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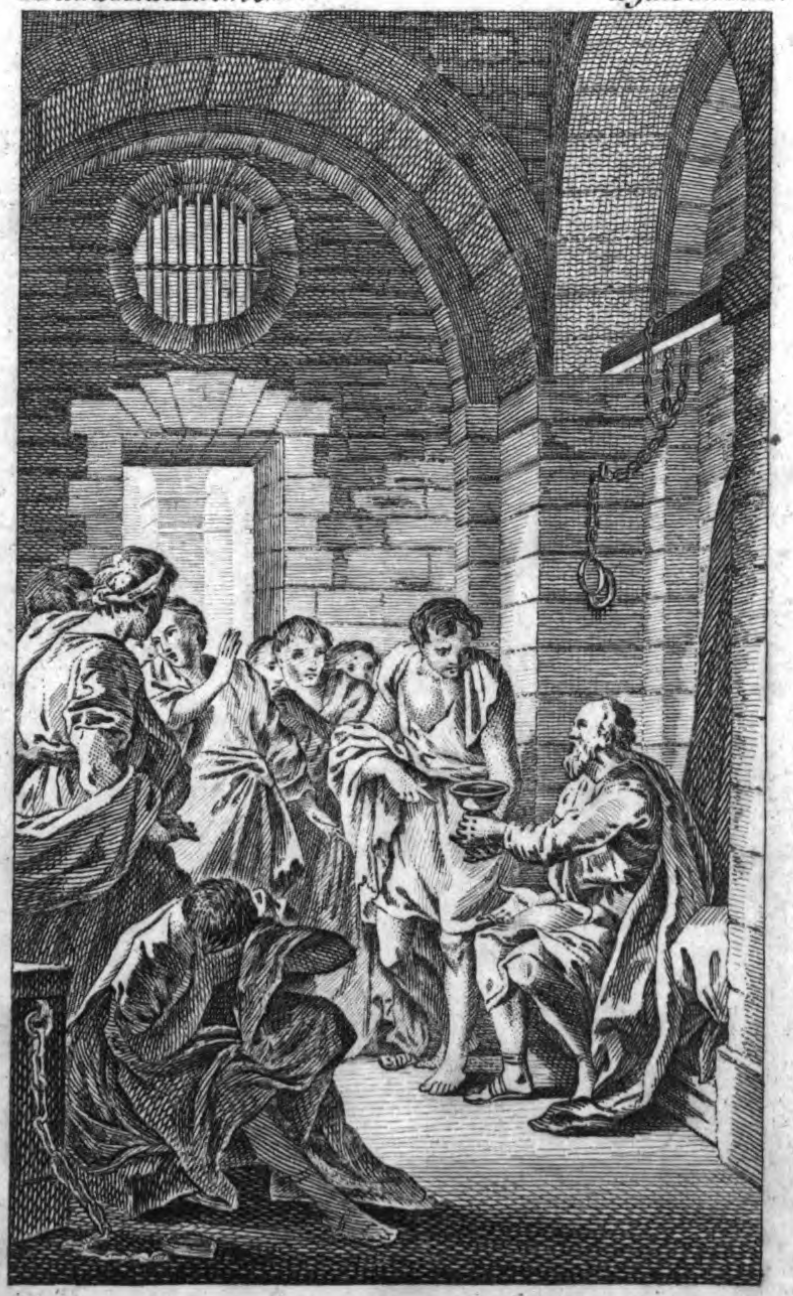

The DEATH of SOCRATES.

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAP. I.

THIS chapter contains thirteen years of the Peloponnesian war, to the nineteenth inclusively.

SECT. I. *The very short Reigns of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus. They are succeeded by Darius Nothus. He puts a stop to the Insurrection of Egypt, and that of Media. He bestows on Cyrus, his youngest Son, the supreme Command of all Asia Minor.*

[a] ARTAXERXES died about the beginning of the forty-ninth year of his reign. Xerxes, who succeeded him, was the only son which the queen his wife brought him: but he had seventeen others by his concubines, among whom was Sogdianus, (who is called Secondianus by Ctesias) Ochus and Arsites. [b] Sogdianus, in concert with Pharnacias, one of Xerxes's eunuchs, came insidiously, one festival day, to the new king, who, after drinking too immoderately, was retired to his chamber, in order to give the fumes of the wine he had drank time to evaporate; where he killed him without any difficulty, after he had reigned but forty-five days; and was declared king in his stead.

[a] A.M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425. Ctes. c. xlvii—li. Diod. l. xii. p. 115.
[b] A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424.

He was ſcarce on the throne, but he put to death Bagorazus, the moſt faithful of all his father's eunuchs. It was he who had been appointed to ſuperintend the interment of Artaxerxes, and of the queen, Xerxes's mother, who died the ſame day with her royal conſort. After having depoſited the two bodies in the mauſoleum where the kings of Perſia were interred, he found, at his return, Sogdianus on the throne, who did not receive him favourably, upon account of ſome difference with him in the lifetime of his father. But the new king did not ſtop here: not long after he took an opportunity to quarrel with him, on ſome trifling circumſtance relating to the obſequies of his father, and cauſed him to be ſtoned.

By theſe two murders, that of his brother Xerxes and of Bagorazus, he became the horror of the army and nobility, ſo that he did not think himſelf ſafe on a throne, to which he had forced his way by ſuch horrid murders. He ſuſpected that his brothers harboured the like deſign; and Ochus, to whom his father had left the government of Hyrcania, was the chief object of his ſuſpicion. Accordingly he ſent for him, with the intention of getting him murdered as ſoon as he arrived. However Ochus, who ſaw through his deſign, delayed coming upon various pretences; which he continued till he advanced at the head of a ſtrong army, which he openly declared he would employ to revenge the death of his brother Xerxes. This declaration brought over to him a great number of the nobility, and ſeveral governors of the provinces, they being juſtly diſſatisfied at Sogdianus's cruelty and ill conduct. They put the tiara on Ochus's head, and proclaimed him king. Sogdianus ſeeing himſelf abandoned in this manner, was as mean and cowardly in the ſlight defence he made to maintain his crown, as he had before been unjuſt and barbarous in uſurping it. Contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, and the wiſeſt perſons who ſtill adhered to him, he concluded a treaty with his brother, who getting him into his hands, cauſ-

ed

ed him to be thrown into aſhes, where he died a cruel death. [c] This was a kind of puniſhment peculiar to the Perſians, and exercised only on great criminals. One of the largeſt towers was filled to a certain height with aſhes. The criminal was then thrown headlong from the top of the tower into them; after which the aſhes were, by a wheel, turned perpetually round him, till he was ſuffocated. Thus this wicked prince loſt his life and empire, which he enjoyed ſix months and fifteen days.

[d] Ochus, by the death of Sogdianus, now ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of the empire. As ſoon as he was well ſettled in it, he changed his name from Ochus to that of Darius. To diſtinguiſh him, hiſtorians add the epithet Νόθος, ſignifying baſtard. He reigned nineteen years.

Arſites, ſeeing in what manner Sogdianus had ſupplanted Xerxes, and had himſelf been dethroned by Ochus, meditated to ſerve the latter in the ſame manner. Though he was his brother by the father's as well as the mother's ſide, he openly revolted againſt him, and was aſſiſted in it by Artyphius, ſon of Megabyzus. Ochus, whom hereafter we ſhall always call Darius, ſent Artaſyrus, one of his generals, againſt Artyphius; and himſelf, at the head of another army, marched againſt Arſites. Artyphius, with the Grecian troops in his pay, defeated twice the general ſent againſt him. But, engaging a third time, the Greeks were corrupted, and he himſelf was beat, and forced to ſurrender, upon his being flattered with hopes that a pardon would be granted him. The king would have had him put to death, but was diverted from that reſolution by queen Paryſatis, Darius's ſiſter and queen. She alſo was the daughter of Artaxerxes, but not by the ſame mother as Darius: ſhe was an intriguing artful woman, and the king her huſband was governed by her on moſt occaſions. The counſel ſhe now gave was perfidious to the laſt degree.

[c] Val. Max. l ix. c. 2. 2 Maccab. c. xiii. l. iii.
[d] A. M. 3581. Ant. J. C. 423.

She advised him to exercise his clemency towards Artyphius, and show him kind usage, in order that his brother might hope, when he heard of his treating a rebellious servant with so much generosity, that he himself should meet, at least, with as mild treatment, and thereby be prompted to lay down his arms. She added, that when once he should have seized that prince, he might dispose of him and Artyphius as he pleased. Darius followed her counsel, which proved successful. Arsites being informed of the gentle usage which Artyphius met with, concluded that, as he was the king's brother, he should consequently meet with still more indulgent treatment; and with this hope he concluded a treaty, and surrendered himself. Darius was very much inclined to save his life: but Parysatis, by inculcating to him, that he ought to punish this rebel to secure himself, at last prevailed with him to put his brother to death, and accordingly he was suffocated in ashes with Artyphius. However, Darius had a violent struggle with himself, before he could give orders for this sacrifice; having a very tender affection for his brother. He afterwards put some other persons to death, which executions did not procure him the tranquillity he had expected from them; for his reign was afterward disturbed with such violent commotions, that he enjoyed but little repose.

[c] One of the most dangerous commotions was occasioned by the rebellion of Pisuthnes, who, being governor of Lydia, wanted to throw off his allegiance to the Persian empire, and make himself king in his province. What flattered him with the hopes of succeeding in this attempt, was his having raised a considerable body of Grecian troops, under the command of Lycon the Athenian. Darius sent Tissaphernes against this rebel, and gave him, with a considerable army, the commission of governor of Lydia, of which he was to dispossess Pisuthnes. Tissaphernes, who was an artful man, and capable of acting in all characters, found

[c] A. M. 3590. Ant. J. C. 414. Ctes. c. li.

means

means of tampering with the Greeks under Pisuthnes; and, by dint of presents and promises, brought over the troops with their general to his party. Pisuthnes, who, by this desertion, was unable to carry on his designs, surrendered, upon his being flattered with the hopes of obtaining his pardon; but the instant he was brought before the king, he was sentenced to be suffocated in ashes, and accordingly met with the same fate as the rest of the rebels. But his death did not put an end to all troubles; [f] for Amorges his son, with the remainder of his army, still opposed Tissaphernes; and for two years laid waste the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, till he at last was taken by the Greeks of Peloponnesus, in Iasus, a city of Ionia, and delivered up by the inhabitants to Tissaphernes, who put him to death.

