁰ Polyænus, l. vii. c. 35.

⁵¹ *Hymn. in Delum.*

computes their number at an hundred and fifty-two thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand cavalry²². But in their march towards Macedon a sedition divided this mighty host: Leonorus and Lutarus with their followers diverged to Cerethrius on the coast of Thrace, laid Byzantium and other maritime cities in its neighbourhood under heavy contributions, and being joined by new swarms from the Danube, founded the Gallic kingdom of Tulè²³, extending from the foot of mount Hæmus to the Propontis, and which lasted from this time forward during a period of sixty years, when it was overturned by a rebellion of the Thracians.

Meanwhile Brennus and Acichorius, commanding the main body of their countrymen, pursued their journey to the Macedonian capital, defeated and slew Sosthenes²⁴, and having ravaged Macedon, entered Thessaly, cruelly desolating the country, and plundering the temples with sportive insult. After marching unobstructed through so many warlike nations, and vanquishing the Macedonians who had often conquered Greece, they expected not to meet with any considerable resistance in that country. But the Greeks, who had sunk, as we have seen, under the military preponderancy of Alexander's immediate successors, began, as before related, to emerge amidst the weakness and impolicy of those who came after them. To oppose the Gauls, they collected a greater force than that with which, in their brightest ages, they had resisted the invasions of the Persians. Twenty-three thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides the cavalry of the Etolians, whose number is not specified in history, assembled in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ²⁵. This army was furnished solely by the states beyond the Isthmus. As the Gauls had not a fleet, the Peloponnesians pro-

The Gauls invade Greece. Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 272.

Are resisted by a greater force than that raised against the Persians.]

²² Justin, l. xxiv. c. 6. but each warrior, as said above, was followed by two attendants, so that the whole number of horsemen amounted to 14,000.

last Gaul who reigned in Thrace. Polyb. l. iv. c. 46. & 52. Conf. Athen. Deipnosoph. l. vi. p. 252.

²⁴ Pausanias, l. x. c. 19.

²⁵ Polyb. l. iv. c. 46. Cagarus was the

²⁵ Pausanias, l. x. c. 20.

C H A P. X. { vided for their safety by fortifying the narrow inlet to their territory; and Antigonus Gonatas, who still held Gorinth and several other cities of the peninsula, reinforced but sparingly the confederates at Thermopylæ, commanded by Callippus the Athenian. The Gauls having proceeded to Magnesia in Thessaly, sent advanced parties to Phthiotis, another district in that country; and prepared to pass the Sperchius, a deep and broad river, which flows from the roots of mount Ceta into the Malian gulph.

They pass
the Sper-
chius and
ravage
Phthiotis.

Callippus detached a body of horse and light infantry to destroy the bridges on the river. This service was effected with ease, but without any advantage, for Brennus immediately advanced many thousands of his tallest men, who, as the Sperchius expands and grows shallow towards its mouth, either waded over, or swam across the stream, by the aid of their broad and buoyant bucklers¹⁶. The Greek detachment fell back to the camp of Thermopylæ; and the Gauls, now masters of the Malian gulph, compelled the inhabitants of its shores to build new bridges, conducted their main army across the Sperchius, and ravaged without mercy the whole territory of Heraclæa; a city built by the Lacedæmonians during the Peloponnesian war, near ancient Trachis in Phthiotis¹⁷, which now lay in ruins. The invaders spared neither age nor sex in the open country. They waited not, however, to besiege the city into which the Eto- lians had recently thrown a considerable garrison; but passing contemptuously under its walls, hastened to dislodge the Greeks from Thermopylæ¹⁸.

Are defeated
and repelled
at Thermo-
pylæ.

As the invaders were ignorant of the roads leading from Thessaly to Phocis across mount Ceta, they followed the narrow tract confined between the eastern extremities of that mountain and the slimy marine marsh formed by the tides of the Malian gulph. From a source of hot waters about half way between the entrance and issue of the

¹⁶ Pausanias, l. x. c. 20.

& Strabo, l. ix. p. 295.

¹⁷ Conf. Thucyd. l. iii. p. 240. & 263.

¹⁸ Pausanias, *ibid.*

defile, the whole tract is called the Straits of Thermopylæ, extending seven English miles in length; and at the northern extremity forty-eight foot wide, swelling to the breadth of forty fathoms towards the middle, and again contracting at Alpenus to a narrow pass of 'only eight feet', which opened into the woody plain of Bessa. In such ground, neither the cavalry nor the vast numbers of the Gauls could avail them. The bravest of their infantry rushed with loud shouts and blind fury to the straits, where the heavy armed Greeks resisted them in front, while their flanks were galled by missile weapons from the light troops conveniently posted on the adjacent hills, and from a large Athenian fleet which had come to anchor in the Malian gulph. Their limber *Tbyrij* formed ineffectual defences against the weight and sharpness of iron javelins; and their cutting broad swords were ill-fitted to contend with the points of Grecian spears. Enraged to madness by disappointment and pain, many tore from their flesh the darts by which they had been wounded, and furiously retorted them on the enemy. But as their progress was completely checked, they grew tired of suffering in vain, and retreated more precipitately than they had advanced, trampling down each other on the sides of the mountain, or sinking irrecoverably in the slippery marsh. The victors declined to pursue them into the Trachinian plain, where their superiority of numbers might have again rendered them formidable. They were contented to have repelled, with little loss to themselves, those inhuman Barbarians, at whose stupidity they wondered, in their neglect before battle, of every mode of divination or augury; at whose impiety they shuddered, in their unconcern after defeat, about recovering the bodies of their slain⁹⁹.

Seven days elapsed before the Gauls renewed their attempts for penetrating into Phocis, and then not by Thermopylæ, but by an abrupt mountainous path leading to the ruins of Trachia and a rich

Enormities committed by the Gauls in the valley Callion.

⁹⁹ Herodot. i. vii. c. 176. & seq.

¹⁰⁰ Pausanias, *ibid.*

C H A P. temple of Minerva, which they purposed to plunder on their way.
 X. The traitors, or fugitives, from whom they obtained notice of this
 road, had neglected to inform them, that it was strongly guarded. They were attacked unexpectedly, and repelled. Brennus, having learned that the Etolians were more numerous than other divisions of the confederates, determined to cause a diversion by invading Etolia. Forty thousand men were detached under Orestorius and Camburis, the fiercest and most sanguinary of the Gallic chiefs. They repassed the Sperchius, traversed Thessaly in haste, and entering the devoted province of Etolia, desolated it most dreadfully by fire and sword. Having taken the city Callion, in the valley watered by the Evenus, between mounts Pindus and Tymphrestus, they killed the men, violated the women, and ate the children; aggravating^o, it is said, even these brutal enormities by deeds too shocking to be described, and too monstrous to be easily believed. Their unmerciful invasion made the Etolians withdraw from the confederate army, to repel their private wrongs. Assisted by the Achæans of Patræ, who sailed to them from the opposite side of the Corinthian gulph, they encountered the Gauls as they returned in triumph, loaded with the spoils of their houses and temples. These desolating invaders were defeated with great slaughter, and almost entirely destroyed in their retreat, the whole inhabitants of Etolia, old men, and even women, deriving such vigour from revenge, as enabled them to overwhelm with condign punishment inhuman and execrable Barbarians, who, in their frightful behaviour at Callion, had surpassed the sanguinary feasts of the Cyclops and Lestrigons^o.

Revenged on
 them by the
 Etolians.

The Gauls
 turn the
 Grecian
 army by pas-
 sing mount
 Ceta.

Meanwhile Brennus remained not inactive at Thermopylæ. The inhabitants of the districts around his camp, willing by any means, however unwarrantable, to rid themselves of such dreadful guests, offered to conduct him into Phocis by a middle path, more spacious than the road along the shore, and more easy of ascent than the pas-

^o Pausanias, l. x. c. 22. p. 650.

Id. c. 23.

sage by Trachis. He consented to follow them with above forty thousand men, after leaving Acichorius in his camp, with orders to renew the assault at Thermopylæ, as soon as he himself should have crossed the mountains. The tract, which Brennus now pursued, was the same by which the Persian Hydarnes turned the invincible army of Leonidas. It lay across thick forests of oaks, and was guarded by a detachment of Phocians. On the day that Brennus with the best half of his army ascended the mountain, the air was darkened by such a thick fog, that the Gauls were first discovered by raising their shout of war, which preceded the general discharge of their *gasa*. The Phocians in providing for their own safety, neglected not that of their confederates at Thermopylæ, now in danger of being crushed between the assault of Acichorius in front, and that of Brennus in rear. They flew to their allies; apprised them of their danger: the Athenian fleet still anchored on the coast; the Greeks embarked, and sailed to the defence of their respective territories⁶².

The golden treasures of Delphi attracted the avidity of Brennus. Without waiting for Acichorius, whose progress had been interrupted chiefly through the desperate exertions of the Etolians, he advanced to plunder the temple, the rich seat of commerce⁶⁴ and superstition. Already he perceived at a distance the fantastic tops of Parnassus, overshadowing the sacred city. At length Delphi rose to view in form of an amphitheatre, extending two miles in circumference, destitute of walls, but sufficiently defended by the awfulness of the place and the majesty of its oracle. The Gauls carelessly regarded the towering summits and deep caverns of Parnassus: they beheld without emotion the rude and shapeless mount Cirphis, pouring forth the foaming Pliflus. But the shining ornaments of the temple which crowned, as it were, the city; with the bright statues disposed on different terraces and irradiating the spacious streets to which they respectively pointed, inflamed the boundless rapacity of

They march
against Del-
phi. Olymp.
cxxxv. 3.
B. C. 278.

⁶² Pausanias, l. x. c. 22.

⁶⁴ See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 5.

C H A P.

X.

Marvellous
interposition
in favour of
the sacred
city, and
dreadful
destruction
of the Gauls.

Barbarians, who, though they neither admired nor knew the beauties of art, yet coveted, as inestimable, the glittering materials⁴. They rushed forward to seize those golden or rather gilded images, defended only by the Delphic priests and citizens, and four thousand Phocians and Etolians who had hastened to their assistance. But, according to the most circumstantial narrative of the Gallic invasion, aid more powerful than mortal arm can afford defended the city of Apollo. It was winter: a collecting tempest exploded; the ground shook with a palpable and long-continued motion; amidst tremendous peals of thunder, the temples of Delphi opened spontaneously; while the venerable forms of ancient heroes and armed virgins appeared ready to oppose the fury of the impious assailants. As darkness approached, the Gauls were overtaken by more substantial evils, benumbing cold and an extraordinary fall of snow, which, overloading the craggs of Parnassus, hurled them from their bases, and buried many wretched victims under the ponderous *avalanche*. At dawn, Brennus hastened to remove from a scene of terror, equally intolerable to his senses and his fancy. But his march was obstructed in front by a body of auxiliary pikemen, while his flanks and rear were harassed by the enraged Phocians themselves, who, being well acquainted with the intricate sinuosities of the mountains, issued unexpectedly like dæmons of vengeance from their winding and snowy paths. At the head of his guards, distinguished by their strength and stature, and whose courage not even the manifest wrath of the gods could appal, Brennus fought valiantly till disabled by his wounds. The guards then gave way, carrying off their bleeding chief, and augmented the tumultuous rout of their disbanded army. All next day, they pursued their dreary flight through dangerous roads and deserted villages, from which the Greeks had carefully removed every necessary of life. When night returned, they were seized with a panic terror, which directed their arms against each

⁴ See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 3.

other. Brennus died by his own hand. His wretched followers, having joined the harassed division of their countrymen under Acichorius, fell into an ambush laid for them by the Athenians and Bœotians in their way to Heraclæa. A part, however, reached the camp in that place, where a detachment had remained to guard the booty previously collected. The camp was raised; the remnant of the Gallic invaders repassed the Sperchius; but in Thessaly they had to encounter a new ambush, and were totally destroyed⁶⁶.

Such is the narrative of Pausanias, which the Delphians might propagate from interest, which the Greeks might believe through superstition, and which friends to the Gauls might admit as the best apology for their shameful defeat. But an historian, more respectable than Pausanias, informs us that, instead of intirely perishing in their Grecian expedition, many Gauls rejoined their brethren in Thrace, and united with them in their newly established kingdom of Tulè⁶⁷. As the marvellous and total destruction of the invaders is not a matter of fact, so our knowledge of the Delphian priests will not justify the supposition that the losses really sustained by the enemy were produced by supernatural interference. To encourage their countrymen, the priests of Apollo, indeed, published a decree, that "the god would protect his temple;" but instead of committing their interests to heaven alone, they appear to have themselves defended them with admirable dexterity. After a fatiguing march across craggy mountains, the Gauls, it should seem, found the Delphian villages destitute of inhabitants, but copiously replenished with strong wine; a temptation which even their thirst for gold was altogether unable to resist. They were defeated, therefore, by their own intemperance⁶⁸, before they were assailed by tempests, shaken by earthquakes, and repelled by armed divinities.

More probable account of that catastrophe.

⁶⁶ Pausanias, l. x. c. 23.

⁶⁷ Conf. Polyb. l. i. c. 6. & l. ii. c. 30. & l. iv. c. 46. & Athen. Deipn. l. vi. p. 234.

⁶⁸ They could not resist the temptations of a delicious country, the luxuriant fruits of

the Cressian plain, the rich wines produced from the sun-beat rocks of Delphi. Δελφίς αἶνος Callimac. in Delum, v. 177. Comp. History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 5.

With such Barbarians, the present passion is always the most powerful.

C H A P.

X.

Subsequent
fortunes of
the Gauls.

The disastrous expedition of the Gauls into Greece proved to that fierce nation but a transient misfortune. For the space of forty years after that event, they continued from their kingdom of Tule to harass the neighbouring countries of Europe and of Asia. Their numbers which poured into the latter, equalled, perhaps surpassed, those of the Macedonian conquerors. As they were frequently augmented by new swarms from home, they seized, desolated, and abandoned large tracts of territory, laid the richest provinces under heavy contributions, and interfered with a high hand in the affairs of Syria, Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. During the whole course of their ambulatory dominion, they were vexatious to their neighbours, merciless to their enemies, and treacherous to their allies; often selling their troops to rival powers; easily quitting one service for another; and, in all this infamous traffic of blood, uniformly preferring the highest bidder⁶⁹. The first Antiochus king of Syria gained a battle over the Gauls from which he obtained his title of Soter, the saviour⁷⁰; but the same prince perished in a subsequent conflict with this barbarous enemy⁷¹. In the disputed succession of Bithynia, they interposed their armed mediation in favour of Nicomedes against his brother Zipyætes. Upon the death of the former prince, they raised his unworthy son Zeilus to the throne, in opposition to his father's testament; and afterwards treacherously murdered the king whom they had capriciously created⁷². But according to the natural order of events, the ungoverned insolence of the Gauls occasioned the subversion of their power. Many thousands of them perished⁷³ in an attempt to shake the throne of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which they had been hired to defend. An hundred and twenty thousand Gauls are said⁷⁴ to have fallen in Babylonia, while assisting a rebellious brother against Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria. At length the first Attalus, king of Pergamus, defeated them in a deci-

⁶⁹ Conf. Polyb. l. iv. & Plutarch in Pyrrho. Tit. Liv l. xxxviii. c. 16.

⁷⁰ Arrian Syriac c. 35.

⁷¹ Plin. l. viii. c. 42.

⁷² Memnon apud Phot. & Athenæus, l. ii c. 18.

⁷³ Pausan. Attic.

⁷⁴ 2 Maccabees, c. viii. v. 20.

five battle, which, according to the popular belief of the Greeks, had been foretold by the prophets Phaennis⁷⁵ twenty-five years before the passage of those Barbarians into Asia, and sixty-five years before that memorable victory⁷⁶.

The incidents in the engagement itself are not recorded. History makes mention only of its cause and of its consequences. Attalus, who united craft with courage, having fixed an impression of gum on his right hand, plunged it into the reeking bowels of a victim, which, being examined for the purpose of divination, announced to the wondering spectators "the king's victory"⁷⁷. Thus encouraged by recent prodigies as well as by ancient predictions, his soldiers conquered the more completely, because they believed themselves destined to conquer. The Gauls were totally worsted, driven from their possessions on the sea-coast; and compelled by treaty to quit their ambulatory life and habits of depredation, and to remain in a central territory which they had long occupied, and which was thenceforward confirmed to them by the controuling powers in Asia⁷⁸.