[g] Darius was involved in fresh troubles by one of his eunuchs. This kind of officers had, for many years, ingrossed all power, in the court of Persia; and we shall find by the sequel of this history, that they always governed absolutely in it. [h] We may know their character, and the danger to which they expose princes, by the picture which Diocleſian, after he had resigned the empire, and reduced himself to a private station of life, drew of freemen, who had gained the like ascendant over the Roman emperors. "Four or five persons," says he, "who are closely united, and resolutely determined to impose on a prince, may do it very easily. They never show things to him but in such a light as they are sure will please. They conceal whatever would contribute to enlighten him: and as they only besiege him continually, he cannot be informed of any thing but through their canal, and does nothing but what they think fit to suggest to him. Hence it is, that he bestows employments on those he ought to exclude from them; and, on the other side, removes from offices such persons as are most worthy of filling them.

[f] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 554—567, 568. [g] Ctes. c. lii.
[h] Vopis. in vit. Aurelian, Imper.

In

In a word, the beſt prince is often ſold by theſe men, though he be ever ſo vigilant, and even ſuſpicious of them." *Quid multa? Ut Diocletianus ipſe dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur imperator.*

In this manner was Darius's court governed. Three eunuchs had uſurped all power in it; * an infallible mark that a government is bad, and the prince of little merit. But one of thoſe three eunuchs, whoſe name was Artoxares, preſided over, and governed the reſt. He had found Darius's weak ſide, by which he inſinuated himſelf into his confidence. He had ſtudied all his paſſions, to know how to indulge them, and govern his prince by their means. He plunged him continually in pleaſures and amuſements, to engroſs his whole authority to himſelf. In fine, under the name and protection of queen Paryſatis, to whoſe will and pleaſure he was the moſt devoted of ſlaves, he diſpoſed of all the affairs of the empire, and nothing was tranſacted but by his orders. Intoxicated by the ſupreme authority which the favour of his ſovereign gave him, he reſolved to make himſelf king, inſtead of being prime miniſter; and accordingly formed a deſign to get Darius out of the way, and afterwards aſcend the throne. However, his plot being diſcovered, he was ſeized and delivered up to Paryſatis, who put him to a moſt ignominious and cruel death.

[i] But the greateſt misfortune which happened in Darius's reign was the revolt of the Egyptians. This terrible blow fell out the ſame year with Piſuthnes's rebellion. But Darius could not reduce Egypt as he had done that rebel. [k] The Egyptians, weary of the Perſian government, flocked from all parts to Amyrtæus of Sais, who at laſt was come out of the fens where he had defended himſelf from the ſuppreſſion of the revolt of Inarus. The Perſians were driven out, and Amyrtæus proclaimed king of Egypt, where he reigned ſix years.

[i] Euſeb. in Chron. [k] Thucyd. l. i. p. 72, 73.

* *Scis præcipuum eſſe indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos.* PLIN. ad Trajan.

After

After having eſtabliſhed himſelf ſecurely on the throne, and entirely expelled the Perſians out of Egypt, he prepared to purſue them as far as Phœnicia, and had already concerted meaſures with the Arabians, to attack them in that country. News of this being brought the king of Perſia, he recalled the fleet which he had promiſed the Lacedæmonians, to employ it in the defence of his own dominions.

Whilſt Darius was carrying on the war in Egypt and Arabia, the Medes rebelled; however they were defeated and reduced to their allegiance by force of arms. To puniſh them for this revolt, their yoke (till then eaſy enough) was made heavier: a fate that rebellious ſubjects always experience, when the government, which they endeavoured to throw off, gains the upper hand.

[l] Darius's arms ſeem to have had the like ſucceſs againſt the Egyptians. Amyrtæus dying after he had reigned ſix years (he poſſibly was killed in a battle) Herodotus obſerves, it was by the aſſiſtance of the Perſians that Pauſiris, his ſon, ſucceeded him in the throne. To effect this, they muſt either have been maſters of Egypt, or their party the ſtrongeſt in that kingdom.

[m] After having cruſhed the rebels in Media, and reſtored the affairs of Egypt to their former ſituation, Darius gave Cyrus, the youngeſt of his ſons, the ſupreme command of all the provinces of Aſia Minor: an important commiſſion, by which he commanded all the provincial governors in that part of the empire.

I thought it neceſſary to anticipate times, and draw together the facts which relate to the kings of Perſia; to prevent my being often obliged to interrupt the hiſtory of the Greeks, to which I now return.

[l] Herod. l. iii. c. 15. [m] A. M. 3597. Ant. J. C. 407.

SECT. II. *The Athenians make themſelves Maſters of the Iſland of Cythera. Expeditions of Braſidas into Thrace. He takes Amphipolis. Thucydides, the Hiſtorian, is baniſhed. A Battle is fought near Delium, where the Athenians are defeated.*

THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE three or four campaigns, which followed the reduction of the ſmall iſland of Sphacteria, were diſtinguiſhed by very conſiderable events.

[n] The Athenians under Nicas took the little iſland of Cythera, ſituated on the coaſt of Lacedæmonia, near cape Malea, and from thence they infeſted the whole country.

[o] Braſidas, on the other ſide, marched towards Thrace. The Lacedæmonians were induced by more than one motive to undertake this expedition; imagining they ſhould oblige the Athenians, who had fallen upon them in their country, to divide their forces. The inhabitants of it invited them thither, and offered to pay the army. In fine, they were extremely glad to embrace that opportunity to rid themſelves of the Helots, whom they expected to riſe in rebellion, from the taking of Pylus. They had already made away with two thouſand of them in a moſt horrid manner. Upon the ſpecious pretence of rewarding merit even in ſlaves, but, in reality, to get rid of a body of men, whoſe courage they dreaded, they cauſed proclamation to be made, that ſuch of the Helots as had done the greateſt ſervice to the ſtate, in the laſt campaigns, ſhould enter their names in the public regiſters, in order for their being made free. Accordingly two thouſand gave in their names. They were carried in proceſſion through the temples, with chaplets of flowers on their heads, as if they were really to be ſet at liberty. After this ceremony they all diſappeared, and were never heard of more. We have here an inſtance in what manner an

[n] A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424. Thucyd. l. iv. p. 286.
[o] Ibid. p. 304, 311. Diod. l. xii. p. 117, 118.

umbrageous

umbrageous policy and power, when filled with jealousy and diſtruſt, excite men to the commiſſion of the blackeſt crimes, without ſcrupling to make even religion itſelf, and the authority of the gods, ſubſervient to their dark deſigns.

They therefore ſent ſeven hundred Helots with Braſidas, whom they had appointed to head this enterpriſe. This general brought over ſeveral cities either by force or intelligence, and ſtill more by his wiſdom and moderation. The chief of theſe were Acanthus and Stagyra, which were two colonies from Andros. [p] He alſo marched afterwards towards Amphipolis, an Athenian colony, on the river Strymon. The inhabitants immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to * Thucydides the Athenian general, who was then in Thaſus, a little iſland of the Ægæan ſea, half a day's journey from Amphipolis. He inſtantly ſet ſail with ſeven ſhips that were near him, to ſecure the place before Braſidas could ſeize it; or, at worſt, to get into Eion, which lay very near Amphipolis. Braſidas, who was afraid of Thucydides, from his great credit in all that country, where he was poſſeſſed of ſome gold mines, made all the diſpatch imaginable to get thither before him; and offered ſuch advantageous conditions to the beſieged, who did not expect ſuccours ſo ſoon, that they ſurrendered. Thucydides arrived the ſame evening at Eion; and had he failed to come that day, Braſidas would have taken poſſeſſion of it the next morning by day break. Although Thucydides had made all imaginable diſpatch, the Athenians however charged him with being the cauſe of the taking of Amphipolis, and accordingly baniſhed him.

The Athenians were greatly afflicted at the loſs of that city, as well becauſe they drew great revenues from it, and timber to build their ſhips, as becauſe it was a kind of gate for entering Thrace. They were afraid that all their allies in that neighbourhood would revolt; eſpecially as Braſidas diſcovered great modera-

[p] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 320—324.

* The ſame who wrote the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war.

tion

tion and juſtice, and continually gave out, that he came with no other view but to free the country. He declared to the ſeveral nations that, at his leaving Sparta, he had taken an oath, in preſence of the magiſtrates, to leave all thoſe the enjoyment of their liberties who would conclude an alliance with him; and that he ought to be conſidered as the moſt abandoned of men, ſhould he employ oaths to enſnare their credulity. "For," according to Braſidas, "a fraud cloaked with a ſpecious pretence, reflects infinitely greater diſhonour on perſons in high ſtations, than open violence; becauſe the latter is the effect of the power which fortune has put into our hands; and the former is founded wholly on perfidy, which is the peſt of ſociety. Now I," ſaid he, "ſhould do a great diſſervice to my country, beſides diſhonouring it eternally, if, by procuring it ſome ſlight advantages, I ſhould ruin the reputation it enjoys, of being juſt and faithful to its promiſes; which renders it much more powerful than all its forces united together, becauſe it acquires it the eſteem and confidence of other ſtates." Upon ſuch noble and equitable principles as theſe Braſidas always formed his conduct; believing, that the ſtrongeſt bulwark of a nation is juſtice, moderation, integrity, and the firm perſuaſion which their neighbours and allies entertain, that they are not ſo baſe as to harbour a deſign to uſurp their dominions, or deprive them of their liberty. By this conduct he brought over a great number of the enemy's allies.

[q] The Athenians, under the command of Demoſthenes and Hippocrates, had entered Bœotia, expecting that ſeveral cities would join them the moment they ſhould appear. The Thebans marched out to meet them near Delium. A conſiderable engagement enſued, in which the Athenians were defeated and put to flight. [r] Socrates was in this battle; and Laches, who accompanied that great man in it, gives the following teſtimony of him in Plato; that had the reſt of the army

[q] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 311—319.
[r] Plat. in Lach. p. 181. In conviv. p. 221. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

behaved

behaved as gallantly as Socrates, the Athenians would not have ſuſtained ſo great a loſs before Delium. He was borne away by the crowds who fled, and was on foot; Alcibiades, who was on horſeback, when he ſaw him, rode up to him, and did not ſtir from him, but defended him with the utmoſt bravery from the enemy who were purſuing him.

After the battle, the victors beſieged the city. Among other engines employed by them to batter it, they uſed one of a very extraordinary kind. This was a long piece of timber, cut into two parts, and afterwards made hollow and joined again, ſo that its ſhape reſembled very much that of a flute. At one of the ends was fixed a long iron tube, to which a cauldron hung; ſo that by blowing a large pair of bellows at the other end of the piece of timber, the wind being carried from thence into the tube, lighted a great fire, with pitch and brimſtone, that lay in the cauldron. This engine being carried on carts as far as the rampart, to that part where it was lined with ſtakes and faſcines, threw out ſo great a flame, that the rampart being immediately abandoned and the paliſades burnt, the city was eaſily taken.

SECT. III. *A twelve Month's Truce is agreed upon between the two States. Cleon and Braſidas die. A Treaty of Peace for fifty Years concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.*

NINTH, TENTH, AND ELEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

[1]THE loſſes and advantages on both ſides were pretty equal; and the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expence, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce for a year was therefore concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The former reſolved on it, in order to check the progreſs of Braſidas's conqueſts; to ſe-

[1] A. M. 3581. Ant. J. C. 423. Thucyd. l. iv. p. 328—333 Diod. l. xii. p. 120.

cure

cure their cities and fortreſſes, and afterwards to conclude a general peace, in caſe they judged it would be of advantage to them. The latter were induced to it, in order that, by the ſweets of repoſe, peace might become deſirable to their enemy; and to get out of their hands ſuch of their citizens as the Athenians had taken priſoners in the iſland of Sphacteria; and which they could never expect to do, if Braſidas extended his conqueſts farther. The news of this accommodation ſenſibly afflicted Braſidas, as it ſtopped him in the midſt of his career, and diſconcerted all his projects. He could not even prevail with himſelf to abandon the city of Scione, which he had taken two days before, but without knowing that a truce was concluded. He went ſtill farther; and did not ſcruple to take Mende, a little city not far from Scione, that ſurrendered to him as the former had done, which was a direct violation of the treaty: but Braſidas pretended he had other infractions to object to the Athenians.

It will naturally be ſuppoſed, that they were far from being pleaſed with this conduct of Braſidas. Cleon, in all public aſſemblies, was for ever inflaming the minds of the Athenians, and blowing up the fire of war. [t] His great ſucceſs in the expedition of Sphacteria had raiſed his credit infinitely with the people: he now was grown inſupportably proud, and his audacioufneſs was not to be reſtrained. He had a vehement, impetuous, and furious kind of eloquence, which prevailed over the minds of his auditors, not ſo much by the ſtrength of his arguments as by the boldneſs and fire of his ſtyle and utterance. It was Cleon who firſt ſet the example of bawling in aſſemblies, where the greateſt decorum and moderation had till then been obſerved; of throwing his robe behind him, to give him the more liberty to diſplay his arms; of ſtriking his thigh; and of running up and down the roſtra whilſt he was making his ſpeech. In a word, he firſt introduced among the orators, and all thoſe who were in public employments an ungovernable licentiouſneſs, and a contempt of decency;

[t] Plut in vit. Niciæ, p. 528.

a licen-

a licentiouſneſs and contempt which ſoon introduced terrible irregularities and confuſion in public affairs.

[u] Thus two men, each on his own ſide, oppoſed the tranquillity of Greece, and raiſed, but in a very different way, an invincible obſtacle to its peace. Theſe were Cleon and Braſidas. The former, becauſe the war ſcreened his vices and malverſations; and the latter, becauſe it added a new luſtre to his virtues. And indeed it gave Cleon an opportunity of committing enormous oppreſſions, and Braſidas of performing great and noble actions. But their death, which happened about the ſame time, made way for a new accommodation.

[x] The Athenians had appointed Cleon to command the troops which were to oppoſe Braſidas, and reduce thoſe cities that had revolted from their allegiance. The Athenians were ſolicitous for none of them ſo much as Amphipolis; and Braſidas threw himſelf into that city, in order to defend it. Cleon had written to Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, and to the king of the Odomantes, to furniſh him with as many troops as poſſible, and with the utmoſt expedition. He waited for them, and had reſolved not to march immediately towards the enemy: but finding his ſoldiers, who had followed him involuntarily and with regret, grow weary of continuing ſo long inactive, and begin to compare his cowardice and inexperience with the ability and valour of Braſidas, he could no longer bear their contempt and murmurs: and imagining himſelf a great captain by his taking Sphacteria, he now fancied the ſame good fortune would attend him at Amphipolis. He therefore approached it, as he ſaid, to take a view of the place, and till ſuch time as all his forces ſhould be come up; not that he thought he wanted them for carrying that city, or that he doubted, in any manner, his ſucceſs (for he was perſuaded that no one would dare to oppoſe him) but only to enable him to inveſt the place on all ſides, and afterwards to take it by ſtorm. Accordingly he encamped before Amphipolis; when viewing very lei-

[u] Plut. in vit. Niciæ, p. 528. [x] A. M. 3582. Ant. J. C. 422. Thucyd. l. iii. p. 342—351. Diod. l. xii. p. 121, 122.

ſurely

ſurely its ſituation, he fondly ſuppoſed that it would be in his power to retire whenever he pleaſed, without drawing the ſword; for not a man came out or appeared on the walls; and all the gates of the city were kept ſhut, ſo that Cleon began to repent his not having brought the engines, imagining that he wanted only theſe to make himſelf maſter of the city. Braſidas, who was perfectly well acquainted with Cleon's diſpoſition and character, ſtudiouſly affected an air of fear and reſerve, to increaſe his temerity and the good opinion he had of himſelf: beſides, he knew that Cleon had brought with him the flower of the Athenian forces, and the choiceſt troops of Lemnos and of Imbrus. Accordingly Cleon, deſpiſing an enemy who did not dare to appear before him, but ſhut himſelf up, in a cowardly manner, in the city, went boldly from place to place, without precaution or obſerving any diſcipline among his ſoldiers. Braſidas, whoſe intention was to attack him on a ſudden before all his forces ſhould be come up, thought this the critical juncture. He had concerted proper meaſures, and given the orders neceſſary. Accordingly he made a ſudden ſally on the Athenians, which ſurpriſed and diſconcerted them exceedingly. Immediately the left wing drew off from the main body and fled. Braſidas then turned the whole force of his arms againſt the right wing, which gave him a warm reception. Here he was wounded and diſabled, upon which his ſoldiers carried him off, unperceived by the Athenians. As for Cleon, not having reſolved to fight, he fled, and was killed by a ſoldier, who happened to meet him. The troops he commanded defended themſelves for ſome time, and ſuſtained two or three attacks without giving ground, but at laſt they were univerſally broke and routed. Braſidas was then carried into the city, where he ſurvived his victory but a few moments.

The whole army being returned from the purſuit, ſtripped the dead, and afterwards ſet up a trophy. After which all the allies under arms ſolemnized the funeral obſequies of Braſidas, in a public manner; and the inhabitants of Amphipolis celebrated funeral honours

every year to his memory, as to a hero, with games, combats, and ſacrifices. They conſidered him as their founder; and to ſecure this title the better to him, they demoliſhed all the monuments of him* who had really been ſo; ſo that they might not appear to owe their eſtabliſhment to an Athenian, and at the ſame time make their court to the Lacedæmonians, on whom they depended wholly for their ſecurity. The Athenians, after having carried off, with the conſent of the victors, their dead, returned to Athens, during which the Lacedæmonians ſettled the affairs of Amphipolis.

[y] A ſaying is aſcribed to the mother of Braſidas, which ſtrongly intimates the Spartan character. As ſome perſons were applauding, in her preſence, the fine qualities and exalted actions of her ſon, and declared him ſuperior to all other generals: "You are miſtaken," ſays ſhe, "my ſon was a valiant man, but Sparta has many citizens braver than he." A mother's generoſity, in thus preferring the glory of the ſtate to that of her ſon, was admired, and did not go unrewarded; for the Ephori paid her public honours.

[z] After this laſt engagement, in which the two perſons who were the greateſt obſtacles to their peace, loſt their lives, both nations ſeemed more inclined to an accommodation, and the war was ſuſpended in a manner on both ſides. The Athenians, from the loſs of the battles of Delium and Amphipolis, which had very much brought down their haughtineſs, were undeceived with regard to the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their own ſtrength, which had made them refuſe the advantageous offers of their enemies. Beſides, they were afraid of the revolt of their allies, who being diſcouraged by their loſſes, might thereby be induced to abandon them, as ſeveral had already done. Theſe reflections made them ſtrongly repent their not having concluded a treaty, after the advantages they had gained at Pylus. The Lacedæmonians, on the other ſide, no longer flattered themſelves with the hopes of being

[y] Diod. l. xii. p. 122. [z] Thucyd. l. v. p. 351—354.