The country thus assigned to them was called from their name Galatia, and consisted of three contiguous districts respectively dismembered from Bithynia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. Each of these districts of Galatia was inhabited by a particular tribe of Gauls⁷⁹. The Bithynian, or middle, division was the seat of the Tectosages, and its stronghold Ancyra; towards the east dwelt the Trocmi, in the neighbourhood of Tavium; and on the west the Telestoboij in that of Pessinus, a place long famous in the commerce and superstition of the peninsula⁸⁰. Taken together, the three divisions of

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Their defeat
by Attalus of
Perginus,
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 4.
B. C. 241.

Territories
assigned to
them.

⁷⁵ Pausanias, l. x. c. 15.

⁷⁶ Polybius, in his character of Attalus, mentions this decisive victory over Βαρυάτων και μαχηματάων ἰσχυροῦ των τότε κατὰ την Ασίαν, the most oppressive and most warlike nation at that time in Asia. Polyb. l. xviii. c. 24.

⁷⁷ Suidas.

⁷⁸ The prophecies of Phaennis announcing

their total destruction are hyperbolic. 'Ος πάσις Γαλατῆσι ολέθριον ἦμαρ εἴησι. Pausanias, l. x. c. 15. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16. & Polyb. ubi supra.

⁷⁹ Memnon apud Phot. c. xx. p. 725. Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 566. & seq.

⁸⁰ Strabo, ibid.

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Galatia extended about two hundred miles in length and a hundred in breadth; a beautiful country diversified by hill and dale, and intersected near its opposite extremities by the winding courses of the bitter Halys and fishful " Sangarius.

They become industrious and civilized. C. lxxviii. 1. B. C. 188.

As inveterate habits are seldom to be eradicated, the Gauls seem frequently to have relapsed into their former vices. The consul Manlius fifty-three years after their defeat by the Pergamenian king Attalus, and two years after Antiochus the Great was defeated by the Romans, found it necessary farther to repress the lawless spirit of the Gauls, and to take measures for rendering them in future honest and harmless neighbours". Chiefly from this era, they seem to have availed themselves of the natural advantages of their country, whose mountains and vallies afforded excellent pasture, and whose sunny hills are naturally adapted to vines and olives. The saline qualities of the soil were peculiarly favourable to their valuable herds of sheep and goats". From the wool of the former and the soft hair of the latter, the Gauls manufactured a variety of cloths, whose beauty they were enabled to heighten by possessing in great abundance the coccus, affording an elegant purple dye". Enriched by the commerce of articles in great request, the unprincipled robbers improved into peaceful citizens. St. Paul's eccumenical epistle, addressed to the Galatians, implies that they were familiarly acquainted with the Greek tongue, then universally diffused over the civilised world. Between the beneficence and meek forbearance recommended by the apostle, and the brutal ferocity of Brennus and Cambris, how wide is the interval!

" Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 18.

" Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 17. & seq.

" See the description of the country in Tournefort. Voyage du Levant. Lettre xxi. and Browne's Travels. Angora, the Ancyra

of the Gauls, Mr. B. says is the neatest town, and its inhabitants the most polished people in all Anatolia.

" Salmas. ad Solinum. p. 272.

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Effects of the Gallic Invasion. — Reign of Antigonus Gonatas. — The Achaean League. — Reign of Antiochus Soter. — Accession of Antiochus Theos. — Revolt of Parthia and Bactria. — Horrid Transactions in Syria. — Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. — Tragic Events in Cyrenè. — Flourishing State of Egypt. — Army. — Navy. — Treasury. — Productive and commercial Industry. — Canals and Harbours. — Picture of Nations between the Nile and the Red Sea. — Ptolemy's Views with regard to the Commerce carried on by the Ethiopian Nomades. — Arts and Sciences. — Constellations of Poets. — Historians. — Philosophers. — Ptolemy's Intercourse by Embassies with Rome and Carthage. — Transition to the History of the Growth and Aggrandisement of Rome.

THE conquests, made by the Gauls, corresponded not to the vastness of their numbers. Their invasion, however, left an extensive and lasting impression on the empire, besides separating from it the two important provinces of Thrace and Galatia. Their ravages so much weakened Macedon, that Antigonus Gonatas, with the aid of his Peloponnesian subjects, found little difficulty in remounting the throne of his father Demetrius. The first successors of Seleucus were prevented chiefly through the Gauls from recovering their lost authority in Lesser Asia; while the disorders which these Barbarians caused or abetted in all other parts of the empire gave a degree of relative importance to Egypt, to which that country truly valuable in itself, could not naturally have laid claim, but which it accidentally acquired while standing aloof from danger, and collecting the wealth, populousness, and industry of surrounding nations. This subject will be illustrated in the present chapter, which will contain the transactions of what may be called the second

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Effects of the
Gallic inva-
sion. Olymp.
cxxxv. 3.
B. C. 278.

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generation of Alexander's successors', since Antiochus Soter being prematurely cut off, the following king of Syria died in the same year with Ptolemy Philadelphus, and even three years before Antigonus Gonatas.

Antigonus
Gonatas re-
covers Ma-
cedon.
Olymp.
c. xv. 4.
B. C. 277.

The last-mentioned prince reigned thirty-four years in Macedon. To the title of his father Demetrius above explained*, Antigonus, by his mother Philla, added the *legitimate* claims of the house of Antipater, after the family of the great Alexander had been totally extinguished. His authority, therefore, was not disputed by his Macedonian subjects; but, in the first stage of his administration, he found powerful competitors in Antiochus king of Syria†, in the chieftains of the Gauls, and in Pyrrhus of Epirus‡. His vigorous exertions for defence, and the alliance of Nicomedes of Bithynia, compelled the king of Syria, after a fruitless campaign in Lesser Asia, to cede his pretensions to the Macedonian throne, and to yield in marriage to Antigonus the Syrian princess named Philla after her grandmother the admired daughter of Antipater§.

Defends it
against An-
tiochus.

Against the
Gauls and

It happened fortunately for Antigonus that this treaty was cemented before he met with any disturbance from the Gauls in Thule, reinforced by new swarms from their seats in Illyricum and Pannonia. Though these invaders repeatedly entered his kingdom, they were resisted with such superior skill, that they retreated with more loss to themselves than they occasioned to the enemy¶. The terror caused

* This second generation contained those called *ἐπίγονοι*, in opposition to the *δυναστες*, or immediate successors. Vid. Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. in Proem. The first Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Demetrius as joined in sovereignty with his father Antigonus, were *δυναστες*. Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, were *ἐπίγονοι*.

See above, p. 400.

Memnon Excerpt. c. 19.

Plut. in Pyrrho.

Justin, l. xxv. c. 1. & Plutarch in Demet.

¶ The Philla, whom Antigonus married, was daughter to his sister Stratonice, by her first husband Seleucus Nicator; and Stratonice, as above related, was wedged by Seleucus to marry the young son of his son Antiochus. Philla, therefore, was niece to Antigonus, who married her, and as such daughter-in-law to Antiochus, who gave her in marriage. The incestuous unions of this Greek king, and his affinities in endless perplexity.

Justin, l. xxv. c. 2. & Memnon Excerpt.

c. 20.

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by their first furious irruption had gradually subsided; but they became again formidable when headed by Pyrrhus, just returned without success; but with little diminution of renown, from his Italian expedition. With a combined army of Gauls and Epirots, that warlike adventurer, whose exploits in Italy and Sicily will claim our attention hereafter, made himself master of the greatest part of Macedon, and might have gained and preserved the whole, when he hastened unadvisedly to make new conquests in Peloponnesus. He was slain in the assault of Argos; and his death was viewed as a judgment both in Greece and Macedon, his Gallic allies or mercenaries by ransacking for gold the royal tombs, in the ancient capital of Argæ, having provoked public indignation, embittered by religious abhorrence. Their execrable impiety, in thus violating the manes of the dead, made their expulsion from Macedon a matter of universal interest and easy execution: and Pyrrhus' ill-conducted enterprise for recovering that kingdom, only established more firmly the throne of Antigonus.

From this time forward Antigonus reigned twenty-seven years with little molestation at home, and without taking any part in the affairs of Egypt and Syria, the two great rival powers in the empire. He formed for himself a system apart, in the conducting of which Philip, father of Alexander, appears to have been his model. But he wanted the splendid abilities of that elegant as well as politic prince, and even exceeded him in the vileness of those corrupt artifices which constituted the opprobrious part in Philip's character. The great object of his reign was to recover the Macedonian dominion over the divided republics of Greece, several of which he still held by his garrisons, and a still greater number by his profligate partizans among their own citizens. This undertaking was carried on by arms and intrigues, with unwearied attention and unabating activity; and as like temptations engender similar crimes, the strug-

Antigonus' reign, and success of his crooked policy. Olymp. cxxvii. 2. B. C. 271.

Plut. in Pyrrho.

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gle of Antigonus against the free cities of Greece, will remind us of the execrable proceedings of the modern tyrants in Italy, whose purposes were attained by address rather than force; and of whose dark and crooked policy, assassination, perfidy, and poison were the ordinary and most successful instruments⁸. For many years the schemes of Antigonus advanced with an unremitted tide of good fortune. In Peloponnesus, Sparta and Argos acknowledged his supremacy; and of the great cities beyond the Isthmus, Thebes was completely humbled; and Athens, taken and garrisoned, notwithstanding the aid of a considerable fleet belonging to Ptolemy Philadelphus⁹.

The first cities of Achaia associated for defence.

In this situation of public affairs, the first symptoms of steady opposition to the usurpations of Macedon, appeared in the small cities of Achaia, a poor inhospitable district, sixty miles long, and twenty broad, extending along the Corinthian gulph, whose rocky shores, beat by the foaming surge, formed the terror of Grecian mariners. To a few of those cities, which, in expelling their Macedonian garrisons, had associated for common defence, Alexander, the instrument of Antigonus' dominion in Corinth, offended by some act of severity in his master, had added that important emporium, and rendered its commanding citadel, which Philip regarded as the shackles¹⁰ of Peloponnesus, the bulwark of that peninsula. The defection of Alexander was punished by a cup of poison; but this crime proved not immediately useful to Antigonus, since Nicæa, widow to the deceased, assumed the government of Corinth, and administered it with the firm virtues of the other sex, although she was soon to be disgraced and ruined by the filliest weaknesses of her own. Antigonus being apprised of her character, instead of submitting to the tedious formalities of a siege, sent to Corinth his son Demetrius, who inherited with the name, the fair external

Corinth joining them is recovered by a stratagem.

⁸ See Machiavel, Guicciardin, Nerli, their subjects.

Varchi, Malavolta; often entertaining historians, through the singular odiousness of

⁹ Pausanias, Lacon. c. vi.

¹⁰ Τα; τιτασταις Ελλάδας; Plut. in Arist.

accomplishments of his grandfather Poliorcetes. The courtship of this young prince was not to be resisted, by an amorous old woman like Nicæa; who, in giving away herself, fondly and absurdly hoped to retain her power: for, amidst the joys of the nuptial festivity, Antigonus surprised and gained the Corinthian citadel, after which event, Nicæa, abandoned by her lover, was left to lament in solitude over the bitter fruits of her credulity, while the contriver of the delusion gave way, it is said, to such excesses of drunken levity, as seemed to indicate that the taking of Corinth had taken away his own understanding *.

The Achæans soon found in Aratus of Sicyon, abler and worthier protection, than they could ever have expected to derive from Alexander the Corinthian, first the creature, and afterwards the betrayer of a foreign prince. Aratus had in early youth gained the friendship of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by his taste in arts and letters, and had rendered himself highly useful to this learned king of Egypt, by providing him with books and pictures from Sicyon, and other cities of Greece. Ptolemy, whose skill in raising money was only equalled by his judicious liberality in spending it, rewarded his Grecian friend with an accumulation of presents of such value, that in the hands of this generous patriot, they became important subsidies to the Achæan confederacy. Antigonus, through hatred to a man whom he could neither intimidate nor corrupt, endeavoured to bring Aratus into suspicion with his royal benefactor. For this purpose he loaded him with caresses and eulogies; and on one occasion sent to him, from Corinth to Sicyon, a portion of the victims sacrificed at the Isthmian games, which, according to the maxims of that age, constituted the highest mark of respect that a citizen of Greece could receive, from the magistrate presiding in that solemnity. At the same time he ostentatiously boasted, before the numerous

Aratus of Sicyon — his connection with Ptolemy, and opposition to Antigonus. Olymp. cxxxii. 1. B. C. 252.

* Τὸ τοῦ κρητοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰσχυρίαν. Plut. c. 2.
in Arat. p. 1034. Conf. Justin. l. xxvi.

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strangers then convened at the Isthmus, of the perfect devotion of Aratus to his interest: that this honest Greek derided with himself the wealth and effeminacy of Ptolemy, and would scorn any longer to be indebted to his insolent bounty. Philadelphus was industriously informed of this discourse; but instead of rashly withdrawing his confidence from Aratus, he, with his usual prudence, informed him of the malicious accusation, and thereby afforded him an opportunity of making a satisfactory defence. The illustrious Sicyonian thus continued to counterwork the designs of Antigonus in Greece; until the latter returned in final disappointment into Macedon, where he died at the age of eighty, and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign; leaving to his son Demetrius, a kingdom boldly acquired, and ably defended, but to which, notwithstanding his unwearied villanies, he failed of restoring its ancient ascendancy over the Grecian republics.

Death of
Antigonus.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 1.—
B. C. 244.

Reign of
Antiochus
Soter.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 1.—
cxxxix. 4.—
B. C. 280—
262.

We have seen why Antiochus, king of Syria, entered into a treaty with Antigonus, by which he desisted from his pretensions to the Macedonian crown. Shortly after this transaction, Antiochus attained the brightest glory of his reign, in the great victory over the Gauls in Lesser Asia, from which he derived the title of Soter, the Saviour. Of this victory, however, neither the time nor the place is exactly ascertained, and the principal notice concerning it, is the important service rendered to Antiochus by his elephants, on which account the elephant was assumed as his favourite trophy, and as such, is eminently conspicuous on his coins. The subsequent reign of this second king of Syria, which lasted nineteen years, was tranquil and prosperous in the East; in the West, it was distracted and inglorious. His general, Patrocles, was completely defeated by the Bithynians. Antiochus in person incurred similar disgrace against Eumenes of Pergamus. In the plain of Sardes, that petty

Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. Conf. Phot. in Zeuxi & Antiocho.
Arat.

Memnon. apud Phot. p. 718.

"Appian. Syriac. c. 65. & Lucian de

prince

prince maintained his independence against the great monarch of the East, and even extorted from Antiochus a large extension of his boundaries.

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The king of Syria was equally unfortunate in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, in which he was involved by his connection with Magas, the rebellious governor of Cyrenè. Magas was the son of Berenice, by a former obscure " husband, before she was married to Ptolemy Soter. He was therefore brother uterine to Philadelphus, and continued by him in his government of Cyrenè, which, at his mother's request, he had previously obtained from the father of that prince. But Magas revolted from his brother, and having married Apama daughter to Antiochus Soter, engaged his father-in-law to abet his rebellion, and to acknowledge him as king of Cyrenè. In this transaction, the whole advantage was on the side of Magas; the loss redounded to Antiochus; for Ptolemy whose fleet was the most powerful in the empire, invaded those maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, still subject to Antiochus, and chastised the perfidy of Magas, by dismembering the territories of his ally". In addition to these misfortunes, Antiochus had the mortification of seeing his ancient enemies, the Gauls, domineering in the central provinces of the peninsula. The ravages of those fierce Barbarians reminded him how little he deserved his proud title of Soter. His last engagement with them was fought under the walls of Ephesus, a bloody but undescribed battle, in which he lost his army and his life. During his unhappy reign, public disasters had been embittered by domestic calamities. His beloved Stratonice had been early snatched from his arms. Ptolemy, his elder son, having acted the part of a rebel, had suffered the death of a traitor". Shortly after

Unfortunate war with Ptolemy Philadelphus. Olymp. CXXIX. 1. B. C. 264.

Slain in battle by the Gauls. Olymp. CXXIX. 3. B. C. 262.

* Strabo, *Asiæ* p. 624.

* A Macedonian named Philip: this is all we know of him.

" Pausanias, *Attic.* c. vii.

" Plin. *Nat. Hist.* l. viii. c. 44.

" Trogus *Prolog.* ad xxvii. This, Syrian

Ptolemy, is said to have rewarded the physician Erasistratus with an hundred talents, about twenty thousand pounds, for curing the father, against whom he afterwards rebelled. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* l. xxix. c. 1.

this

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this event, Antiochus, imitating the example of his illustrious predecessor, raised his younger son to the throne of the East, in his own life time; a precaution which kept in obedience the upper provinces, notwithstanding his sudden and disastrous death in Lower Asia. Like other contemporary princes, he had illustrated his name by a new city, called Antiochia, in the remote province of Margiana, on the banks of the Oxus²⁰

Reign of
Antiochus
Theos.
Olymp.
cxxxix 4.
cxxxiii 3
B. C. 261—
246.