* Agnon the Athenian.

able

able to ruin the Athenians by laying waſte their country; and were beſides dejected and terrified by their loſs in the iſland, the greateſt they had ever ſuſtained. They alſo conſidered, that their country was depopulated by the garriſon of Pylus and Cythera; that their ſlaves deſerted; and they had reaſon to dread a more conſiderable revolt; and that as the truce they had concluded with the inhabitants of Argos was near expiring, they had reaſon to be apprehenſive of being abandoned by ſome of their allies of Peloponneſus, as they accordingly were. Theſe ſeveral motives, enforced by the deſire they had of recovering the priſoners, the greateſt part of whom were the moſt conſiderable citizens of Sparta, made them deſire a pace.

Thoſe who were moſt ſolicitous for having it concluded, and whoſe intereſt it was chiefly to wiſh it, were the chiefs of the two ſtates. *viz.* Pliſtonax, king of Lacedæmonia, and Nicias, general of the Athenians. The former was lately returned from baniſhment, to which he had been ſentenced, on account of his being ſuſpected to have received a bribe, in order to draw off his troops from the Athenian territories; and to this precipitate retreat was aſcribed ſeveral misfortunes which followed after it. He alſo was charged with having corrupted, by gifts, the prieſteſs of Delphos, who had commanded the Spartans, in the name of the god, to recal him from his exile. Pliſtonax was therefore deſirous of peace, in order to put an end to the reproaches, which, on account of the perpetual calamities of the war, were daily revived. As for Nicias, the moſt fortunate general of his age, he was afraid leſt ſome unhappy accident ſhould eclipſe his glory; and he wiſhed to enjoy the fruits of peace in eaſe and tranquillity, and that his country might poſſeſs the ſame happineſs.

[a]Both ſtates began by agreeing to a ſuſpenſion of arms for twelve months, during which, being every day together, and taſting the ſweets of ſecurity and repoſe, and the pleaſure of correſponding with their friends and with foreigners, they grew paſſionately de-

[a] Thucyd. l. v. p. 354. Plut. in Nic. p. 528, 529.

 ſirous

ſirous of leading an eaſy, undiſturbed life, remote from the alarms of war, and the horrors of blood and ſlaughter. They heard, with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy, the choruſſes of their tragedies ſing, "May ſpiders henceforward weave their cobwebs on our lances and ſhields!" And they remembered, with pleaſure, him who ſaid, "Thoſe who ſleep in the arms of peace, do not ſtart from it at the ſound of the trumpet; and nothing interrupts their ſlumbers but the peaceful crowing of the cock."

[b]The whole winter was ſpent in conferences and interviews, in which each party propoſed their rights and pretenſions. At laſt, a peace was concluded and ratified for fifty years; one of the chief articles of which was, that they ſhould reciprocally reſtore the priſoners on each ſide. This treaty was concluded ten years and ſome days from the firſt declaration of the war. The Bœotians and Corinthians were exceedingly diſguſted at it, and for that reaſon uſed their utmoſt endeavours to excite freſh troubles. [c]But Nicias perſuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to give the laſt hand to this peace, by concluding an alliance offenſive and defenſive, which would render them more formidable to thoſe who ſhould deſire to break with them, and more aſſured with regard to each other. The Athenians, in conſequence of this treaty, at laſt reſtored the priſoners they had taken in the iſland of Sphacteria.

SECT. IV. *Alcibiades begins to appear. His Character. He oppoſes Nicias in every Thing, and breaks the Treaty he had concluded. The Baniſhment of Hyperbolus puts an End to the Oſtraciſm.*

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

[d]ALCIBIADES began now to advance himſelf in the ſtate, and appear in the public aſſemblies. Socrates had attached himſelf to him for many years,

[b] A. M. 3583. Ant. J. C. 421. Diod. l. xiii. p. 122.
[c] Thucyd. l. v. p. 358, 359. [d] Plut. in Alcib. p. 192, 194.

and adorned his mind with a great variety of the noblest erudition.

The strict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the most remarkable circumstances in his life. This philosopher, observing excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his person, bestowed incredible pains in cultivating so valuable a plant, lest, being neglected, it should wither as it grew, and absolutely degenerate. And indeed Alcibiades was exposed to numberless dangers: the greatness of his extraction, his vast riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his personal talents, his exquisite beauty, and, still more than these, the flattery and complaisance of all who approached him. One would have concluded, says Plutarch, that fortune had surrounded and invested him with all these pretended advantages as with so many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inaccessible and invulnerable to all the darts of philosophy; those salutary darts which strike to the very heart, and leave in it the strongest incitements to virtue and solid glory. But those very obstacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates.

Notwithstanding the strong endeavours that were used to divert this young Athenian from a correspondence which alone was capable of securing him from so many snares, he devoted himself entirely to it. As he had abundance of wit, he was fully sensible of Socrates's extraordinary merit; and could not resist the charms of his sweetly-insinuating eloquence, which, at that time, had a greater ascendant over him than the allurements of pleasure. He was so zealous a disciple of that great master, that he followed him wherever he went, took the utmost delight in his conversation, was extremely well pleased with his principles, received his instructions, and even his reprimands, with wonderful docility, and would be so moved with his discourses, as even to shed tears and abhor himself; so weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in so ugly and odious a light did he expose the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himself.

Alcibiades, in thoſe moments when he liſtened to Socrates, differed ſo much from himſelf, that he appeared quite another man. However, his headſtrong, fiery temper, and his natural fondneſs for pleaſure, which was heightened and inflamed by the diſcourſes and advice of young people, ſoon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him, as it were, from his maſter, who was obliged to run after him as after a ſlave who had eſcaped. This viciſſitude of flights and returns of virtuous reſolutions, and relapſes into vice, continued a long time; but ſtill Socrates was not diſguſted by his levity, and always flattered himſelf with the hope of bringing him back to his duty. And hence certainly aroſe the ſtrong mixture of good and evil which always appeared in his conduct; the inſtructions which his maſter had given him, ſometimes prevailing; and, at other times, the fire of his paſſions hurrying him, in a manner, againſt his own will, into things of a quite oppoſite nature.

This intimacy, which continued as long as they lived, did not paſs uncenſured. But ſome perſons* of great learning pretend, that theſe cenſures and ſuſpicions, when duly examined, quite diſappear; and that they ought to be conſidered as the effect of the malice of the enemies of both. Plato, in one of his dialogues, gives us a converſation between Socrates and Alcibiades, by which the genius and character of the latter may be known, who henceforward will have a very great ſhare in the affairs of the republic of Athens. I ſhall make a very ſhort extract from it in this place, which I hope will not diſpleaſe my readers.

[c] In this dialogue, Socrates is introduced converſing with Alcibiades, who, at that time, was under the guardianſhip of Pericles. He was then very young, and had been educated like the reſt of the Athenians; that is, he had been taught polite literature, and to play on inſtruments, and had practiſed wreſtling and other bodily

[c] Plut. in Alcib. I.

* Abbé Fraguier juſtifies Socrates in one of his diſſertations. *Mem. of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, Tom. iv. p. 372.

exercifes. It does not appear that Pericles had hitherto taken much pains in Alcibiades's education, (a fault too common in the greateft men) fince he had put him under the tutorage of Zopyrus, a Thracian, a man far advanced in years, and who, of all Pericles's flaves, both from his turn of mind and age, was the leaft qualified to educate this young Athenian. And indeed Socrates told Alcibiades, that fhould he compare him with the youths of Lacedæmonia, who difplayed a fpirit of valour, a greatnefs of foul, a ftrong defire of glory, a love of labour, attended with gentlenefs, modefty, temperance, and a perfect obedience to the laws and difcipline of Sparta, he would feem a mere child to them. Nevertheleefs, his high birth, his riches, the great families he was related to, and the authority of his guardian, all thefe things had confpired to make him exceedingly vain and haughty. He was full of efteem for himfelf, and of contempt for all others. He was preparing to enter upon the adminiftration of the public affairs, and promifed himfelf no lefs than to eclipfe entirely the glory of Pericles, and to attack the king of Perfia even upon his throne. Socrates feeing him going to mount the roftra, in order to give the people fome advice relating to the public affairs, demonftrates to him, by various queftions, and by Alcibiades's anfwers, that he is quite ignorant of the affairs about which he is going to fpeak, as he had never ftudied them himfelf, nor been informed in them by others. After making Alcibiades confefs this, he paints, in the ftrongeft colours, the abfurdity of his conduct, and makes him fully fenfible of it. What, fays Socrates, would Ameftris (the mother of Artaxerxes, who then reigned in Perfia) fay, were fhe to hear, that there is a man now in Athens meditating war againft her fon, and even intends to dethrone him? She doubtlefs would fuppofe him to be fome veteran general, a man of intrepid courage, of great wifdom, and the moft confummate experience; that he is able to raife a mighty army, and march it wherever he pleafes; and, at the fame time, that he has long before taken the proper meafures for putting fo vaft a defign in

execution. But were ſhe to hear that there are none of theſe circumſtances, and that the perſon in queſtion is not twenty years old; that he is utterly ignorant of public affairs; has not the leaſt knowledge of war, and no credit with the citizens or allies; would it be poſſible for her to refrain from laughing at the folly and extravagance of ſuch an enteprife? This nevertheleſs, ſays Socrates, (directing himſelf to Alcibiades) is your picture; and unhappily reſembles moſt of thoſe who thruſt themſelves into the public employments. Socrates however excepts Pericles on this occaſion; his ſolid merit and exalted reputation being acquired by his cloſe ſtudy, during a long courſe of years, of every thing capable of forming his mind, and of qualifying him for public employments. Alcibiades could not deny that this was his caſe; he was aſhamed of his conduct, and bluſhing to ſee himſelf ſo void of merit, he aſks how he muſt act for the attainment of it. Socrates, being unwilling to diſcourage his pupil, tells him, that as he is ſo young, theſe evils might be remedied, and afterwards continually gave him the wiſeſt counſels. He had entire leiſure to improve from them; as upwards of twenty years paſſed between this converſation, and his engaging in public affairs.