Antiochus Soter was succeeded by his son of the same name, who hastening to Syria on the news of his father's death, took possession of that kingdom, and endeavoured to retrieve his affairs in the great neighbouring Peninsula. His warfare with the Gauls was not attended with any decisive event: they continued, after his departure to oppress the inland districts. Antiochus next turned his arms to the valuable southern coast; to Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, which provinces had been wrested from his father, by the fleets of Ptolemy Philadelphus. In the early stage of this expedition, the Syrians were successful, and Antiochus acquired his distinguishing title of Theos, the god. The Milesians first flattered him with a sound so grateful to his ear, for having conquered and slain Timarchus, who being appointed governor of Caria, by Ptolemy, had revolted from his master, and fixed the seat of his cruel usurpation at Miletus²¹. After the merit of destroying this upstart tyrant, the remaining fourteen years of Antiochus the god, shew him as a prince, equally weak and unfortunate. On the northern coasts of Lesser Asia, the confederate cities of Byzantium and Heracleæ rejected his authority, and disgraced his arms²²; while Ptolemy Philadelphus, after recovering the places which he had recently lost, extended his dominion over the whole southern coast

His unfortunate war
with Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. The city was seven miles in circuit, and stood near the river Margus, then divided into many canals, for watering the contiguous country, Plin. l. vi. c. 16. Thence, in Isidore de Mar-

giana, we should read *moles*, not *antioch*; the *strigons*, not the *dry Antioch*.

²¹ Appian. Syriac. 165.

²² Memnon, apud Phot.

of the peninsula; confirmed it over the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and doubled, as we shall see presently, the natural and intrinsic value of these territories, by the great and solid purposes to which their resources were applied. On the part of Antiochus, the war against Egypt was often renewed with the whole force of his monarchy, but never attended with any continuation of success, and finally concluded in consequence of events most disastrous to the Macedonian empire in the East.

By draining his garrisons in the upper provinces, that he might carry on more effectually hostilities against Ptolemy, Antiochus left the outlying countries of Bactria and Parthia, exposed to the twofold evil of domestic insurrection and foreign invasion. Theodotus the Bactrian, whose name indicates his Grecian descent, first raised the standard of revolt, and adding policy to prowess, gained or subdued the Macedonians and mercenaries who held that country in dependence. His example was followed in Parthia, by the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates, the elder of whom dying in battle two years afterwards, was succeeded by the younger, who assumed his name and title. We are not informed of the circumstances which immediately occasioned the rebellion in Bactria: but in Parthia, one of the roughest provinces in the empire, crowded by a conflux of Scythian exiles, the materials prepared for combustion were thrown into a flame by the abominable outrage of Agathocles, Antiochus' viceroy, to the person of young Tiridates. In revenge for this insult, the brothers formed a conspiracy against the life of Agathocles, and having slain that brutish tyrant, summoned the Parthians to liberty. That he might have leisure to suppress these commotions in the East, Antiochus was earnest for an accommodation with Egypt. His eagerness must have been great to attain this object, since he agreed to wed Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy,

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Revolt of
Bactria and
Parthia.
Olymp.
cxxxii 3.
B. C. 254.

Antiochus'
marriage
with

²² Justin, l. xli.

Conf. Georg. Monach. Chron. in Not.

²³ Arrian Parthic. apud Photium, p. 52. Justin, l. xli. c. 4. Edit. Gronov.

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Berenice
Ptolemy's
daughter.
Olymp.
cxxxii. 1.
B. C. 252.

Antiochus
Theos poi-
soned by
Laodice.

Berenice and
her son in-
volved in
his fate.
Olymp.
cxxxiii. 3.
B. C. 246.

and to settle his crown on the issue of that marriage, although he had already two sons by his wife and sister Laodice, whom he had solemnly espoused in the first year of his reign²⁵. Neither this dishonourable pacification, nor the death of the elder Arfaces in battle, enabled him to recover his lost authority in Bactria and Parthia, or to prevent the contagion of rebellion from extending to neighbouring provinces of the East. Upon the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Berenice became the victim of the treaty of which she had been the bond. She had born a son to Antiochus, but when the protection of her father was removed, the Syrian king dissolving a marriage, which had been the work of necessity and fear, recalled Laodice to his bed, and reinstated *her* children in their birthrights²⁶. In committing this breach of faith, Antiochus too rashly despised the youth and inexperience of the brother of Berenice, afterwards entitled Euergetes; but his perfidy was punished in the first instance by Laodice for whose sake the guilt of it had been incurred. That princess was no sooner restored to her rank of queen, than she determined that her own dignity, and the prospects of her children, should never again become the sport of state policy. Having poisoned her husband, she engaged a Greek named Artemon, who strongly resembled him, to personate Antiochus in a pretended malady, and to name at the seeming approach of death, her elder son Seleucus, as successor to the kingdom. This artifice, which passed unquestioned with the public, escaped not the discernment of Berenice, who, upon the first news of the transaction, fled in haste from Antioch to the neighbouring asylum of Daphne. In so sacred a retreat, she had reason to expect safety for her infant son and Egyptian attendants; but before they could be rescued by her brother Euergetes, the new king of Egypt, they were all of them seized and murdered together with Berenice herself, by the emis-

²⁵ Hieron. in Daniel, c. ix. v. 6. Appian and Athenæus.

²⁶ Polyænus, Stratagem. l. viii. c. 50. Conf. Appian. Syriac.

faries of her triumphant rival". These enormities kindled a new war between Ptolemy Euergetes, and Seleucus, entitled Callinicus, who mounted respectively the thrones of Egypt and Syria in the same year". The empire, while assailed by the Gauls in the West, and by the Parthians in the East, was thus weakened and deformed by the intestine discord of its two principal kingdoms. Syria was the chief sufferer in the conflict, under what may be called the third generation of Alexander's successors; but before we proceed to the events of that period, it remains to examine, with regard to arts as well as arms, the reign of the second Ptolemy in Egypt.

His successful wars in Asia Minor and in Syria have been already noticed, for they are no where circumstantially described. He was unfortunate in attempting to rescue Athens from the gripe of Antigonus Gonatas; but this failure he compensated by conquering Ænos and Maronea, Greek cities of great strength" on the Thracian coast of the Ægean sea, and by gaining possession of the smaller Greek islands", surrounding Delos in a circular form, and therefore named the Cyclades. For these advantages, Ptolemy was indebted to the superiority of his fleet; and his armies had been equally successful in the Syrian warfare, excited, as we have seen, by the intrigues of Magas, the rebellious viceroy of Cyrenè. After a defection of seven years, that traitor who had usurped the title of king, intimidated by the disasters of his allies, desired to come to an accommodation with his injured brother. For this purpose he offered in marriage his only child, a daughter named Berenicè", to Ptolemy's eldest son: and to invest the proffered bride with the right of sole successor to his dominions. The proposal was accepted, for Magas was in the decline of life: and Philadelphus was not of a character

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Reign of
Ptolemy
Philadelphus.
Olymp.
cxxiv. 1.—
cxxxiii. 3.
B. C. 284.
—246.

Marriage
between
Ptolemy's
son, and
Magas' daughter.
Olymp.
cxxx. 3.
B. C. 258.

" Polyzenus, *Stratagem.* l. viii. c. 50. in c. ix. Daniel.
Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 14. Plin. l. vii.

12. & Hieron. in Daniel c. xi.

Conf. Ptolemy in Canon, and Hieron.

" Polybius, l. v. c. 34.

" Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.

" Justin, l. xxvi. c. 3.

C. H. A. P. to contend by arms for what he might more safely acquire by
 XI. treaty. He agreed, therefore, that Euergetes, the son of a king, should marry Berenice, the daughter of a rebel. Before the consummation of these nuptials, Magas died of excessive corpulency²²; and Berenice still remained at Cyrenè, in the power of her mother Apama, daughter of Antiochus Soter, and one of those infamous females, whose profligacy still more disgraced, than their beauty adorned, the thrones of Alexander's successors.

Its consummation retarded by Apama, the widow of Magas - her profligacy and tragical

Apama had never consented to a transaction, by which her daughter and herself would have fallen into the hands of the Ptolemies, eternal rivals to the house of Seleucus. To defeat the proposed match of Berenice with Euergetes, she invited from Macedon the younger brother of Antigonus Gonatas, who, together with the name of his father Demetrius²³, inherited his main characteristics of mind and body. The same graces of person, and the same deformities of soul which ruined the father, proved also fatal to the son. Demetrius espoused Berenice, but lived as the husband of Apama. Proud of the love of the mother, and not less of the jealousy of the daughter, and elated with the matrimonial crown of Cyrenè, which he knew not how to wear with decency, he provoked indignation by his insolence, and contempt by his folly. The burst of public revenge was anticipated by a conspiracy in the palace: Berenice conducted the steps, and instigated²⁴ the hands of the assassins: Demetrius was slain in the bed of incestuous adultery; the infamous Apama was spared, and allowed to escape to her brother in Syria, while her injured and now triumphant daughter hastened into Egypt, bringing, as her dower to the Ptolemies, the restored allegiance of her province²⁵.

²² Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550.

²³ This prince must not be confounded with the son of Antigonus, who bore the same name.

²⁴ This transaction is alluded to in Catullus' translation of Callimachus de Coma

Berenices,

Anne bonum oblita es facinus quo regium
 adepta es

Conjugium?

words ill explained by commentators.

²⁵ Justin, l. xxi. c. 3.

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Transition
from foreign
wars to the
internal state
of Egypt.

From the wars of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which were carried on chiefly by his lieutenants, we turn to a more interesting subject, the internal prosperity of his kingdom. If we credit the general testimony of antiquity, Egypt, during his long and enlightened reign, attained a degree of wealth and splendour unexampled in any kingdom before or afterwards. To avoid confusion in this copious subject, I shall first briefly state the wonderful reports delivered down to us. I shall then endeavour to bring together the circumstances hinted at, rather than explained, from which Ptolemy's real prosperity flowed.

The first testimony to be adduced is that of a poet, contemporary with Ptolemy, and writing in the learned capital of that prince. Theocritus will tell us that, in his own happy age, Egypt was governed by equal laws³⁶, defended by invincible armies, and at once the best cultivated, and the most commercial kingdom on earth; that the sway of his king and patron extended over more than thirty thousand cities or towns, flourishing in useful arts³⁷; that his fleets, on the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, carried on a most extensive traffic; and that a country, which had long languished under the barbarous yoke of Persia in the humiliation of a province, again resumed more than her pristine splendour, exercising a legitimate, because useful dominion over the islands of Greece, the seaports of Asia, and even the out-lying and almost inaccessible regions of Libya, Arabia, and Ethiopia³⁸. For the dazzling rays of poetry and panegyric, should we desire to substitute the more sober light of history, we must have recourse to Appian, a native of

Reports of
ancient au-
thors—of
Theocritus.

Of Appian.

³⁶ The best proof of this was the cheerful industry of the people, λαοὶ δ' ἔργα περιεπλάουσ' ἐκπλοῖ. Theocrit. Idyll. xvii v. 93.

³⁷ Οὐδὲ τις αἰνῶν, τόσσα ἔργα ποιεῖν δύναται. The latter words should seem to imply, that his cities (Vid. Theocrit. *ibid.*) were what we should call manufacturing towns: but in whatever sense the word is taken, the num-

ber is prodigious. Ancient Italy, in the most flourishing times, boasted only eleven hundred and ninety-seven cities. *Ælian. Var. Hist.* l. ix. c. 36. and Gaul contained nearly the same number of villages. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. iii. c. 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.* v. 86. & seq.

Alexandria,

C H A P. Alexandria, who governed Egypt early in the first century after
 XI. Christ. Appian is an historian eminent for fidelity; he was master
 of the archives of Egypt, to which he appeals as his authority; and
 he could have no reasonable motive for exaggerating the wealth and
 power of a country over which he was præfect, and for the employ-
 ment and improvement of whose resources, he was accountable to
 his masters Trajan and Hadrian, the Roman emperors. According
 to Appian, Philadelphus' army consisted of two hundred thousand
 foot, forty thousand horse, three hundred elephants, and two thou-
 sand armed chariots³⁹. His arsenals were copiously stored with all
 sorts of military engines, and with armour for three hundred thou-
 sand men, in addition to those which he actually had on foot. His
 navy was not less magnificent, consisting of a hundred and twelve
 ships of an uncommon size, from gallies of five to others of thirty-
 five tier of oars: his trireme and quadrireme gallies amounted to
 fifteen hundred; he had two thousand armed vessels of a smaller
 size: above four thousand Egyptian merchantmen navigated the
 Mediterranean; and the Nile gloried in the pompous weight
 of eight hundred resplendent barges, adorned with idols of
 gold on their prows and sterns. The naval magazines of Ptolemy
 were still better stored than the military; since in the former he
 had every thing necessary for the equipment of double the number
 of gallies⁴⁰ actually fitted out. Yet those mighty fleets and armies
 did not exhaust his more stupendous treasury: which, at the time
 of his death, amounted to seven hundred and forty thousand Eryp-
 tian talents⁴¹, exceeding in value a hundred and ninety millions
 sterling; a sum, of which not indeed modern accumulation, but
 modern profusion only, can help us to form a notion. In the zenith

³⁹ Vid. Appian. Hist. Roman in Præfati.

⁴⁰ It should seem that the numerous swarms of pirates (of which more hereafter) obliged the Egyptians to carry on commerce in armed vessels. This I infer from the small proportion of round ships, or mer-

chantmen, in the enumeration above given. Conf. Athenæus, l. v. p. 203. In England, I believe, we have not more than a thousand ships of war; while our ships of commerce exceed twenty thousand.

⁴¹ Appian. in Præfati. c. x.

of Roman greatness, the magnificence of the second Ptolemy still continued proverbial, and the epithet of Philadelphian was employed to characterise those works pre-eminent in preciousness of material, or in nobleness of design ⁴². Without accumulating antient authorities, or attempting precisely to ascertain how far some circumstances are exaggerated, I shall briefly enumerate the peculiarities in Ptolemy's reign, which have a tendency to confirm the general evidence of antiquity; which will always be of easiest reception, among men of candid minds, and enlarged experience.

In the preceding pages of this work, we have seen the fleets of his father and himself gradually attain an unrivalled superiority. This advantage was heightened by the acquisition of Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, in a word, the whole southern coast of Lesser Asia, in addition to Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and the isle of Cyprus, which had been long appendages to Egypt. Without taking into the account Cyrenê, the Cyclades, and the sea ports on the coast of Thrace, we know from the description formerly given of all those countries, that their timber and iron, their harbours and sailors, contained the materials of a vast naval force; which we shall see presently were improved by the Ptolemies, with equal activity and judgement. But while the conquests of these princes supplied them with this great instrument of opulence and power, the unceasing wars in Greece, the ravages of the Gauls in Lower Asia, and the tumults excited by the Parthians, in the upper provinces, continually brought new accessions of industrious and peaceful subjects to Egypt, in which country alone, men enjoyed complete security, fearing no enemies from abroad, and being governed at home justly and mildly ⁴³. To these advantages, the magnitude of which it is not easy to limit, Ptolemy added a benefit accruing from the peculiar habits and character of his Egyptian subjects, who, not-

Circumstances which have a tendency to confirm those reports. Ptolemy's extensive dominions.

Troubles in other countries brought great accessions of wealth and population to Egypt.

Industrious habits of the Egyptians.

⁴² Οὐ (πτασίμων) κωνίτην ἔχοντες τὸ κλίμα :: ἡ δὲ πόλις καὶ ἡ παρρημία ἐκείνης τῆς ὑπεροχῆς φιλοτιμίας καὶ μεγάλης κατασκευῆς Φιλαδελφείας κάλυπται.

Philo Judæus de Vita Mosis.

⁴³ Οὐ γὰρ τις δόμη, &c. See the beautiful lines. Théocrit. Idyll. xvii. v. 100. & seq.

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withstanding many pernicious prejudices, which he was careful to correct or soften, had appeared from the earliest times, an ingenious and courteous people, of great temperance and sobriety, capable of unwearied application to the useful arts, and abundantly supplying by their agriculture and manufactures, the necessities and accommodations of themselves and neighbours.

Advantages
accruing to
Egypt from
Ethiopia and
Arabia.