Alcibiades was of a convertible genius, that would take any impreſſion which the difference of times and circumſtances might require, ſtill veering either to good or evil, with the ſame facility and ardour; and ſhifting almoſt in an inſtant from one extreme to its oppoſite, ſo that people applied to him what Homer obſerves of the land of Egypt, "That it produces a great number of very excellent medicinal drugs, and, at the ſame time, as many poiſons." [f] It might be ſaid of Alcibiades, that he was not one ſingle man, but (if ſo bold an expreſſion might be uſed) a compound of ſeveral men; either ſerious or gay; auſtere or affable; an imperious maſter, or a grovelling ſlave; a friend to virtue and the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and vicious men; ca-

[f] *Quemvis hominem ſecum attulit ad nos.* JUVENAL.

pable

pable of ſupporting the moſt painful fatigues and toils, or inſatiably deſirous of voluptuous delights.

[g] His irregularities and diſſolute conduct were become the talk of the whole city; and Alcibiades would very willingly have put a ſtop to theſe reports, but without changing his courſe of life, as appears from a ſaying of his. He had a very handſome dog, of a prodigious ſize, which had coſt him threeſcore and ten minæ *, or three thouſand five hundred French livres. By this we find that a fondneſs for dogs was of great antiquity. Alcibiades cauſed his tail, which was the greateſt beauty he had about him, to be cut off. His friends cenſured him very much on that account, and ſaid, that the whole city blamed him very much for ſpoiling the beauty of ſo handſome a creature. "This is the very thing I want," replied Alcibiades with a ſmile. "I would have the Athenians diſcourſe about what I have done to my dog, that they may not entertain themſelves with ſaying worſe things of me."

[h] Among the various paſſions that were diſcovered in him, the ſtrongeſt and moſt prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to ſubmit to it, and could not bear a ſuperior, or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents ſmoothed the way to his attaining the higheſt employments in the republic; there was nothing however to which he was ſo fond of owing the credit and authority he wanted to gain over the people, as to the force of his eloquence, and the perſuaſive grace of his orations. To this his intimacy with Socrates might be of great ſervice.

[i] Alcibiades, with ſuch a caſt of mind as we have here deſcribed, was not born for repoſe, and had ſet every engine at work to traverſe the treaty lately concluded between the two ſtates; but not ſucceeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was diſguſted at the Lacedæmonians, becauſe they di-

[g] Plut. in Alcib. p. 195
[h] Το φιλονεικον και το φιλοπρωτον. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195, 196.
[i] A. M. 3584. Ant. J. C. 420. Thucyd. l. v. p. 368—378. Plut. in Alcib. p. 197, 198.

* About 160l. ſterling. The Attic mina was worth a hundred drachmas, and the drachma ten pence, French money.

rected

rected themſelves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, ſeemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his anceſtors had enjoyed the rights of hoſpitality among them.

The firſt thing he did to infringe the peace was this; having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to break with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared, he flattered them ſecretly with the hopes that the Athenians would ſuccour them, by ſuggeſting to them that they were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them.

And indeed the Lacedæmonians were not very careful to obſerve the ſeveral conditions of it religiouſly, having concluded an alliance with the Bœotians, in direct oppoſition to the deſign and tenor of the treaty; and having ſurrendered up the fort of Panacton to the Athenians, not fortified and in the condition it was in at the concluding of the treaty, as they had ſtipulated to do, but quite diſmantled. Alcibiades, obſerving the Athenians to be extremely exaſperated at this breach of faith, did his utmoſt to widen the difference; and taking this opportunity to embarraſs Nicias, he made him odious to the people, by cauſing them to entertain a ſuſpicion of his being too ſtrongly attached to the Lacedæmonians; and by charging him with crimes which were not altogether improbable, though they were abſolutely falſe.

This new attack quite diſconcerted Nicias; but happily for him there arrived, at that very inſtant, ambaſſadors from Lacedæmonia, who were inveſted with full powers to put an end to all the diviſions. Being introduced into the council or ſenate, they ſet forth their complaints, and made their demands, which every one of the members thought very juſt and reaſonable. The people were to give them audience the next day. Alcibiades, who was afraid they would ſucceed with them, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to engage the ambaſſadors in a conference with him. He repreſented to them, that the council always behaved with the utmoſt moderation and humanity to thoſe who addreſſed them; but that

that the people were haughty and extravagant in their pretenſions; that ſhould the ambaſſadors mention full powers, they (the people) would not fail to take advantage of this circumſtance, and oblige them to agree to whatever they ſhould take it into their heads to aſk. He concluded with aſſuring them, that he would aſſiſt them with all his credit, in order to get Pylus reſtored to them; to prevent the alliance with the people of Argos, and to get that with them renewed: and he confirmed all theſe promiſes with an oath. The ambaſſadors were extremely well pleaſed with this conference, and greatly admired the profound policy and vaſt abilities of Alcibiades, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary man; and, indeed, they were not miſtaken in their conjecture.

On the morrow, the people being aſſembled, the ambaſſadors were introduced. Alcibiades aſked them, in the mildeſt terms, the ſubject of their embaſſy, and the purport of the powers with which they were inveſted. They immediately anſwered, that they were come to propoſe an accommodation, but were not impowered to conclude any thing. Theſe words were no ſooner ſpoke, but Alcibiades exclaims againſt them; declares them to be treacherous knaves; calls upon the council as witneſs to the ſpeech they had made the night before; and deſires the people not to believe or hear men who ſo imprudently advanced falſehoods, and ſpoke and prevaricated ſo unaccountably, as to ſay one thing one day, and the very reverſe the next.

Words could never expreſs the ſurpriſe and confuſion with which the ambaſſadors were ſeized, who, gazing wildly on one another, could not believe either their eyes or ears. Nicias, who did not know the treacherous ſtratagem of Alcibiades, could not conceive the motive of this change, and tortured his brain to no purpoſe to find out the reaſon of it The people were that moment going to ſend for the ambaſſadors of Argos, in order to conclude the league with them; when a great earthquake came to the aſſiſtance of Nicias, and broke up the aſſembly. It was with the utmoſt difficulty he prevailed

vailed ſo far, in that of next day, as to have a ſtop put to the proceedings, till ſuch time as ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Lacedæmon. Nicias was appointed to head them; but they returned without having done the leaſt good. The Athenians then repented very much their having delivered up, at his perſuaſion, the priſoners they had taken in the iſland, and who were related to the greateſt families in Sparta. However, though the people were highly exaſperated at Nicias, they did not proceed to any exceſſes againſt him, but only appointed Alcibiades their general; made a league with the inhabitants of Matinea and Elis, who had quitted the party of the Lacedæmonians, in which the Argives were included, and ſent troops to Pylus, to lay waſte Laconia. In this manner they again involved themſelves in the war which they were ſo lately deſirous of avoiding.

[k] Plutarch, after relating the intrigue of Alcibiades, adds: "No one can approve the methods he employed to ſucceed in his deſign; however, it was a maſterſtroke, to diſunite and ſhake almoſt every part of Peloponneſus in this manner, and raiſe up, in one day, ſo many enemies againſt the Lacedæmonians." In my opinion, this is too ſoft a cenſure of ſo knaviſh and perfidious an action, which, how ſucceſsful ſoever it might have been, was, notwithſtanding, horrid in itſelf, and of a nature never to be ſufficiently deteſted.

[l] There was in Athens a citizen, Hyperbolus by name, a very wicked man, whom the comic poets generally made the object of their raillery and invectives. He was hardened in evil, and become inſenſible to infamy, by renouncing all ſentiments of honour, which could only be the effect of a ſoul abandoned entirely to vice. Hyperbolus was not agreeable to any one; and yet the people made uſe of him to humble thoſe in high ſtations, and involve them in difficulties. Two citizens, Nicias and Alcibiades, engroſſed, at that time, all the authority in Athens. The diſſolute life of the latter ſhocked the Athenians, who beſides dreaded his auda-

[k] In Alcib. p. 198.
[l] Plut. in Alcib. p. 196, 197. In Nic. p. 530, 531.

city and haughtineſs. On the other ſide, Nicias, by always oppoſing, without the leaſt reſerve, their unjuſt deſires; and by obliging them to take the moſt uſeful meaſures, was become very odious to them. One would have imagined, that as the people were thus alienated from both, they would not have failed to put the oſtraciſm in force againſt one of them. Of the two parties which prevailed at that time in the city, one which conſiſted of the young men who were eager for war, the other of the old men who were deſirous of peace; the former endeavoured to procure the baniſhment of Nicias, and the latter of Alcibiades. Hyperbolus, whoſe only merit was in impudence, in hopes of ſucceeding whichſoever of them ſhould be removed, declared openly againſt them, and was eternally exaſperating the people againſt both. However, the two factions being afterwards reconciled, he himſelf was baniſhed by (and put an end to) the oſtraciſm, which ſeemed to have been demeaned, in being employed againſt a man of ſo baſe a character; for hitherto there was a kind of honour and dignity annexed to this puniſhment. Hyperbolus was therefore the laſt who was ſentenced by the oſtraciſm; as Hipparchus, a near relation of Piſiſtratus the tyrant, had been the firſt.

SECT. V. *Alcibiades engages the Athenians in the War of Sicily.*

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEETH YEARS OF THE WAR.

[m] I PASS over ſeveral inconſiderable events, to haſten to the relation of that of the greateſt importance, the expedition of the Athenians into Sicily, to which they were eſpecially excited by Alcibiades. This is the ſixteenth year of the Peloponneſian war.