To the southern neighbours of Egypt, the Arabians and Ethiopians, Ptolemy directed the most vigilant attention. Those nations, as we have seen, had immemorially traded with India for spice; and were themselves peculiarly rich, Arabia in perfumes, Ethiopia in gold. By his admiral, Timosthenes the Rhodian, Ptolemy early navigated the Red Sea, examined the harbours of Adel, beyond the straits of Babelmandeb, and explored the coast of Africa to Ophir, or Sofala, the land of gold, opposite to the coast of Madagascar. The boldness of such an undertaking will not allow us to suppose that he neglected treasures more within his reach. Ethiopia above Egypt united the greatest wealth with the greatest wretchedness, and comprehended a variety of nations, with peculiarities so discordant, that according to an ancient writer, the true description of any one people must have appeared incredible, not only to remote strangers, but to its immediate neighbours. The singular view of these contrasting nations was opened to the curiosity of the Greeks in the reign of the two first Ptolemies, particularly Philadelphus, who founded a city near the Red Sea, called Ptolemais Perarum, nearly as far to the south of Syene, the extremity of Egypt, as Syene itself is distant from the mouth of the Nile. The purpose of this settlement, it is said was to hunt the elephant, and to catch him alive for the service of war, and the pomp of processions. But this design was at first opposed by the natives, worthy ancestors of the modern Shangalla, who delighted in hamstringing this huge and

⁴⁴ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 723.

⁴⁵ Agatharchides de Mari Rubro apud

Photium, p. 1302.

Strabo, l. xvii. p. 269.

tenant of their plains, in dissecting his brawny members, and in greedily devouring his live flesh; a kind of food to them so delicious that they assured Ptolemy, they would not barter its enjoyment for all the treasures of Egypt⁴⁸. - The king, however, partly succeeded in reforming this horrid usage of those woolly-headed Barbarians, as appears from the vast number of elephants which he drew from their country.

In the intermediate space of about four hundred miles between Syene and the hunting seat for wild beasts, Ptolemy among many other cities built Berenice distinguished by the epithet of "golden" from other places named after his beloved mother. The neighbourhood of this southern Berenice contained rich mines of gold, which had been wrought with much profit by the ancient Egyptian kings, but in which all labour had been suspended during the desolating dominion of the Persians. In these mines the Greeks still found copper tools of old employed by the original workmen, but substituted, in their stead, more efficacious tools of iron. A description of their operations is given under the sixth Ptolemy, entitled Philometor, when the mines perhaps were much exhausted, and when the painful labour was confined to criminals or slaves⁴⁹. Their produce, it may be presumed, was in former reigns much greater, and particularly when they were managed by the agents of Philadelphus, who, as of all men he had the most liberality and taste in employing wealth, is said also to have been of all the most skillful and most fortunate in acquiring it.

Gold mines
of Berenice
Panchryos.

There is historical evidence that Ptolemy traded directly to India, though this trade was carried on by a small number of vessels⁵⁰. Such however as it was, it prevented the monopoly which might otherwise have been enjoyed by the Sabæans in the great articles of spices and perfumes. By his ships on the Red Sea. Ptolemy carried

Indian
trade.

⁴⁸ Agatharchides, *ibid.* p. 1356.

& seq.

⁴⁹ Diodorus Siculus, l. ii. f. 48. & seq.

⁵⁰ Appian. *Hist. Rom. in Prodem.*

Conf. Agatharchides *apud* Phot. p. 1339.

⁵¹ Strabo, l. ii. p. 118.

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on a lucrative commerce with Yemen and Adel, respectively the finest districts in Arabia and Ethiopia; and the traffic of pepper, aromatics, pearls, and gold, whose caravans anciently raised the stupendous inland capitals of Thebes and Memphis, now enriched by numerous fleets the maritime emporium of Alexandria²¹. By his judicious arrangements in this city, and the help of his subservient allies in Rhodes, Ptolemy introduced an easier communication than had formerly subsisted between the east and west; and, by commanding the Mediterranean on one side, and the Red Sea on the other, finished, as it were, two arms of the vast commercial colossus which Alexander had rough-hewn or projected, and which, had that conqueror lived a few years longer, he would have reared entire to the unspeakable benefit of posterity.

Ptolemy's canal of little benefit to trade.

From his predilection for maritime traffic, Ptolemy undertook several projects of a doubtful nature; of more ostentation, at least, than use. Among these I should be inclined to number his boasted canal by which the Red Sea was made to communicate with the Mediterranean; a canal begun by Sesostris, carried on but left imperfect by Darius, and which Ptolemy alone is said to have had the skill to finish²². This was effected by means of locks or sluices, without infecting the fresh waters of the Nile with saltness, or exposing the low land of Egypt to inundation; both which consequences were dreaded from the superior elevation of the Red Sea. According to Herodotus²³, who says that Darius really completed the work, this canal was drawn, from Bubastis on the Nile, fifty-six miles in a south-west direction to Arsinoe, the modern Suez, at which place it entered the Red Sea. After being choaked up as at present, it was successively repaired by the Emperor Trajan, and by the Caliph Omar, but there is not any proof that it ever remained open for any consider-

²¹ Conf. Appian in Proem. & Schol. in l. i. f. 3. & Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 29. Theocrit.

²² L. ii. c. 158.

²³ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804. Conf. Diodorus,

able time"; and the navigation of it seems to have been speedily abandoned by Ptolemy himself, since he was at great expence in establishing caravan communications between the Red Sea and the Nile, first from Berenice in the parallel of Syene, and next from the more northerly and more convenient harbour of Myos Hormos¹⁶ From both these harbours roads led to Coptos on the Nile; the road from Myos Hormos to Coptos was provided with caravanseries at each station, and with a canal for supplying the travelling merchants and their camels with fresh water. As the distance was inconsiderable; and the commodities transported of great value, this route was deemed preferable to a dangerous and circuitous navigation to Alexandria¹⁷.

Harbours on
the Red Sea.

From the earliest ages the natives of Egypt had carried on a great inland commerce with Ethiopia and Arabia. But their religious horror for the sea, and especially for a sea-faring life, prevented them from availing themselves to the utmost of this traffic. Egypt was in some measure the China of antiquity, in whose harbours the Phœnicians and Greeks successively gained great riches, while the inhabitants of the country, declining all maritime concerns, neither sold their own commodities to the best advantage, nor purchased foreign articles at the cheapest rate. The Ptolemies completely changed this pernicious system; they traded with their own ships to all the ports of the Mediterranean: Tyre had already fallen, and Carthage soon fell with the rise of Alexandria, whose central situation co-operated with other circumstances in giving to it a decided pre-eminence as a great maritime emporium. Sensible of this advantage, the second Ptolemy should seem to have determined, towards the end of his reign, to carry on entirely by the Red Sea the caravan trade which had formerly subsisted between the cities of Egypt on one hand, and those of Ethiopia on the other.

Ptolemy's
design of
changing
into a mari-
time com-
merce the
caravan
trade be-
tween Egypt
and Ethio-
pia.

¹⁶ See Rennell's *Geography* of Herodotus, Berenice here meant.

¹⁷ 8.

Myos Hormos is 250 miles north of the

¹⁷ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 815.

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Picture of
the nations
between the
Red Sea and
the Nile.

In a former part of this work¹⁸, we explained how that rich traffic was managed by the intervention of the Agazi or shepherds, Nomadic inhabitants of the intermediate desert of Nubia. The intercourse at different periods had been disturbed by the misfortunes of Egypt, and nearly destroyed by the outrageous tyranny of Cambyfes, and the sanguinary persecution of the priests of that country under the Persian domination. The shepherds, who had been peaceful auxiliaries to the priestly merchants of Thebes and Meroe, as they ceased to be employed as carriers in trade, had betaken themselves to petty warfare and robbery. Philadelphus and his immediate successor restrained their ravages, invaded and examined their country; and in order to wean them from their predatory and wandering life, formed settlements and built towns in the territory between Syene the extremity of Egypt, and Meroe the first city of Ethiopia. The learned men who lived at this period, and from whose works the names of otherwise unknown places are copied by Strabo¹⁹ and Pliny²⁰, probably first examined with a philosophic eye the strange nations afterwards described by Agatharchides between the Red Sea and the Nile; those called Ichthyophagi and Acridophagi from the fishes and the locusts on which they respectively fed; other tribes contented with the juncs growing in their marshes, and often browsing on tender twigs; the fiercer Shangalla hunting the elephant and rhinoceros; the Troglodites burrowing in the elevated rocky chain that runs parallel with the Red Sea, divided into many tribes mostly pastoral, who are compelled to perpetual changes of abode in consequence of the periodic rains which fall at different seasons on the opposite sides of their mountains²¹. Could they withstand these desolating floods, another mischief would force them to wander. This is the zimb or fly, improperly described by

¹⁸ See above, p. 76.

¹⁹ Strabo, l. xvii. p. p. 820, 821.

²⁰ Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 39.

²¹ Vid. Agatharchid. apud Phot. p. 1345
—1359. Compare throughout Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile.

Agatharchides,

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Agatharchides, though its effects are recognized by him. It is larger than a bee, and its upper and lower jaws are armed with stings, or piercers which, being joined together, form a weapon equal in resistance to a hedge-hog's bristle. As soon as the tropical rains begin to fall, this buzzing plague infests all the animals pasturing on the black loomy soil. The cattle forsake their food, and run about wildly, till entirely overcome by fear, fatigue, and famine. No expedient is of use but an immediate removal from their rich pastures, to the sands of Athara, which the river Astaboras separates from the isle of Meroe. The camel greatly facilitates these journies which are necessary to its own safety; for neither the camel, the elephant, nor even the scaly rhinoceros can resist the incessant assaults of this winged assassin⁶².

In this great tract of territory the inhabitants are thus compelled by physical causes to perpetual migration; their country itself is also generally unfit for agriculture, being alternately deluged by rains and scorched by the sun. Between these extremes there is in many places no remission, for the rains have scarcely ceased, when the soil is so hardened and cracked by the heat, that it refuses nourishment to the fading grass⁶³. It may be presumed, therefore, that the Ptolemies, in assigning fixed habitations to Nomades so circumstanced, too little respected the immutable ordinances of nature. Accordingly we are told by Pliny, that not a vestige of any of the cities, which they built in the country between Egypt and Abyssinia, subsisted in the reign of the emperor Nero⁶⁴. Their endeavour to enure the Nomades to agriculture or sedentary arts, appears, however, to have been part of a plan for drawing to themselves by the way of the Red Sea the commerce immemorially carried on by land between the priests of Egypt and Ethiopia. In the reign of Philadelphus, Ergamenes king of Meroe, being instructed in Greek philosophy,

Abortive project of the Ptolemies to reduce the Nomades in those countries to an agricultural life.

Their views in that project.

⁶² Bruce, *ibid.*

⁶³ *Id. ibid.* & Agatharchides, p. 1357.

⁶⁴ A. D. 54. Plin. *ubi supra.*

derided.

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derided the superstition of his country, and destroyed, in their golden temple, those wealthy and powerful priests, who had hitherto kept in subjection both prince and people". We are not told that Philadelphus had any share in that wicked transaction; yet the ruin of the priests, who were the main adventurers in this Ethiopian traffic, at the same time that the Nomades, its carriers, were reduced to fixed seats, should seem to indicate that these were correlative parts of one great design for bringing the trade into a new channel.

Great accession of inhabitants to Egypt in the reign of the two first Ptolemies.

It has already been observed, that a benefit accruing to Egypt, during the reign of the two first Ptolemies, of which it is not easy to limit the extent, consisted in the accession of wealthy and industrious inhabitants to that kingdom from all the other most considerable divisions of the empire. It will give us some notion of the multitudes of useful labourers in the coarser occupations of life, who flocked to a country affording to them encouragement as well as security, if we reflect on the great number of men of letters; philosophers, historians, and poets; and of the still more numerous professors or cultivators of the arts of imitation or design, which rendered Alexandria, in the space of half a century, the first city in the world in point of show and elegance as well as of wealth and learning.

Three poetical constellations.

In the reign of Philadelphus, poets of great merit in the eyes at least of their contemporaries, flourished in such abundance, that they were fancifully grouped into constellations. There was a constellation of comic⁶⁶ writers, whose light has been long extinct; there was another of tragedians⁶⁷, which has experienced the same fate; unless we ascribe to this class the Cassandra of Lycophron, which, consisting in the narrative of a single person, introduced and concluded by a few verses in dialogue, can only be regarded as a tragic monody. Lycophron, therefore, more fitly holds place in the constellation of miscellaneous poets, the famous Pleiades, whose

⁶⁶ Diodor. l. iiii. f. 6.

⁶⁷ Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 654.

⁶⁷ Hephæstion Encheirid.

names and countries are thus enumerated⁶⁸: Aratus of Soli in Cilicia; Callimachus of Cyrenè; Theocritus the Sicilian; Apollonius, called the Rhodian, though really born in Egypt; Lycophron of Chalcis in Eubæa; Nicander of Colophon, and the younger Homer, whose birth-place is said to have been Hieropolis, but which of the various cities of that name, as none of his productions remain, it would be now idle to dispute. The six first named stars in the Pleiades, on the contrary, still emit a light more or less feeble, and which, through the happy invention of printing, will continue henceforward to shine undiminished to the latest posterity.

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Aratus is the author of a poem in two parts, the former describing the celestial phenomena, and the latter explaining the useful signs or prognostics that may be deduced from them. The work is didactic, allowing little scope for the beauties of poetry; yet the positions and configurations of the Great and Little Bear, of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and of other remarkable constellations, are represented and adorned with harmonious heroic numbers; and the opening of Aratus' *Phænomena* is more sublime than that of Virgil's *Georgic*; with less variety, perhaps, and fancy, but breathing a strain of far more rational piety⁶⁹. His own proficiency in geometry and astronomy is said to have been inconsiderable⁷⁰; but he had before him Eudoxus' "*Mirror of the Heavens*," above-mentioned; and was assisted by men of science, his contemporaries and friends⁷¹ at Alexandria. That his work was highly prized by the ancients, is evinced in its illustrious translators; Cicero, Ovid, and Cæsar Germanicus: it was soon commented on by upwards of forty scholiasts⁷². The subject, indeed, so interesting to mariners, was peculiarly well adapted to the reign of Ptolemy Phila-

Aratus.

⁶⁸ Isaac Tzetzes in Lycophron. Prolegom. Conf. Vossius de Hist. Græc. l. i. c. 12.

⁶⁹ It is cited by St. Paul, Acts, c. xvii. v. 28.

⁷⁰ Constat inter doctos, hominemi gnarum astrologiæ ornatissimis atque optimis versibus

Aratum de cælo et stellis scripssisse. Cicero de Orator.

⁷¹ Thus assisted, Thomson wrote his poem to the memory of Newton.

⁷² Fabricius Bib. Græc. l. iii. c. 18.

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delphus, with whom the extension of maritime commerce was a favourite object. But sailors have long enjoyed better helps in directing their course; and the dry poem of Aratus has lost its popularity with its usefulness. By his contemporaries, the author was highly respected in life; and honoured in death with a pompous funeral at Soli, afterwards named Pompeiopolis, his birth-place; where a noble mausoleum⁷³ was erected to perpetuate his fame⁷⁴.

Callima-
chus.

Callimachus is praised by one of the most discerning of critics⁷⁵ as the prince of elegiac poets. He is now known by six hymns, (one only in elegiac verse), and sixty-two epigrams. He was a very miscellaneous writer in prose⁷⁶ as well as verse, and is said to have composed eight hundred pieces⁷⁶. He treated subjects of history, geography, antiquities, philosophy, natural and moral; above all, philology and criticism. But though his productions were wondrous for their number, his whole works were not considerable in magnitude⁷⁷. This was matter of reproach among his more ponderous rivals, to whom his reply, became proverbial, that "a great book is a great evil." His most celebrated treatise in prose was his "Table of Authors," in one hundred and twenty books. In this table or catalogue, authors were divided into their different classes; poets, orators, historians, philosophers, critics; the poets, for example, were again divided into epic, tragic, and various other kinds. A short biography was given of each writer, with a summary account of his works, carefully separating the spurious from those undoubtedly genuine⁷⁸. An undertaking of such an extensive nature, how judiciously soever it might be executed, could scarcely fail to be, in many parts, liable to objection. We find accordingly that Aristophanes, an Alexandrian philologer of the succeeding age, composed a new literary table, with many sharp animadversions on

⁷³ Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 13.

⁷⁴ Ovid supplies the best inscription:

Cum Sole et Luna semper Aratus erit.

Amor. l. i. Eleg. 15.

⁷⁵ Quintilian, l. x. c. 1.

⁷⁶ Suidas.

⁷⁷ Athenæus, l. i. sup. init.

⁷⁸ Suidas.

that

that of Callimachus⁷⁹. Of the remains of this author, which have come down to us, the epigrams, whether dedicated to the purposes of satire or eulogy, are too slight performances to support much weight of fame; and his hymns, terse and elegant⁸⁰ as they are, and highly popular as they once were, necessarily sunk in renown after Christianity had put to rout the rabble of imaginary gods to whom they are addressed.

Theocritus.

Theocritus, the friend of Aratus⁸¹, enjoys an advantage above his poetical contemporaries, in having chosen, in his pastorals, subjects alike adapted to all ages and countries. Though he lived and wrote in Egypt, his mind is warmly impressed with the more picturesque scenery of his native Sicily. He sounds his Doric reed with an art that adorns, without altering, the simplicity of nature. If we except a few coarse expressions, growing out of the depraved manners of the times, his Idyls are the happiest productions in their way; and succeeding poets, not excepting Virgil himself, have failed in their attempts to improve on and embellish them.

Apollonius.

Apollonius, surnamed the Rhodian because adopted into that state, had been the friend and favourite scholar of Callimachus. But of-
fended friendship was converted into the bitterest enmity. Callimachus boasted his descent from the royal house of Cyrenè⁸²; and his kingly pride taking umbrage at some disrespectful proceeding in his pupil, lashed him in a poem entitled Ibis⁸³, with the utmost severity of satire. To avoid literary persecution in Alexandria, Apollonius sailed to Rhodes, a republic then intimately allied with Egypt. In this island, he polished and elaborated his poem on the Argonautic

⁷⁹ Athenæus, l. ix. p. 408

⁸⁰ Battiaðes toto semper cantabitur orbe;
Quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.

Ovid ubi supra.

⁸¹ Theocritus' sixth Idyl is addressed to Aratus; whose loves also are spoken of in the seventh.

⁸² Thence called Battiaðes from King Bat-

tus, see above, c. iii. p. 269.

⁸³ The name of an Egyptian bird, resembling the stork. Ovid's Ibis is well known. He imitates throughout Callimachus; and his redundancy of learning gives, in this particular, a just notion of many lost works of Alexandrian poets.

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expedition, of which various parts had previously been recited^a at Alexandria, and heard with more censure than applause. Having finished the work to his own satisfaction, Apollonius submitted it to the umpires of taste among the Rhodians, by whom it was so highly approved, that the author was associated to the immunities and honours of their city, then, next to Athens and Alexandria, the most learned in the world. Elated with this testimony in his favour, he returned to the place of his birth; gradually surmounted the difficulties to which he had before yielded; and finally attained, in advanced age, the highest object of his ambition, having succeeded to the celebrated Eratosthenes, of whom we shall speak presently, in the superintendence of the museum and library^b. To this distinction, his sole title, that can now be appreciated, was derived from the poem above-mentioned. It consists of four books in hexameter verse, and recounts the voyages and transactions of the Argonauts in numbers never creeping on the ground, and never soaring to the skies. Its prominent defect is that of flowing with too unvaried a mediocrity^c. It has more description than passion, more refinement than loftiness, and more art than nature. Yet the pangs and struggles of Apollonius' love-sick Medea, are imitated by Virgil in the melancholy grandeur and dignified weakness of Dido; and the solemn picture of night, contrasting the tumults in the queen's breast with the still and motionless silence of all around her, is faithfully copied from the Alexandrian poet; who, though Virgil be always the more majestic, is sometimes the more affecting

Lycophron.

The dimmest star in the poetic Pleiades is the muddy^d and mysterious Lycophron. Neither the oracular responses of Delphi, nor

^a Suidas.^b Quintilian, l. x. c. 1. agreeing with Longinus, l. 33.^c His sentiments appear to me also sometimes more delicate, and his notions more refined, than those of either Homer or Virgil. Thus Hercules prefers Jason to himself, and Jason grieves for the woes of othersmore than for his own. *Argonaut.* l. ii. v. 637. For the second point, witness what blind Phenias says of a future state, "that he will then be delighted with splendour, &c. l. ii. v. 448.^d *Carmina Battiadae, tenebraeque Lycophronis atri.* Statius.

the Sibylline ⁸⁸ verses, nor other parallel productions of priest-craft and superstition had yet been combined among the Greeks into any long continued texture of prophetic poetry. At length the Cassandra of Lycophron made its appearance, in the same age when the Hebrew volumes being first unrolled to prophane view, might be expected to excite this unequal competition and feeble rivalry of the Muses. But the hallowed strains of Sion, defying imitation in their awful sublimity, are far surpassed by Lycophron in elaborate darkness. By Cassandra or Alexandra, for his prophetess had both names, heroes and gods are denoted by their emblems or achievements; a legendary tale is substituted for the description of a country; events are crowded in endless succession; the bounds of space and time are enlarged or contracted at pleasure; and even the distinct provinces of our senses, of all things the most clearly separate in themselves, are amalgamated and confounded ⁸⁹ in the melting furnace of an over-heated fancy. Amidst all this wildness of disorder, Cassandra commencing with the ill-fated voyage of Paris to Lacedæmon, sketches out, however, the general history of the Trojan war, expatiating on the disasters which followed it. She next adverts, in the darkest imagery, to the two great original causes of hostility between the eastern and western continents; the rape of Europa and the expedition of the Argonauts: and then traces these original land-marks, and exuberant fountains of fable, through all the occurrences connected with them, down to the Ptolemean age. After repeated perusals, Lycophron, according to associations created by differences of studies and pursuits, will appear to some readers altogether unworthy of the pains necessary to be bestowed on him; by others, when its difficulties are surmounted, the Cassandra will be prized as

⁸⁸ The Sibylla was an Eolian: her name, derived from two Greek words in the Eolian dialect, *σιβη* and *κυλη*, denoted her character of prophetess. Her supposed verses, it is well known, became a state engine among the Romans, descended, as will be shewn,

from the Eolians.

⁸⁹ Flashes are heard and shrieks are seen.

Οι μωρη δὲ μοι

ἐκ νοῦ πυρρῆς ἐξ ἀκρῆς ὑδαλλεται.

Alexand. v. 254.

CHAPTER. a rich mythological epitome, in the richest and most beautiful of all languages.

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Nicander.

Nicander of Colophon is commonly numbered as the seventh and last of the Pleiades. He wrote *Georgics*⁹⁰ and *Metamorphoses*⁹¹; but his remains are now reduced to two compositions in heroic verse, to which Plutarch denies⁹² the rank of poems, because they are altogether destitute of poetical invention. Both treat of poisons; the first, of those communicated externally by the bite or sting of animals: the second, of those applied internally, or received into the stomach. Such subjects were interesting in Egypt, a country abounding in venomous reptiles: they were important in other parts of the empire, disgraced by too much practice, as well as theory, in the art of preparing poisons.

The four schools.

Of medicine.

In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the four new schools of Alexandria, owing their establishment to the preceding reign, continued to flourish in great vigour: namely, those of grammar, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. In the last-named of these departments, the physicians Erasistratus and Herophilus were succeeded by Philinus and Serapion. Philinus carried on the labours of his predecessors with so much success, that he is deemed the founder of the empiric or experimental sect⁹³. Serapion, his contemporary, and a native of Alexandria, enjoyed high celebrity; and from this time forward, the science of medicine struck such deep root in that city, and received so many improvements from the professors or practitioners there, that a physician was much recommended in all succeeding ages of antiquity, by the circumstance of having prosecuted his studies in the Egyptian capital.

Of geometry and astronomy.

Concerning the geometers, who immediately followed Euclid, there is much obscurity, till the light breaks forth in Apollonius and Archimedes, of whom, as belonging to a later period, we shall after-

⁹⁰ Cicero De Orator. De rebus rusticis Nicander scripsit præclare.

l. iii. p. 82.

⁹² De audiend. poetis.

⁹¹ Schol. in Apollon. l. i. et Athenæus,

⁹³ Galen. tom. iv. p. 372.

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Aristarchus
of Samos.

wards have occasion to speak. The astronomers Aristillus and Timocharis found⁹⁴ a worthy successor in Aristarchus of Samos. An observation of Aristarchus at Alexandria applies to the year⁹⁵ two hundred and eighty-one before the Christian æra, that is, to the fourth year of Philadelphus' reign. He is the author of a work concerning the distances and magnitudes of the sun and moon⁹⁶, in which, he enlarged the boundaries of the solar system; and though his conclusions on this subject remained far short of the truth, they yet convinced him of the stability of the sun, and of the diurnal and annual motions of the earth⁹⁷. It was objected to him, that upon the supposition of the earth's motion, the fixed stars, as viewed from this wandering world, must be continually changing their motion with regard to each other. He answered by saying, that the whole of the earth's orbit round the sun was little better than a point in comparison of the heavens. Such doctrines exposed Aristarchus to the censure of men who assumed the name of philosophers, but who, as we have seen, were mere sectaries. Cleanthes, deemed the prince of the Stoics in that age, accused⁹⁸ him of shaking with rude impiety the throne of Vesta, an ancient and venerable goddess, since daughter to Saturn and Rhea⁹⁹. To Vesta, besides, an important function was assigned. She was the patroness of fixed habitations, of settled or civilized life. Her domain was near the earth's centre; and her sacred seat was always represented firm and immoveable¹⁰⁰. By this and other objections, scarcely more weighty, the philosophy of Aristarchus was repressed through many succeeding centuries. At length, however, it emerged by its native merit. Tables more perfect than those of which he had set the example, were constructed of the distances and motions of the planets, from the contemplation of which Kepler in 1680 discovered that the squares of their periodic

⁹⁴ Ptolem. Mathem. Syntax.

Conf. Vitruvius, l. i. c. 1.

⁹⁵ Aristarch. de magnitud. et distant. Solis et Lunæ in Oper. Wallisij, Oxon. 1659.⁹⁷ Plutarch de Facie in Orb. Lun. p. 523.⁹⁸ Hesiod Theogon.⁹⁹ Archimed. in Plasmmit. p. 120. et seq.¹⁰⁰ Ovid. Fast. l. vi.

times

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 XI. law, together with that of falling bodies previously ascertained by Galileo, prepared the way for the astronomy of the great Newton, which the labours of the Alexandrian school, particularly of Apollonius and Archimedes, perfected by his own admirable sagacity, enabled that incomparable geometer to establish on strict mathematical demonstration.

Mixed mathematics.

Before the establishment of that school, philosophers were acquainted¹⁰⁰ with the rectilinear propagation of light, the equality between the angles of incidence and reflection, and that great principle of moving force, according to which weight is balanced by velocity; a principle expanded or ramified in what are called the five mechanic powers. On the basis of these observations or facts, they began to rear the fabric of mixed mathematics; light, matter, and motion were subjected to the search of their own severe geometry: and great proficiency was attained in all those ingenious arts, which, either in peace or war, form the most unequivocal distinction between civilized and barbarous nations; and whose highest reaches of improvement were conspicuous in their military works and engines, as well as in their great civil monuments. In the latter years of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the most distinguished engineer was Ctesibius¹⁰¹, a native of Askra in Bœotia, the birth-place of old Hesiod. His scholars were Beto and Hero, whose treatises on the construction of missile weapons have come down to modern times. Hero's books on pneumatic and hydraulic machines are also preserved, and highly deserving of attention, although, in this work, the moving powers of water and air are employed in producing effects rather surprising than useful. Fragments also remain of his treatise on Automata, or self-moving figures. In the hands of Hero, and still more of his successors, science thus came to be directed to the pur-

The engineers Ctesibius and Hero.

¹⁰⁰ See my New Analysis of Aristotle's *Physics Architect.* in Prefat. l. vii. & *Plin.* l. vii. Speculative Philosophy. c. 37.

¹⁰¹ Athenæus, l. xi. p. 497. Conf. Vitru-

poses of recreation and pastime; and on this score chiefly was patronised, as we shall see, by the latter Egyptian and Syrian kings: princes unfit for business, and often addicted to the most childish amusements.

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At the head of the grammarians in this reign, it is fit to place Eratosthenes, though he flourished towards the latter part of it, and was first appointed to preside over the museum and library under the third Ptolemy, surnamed Euergetes. Though he is called a grammarian, synonymous in those days with the name of philologer or critic, he attained great eminence as a philosopher and mathematician; and if not an admired poet, was at least a writer of correct and elegant verses¹⁰². His chronological canons are praised by one of the most accurate of historians¹⁰³. He was an improver of geography as well as of chronology. He was the first who traced a parallel of latitude, regulated by the day's greatest length: namely, 14.5 hours. This parallel passed from the pillars of Hercules through the southern extremity of Peloponnesus, the island of Rhodes, and then forward through the great eastern regions of Assyria and Ariana to the mountains of India¹⁰⁴. Eratosthenes measured the obliquity of the ecliptic, and ascertained with a considerable degree of accuracy the circumference of the earth at 250,000 stadia¹⁰⁵; about 25,000 miles. He also invented the armillæ, a combination of circles representing the celestial sphere. This valuable instrument of science he erected in the great portico

Gramma-
tians. —
Eratosthe-
nes.

¹⁰² Longin de Sablim s. 33.

¹⁰³ Dionys. Halicarn. Histor. Roman. l. i. p. 60.

¹⁰⁴ Strab. l. ii. p. 67. & seq.

¹⁰⁵ The segment of the meridian chosen for this purpose was that between Alexandria and Syene, places distant from each other 500 stadia. Having obtained this measure from Ptolemy's surveyors, (per mensuras regios Ptolemæi. Martian Capella, l. vi. p. 194), and knowing that Syene lay

directly under the northern tropic, he waited the time when the sun was vertical at Syene to observe a style raised from the bottom of a concave sphere at Alexandria, and finding the shadow projected on the spherical concavity to be a fiftieth part of the whole circumference, he concluded the 500 stadia between Syene and Alexandria to be a fiftieth part of the circumference of a great circle of the earth. Cleomedes de Globi terræ Mensura.

of

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of Alexandria, where it was used by succeeding astronomers in observing the equinoxes, and in determining, without the aid of trigonometry, the longitude and latitude of stars ¹⁰⁶. Notwithstanding these important pursuits, philology ¹⁰⁷ and antiquities formed the favourite province of Eratosthenes. He was a copious writer on both these subjects; but of all his compositions nothing has come down to us, except his short tract on the constellations with an abstract of the fables which gave rise to their names; his account of the mesolabe, or instrument for finding between two lines two mean proportionals; and his measure of the earth, reported by Cleomedes, who lived many centuries after him ¹⁰⁸. His distinguished merit could not exempt him from the malice of detractors. Even his wonderful variety of talents, so assiduously and so successfully employed, were seized as the handle for contemptuous obloquy. He was entitled *Beta*, as a man who had not attained the first rank in any one of the numerous objects of his pursuit ¹⁰⁹. His friends, with less blameable injustice, called him the pentathlete, as carrying off the palm of glory in all the arts and sciences in which he contended.

The four
sects.—
Strato the
Peripatetic.

The philosophers of the four different sects were as numerous at Alexandria in the reign of Philadelphus as in that of his predecessor: and those of the Peripatetic school should seem to have been distinguished with the same preference in point of royal favour and royal munificence. The respect which Demetrius Phalereus enjoyed under the first of those princes, was shewn by the second to Strato, also the scholar of Theophrastus. The virtuous instructions of that philosopher were ¹¹¹ rewarded by the king with a present of eighty Alexandrian talents, equivalent to twenty-four thousand pounds.

¹⁰⁶ Ptolem. Mathem. Syntax. l. iii. c. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Sueton. de Grammaticis et rhetoribus, p. 63.
c. 10.

¹⁰⁸ They are published with the Oxford
Edition of Aratus. An. 1702.

¹⁰⁹ Suidas et Marcian. Heracleot. in Perip.

¹¹⁰ Plin. l. ii. c. 108. et Lucian in Macrob.

¹¹¹ Diogen. Laert. l. v. segm. 60.

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Sotades, the
satirist.

The greatest discouragement to letters is the encouragement of vile and invidious pretenders. Philadelphus was not guilty of this error, too common with well meaning but simple patrons. He rejected with scorn those who courted, and sometimes obtained a spurious fame, by either offending decency, or by outraging merit. Among the former, the obscene poet Sotades of Crete held the most conspicuous place; but was treated so neglectfully by the king, that the lewd venom of his mind was inflamed into new virulence, and vomited forth against the prince by whose coldness he was affronted. Unfortunately, some proceedings of Ptolemy made him too fair a mark for the resentful malignity of Sotades. His sister Arsinoë, formerly wife to Lyfimachus of Thrace, had sufficiently displayed her character in transactions above recorded in the history of that prince. The infamy of her behaviour did not prevent Philadelphus from receiving her kindly in Egypt, and, in the eighth year of his reign, from sharing with her his throne^{'''}. Being too old to bear children of her own, she adopted those of his former wife, whose imprisonment at Coptos, in consequence of a real or pretended conspiracy, made way for the advancement of Arsinoë, who varnished her vices with such artifice, or compensated them by such talents, that Ptolemy consulted her in all his affairs, and continued to doat on this profligate woman through life, with an extravagance of conjugal fondness^{'''}. Her baneful ascendancy could not fail to taint the manners of her husband. Ptolemy, with many praiseworthy qualities, was disgraced by an air of voluptuous softness; by a proneness to slothful effeminacy, and ostentatious vanity^{'''}. The character of the court was impressed on the capital. The women of Alexandria ceased to be distinguished by that modesty and reserve, which still prevailed among females of honourable rank in ancient Greece, and in Greek settlements in all other parts of the world: and his-

^{'''} Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. and Pausanias Attic.