[n] Alcibiades had gained a ſurpriſing aſcendant over the minds of the people, though they were perfectly well acquainted with his character. For his great qua-

[m] A. M. 3588. Ant. J. C. 416. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 350—409.
[n] Plut. in Alcib. p. 198—200. In Nic. p. 531.

lities

lities were united with ſtill greater vices, which he did not take the leaſt pains to conceal. He paſſed his life in ſuch an exceſs of luxury and voluptuouſneſs, as was a ſcandal to that city. Nothing was ſeen in his houſe but feſtivals, rejoicings, and parties of pleaſure and debeauchery. He ſhowed very little regard to the cuſtoms of his country, and leſs to religion and the gods. All perſons of ſenſe and judgment, beſides the ſtrong averſion they had for his irregularities, dreaded exceedingly the conſequences of his audacity, profuſion, and utter contempt of the laws, which they conſidered as ſo many ſteps by which Alcibiades would riſe to tyrannical power.

Ariſtophanes, in one of his comedies*, ſhows admirably well, in a ſingle verſe, the diſpoſition of the people with regard to him: "They hate Alcibiades," ſays he, "and yet cannot do without him." And, indeed the prodigious ſums he ſquandered on the people; the pompous games and ſhows he exhibited to pleaſe them; the magnificent and almoſt incredible preſents which he made the city; the grace and beauty of his whole perſon; his eloquence, his bodily ſtrength, joined to his courage and experience; in a word, this aſſemblage of great qualities made the Athenians wink at his faults, and bear them patiently, always endeavouring to leſſen and ſcreen them under ſoft and favourable names; for they called them ſports, polite paſtimes, and indications of his humanity and good nature.

Timon the man-hater, moroſe and ſavage as he was, formed a better judgment of this conduct of Alcibiades. Meeting him one day as he was coming out of the aſſembly, vaſtly pleaſed at his having been gratified in all his demands, and to ſee the greateſt honours paid him by the people in general, who were attending him in crouds to his houſe; ſo far from ſhunning him as he did all other men, on the contrary he ran to meet him, and ſtretching out his hand to him in a friendly way; "Courage, my ſon," ſays he, "thou doſt right in puſh-

* The Frogs. Act v. Scene 4.

ing

ing thy fortune, for thy advancement will be the ruin of all these people." The war of Sicily will show that Timon was not mistaken.

The Athenians, from the time of Pericles, had meditated the conquest of Sicily. However, that wise guide had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project. He used frequently to inculcate to them that by living in peace, by supporting their fleet, by contenting themselves with the conquests they had already gained, and by not engaging in hazardous enterprises, they would raise their city to a flourishing condition, and be always superior to their enemies. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading Sicily, could not surpass the desire they had to conquer it, and their eyes were continually upon that island. [a] Some time after Pericles's death, the Leontines, being invaded by the Syracusans, had sent a deputation to Athens to demand aid. They were originally of Chalcis, an Athenian colony. The chief of the deputies was Gorgis, a famous rhetorician, who was reputed the most eloquent man of his times. His elegant and florid diction, heightened by shining figures which he first employed, charmed the Athenians, who were prodigiously affected with the beauties and graces of eloquence. Accordingly the alliance was concluded, and they sent ships to Regium to the aid of the Leontines. The year following they sent a greater number. Two years after they sent a new fleet, something stronger than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to all their divisions, by the advice of Hermocrates, the fleet was sent back; and the Athenians, not being able to prevail with themselves to pardon their generals for not conquering Sicily, sent two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles into banishment; and sentenced the third, Eurymedon, to pay a heavy fine; their prosperity having blinded them to so prodigious a degree, that they were persuaded no power was able to resist them. They made several attempts afterwards, and upon pretence of sending, from time to time, arms

[a] Diod. l. xii. p 99.

and

and ſoldiers to ſuch cities as were unjuſtly treated or oppreſſed by the Syracuſans, they by that means were preparing to invade them with a greater force.

But the perſon who moſt inflamed this ardour was Alcibiades, by his feeding the people with ſplendid hopes with which he himſelf was for ever filled or rather intoxicated. He was every night, in his dreams, taking Carthage, ſubduing Africa, croſſing from thence into Italy, and poſſeſſing himſelf of all Peloponneſus, looking upon Sicily not as the ſcope and end of this war, but as the beginning and the firſt ſtep of the exploits he revolved in his mind. All the citizens favoured his views, and without enquiring ſeriouſly into matters, were enchanted with the mighty hopes he gave them. This expedition was the only topic of all converſations. The young men, in the places where the public exerciſes were performed, and the old men in their ſhops, and elſewhere, were employed in nothing but in drawing the plan of Sicily; in diſcourſing on the nature and quality of the ſea with which it is ſurrounded; on its good harbours, and flat ſhores towards Africa: for theſe people, infatuated by the ſpeeches of Alcibiades, were (like him) perſuaded that they ſhould make Sicily only their place of arms and their arſenal, from whence they ſhould ſet out for the conqueſt of Carthage, and make themſelves maſters of all Africa and the ſea, as far as the Pillars of Hercules.

[p] It is related, that neither Socrates nor Methon the aſtronomer, believed that this enterpriſe would be ſucceſsful; the former, being inſpired, as he inſinuated, by his familiar ſpirit, who always warned him of the evils with which he was threatened; and the other, directed by his reaſon and good ſenſe, which, pointing out what he had to apprehend in reſpect to the future, induced him to act the madman on this occaſion; and to demand, in conſideration of the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, that the Athenians would not force away his ſon, and would diſpenſe with his carrying arms.

[p] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 532.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *Account of the ſeveral People who inhabited Sicily.*

BEFORE I enter on the relation of the war of Sicily, it will not be improper to give a plan of the country, and of the nations who inhabited it: Thucydides begins in the ſame manner.

[s] It was firſt inhabited by the Leſtrygones and the Cyclopes, of whom we do not know any particulars, except what we are told by the poets. The moſt ancient after theſe were the Sicani, who called themſelves the original inhabitants of this country, though they are thought to have come into it from the neighbourhood of a river in Spain, called Sicanus, whoſe name they gave to the iſland, which before was called Trinacria: theſe people were afterwards confined to the weſtern part of the iſland. Some Trojans, after the burning of their city, came and ſettled near them, and built Erix and * Egeſta, who all aſſumed the name of Elymæi; and were afterwards joined by ſome inhabitants of Phocis, at their return from the ſiege of Troy. Thoſe who are properly called Sicilians came from Italy in very great numbers; and having gained a conſiderable victory over the Sicani, confined them to a corner of their iſland, about three hundred years before the arrival of the Greeks; and in Thucydides's time, they ſtill inhabited the middle part of the iſland and the northern coaſt. From them the iſland was called Sicily. The Phœnicians alſo ſpread themſelves along the coaſt and in the little iſlands which border upon it, for the convenience of trade: but after the Greeks began to ſettle there, they retired into the country of the Elymæi, in order to be nearer Carthage, and abandoned the reſt. It was in this manner the Barbarians firſt ſettled in Sicily.

[t] With regard to the Greeks, the firſt of them who croſſed into Sicily were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, under Theocles who founded Naxos. The year after, which, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus, was the

[s] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 410—413 [t] A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710.
* It is called Segeſta by the Romans.

third

third of the ſeventeenth Olympiad, Archias the Corinthian laid the foundations of Syracuſe. Seven years after, the Chalcidians founded Leontium and Catana, after having driven out the inhabitants of the country, who were Sicilians. Other Greeks, who came from Megara, a city of Achaia, about the ſame time, founded Megara, called Hyblæa, or barely Hybla, from Hyblon, a Sicilian king, by whoſe permiſſion they ſettled in his dominions. It is well known that the Hyblæan honey was very famous among the ancients. A hundred years after, the inhabitants of that city built Selinonta. Gela, built on a river of the ſame name, forty-five years after the founding of Syracuſe, founded Agrigentum about a hundred and eight years after. Zancle, called afterwards Meſſana or Meſſene, by Anaxilas tyrant of Regium, who was of Meſſene, a city of Peloponneſus, had ſeveral founders, and at different periods. The Zanclians built the city of Himera; the Syracuſans built Acre, Caſmene, and Camarina. Theſe are moſt of the nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who ſettled in Sicily.

SECT. VII. *The People of Egeſta implore Aid of the Athenians. Nicias oppoſes, but to no Purpoſe, the War of Sicily. Alcibiades carries that Point. They both are appointed Generals with Lamachus.*

[a] ATHENS was in the diſpoſition above related when ambaſſadors were ſent from the people of Egeſta, who, in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid againſt the inhabitants of Selinunta, who were aſſiſted by the Syracuſans. It was the ſixteenth year of the Peloponneſian war. They repreſented, among other things, that ſhould they be abandoned, the Syracuſans, after ſeizing their city as they had done that of Leontium, would poſſeſs themſelves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponneſians who were their founders; and, that they might put them to as little charge as poſſible, they offered to pay the troops that ſhould be ſent

[a] A. M. 3588. Ant. J. C. 416. Thucyd. l. vi. p. 413—415. Diod. l. xii. p. 129, 130. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. In Nic. p. 531.

to

to ſuccour them. The Athenians who had long waited for an opportunity to declare themſelves, ſent deputies to Egeſta to enquire into the ſtate of affairs, and to ſee whether there was money enough in the treaſury to defray the expence of ſo great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been ſo artful, as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and ſilver vaſes, worth an immenſe ſum of money; and of theſe they made a ſhow when the Athenians arrived. [t] The deputies returned with thoſe of Egeſta, who carried threeſcore talents in ingots, as a month's pay for the galleys which they demanded; and a promiſe of larger ſums, which, they ſaid, were ready both in the public treaſury and in the temples. The people, ſtruck with theſe fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themſelves the leiſure to examine, and ſeduced by the advantageous reports which their deputies made in the view of pleaſing them, immediately granted the Egeſtans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus to command the fleet; with full power, not only to ſuccour Egeſta, and reſtore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city; but alſo to regulate the affairs of Sicily, in ſuch a manner as might beſt ſuit the intereſts of the republic.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals, to his very great regret; for, beſides other motives which made him dread that command, he ſhunned it, becauſe Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But the Athenians promiſed themſelves greater ſucceſs from this war, ſhould they not reſign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardour and audacity with the coldneſs and wiſdom of Nicias.