^{'''} Pausanias Attic.
^{'''} Athenæus, l. xii.

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torians afterwards remarked, that of all such settlements, Alexandria alone was disgraced by the mixture of women with men in crowds and popular tumults¹⁵. The weak part of Ptolemy's behaviour, his incestuous amours and his uxoriousness were reprobated in language too¹⁶ gross to transcribe by Sotades, who found in the same subject an opportunity for gratifying his resentment, and indulging his obscenity¹⁷. The petulant satirist was thrown into prison at Alexandria. He effected his escape; was retaken, however, near Caunus in Caria, by Patrocles, the most distinguished of Ptolemy's admirals, who is said (horrid to relate!) to have wrapped him in a sheet of lead, and thus consigned the impure poet to the sea.

Zoilus.

The name of Zoilus is proverbial, as the most impudent detractor of merit. His trite story is involved in chronological difficulties¹⁸, by confounding this child of malignity and envy, who was a native of Ephesus, and lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, with a pleader of causes in Athens of the same name half a century older, who was born in the Athenian colony Amphipolis, and who flourished in the reign of Philip, father to Alexander¹⁹. This Athenian Zoilus chose, for his model in public speaking, the well known Lyfias, an orator full of sweetness and persuasion, who, without boldness of imagery or vehemence of argument, gained his hearers by ordinary and proper terms, gracefully disposed; and by that air of frankness, truth, and candour which always shone in his discourse²⁰. An author's style is the natural picture of his mind. That of the elder Zoilus was amiable and engaging, and altogether inconsistent with the malignant acrimony, and savage ferocity, for which his unworthy namesake was branded in the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This opprobrium to letters was not indeed deficient in terseness of expression, and plausibility of

¹⁵ Polybius, l. xv. c. 39.¹⁶ Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 621.¹⁷ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 648. Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 620.¹⁸ Suidas and Ælian, V. H. l. xi. c. 10.¹⁹ Dion. Halicarn. de Demosthen. vehement. et in Epist. ad Pompeium.²⁰ See Life of Lyfias, prefixed to my Translation of his Speeches.

argument ;

argument; in readiness of wit to surprise, and in the knack of ludicrous combinations and images to excite insolent laughter. He over-rated however his own powers, when he came to Alexandria in hopes of acquiring fame, by stigmatising the most illustrious names with deformities directly the reverse of their acknowledged beauties; reproached Xenophon with affectation, and Plato with vulgarity; arraigned Isocrates for want of elegance, and Aristotle for dulness in discernment¹¹¹. The poets were the great butts of his buffoonery, especially Homer, in whom all poetical excellence is summed up. The reprimand of Homer was his principal and most favourite performance. We know it only by a few low farcisms, equally impudent and contemptible. Homer, he says, is ridiculous in the beginning of the Iliad, when he employs so great a god as Apollo in killing lazy curs. He is equally absurd in the progress of it, when he describes Diomed's helmet as blazing with fire, for then the hero must have been burnt alive by his own armour¹¹². The companions of Ulysses turned by Circè into swine, Zoilus ludicrously called Homer's poor little blubbing gruntlings¹¹³. The poet, he says, knew nothing of good breeding, when he rudely thrust old Priam from Achilles' tent: and he is an absolute fool, in making Idæus quit his nimble chariot, in which, to save his life, he ought to have driven away at full speed¹¹⁴. By such impudent scurrility, Zoilus provoked much hatred; in his own style, he was branded as a growling snarler, the¹¹⁵ cur of criticism; and when little patronised by the public, he solicited a share in the king's bounties, Ptolemy coldly observed to him, that it was strange so great a genius, towering even above Homer, should stand in need of assistance, since the poems of Homer still furnish bread to thou-

¹¹¹ Ælian, ubi supra.¹¹² Schol. Anonym. in Iliad V.¹¹³ Longin. de Sublim. f. ix.¹¹⁴ Schol. ibid.¹¹⁵ Κυνὲν ἐπιτομῆνας. Ælian, ubi supra. Strabo scoffs at him more pleasantly. "In speaking

of the isle of Tenedos, Zoilus says absurdly, that the river Alpheus, in Peloponnesus, has its source in that island. Such is the fabulosity of the man who finds fault with the fables of Homer!" Strabo, l. vi. p. 271.

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Characteris-
tics of the
Ptolemean
age.

The Ptolemean age of literature, for thus the reign of Philadelphus has sometimes been distinguished, was remarkable not only for the vast number of its productions, but for the wide diversity in their subjects: history, natural and civil; poetry in all its branches; moral philosophy and criticism; geometry, astronomy, music, and medicine ¹⁰⁷. With much ardour for real knowledge, the writers of that age pursued, however, with equal eagerness, all the wildest illusions of the false. Thence, their fabulous history and visionary philosophy; their fanciful discussions concerning mysterious powers in plants and minerals; their innumerable treatises on judicial astrology; their books of travels, and voyages of discovery ¹⁰⁸ without end, in which the most monstrous fictions are related; and thence many huge collections, on the express subject of wonders and prodigies ¹⁰⁹. Various causes concurred to mark the learning of Alexandria with a character, altogether different from that which had distinguished the learning of Athens. The fraternities devoted to arts and sciences, lodged and fed in the museum, are compared to fowls fattened in coops ¹¹⁰, who gain a superabundance of flesh, at the expence of raciness and flavour. If we may judge, indeed, by the remains which have come down to us, the works of the Alexandrians displayed more erudition than taste, and more art than genius ¹¹¹. Their compositions of the popular kind were calculated for the gratification of a pompous and effeminate court, of a wealthy and luxurious capital; as eager for amusement as careless of correct information. The multiplicity of pursuits dis-

¹⁰⁶ Vitruvius Architect. l. vii. in Præfat.

¹⁰⁷ See the titles of lost works of that age in Fabricius, Greek Library, b. iii. throughout.

¹⁰⁸ I thus translate the *ωπεύματα*.

¹⁰⁹ *Ἱστορίαν παραδοξῶν συνεγγραψας.*

¹¹⁰ *Ταλαροὶ.* Athenæus, l. i.

¹¹¹ Such is Lucian's judgement. Vid. de conscribend. Historia, p. 637. Edit. Amstel.

tracted;

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Oratory.

tracted; the number of helps encumbered; and society, too crowded and continuous, is less favourable than solitude, to high mental improvement. In consequence of the change to monarchy from republicanism, Grecian eloquence declined, and carried down with it all other kinds of literary composition; sweet sometimes and artful, but greatly degenerate in point of pith and persuasion¹². The orator now addressed himself to the great and opulent, whose minds he was either to soothe, or at best gently to agitate, not to the people at large, whose passions he was to rouse, whose resolutions he was to controul, and whose decrees he was, at will, either to abrogate or confirm. Thence, neither writers nor speakers assumed the same commanding attitude as formerly; and thinking less highly of their own character, reached not that majesty which overawes, and that vehemence which overwhelms. For history, the sober companion of eloquence, the exploits of Alexander offered the noblest of all subjects. Yet Hegesias and Onesecritus, with many authors of the same stamp, strangely deformed that august theme; the marvellous or puerile in their matter¹³ being accompanied by new and harsh turns of expression, by periods broken and transversed, by cadences uncouth and unexpected, by sounds that wounded the ear, and phrases that perplexed the understanding¹⁴.

In human affairs there is commonly a balance of good and evil. The ages of Alexander and the Ptolemies laid the foundation, as we have seen, of many noble improvements; yet the romantic events of the times, and the conflux into great cities of heterogeneous crowds prone to deceive each other, had a tendency to corrupt the purity of philosophy as well as history. Adopting the language of eastern despotism, the sophist Anaxarchus had not blushed to tell Alexander himself, that Justice sat at the right hand of kings ready to sanction their most lawless proceedings¹⁵. Clearchus and other

History.

Megasthenes
and Daimachus.

¹² Quintilian, l. x. c. 1. and Dialog. de Orator.

¹³ Polybius and Strabo, passim.

¹⁴ Dionys. de Structur. Orat. f. 18.

¹⁵ Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 10.

historians

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historians accompanying that conqueror, were imposed on themselves, and are accused of wilfully imposing on their readers¹¹⁶.

The delusion thickened under his immediate successors. Megasthenes and Daimachus, who, as ambassadors from Seleucus Nicator, resided successively at Palibothra, or Patna, then the great Indian capital, although they communicated much new information concerning the eastern world, yet disgraced their reports by the most ridiculous fictions: of ants, for example, large as foxes, that dug up gold; of men only three spans high; and of whole nations disfigured by ears so monstrous in magnitude, that they served their wearers for beds or coverings¹¹⁷.

Timæus.

Timæus of Tauromenium, who wrote history at Alexandria, under the first Ptolemies, though by a pun nick-named Epitimæus from his calumny, was afterwards, from his credulity, stigmatised in a single Greek word, denoting the collector of old women's stories¹¹⁸.

Evhemerus.

A contemporary and far more daring romancer was Evhemerus of Messenè, the agent and confidential friend of Cassander, who, in the partition of Alexander's empire, obtained the kingdom of Macedon. By that inquisitive and politic prince, Evhemerus was often employed in remote eastern embassies. In one of these missions, he embarked, according to his own narrative, at a harbour on the coast of Arabia Felix, and thence entering the ocean, discovered far distant from the continent of Asia, several valuable islands, of which the principal was Panchaia. This place he chose for the scene of wonders greater and bolder than any that his rivals had invented, since the lies of other Greek travellers were often a sort of pious frauds, enforcing popular superstitions, whereas the tale of Evhemerus was told with a view to discredit and subvert them. I will not enter into his description of the unrivalled felicity of Panchaia, a country surpassing in all the beauties of art and nature the Happy Arabia itself. Let it

¹¹⁶ Strabo, l. xv. p. 693.

¹¹⁷ Strabo, *ibid.* p. 706, 707.

¹¹⁸ Γραστολάστριον. Suidas et Hesychius.

suffice to observe that six miles from its capital, Panara, there was a lofty mountain called the throne of heaven, adorned by a magnificent temple of white marble, which among other monuments of inestimable value, contained a golden pillar, inscribed with hieroglyphics. In decyphering this inscription, Evhemerus unmasked the whole delusion of pagan idolatry: Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, with the whole tribe of Grecian gods, he found to have been mere mortals, several of them great conquerors, and all of them illustriously distinguished in arts and arms¹³⁹. Such is the *sacred history*, interpreted by Evhemerus from hieroglyphics into Greek, and translated a century afterwards from Greek into Latin, by the poet Ennius. Though all critics of discernment, with Eratosthenes at their head, the credulous Plutarch, and the incredulous Strabo and Polybius, reject with scorn the description, and even the existence of Panchaia, yet the name became current at Rome through the verses of Ennius, and was made familiar to the world, by the poetry of Lucretius¹⁴⁰ and Virgil¹⁴¹; both of them Epicureans in philosophy, and as such, not unwilling to abet what was deemed by the vulgar, the atheism of Evhemerus.

Berosus and
Manetho.

The wildest fables of the Greeks were countenanced and surpassed by those of the Barbarians, who adopted their language, and abused their credulity. Soon after the building of Alexandria, this new capital of Egypt was filled, as we have seen, by a mixed assemblage of nations, and particularly by a large colony of Jews, who, in the reign of the first Ptolemy, translated into Greek the five books of Moses, which they called collectively the Law¹⁴². The appearance of a work which reflected such unparalleled honour on a diminutive province, and at that time an obscure people, seems to have piqued the national pride of the Babylonians and Egyptians. These once

¹³⁹ Diodorus Siculus, l. v. f. 42. et seq.
Conf. Fragment. ex. l. vi. p. 622.

¹⁴⁰ Lucret. l. ii. v. 407.

¹⁴¹ Georg. l. ii. v. 139.

¹⁴² See this subject ably treated in Prideaux's
Connection of the Old and New Testament,
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illustrious cultivators of arts and sciences; found ready champions in the priests Berosus and Manetho, who, in the reign of the second Ptolemy, also translated into the Greek language, the history and antiquities of their respective countries. Berosus dedicated his work, which, under the title of history, comprehended a strange admixture of mythology and astrology¹³, to Antiochus Soter, then master of Babylon, or rather Seleucia Babylonica, and all the dependant provinces in Upper Asia. At whatever period this work was composed, it must have been presented by its author in the extremity of old age, since the accession of Antiochus did not happen till forty-three years after Alexander's death: and before that event, Berosus had flourished at Babylon, as a priest of Belus¹⁴. Having learned the Greek tongue, he travelled through different countries and islands inhabited by Greeks¹⁵; taught astronomy and astrology at Cos, the famed birth-place of Hippocrates; and carrying with him the same sciences to Athens, gained such renown in that superstitious city, by the authenticity of his predictions, that he was honoured with a statue in the principal place of public exercise¹⁶.

Berosus'
Babylonian
history.

In the history inscribed to Antiochus, the priest of Babylon still further insulted Grecian credulity, by tracing back the antiquity of that city to a period of four hundred and seventy-three thousand years before the Macedonian conquest¹⁷. With regard to the flood, as well as the transactions of Noah, Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus, his narrative nearly coincided with the Hebrew annals¹⁸. But whenever forsaken by this aid, all was impenetrable obscurity or wild inconsistency. The dark chasm of fathomless ages was partly filled up by barren lists of fabulous kings; while the palpable defect of satisfactory information was excused by a fiction still more palpable,

¹³ *Τὰ πρὸς Ἕλληνας φιλοσοφούμενα*. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. c. 19.

¹⁴ Tatian. advers. Gent.

¹⁵ Vitruvius, Architect. l. ix. c. 7.

¹⁶ Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

¹⁷ Syncell. Chronol. p. 17. and seq. Conf. Diodorus, l. ii. c. 31.

¹⁸ Josephus, ubi supra.

namely,

namely, that Nabonassar, who is said to have reigned at Babylon only 747 years before Christ, desirous of passing with posterity for the founder of that empire, had destroyed all the historical monuments of his numberless predecessors¹⁴⁹. Should this assertion be admitted, what are we to think of the records long anterior to Nabonassar, which Berosus with strange impudence professes to have carefully copied?

Manetho, a priest of Heliopolis in Egypt, endeavoured to convince his patron Ptolemy Philadelphus, that he governed a people not less venerable than the Babylonians, subject to his rival, the king of Syria. To Ptolemy he dedicated his translation into Greek of the antiquities of Egypt; according to which work, that country had been long governed by the gods. The reigns of these beneficent sovereigns were described in orderly succession, many of them exceeded the period of a thousand years: Vulcan's administration alone amounted to nine times that number¹⁵⁰. In some collateral points of history, the Egyptian priest accords with the writings of Moses, but, except where guided by this sacred light, his narrative, as Josephus convincingly argues, is fraught with the wildest absurdity, and sometimes poisoned by the grossest calumny¹⁵¹.

Manetho's
Egyptian
history.

The divine oracles, long carefully preserved by them, raised the Jews above such extravagant fictions and such monstrous chronology. But after their captivity in Babylon, and especially after their acquaintance with the Greek language, even this people who ought to have disdained such unnecessary artifices, did not remain exempt from the contagion of literary imposture, as those religious romances called the Apochrypha still testify; and Aristeas' well known story of the seventy-two interpreters¹⁵², with all the marvellous circumstances belonging to it, should seem to have been invented shortly

The Jews
adopt the
Greek learn-
ing and arts
of imposture.

¹⁴⁹ Syncell. Chronol. p. 207.

¹⁵² Vid. Arist. de S. Script. Interpret.

¹⁵⁰ Syncell. p. 270. Conf. Diodor. l. i.

Oxford, An. 1692. et Prideaux Old and New Testament connected, p. ii. b. 1. p. 44.

f. 44. ¹⁵¹ Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. c. 25 & seq. &c.

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after the Egyptian and Chaldæan forgeries above-mentioned. It is treated as an authentic work by Aristobulus, an Hellenistic Jew, like Aristeas himself, under the disguise of a Greek philosopher. In the extreme of national partiality, Aristobulus maintained that Pythagoras, Plato, and other learned luminaries of Greece, had borrowed all their science and knowledge from the Old Testament¹¹.