[u] Five days after, to haſten the execution of the decree, and make the neceſſary preparations, a ſecond aſſembly was held. Nicias, who had had time enough to reflect deliberately on the affair, propoſed, and was ſtill better convinced of the difficulties and dangers which would enſue from it; thought himſelf obliged to ſpeak with ſome vehemence againſt a project, the

[t] A. M. 3589. Ant. J. C. 415. [u] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415—428.

conſequences

consequences of which he foresaw might be very fatal to the republic. He said, "That it was surprising so important an affair should have been determined, the moment almost it was taken into deliberation: that without once enquiring into matters, they had given credit to whatever was told them by foreigners, who were very lavish of their promises; and whose interest it was to offer mighty things, in order to extricate themselves from their imminent danger. After all, what advantage," says he, "can accrue from thence to the republic: have we so few enemies at our doors, that we need go in search of others at a distance from us? Will you act wisely, to hazard your present possessions on the vain hopes of an uncertain advantage? To mediate new conquests before you have secured your ancient ones? To study nothing but the aggrandizing of your state, and quite neglect your own safety? Can you depend in any manner on a truce, which you yourselves know is very precarious; which you are sensible has been infringed more than once; and which the least defeat on our side may suddenly change into an open war? You are not ignorant how the Lacedæmonians have always been, and still continue disposed with regard to us. They detest our government as different from theirs; it is with grief and disdain they see us possessed of the empire of Greece; they consider our glory as their shame and confusion; and there is nothing they would not attempt, to humble a power which excites their jealousy, and keeps them perpetually in fear. These are our real enemies, and it is they we ought to guard against. Will it be a proper time to make these reflections, (when after having divided our troops, and our arms will be employed elsewhere) and unable to resist them, we shall be attacked at once by all the forces of Peloponnesus? We do but just begin to breathe, after the calamities in which war and the plague had plunged us; and we are now going to plunge ourselves into greater danger. If we are ambitious of carrying our arms into distant countries, would it not be more expedient to

march

march and reduce the rebels of Thrace, and other nations who are ſtill wavering, and unfixed in their allegiance, than to fly to the ſuccour of the inhabitants of Egeſta, about whoſe welfare we ought to be very indifferent? And will it ſuit our intereſt, to attempt to revenge their injuries, at a time that we do not diſcover the leaſt reſentment for thoſe we ourſelves receive? Let us leave the Sicilians to themſelves, and not engage in their quarrels, which it is their buſineſs to decide. As the inhabitants of Egeſta undertook the war without us, let them extricate themſelves from it as well as they can. Should any of our generals adviſe you to this enterpriſe, from an ambitious or ſelf-intereſted view; merely to make a vain parade of his ſplendid equipages, or to raiſe money to ſupport his extravagance; be not guilty of ſo much imprudence as to ſacrifice the intereſt of the republic to his, or to permit him to involve it in the ſame ruin with himſelf. An enterpriſe of ſo much importance ought not to be committed wholly to the conduct of a young man. Remember it is prudence, not prejudice and paſſion, that gives ſucceſs to affairs." Nicias concluded with declaring it his opinion, that it would be proper to deliberate again on the affair, in order to prevent the fatal conſequences with which their taking raſh reſolutions might be attended.

It was plain he had Alcibiades in view, and that his enormous luxury was the object of his cenſure. And indeed he carried it to an incredible height; and laviſhed prodigious ſums of money on horſes, and equipages, and moveables; not to mention the delicacy and ſumptuouſneſs of his table. He diſputed the prize in the Olympic games with ſeven ſets of chariot horſes, which no private man had ever done before him; and he was crowned more than once on that occaſion. Extraordinary reſources were neceſſary for ſupporting ſuch luxury; and as avarice often ſerves as a reſource to ambition; there were ſome grounds to believe, that Alcibiades was no leſs ſolicitous for conquering Sicily and Carthage (which he pretended

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to poſſeſs afterwards as his own) to enrich his family, than to render it glorious. It is natural to ſuppoſe that Alcibiades did not let this ſpeech of Nicias go unanſwered.

"This, ſays Alcibiades, is not the firſt time that merit has excited jealouſy, and glory been made the object of envy. That very thing which is imputed to me for a crime, is, I will preſume to ſay it, the honour of my country, and ought to gain me applauſe. The ſplendor in which I live; the great ſums I expend, particularly in the public aſſemblies; beſides their being juſt and lawful, at the ſame time give foreigners a greater idea of the glory of Athens; and ſhow, that it is not in ſuch want of money as our enemies imagine. But this is not our preſent buſineſs. Let the world form a judgment of me, not from paſſion and prejudice, but from my actions. Was it an inconſiderable ſervice I did the republic, in bringing over (in one day) to its alliance, the people of Elis, of Mantinea, and of Argos, that is the chief ſtrength of Peloponneſus? Make uſe, therefore, to aggrandize your empire, of Alcibiades's youth and folly (ſince his enemies give it that name) as well as of the wiſdom and experience of Nicias; and do not repent, from vain and idle fears, your engaging in an enterpriſe publicly reſolved upon, and which may redound infinitely both to your glory and advantage. The cities of Sicily, weary of the unjuſt and cruel government of their princes, and ſtill more of the tyrannical authority which Syracuſe exerciſes over them, wait only for a favourable opportunity to declare themſelves; and are ready to open their gates to whomſoever ſhall offer to take off the yoke under which they have ſo long groaned. Though the citizens of Egeſta in quality of your allies, ſhould not have a right to your protection; yet the glory of Athens ought to engage you to ſupport them. Republics aggrandize themſelves by ſuccouring the oppreſſed, and not by living unactive. In the preſent ſtate of your affairs, the only way to diſpirit your enemies, and ſhow that

that you are not afraid of them, will be, to harafs one nation, to check the progrefs of another, to keep them all employed, and carry your arms into diftant countries. Athens was not formed for eafe; and it was not by inactivity that your anceftors raifed it to the height in which we now fee it. For the reft, what hazards will you run by engaging in the enterprife in queftion? If it fhould be crowned with fuccefs, you will then poffefs yourfelves of all Greece; and fhould it not anfwer your expectations your fleet will give you an opportunity of retiring whenever you pleafe. The Lacedæmonians indeed may make an incurfion into our country; but, befides that it would not be in our power to prevent it, though we fhould not invade Sicily, we ftill fhall preferve the empire of the fea, in fpite of them; a circumftance which makes our enemies entirely defpair of ever being able to conquer us. Be not therefore biafed by Nicias's reafons. The only tendency of them is to fow the feeds of difcord between the young and old men, who can do nothing without one another; fince it is wifdom and courage, counfel and execution, that give fuccefs to all enterprifes: and this in which we are going to embark, cannot but turn to your advantage."

* The Athenians, flattered and pleafed with Alcibiades's fpeech, perfifted in their firft opinion. Nicias, on the other fide, did not depart from his; but at the fame time did not dare to oppofe Alcibiades any further. Nicias was naturally of a foft and timid difpofition. He was not, like Pericles, mafter of that lively and vehement eloquence, which, like a torrent, bears down all things in its way. And, indeed the latter, on feveral occafions and at feveral times, had never failed to check the wild ftarts of the populace, who, even then, meditated the expedition into Sicily; becaufe he was always inflexible, and never flackened the reins of that authority and kind of fovereignty which he had acquired over the people; whereas

* Plut. in præc. de ger. rep. p. 802.

Nicias,

*Nicias, both by acting and ſpeaking in an eaſy, gentle manner, ſo far from winning over the people, ſuffered himſelf to be forcibly and involuntarily carried away: and accordingly he at laſt yielded to the people, and accepted the command in a war which he plainly foreſaw would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

Plutarch makes this reflection in his excellent treatiſe, where, ſpeaking of the qualities requiſite in a ſtateſman, he ſhows how very neceſſary eloquence and inflexible conſtancy and perſeverance are to him.

Nicias, not daring to oppoſe Alcibiades any longer openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by ſtarting a great number of difficulties, drawn eſpecially from the great expence of this expedition. He declared, that ſince they were reſolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in ſuch a manner as might ſuit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained: that a fleet was not ſufficient to oppoſe ſo formidable a power as that of the Syracuſans and their allies: that they muſt raiſe an army, compoſed of good horſe and foot, if they deſired to act in a manner worthy of ſo grand a deſign: that beſides their fleet, which was to make them maſters at ſea, they muſt have a great number of tranſports, to carry proviſions perpetually to the army, which otherwiſe could not poſſibly ſubſiſt in an enemy's country: that they muſt carry vaſt ſums of money with them, without waiting for that promiſed them by the citizens of Egeſta, who perhaps were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promiſe: that they ought to weigh and examine the diſparity there was between themſelves and their enemies with regard to the conveniencies and wants of the army; the Syracuſans being in their own country, in the midſt of powerful allies, diſpoſed by inclination, as well as engaged by intereſt, to aſſiſt them with men, arms, horſes, and proviſions; whereas the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country poſ-

* Καθα περι αμβλει χαλιγω τω λογω πειεωμενος αποστρεφειν τον δημον ε κατεχειν.

ſeſſed

fessed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them in less than four months time; a country, where all things would oppose the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms: that it would reflect the greatest ignominy on the Athenians, should they be forced to abandon their enterprise, and thereby become the scorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which so important a design required: that as for himself, he was determined not to go, unless he was provided with all things necessary for the expedition, because the safety of the whole army depended on that circumstance; and that he would not rely on caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies.