Circum-
stances
which occa-
sioned this.

Strange as this opinion must appear to those conversant with the history and genius of the two nations, circumstances were not wanting to give it an air of plausibility. From their classic compositions preceding the Macedonian conquest, the Greeks could not discover any indication of their intercourse with the Jews either as teachers or disciples: much less could the natives of Palestine find any notices of such connection in the sacred records entrusted to their care, and religiously transmitted by them to their posterity. But as the Greeks, shortly after Alexander's expedition, began to blend and amalgamate, as it were, their traditionary or written knowledge with oriental allegories and fables, so the Jews, at a still earlier period, had made such blameable additions to their divine scriptures, as fitted them to mix, in some measure, and harmonize either with the follies of superstition, or the absurdities of false philosophy. We shall briefly explain how these corruptions were introduced and rendered general, first among the Jews, and afterwards among the Greeks.

The oral law
taught by
the Maso-
rites and
Cabbalists.

It is a well known doctrine of the former at least as ancient as Ezra, by whom the sacred text was revised and solemnly published four centuries and a half before the Christian era, that God, when he gave the law to Moses on mount Sinai, also taught him its true reading called Masorah, and its true interpretation called Cabbala. The former of these uncouth words literally signifies "delivery," and the latter, "reception;" and both collectively refer to the same complex notion of a knowledge handed down from antiquity, and

¹¹ Clement. Alexar. d. Strom. i. et v. et Euseb. Preparat. Evang. i. xiii. c. 12.

uniformly

uniformly received through successive generations " The Masorites and Cabbalists, who were the guardians and teachers of these traditions, greatly multiplied after the age of Ezra, and particularly in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, when the spirit of fiction exerted its greatest vigour. From this time forward the Masorites and Cabbalists maintained a boundless authority, and the fables on which it was founded encreasing like snow-balls as they devolved from one age to another, were finally collected in the reign of Antoninus Pius into a work called the Mishnah, that is, the second or oral law by Rabbi Judah, then master of the Jewish school at Tiberias in Galilee. The Mishnah was received with the utmost veneration by the Hebrews at home and abroad, and became the principal study of their learned men, particularly in Babylonia and Palestine. The Rabbis of both those countries commented the Mishnah in what is called the Gemara, or complement, because in it their whole traditionary knowledge is supposed to be summed up. The Mishnah is the text, the Gemara the comment; and both collectively form the Talmuds, one of Jerusalem, published about the beginning of the fourth century, and the other the Babylonian, published two hundred years afterwards. The Babylonish Talmud is far the bulkier of the two, the proper Alcoran of the Jews, though the imposture originated at a far earlier period in those vile fictions which made our Saviour declare to the Scribes and Pharisees, that they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions ¹³. In consequence of these fabulous traditions, and particularly of the prevalent fashion of allegorical interpretation in the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Jews, gradually adapted their religious opinions to the taste of their conquerors, while some of their learned men imbibed so completely the philosophy, which, as we shall see presently, began to be taught in Alexandria in that reign under the usurped names of

The Mishnah.

The Gemara.

The Talmuds.

¹³ See on this subject, Prideaux, p. i. ¹⁴ Mark, c. vii. v. 13. b. v. throughout.

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The corrupters of
Greek philosophy.—
Diodorus of
Aspendus, and other
pretended
Pythagoreans.

Pythagoras and Plato, that it might be difficult, for an ordinary reader, to distinguish which were the copies, and which the originals¹⁶.

At the time when the Jews were most busy in polluting their religion by a spurious philosophy, the Greeks were not less perversely employed in corrupting their philosophy, so as to make it blend with the vilest superstition. This was effected under the first Ptolemies by Diodorus of Aspendus, and other pretended followers of Pythagoras, who laboured to adapt the tenets of that wise and great man, to the dark imaginations and childish credulity of the Egyptians¹⁷. The coadjutors of these pretended Pythagoreans, who acted the same part under the Ptolemies that the new Platonicians did under the Roman emperors, were the lying voyagers Diogenes Antonius, Hermippus of Smyrna, and others shortly before and after them, who, in their travels through different countries of the East, had learned to give such an account of the sages of ancient Greece as suited oriental prejudice and oriental credulity¹⁸. As the extravagant work of Diogenes can, as far as I know, be read only in the Greek library of Photius, I shall subjoin a brief account of it for the purpose of illustrating my present subject.

Diogenes
Antonius.

This Diogenes is placed by Photius above four centuries before Diogenes Laertius, that is, in the reign of Ptolemy Soter in Egypt. "His voyage to Thulé" is written in the dramatic form¹⁹, a mode of composition highly fashionable with the Greeks since the celebrity acquired by the dialogues of Xenophon and Plato. The story is told by Deinias an Arcadian to a party of his countrymen sent to solicit his return from Tyre to the place of his birth. Deinias, who was far advanced in life, refused to listen to this honourable invita-

¹⁶ Philo Judæus cited by Photius, Cod. c. v. p. 278. But long before Philo, who flourished An. Dom. 40, we find in the Jewish writers under the Ptolemies the doctrines and even technical expressions of the Platonic school of Alexandria. (See particularly the apocryphal book, entitled the

Wisdom of Solomon.

¹⁷ Conf. Diogen. Laert. in Pythagor. Athen. Deipn. l. iv. p. 165. et Jamblich. in Vit. Pythagor. c. ult.

¹⁸ Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 1. et Diogen. Laert. l. viii. segm. 40. et seq.

¹⁹ Vid. Phot. Cod. clxvi. p. 355. et seq.

tion from the public assembly of his commonwealth, but endeavoured to compensate to his fellow citizens for their fruitless voyage to Phœnicia, by entertaining them with the curious history of his own travels by sea and land. With three other Arcadians, as he related, and his son Demochares, he left Greece in quest of knowledge, passed through Asia Minor, crossed the Caspian sea, climbed the Riphæan mountains, and traversing regions of eternal winter, entered the ocean surrounding the globe, and encircled it from the rising sun to the western island of Thulé. In this island he found a hospitable resting place after his long and various navigation, and here too he found Dercyllis, a Tyrian damsel of great beauty and accomplishments, who, like himself, was distinguished by the amazing series of her adventures. Confidence and affection naturally grew up between congenial minds. Dercyllis entertained the Arcadian by telling how, in company with her brother Mantinias, she had been obliged to fly from Tyre through the machinations of Paapis an Egyptian priest. This priest, they had received and kindly entertained as an unfortunate exile, but, upon further acquaintance, had discovered him, to their infinite sorrow, to be an expert and detestable magician. Through the suggestions of this villainous impostor, the unhappy children administered by way of remedy to their drooping parents, preparations that suspended their vital powers, and enchanted them into a state of death-like slumber. Afflicted at this involuntary parricide, they had sailed from their native city, and visited many remote regions, in which they discovered unheard of wonders. Having touched at Sicily, they had the mortification to meet there the accursed Paapis; but, to punish his cruelty and perfidy, contrived to steal the scrip inclosing his books, and the casket containing his medicated herbs. With these instruments of his magic, they escaped into Italy. At Metapontum they learned that the traitor was in pursuit of them. Their informer was a philosopher whom in the course of their travels they had formerly met with,

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with, *Astræus*, companion to the famed *Zamolxis*, himself a disciple of *Pythagoras*, and legislator among his countrymen the *Getæ*, by whom he was successively revered as a prophet, and worshipped as a god. To avoid the encounter of *Paapis*, the young *Tyrians* accompanied *Astræus* to the country of the *Getæ*. The tedious part of the journey was beguiled by many wonderful stories concerning *Pythagoras*; his travels and discoveries, family and disciples. From *Astræus*, or rather from *Zamolxis* at his desire, the travellers also learned the extraordinary events that were speedily to befall themselves. According to his prediction, they sailed to *Thulé*; and being followed even to that extremity of the world, by the vengeful *Paapis*, were reduced by him through a seemingly very inadequate spell into the state of dead persons in the day-time, though they regularly revived in the night. Their cause was espoused by an amorous native of *Thulé*, who, at the sight of *Dercyllis* whom he supposed dead, slew first the magician, and then himself. The means of disenchanting the young *Tyrians*, as well as their aged parents, were finally discovered in examining the purloined books of *Paapis*. But I am unwilling farther to pursue such monstrous fictions, which, however, *Diogenes* endeavoured to sanction by a forged letter from *Balachrus*, one of the least conspicuous among *Alexander's* captains. In this strange epistle, written by *Balachrus* to his wife residing in *Macedon*, he relates, that *Alexander*, upon the taking and burning of *Tyre*, was accosted by a soldier, who intimated his having an extraordinary communication to make to him: that, accompanied by *Parmenio* and *Hephæstion*, *Alexander* followed the soldier to a place at a little distance from the demolished city, and was there shewn by him certain sepulchral urns under ground, composed of stone, and containing several legible inscriptions; particularly those relating to the heroes of the above story, "as *Deinias* the *Arcadian* lived a hundred and twenty-five years, *Dercyllis* and *Mantinas* lived respectively thirty-nine and forty-two years, but both

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both of them in addition to these different lengths of time, lived a certain, and that the same precise number of nights." This ænigma was explained by discovering on the wall of the cavern, a cypress casket, on which Alexander and his companions read the following words: 'Whoever thou art, O Stranger! open this casket, and learn things worthy of admiration. They opened, and read on cypress tablets the adventures of Deinias and Dercyllis; adventures entirely controuled by the same kind of machinery which prevails in the Arabian Nights entertainments, and in the oldest romances of chivalry. If Diogenes lived under Ptolemy Soter, he should appear to have been the first Grecian who disgraced his composition with such vile unclassical fictions: and Hermippus of Smyrna, the scholar of Callimachus, is the first writer of that nation who treated *circumstantially* concerning magic¹⁶⁰; that immemorial folly of the East, enslaving the credulous mind by the triple chain of superstition, astrology, and medicine.

From this time forward, and in consequence of such writings as those of Diogenes, Hermippus, and Timæus, who interwove in his history a romantic account of Pythagoras and the Italic school, it came to be a prevailing opinion that the greatest philosophers in Greece were only the greatest of magicians. Pliny assures us of the fact; and inconsistently with his pretended contempt for magic, treats Democritus and Plato as abettors of that futile art, in which he believes them to have made great proficiency¹⁶¹. But the copious writings of Plato convincingly refute such an extravagant imputation.

In this manner, the corruption of philosophy early began at Alexandria with the falsification of history. The evil was perpetuated by those pretended lovers of wisdom, who, travelling over the Macedonian conquests in the East, collected every rite of sanctity and every tale of wonder; and who, in contempt of the judicious maxim,

The Platonicians.

"never to intermix the concerns of philosophy with those of the

¹⁶⁰ PHIL. N. H. l. xxx. c. i.¹⁶¹ Id. *ibid.*

popular

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popular superstition¹⁶¹, made it their great endeavour to combine philosophy and mythology into one system, to defend as well as embellish truth by fiction, and whether they laboured, as was usual, to fortify the established belief, or aimed, like Evhemerus, at discrediting the gods of their ancestors, to effect either purpose, by new invented fables and lying prodigies. Their falsehoods and absurdities devolved with continual accumulation from age to age, until towards the commencement of the third century of the Christian æra, the philosophers of Alexandria, under the name of Eclectics or Platonicians, corrupted or confounded the tenets, abolished the authority, and almost the name, of all the more ancient and less visionary sects.

Arts of imitation or design.

The unclouded renown of Philadelphus' reign consisted in the splendour of the arts. Of all Greek kings (Alexander only excepted) he kept the greatest number of eminent artists in his pay. In this particular, his predecessor Ptolemy Soter had been rivalled by Seleucus Nicator, contemporary with that prince; but though Seleucia Babylonica was a far greater city than Alexandria, the arts of imitation or design never struck such deep root there, or reached such a flourishing height. Alexandria had an easy maritime communication with Greece from which all refined arts flowed; whereas Seleucia was only a great inland emporium, at an immense distance from the mother country, and cut off from the Greek colonies in Lesser Asia by mountains and deserts. Egypt, besides, was peculiarly productive in materials for architecture and statuary. Its finest marbles, which had long been disfigured by an uncouth superstition, were fashioned by Greek artists into all the most perfect forms of ideal beauty. The Grecian gods and heroes claimed the first care both of the king and of those who were patronised by him; but among the innumerable statues erected in Egypt in that reign, contemporary merit met with

¹⁶¹ Περὶ τῶν μυθικῶς σοφισμένων, ἢ ἀξίων μὲν ἐπιστολῶν σκοπῶν. Aristot. *Metaphys.* I. ii. c. 4.

¹⁶² See the supplement to my *New Analysis* of Aristotle's speculative Philosophy.

its due reward, nor could such honours be withheld from the Olympic victors, sometimes Ptolemy's subjects, natives of Alexandria. The epithet Philadelphian became proverbial to express expence employed with taste; and this taste appeared alike in the greatest and the smallest productions, from the lofty column and magnificent temple to the elegant medal or polished gem; particularly the miniature portraits of Arsinoë in chrystal, cut by Satyrus⁶⁴. Such minute labours are deserving of notice, because by them only we can now estimate the reports delivered down to us concerning the wonderful splendour of public buildings, either in the cities embellished by Ptolemy, or in those which he founded. From motives of vanity or superstition, he was careful, like other princes his contemporaries, to perpetuate, in works of architecture, his name and surname. Acco, at the northern extremity of the Holy Land, being repaired and strengthened by him, was called Ptolemais: and Rabba Ammon, on the other side Jordan, obtained in the same way the name of Philadelphia⁶⁵; a name which continued to prevail; whereas the old appellation of Acco again revived, and, being corrupted into Acre, was destined in that harsh word to convey a sound pleasing to Christians, who there triumphed over Mahometans; and more recently to Englishmen, a handful of whom in Acre foiled an army of French.

Philadelphus was industrious in improving the commercial advantages of his capital, and in adorning it with temples, palaces, theatres, hippodromes, and gymnasia. Alexandria, under his predecessor, already displayed its spacious and well ventilated streets; its copious supplies of fresh water; its double harbour, separated by the Hepastadium; its light-house on the isle of Pharos; and its magnificent temple to Serapis. But numerous benefits still remained to be conferred on it. Of these, history does not enable us to ascertain the date; though the principal of them may warrantably be ascribed to Phila-

Improve-
ment of
Alexandri

⁶⁴ Antholog. l. iv. c. 18.

⁶⁵ Vid. Reland. P. Aestlin. Illustrat.

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delphus¹⁰⁰. The ports open to the sea, (we shall speak presently of those on the lake Mareotis), were constructed to afford the utmost safety; the inner part of Eunostus, above-mentioned, was emphatically styled the ark or coffer¹⁰¹; and so deep were both harbours at the water's edge, that the largest vessels laid their sides on the graduated keys, called ladders¹⁰², on which their cargoes were unloaded. The southern walls of the city were washed by the lake Mareotis. This lake, now much shrunk in dimensions, was thirty miles long and fifteen broad. It was diversified by eight islands: its banks teemed with inhabitants: by one canal it communicated with the harbour Eunostus, and by another with the Canopic branch of the Nile. The harbours on the lake were not less busy than those on the sea coast; beautiful villages rose on both sides of them. The eastern suburb was distinguished by the vast hippodrome; the scene, as we shall see, of many extraordinary occurrences. On this side, chiefly, innumerable canals strayed through rich fields sheltered from the sun's rays by the green luxuriance of their produce. A kind of bean, in particular, was so lofty, and had leaves so large and thick, that parties of pleasure frequented these cool plantations in barges or banqueting vessels¹⁰³. The whole country round, (now deformed by barrenness and dreary solitude), breathed activity, life, and pleasure. Even the little island Pharos, in addition to its far famed tower, came to be adorned with many other superb edifices, and was copiously provided with fresh water, poured into it from the Nile by hydraulic engines.

Its inhabitants—their employments.

The general population of this great city, (of the learned inhabitants of the museum we have above spoken), though formed from an assemblage of different nations, was gradually moulded into much sameness of character. The most praise-worthy qualities belonging

¹⁰⁰ Pausan. *Attic.* §. Philo Judæus de *Vit. Mosi.*

¹⁰¹ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 795.

¹⁰² *ὅτι τὰς ἀνὰ τὴν ὕψος κλίμακας ἐβίβαντο.*

Strabo. Conf. Joseph. de *Bell. Jud.* l. v.

Thence the origin of the French expression

"Les Radeaux du Levant."

¹⁰³ Strabo *lib. xv.*

to the Alexandrians, were industry and ingenuity. Throughout the whole place, none lived in idleness; and here many occupations were skilfully exercised, unknown or disregarded in other Greek cities. Many Alexandrians laboured in blowing glass: others were employed in softening and smoothing the papyrus: weaving linen and brewing beer were very ordinary trades: the blind and lame, even those lame in their hands, had tasks assigned to them, not incompatible with their several infirmities.¹⁰ The rich were, in their way, not less diligent; some superintending their large manufactures; others augmenting their fortunes by commercial enterprize: and if the Ptolemies shared amply in both sources of profit, their gains were laudably expended in great public undertakings.

The vastness of the royal palace excites, indeed, an idea of idle superfluity of grandeur. It is said to have equalled a fourth part of the city.¹¹ But this observation can apply only to the times of the latter kings, for the most part contemptible princes, who vied in surpassing each other in works of extravagance and vanity.¹² They

Royal palace
—its vast-
ness.

¹⁰ Saturninus apud Flav. Vopisc. in Hist. August. p. 297. Edit. Franc. An. 1788. Conf. Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. c. iii. This character of them remounts to the earliest times of the city. Plutarch, Strabo, Polybius.

¹¹ καὶ τὰ βασιλικὰ, τεταρτον ἢ καὶ τρίτον τῆς πόλεως περιέλαβε μέγεθος. Strabo. "That the palaces were a fourth or even a third part." The vastness of the palace, or rather the palaces of Alexandria, need not surprise us, if we admit that the imperial palace at Rome was larger than all the rest of that capital. Hume, in his Essay on the populousness of ancient nations, p. 473, is justly incredulous with regard to this point; and Gibbon endeavours to remove the difficulty by saying, that the emperors had consolidated the houses and gardens of opulent senators, therefore, included under the name of the imperial palace. Decline and Fall, c. vii. p. 161. But, upon turning to the passage in Herodian, l. iv. c. 1. on which this incredible account of the mag-

nitude of the imperial palace wholly rests, the words convey to me a different meaning from that in which they are taken by all Latin translators, not excepting the learned Politian. The historian relates, that the sons of Severus, upon their father's death at York, hastened by the shortest road to Rome, never eating at the same table, nor sleeping in the same house. The rapidity of their journey was urged by their desire of taking up separate quarters in the amplitude of the royal palace, greater than any city, πάσης πόλεως μείζων. Herodian institutes not a comparison between the magnitude of Rome and that of its imperial palace. He only intimates generally and indefinitely the magnitude of the palace, in distinct wings of which Caracalla and Geta thought they would be safer from each other's machinations than in the cities of Gaul and Italy through which they had to pass.

¹² Polybius, l. xv. c. 30. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793.

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Foreign embassies—and transition to the growth and aggrandisement of Rome.

should seem to have continually enlarged the palace, above-mentioned in Bruchion, by edifices communicating through covered galleries with each other, and therefore included under one name. Even under the first Ptolemies, the palace was connected, in this way, with the museum, the library, and the theatre of Bacchus; on which account very extraordinary dimensions might without impropriety be assigned to it.

After Philadelphus' glorious reign of thirty-eight years, the prosperity of Egypt was but imperfectly upheld, during the twenty-five years of its administration under his son Ptolemy Euergetes. Thenceforward there was a perpetual decline, in consequence, as will be seen, of bad policy at home and abroad, and of the general unworthiness of the Ptolemies, with one only exception in favour of the unfortunate Ptolemy VI. Philometor. Yet after the worst of times, and when Egypt had sunk into a province of the Roman empire, its populousness amounted to 8,000,000¹: it was doubtless much greater in the time of Philadelphus. That prince possessed, also, valuable dominions in Syria and in Lesser Asia; he was master of Cyrenè and Cyprus: many smaller Greek islands, and some considerable cities on the coast of Thrace acknowledged his jurisdiction. The whole of his subjects may be estimated, by a moderate account, at 15,000,000. With such a population, and with the commerce, revenues, fleets, and armies above detailed, Ptolemy had nothing to fear from any other Greek king; much less, as it might seem, from any power beyond the pale of the Macedonian empire. The first war between Carthage and Rome, which lasted twenty-four years, began nineteen years before Philadelphus' demise. Of the two parties engaged in that obstinate conflict, Carthage was naturally the object of most jealousy, from her vicinity to Cyrenè, and her long rivalry with that Egyptian dependency. Accordingly, when in the middle of the war, the Carthaginians applied to Ptolemy for assistance,

¹ Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 4.

he declined to afford it them; and even denied to them the loan of 2000 talents¹⁷. In excuse of this last refusal, he told them that the money, which they demanded, was incompatible with an amity of twenty years subsisting between Egypt and Rome: For Ptolemy, with a due attention to foreign affairs, had, upon the repulse of Pyrrhus, which left the Romans masters of the southern coasts of Italy, sent an embassy of congratulation to Rome, and received from that republic another embassy in return¹⁸. The transaction was on both sides marked with much dignity; and first brought into notice with the Greek kings of the East, a commonwealth which was speedily to interfere with decisive preponderancy in all their concerns.

¹⁷ Appian Excerpt. de Rebus Siculis, ¹⁸ Valerius Maxim. l. iv. c. 3.
vol. i. p. 92. Edit. Schweigh.

CHAPTER XII.

Differences between the Græc Colonies in Lusitania, and those in Magna Græcia. — Foundation of Rome. — Lives and Institutions of Romulus. — Parallel between Rome and Athens. — Wars of the Romans under the Kings. — Improvements of Rome, in point of Strength, Beauty, and Salubrity. — Wars with the Parquins. — Italian wars under the Consuls. — How the Æqui and Volsci were enabled to resist two Centuries. — Siege of Veil. — Legionary order of Battle. — Rome taken by the Gauls. — Destruction of these Invaders. — War with the Samnites. — Rebellion of the Latins and Campanians. — Settlement of the Roman Conquests. — War with Palæopolis. — Jealousy of Tarentum. — Her Artifices for embroiling Rome with the Lucanians and Samnites. — Caudine Forks. — The Romans protect Thurii. — Survey the Coast of Magna Græcia. — Pyrrhus chosen General of Tarentum. — His Expeditions into Italy and Sicily. — The Romans subdue the continental Part of Magna Græcia. — Causes of the first Punic War. — Its History. — Sicily divided between the Romans and king Hiero.

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Connection
of this
History.

THE Greeks, at once a commercial and warlike people, connected, by their colonies and conquests, the transactions of the ancient world. In the reign of Ptolemy Soter, the affairs of the East were brought into contact with those of the West, through the bold ambition of Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily. In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the connection was renewed through the adventurous spirit of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. But before the expedition of the former of these kings into Africa, and of the latter into Italy, and precisely in the same year that Alexander died at Babylon, the Romans having extended their dominion or their ascendancy to the confines of Magna Græcia, first began to make war on

on the Greek city Palæopolis, and to be viewed with fear or jealousy by Tarentum, Sybaris, Rhegium, and other maritime emporiums belonging to the same nation in Italy ¹.

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These once flourishing sea ports had suffered a sad reverse of fortune, since the abolition of their Pythagorean laws, and the destruction of their Pythagorean magistrates. From that time forward, the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, whose territories collectively boasted the name of Magna Græcia, had been distressed by foreign invaders, and by domestic tyrants, but more uniformly afflicted under the ignominious yoke of unbridled democracy ². In such a wretched situation of affairs, without vigour or union among themselves, Pyrrhus was summoned to their succour. Alexander, king of Epirus, had perished by treachery in Italy, forty-three years before this crisis, after successfully defending the Greek colonies there, against the barbarous natives in their neighbourhood. Pyrrhus inherited all the boldness of his ancestors: in virtue of his marriage with Agathocles' daughter, Lanassa, he had strong claims in both divisions of Magna Græcia: with apparent generosity, and much real ambition, he therefore undertook the defence of the Greeks in Italy against the Romans, and the defence of the Greeks in Sicily against the Carthaginians. Through the invasion of Africa, by his father-in-law Agathocles, my readers were made acquainted with the history, resources, and internal state of Carthage; but the expeditions of Pyrrhus into Italy, exhibiting the first important warfare between the Greeks and Romans, it will be necessary here to examine, with a view to many subsequent parts of this work, the character and genius of a people, who after first measuring their strength with the Epirots, persevered in successive conflicts, with other Greek commonwealths or kingdoms, till in the space of two hundred and forty-four years, they reduced the whole of them into provinces.

Makes it necessary to explain the maxims and proceedings of the Romans, before they engaged in war with Magna Græcia. Olymp. cxiv. i. B. C. 324. U. C. 430.

¹ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 22. et seq.

Diodor. Eclog. xxi.

C H A P.

XIV.

Distinctions
between the
Greek colo-
nies there
and those in
Latium.

Under the necessity of treating a subject, which, by being familiar to the reader, is thereby rendered more difficult to the writer, I am happy that the information which it was incumbent on me to communicate in a preceding work, will enable me to reduce the present narrative, within a narrow compass. The Romans, were indeed Greeks, only of an earlier age¹: with their blood and primæval habits, they inherited that combination of craft and courage, which, having carried their arms in victory over twenty barbarous nations in Italy, at length exposed them four hundred and thirty years after the building of Rome, to the envy and hatred of the degenerate and feeble inhabitants of Magna Græcia. The Greeks who colonised the part of Italy, bearing that name, chiefly in the eighth century before Christ, are carefully to be distinguished from those Elians and Arcadians, who, at a far earlier period occupied the district called Latium, towards the middle of the western coast. The settlers in Magna Græcia left their native country, at a time when its arts and institutions had acquired a considerable degree of maturity. They possessed themselves of the projecting head-lands looking towards Greece and Sicily; and maintained a frequent and animated intercourse with their ancestors in the former, and with their brethren in the latter². But the Greek colonists in Latium migrated during a ruder state of the arts, and an earlier period of society. They intermixed with the natives of the conquered territory, whom their humanity or policy had spared. After the taking of Troy, they are said to have been joined by Phrygians, a people naturally hostile to their mother country; and their settlement on the remote³ western coast of Italy debarred rude mariners, as they were, from frequent

¹ Vid. Dionys. Halicarn. Histor. Roman. l. i. p. 10. et seq. edit. Sylburg. Conf. Plutarch in Flamin. p. 375. edit. Kyland. furnished Cicero with his beautiful comparison, *Mars, Ionium, Græcum quoddam et portuosum—Inferum hoc, Tuscum et Barbarum scopulosum et infestum, &c.* Cicero de Orator. l. iii. c. 19.

² See History of Ancient Greece, c. xi. throughout.

The contrast between the two coasts,

communication with ancient Greece, or with Greek establishments in any part of the world. In this manner, the origin of the Romans came to be a matter of some obscurity, if not in earlier ages, certainly in the later times of the republic: the difficulty must have increased with the burning of Rome by the Gauls, accompanied by the destruction of many ancient documents; and at the era of her greatness and vanity, one of her brightest ornaments and best citizens frankly acknowledges his desire of concealing her obligations to Greece, for those laws and institutions, which did too much honour to Rome, when considered as the product of domestic wisdom.

G. H. A. P.

XIV.

Yet the odious secret was betrayed by the evidence of history, of monuments, and of language; by the circumstances accompanying the foundation of Rome itself; and the whole proceedings of that city, whether under kings or consuls. According to the custom of Greeks, in other parts of the world, those of Latium extended themselves by colonization, into many small but independent communities, occupying when they first obtained the notice of history, twenty miles inland, and sixty miles along the coast, from the left bank of the Tiber, to the promontory of Circeii. Alba, the mother of Rome, was fifteen miles from the sea, defended on one side by abrupt precipices, and adorned on the other by a large and deep lake, whose waters, being artificially accumulated, served the double purpose of irrigating the contiguous plain, and of resisting the invasion of enemies. The city is said to have subsisted several centuries, as

Foundation
of Rome.
O. m. vi. 4.
B. C. 753.

* In the 220th year of the city, Livy says of Tarquin the Proud "duos filios per ignotas et tempestate terras, ignotiora mari in Greciam misit." Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 56.

† Multa sunt etiam in nostris, quæ a Pythagoreis, quæ præterea; per ea quæ peperisse ipsi putamus aliunde didicisse videamus. Cicero Tusculan. l. iv. Plutarch in Flamin. speaks of *ναυσματα μικρά και ὕλισσρα κοιμηματα*

παλαια γινωσ, "the small sparks and faint resemblances which the Romans had retained of their ancient extraction," even on an occasion when he would have been most willing to conceal, if possible, their Grecian descent.

* Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. l. i. p. 53. Conf. Piranesi Antiquità d'Albano, p. 6. & seq.

C H A P.

XII.

Romulus,
his views
and institu-
tions.

head of the Latin confederacy, and to have founded thirty colonies, when king Numitor sent out a new one under his grandson Romulus. Accompanied by the valour of three hundred companions in arms, and the strength of three thousand hardy peasants, Romulus occupied the district assigned to him, adjacent to the left bank of the Tiber, scarcely seven miles in circumference. Within this narrow territory, he immediately commenced designs calculated to promote his renown in life, and in death to secure those coveted honours to his shade, which, according to the useful superstition of Greece, belonged to the benefactors and improvers, above all to the prosperous founders⁹ of cities and commonwealths. Actuated by motives, equally energetic and ardent, he is said, in the space of three years, to have collected subjects, built a city, instituted a religion, and arrayed an army¹⁰. But his subjects had partly accompanied him from Alba, and might easily, amidst the wars and distractions of petty states, be augmented by his protecting asylum; his fortress called Rome, from a Greek word denoting strength, already subsisted among the seven hills, and needed only to be repaired and re-occupied¹¹; and in point of religion, polity, and war, his institutions, even, as described by the popular historians of his country, perfectly accord with those which prevailed in the ancient royalties of Greece. There, during those heroic ages, as in Rome afterwards, national assemblies deliberated and resolved, senates approved and confirmed¹², and kings, at the head of the community, exercised the prerogatives of

⁹ Vid. Diodorus Siculus, l. xx. f. 102. *ἄνδρες καὶ πατριάρχαι*, &c. Conf. Dion, Cnys-
solom Orat. xxviii. p. 408.

¹⁰ Dionysius and Livy.

¹¹ Vid. Auctor. apud Cluverium, Ital.
Antiq. p. 246. & seq.

¹² This order was afterwards reversed: the
senate proposed and the people confirmed.
Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 87. When the
alteration took place, I do not find; nor
have I met with any writer, ancient or

modern, who agitates the question. But
from Dionysius, incomparably the most in-
forming author, concerning the first ages of
Rome, we learn that the Roman people
were very anciently divided into *Quæstus*, or
Curiz, which collected, each of them apart,
the votes of their respective members, and
that the resolve of the majority of the Curiz
was referred to the Senate. Conf. Digest.
l. i. tit. i. 2.

convener and president of senates and assemblies, together with the important functions of high priest, judge, and general.

C H A P.

XII.

Respective
merits of his
six imme-
diate suc-
cessors.
U. C. 39—
220.

Under such political arrangements, Romulus infused into the commonwealth his own magnanimity. Numa inspired it with reverence for the maxims of justice, as guarded by the sanctions of religion. Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, respectively fortified the laws of Romulus, and of Numa. Tarquinius Priscus, a prince of Corinthian extraction, created that taste for Grecian elegance, and planned those works of solidity and splendour, which already announced the eternal city. Servius Tullius, secured regularity and fairness in collecting the public revenue, multiplied and improved the rules of legal polity, and balanced, with a nice hand, the rights of liberty and numbers among a free people, against the prerogatives of birth, wealth, and superior personal attainments. What remained to be done by the cruel and proud Tarquin? To fall, it has been said, an useful victim, and to promote by his disgrace the future glory of his country, since Rome must either have changed its government, or have remained a petty monarchy¹⁴. This is not, however, one of those reflections that naturally grow out of facts. Towards the end of the second century of the city, Servius Tullius mustered eighty-four thousand seven hundred citizens in arms¹⁵; after the lapse of two hundred years, this number did not double, amounting to only one hundred and sixty thousand¹⁶: a circumstance, which shews that the growth of Rome, whether proceeding from domestic or foreign causes, was more rapid under the kings, than under the consuls.

The revolution from royalty to republicanism happened at Rome as at Athens, and other cities of Greece, because kings, dissatisfied with legitimate honours, overleaped those barriers, which the reli-

Change from
royalty to
republi-
canism.
B. C. 509.
U. C. 245.

¹⁴ Il devoit arriver de deux choses l'une; cadence, c. 1.
ou que Rome changeroit son gouvernement,

¹⁵ Dionys. p. 225.

ou qu'elle resteroit une petite et pauvre
Monarchie. Montesquieu, *Grandeur et De-*

¹⁶ Tabul. Capitolin. et Tit. Liv. l. vii.
c. 22.