[y] Nicias had flattered himself, that this speech would cool the ardour of the people, whereas it only inflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raise as many troops, and fit out as many galleys as they should judge necessary; and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens, and other places, with inexpressible activity.

SECT. VIII. *The Athenians prepare to set Sail. Sinister Omens. The Statues of Mercury are mutilated. Alcibiades is accused, and insists upon his being tried, but his Request is not granted. Triumphant Departure of the Fleet.*

[z] WHEN all things were ready for their departure, and they were preparing to sail, there happened several bad omens, which filled the minds of the people with trouble and disquietude. The * women were at that time celebrating the festival of Adonis, during which the whole city was in mourning, and full of images representing dead persons and funeral pro-

[y] Diod. l. xiii. p. 134. [z] A. M. 3589. Ant. J. C. 415. Thucyd. l. vi. p. 428. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200, 201.

* This superstitious rite had extended even to God's people. *And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz.* Ezek. viii. 14. N. B. The Latin version of the Bible, which Mr. Rollin follows, says *weeping for Adonis;* which is the same as Tammuz, the Hebrews called Adonis by that name.

cessions;

ceſſions; and every part echoed with the cries and groans of the women who followed thoſe ſtatues with lamentations of that kind. Whence it was feared, that this gay and magnificent armament would ſoon loſe all its ſplendor, and wither *away like a flower.

The general affliction was increaſed by another accident. The ſtatues of Mercury, which ſtood at the entrance of private houſes and temples, were all mutilated in one night, and particularly in the face; and although a great reward was promiſed to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the authors of ſo audacious a crime, no one was accuſed. The citizens could not forbear conſidering this uncommon event, not only as an unlucky omen, but as a contrivance of ſome factious men, who harboured very ill deſigns. Some young people had already been accuſed of committing much the like crime in the midſt of their cups; and particularly of having wantonly mimicked the ceremonies and myſteries of Ceres and Proſerpine; with Alcibiades, who repreſented the high-prieſt, at their head. [a] It highly concerns all thoſe in exalted ſtations, to be extremely careful of every ſtep they take, and not to give the leaſt opportunity to the moſt inveterate malice to cenſure them. They ought to call to mind, ſays Plutarch, that the eyes of all men are upon their conduct, and that they are ever eagle-eyed on theſe occaſions; that not only their outward actions paſs the moſt ſevere ſcrutiny, but that they penetrate to their moſt private apartments, and there take the ſtricteſt notice of their diſcourſes, their diverſions, and the moſt ſecret things tranſacted by them. It was this dread of the piercing eye of the people, that kept Themiſtocles and Pericles perpetually on their guard, and obliged them to refrain from moſt of thoſe pleaſures in which others indulge themſelves.

As for Alcibiades, he did not know what it was to lay himſelf under any reſtraints; and accordingly as his character was ſo well known, people were perſuaded he

[a] Plut. in præc. de rep. p. 800.

*The hiſtorian alludes to the plants and flowers that were carried in that ceremony, and which went by the name of Adonis's gardens.

very

very probably had been concerned in what had happened. His luxury, libertinifm, and irreligion, gave an air of probability to this charge, and the accufer was not afraid of telling his name. This attack ftaggered the conftancy and refolution of Alcibiades; but hearing the foldiers and failors declare, that they were induced to engage in this expedition by no other motive but their affection for Alcibiades; and that, fhould the leaft injury be done him, they would all leave the fervice; he took heart, and appeared at his trial on the day appointed for that purpofe. His enemies, upon pretence that it was neceffary for the fleet to fet fail, got the judgment fuperfeded. It was to no purpofe for Alcibiades to infift upon being tried, in cafe he was guilty, and not be ruined in his abfence; and to reprefent, that it would be the moft fhocking and barbarous injuftice to oblige him to embark for fo important an expedition, without firft making due enquiry into the accufations and horrid flanders which were caft upon him, the bare thoughts of which would keep him in perpetual fear and anxiety. However, none of thefe remonftrances proved effectual, and the fleet was ordered to fet out.

[b] They accordingly prepared to fet fail, after having appointed Corcyra the rendezvous for moft of the allies, and fuch fhips as were to carry the provifions, &c. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Pyræus. The former attended their children, relations, friends, or companions, with a joy overcaft with a little forrow, upon their bidding adieu to perfons that were as dear to them as life, who were fetting out on a far diftant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they ever would return, though they flattered themfelves with the hopes that it would be fuccefsful. The foreigners came thither to feed their eyes with a fight which was highly worthy their curiofity; for no fingle city in the world had ever fitted out fo gallant a fleet. Thofe indeed which had been fent againft Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as confiderable with regard to the number of fol-

[b] Thucyd. p. 430—438. Diod. l. xiii. p. 185.

diers

diers and ſhips: but then they were not equipped with ſo much magnificence, neither was their voyage ſo long, nor their enterpriſe ſo important. Here were ſeen a land and a naval army, provided with the utmoſt care, and at the expence of particular perſons as well as of the public, with all things neceſſary, on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furniſhed a hundred empty galleys, that is, threeſcore light ones, and forty to tranſport the ſoldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma, or ten pence (French) for his pay, excluſively of what the captains of ſhips gave the rowers * of the firſt bench. Add to this, the pomp and magnificence that were diſplayed univerſally; every one ſtriving to eclipſe the reſt, and each captain endeavouring to make his ſhip the lighteſt, and at the ſame time the gayeſt in the whole fleet. I ſhall not take notice of the choice of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, who were the flower of the Athenians; nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatneſs of their arms and equipage; any more than of their officers who had laid out conſiderable ſums purely to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their perſons and circumſtances; ſo that this ſight had the air of a tournament, in which the utmoſt magnificence is diſplayed, rather than of a warlike expedition. But the boldneſs and greatneſs of the deſign ſtill exceeded its expence and ſplendor.

When the ſhips were laden and the troops got on board, the trumpet ſounded, and ſolemn prayers were offered up for the ſucceſs of the expedition; gold and ſilver cups were filling every where with wine, and the accuſtomed libations were poured out; the people who lined the ſhore ſhouting at the ſame time, and lifting up their hands to heaven, to wiſh their fellow citizens a good voyage and ſucceſs. And now, the hymn being ſung, and the ceremonies ended, the ſhips ſailed one after another out of the harbour; after which they ſtrove to outſail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina.

* They were called Θρανῖται. They had longer oars than the reſt, and conſequently more trouble in rowing.

From thence it made for Corcyra, where the army of the allies was assembling with the rest of the fleet.

SECT. IX. *Syracuse is alarmed. The Athenian Fleet arrives in Sicily.*

[c] ADVICE of this expedition coming to Syracuse from all quarters, it was thought so improbable, that at first nobody would believe it. But as it was more and more confirmed every day, the Syracusans began to think seriously of making the necessary preparations; and sent deputations to every part of the island, to ask assistance of some, and send succours to others. They garrisoned all the castles and forts in the country; reviewed all the soldiers and horses; examined the arms in the magazines; and settled and prepared all things, as if the enemy had been in their country.

In the mean time the fleet sailed in three squadrons, each under the command of its particular general. It consisted of a hundred and thirty-six ships, a hundred whereof belonged to Athens, and the rest to the allies. On board these ships were five thousand heavy-armed soldiers, two thousand two hundred of whom were Athenian citizens, *viz.* fifteen hundred of those who had estates, and seven hundred * who had none, but were equally citizens; the rest consisted of allies. With regard to the light infantry, there were eighty archers of Crete, and four hundred of other countries; seven hundred Rhodian slingers, and a hundred and twenty exiles of Megara. There was but one company of horse, consisting of thirty troopers, who had embarked on board a vessel proper for transporting cavalry. Both the fleet and the land forces were afterwards increased considerably. Thirty vessels carried the provisions and cooks, with masons, carpenters, and their several tools; the whole followed by a hundred small vessels for the service, exclusive of merchant-ships, of which there were great numbers. All this fleet had sailed together

[c] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 432—445. Diod. l. xiii. p. 135, 136.
* These were called Θῆτες.

for

for Corcyra. Having met with but an indifferent reception from the people of Tarentum and Locris, they failed with a favourable wind for Rhegium, where they made some stay. The Athenians were very urgent with the inhabitants of Rhegium to succour those of Leontium, who came originally from Chalcis as well as themselves: but these answered, that they were determined to stand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the rest of Italy. Here they debated on the manner in which it was necessary to carry on the war, and waited for the coming up of those ships that had been sent out to make discoveries of a proper place for landing, and to enquire whether the citizens of Egesta had got their money ready. Upon their return they brought advice that they had but thirty talents in the treasury. This Nicias had foreseen, but no regard had been paid to his salutary counsels.

[d] He did not fail, the instant this news was brought, to expatiate on the counsel he had given in Athens; to show the wrong step they had taken in engaging in this war; and to amplify the fatal consequences which might be expected from it: in all which he acted very imprudently. It was extremely judicious in Nicias to oppose it in the beginning, and to set every engine at work, to crush if possible this ill-fated project. But as it was resolved, and he himself had accepted of the command, he ought not to be perpetually looking backward, nor to have repeated incessantly, that this war had been undertaken in opposition to all the maxims of prudence; and, by that means, to cool the ardour of his two colleagues in the command, to dispirit the soldiers, and blunt that edge of confidence and ardour, which assure the success of great enterprises. The Athenians, on the contrary, ought to have advanced boldly towards the enemy; should have attacked them with vigour, and have spread an universal terror by a sudden and unexpected descent.

But Nicias acted in a quite different manner. His opinion in the council of war, was, that they should sail

[d] Plut. in Nic. p. 532.

for Selinunta, which had been the firſt occaſion of this expedition; and then, if the citizens of Egeſta performed their promiſe, and gave a month's pay to the army, to proceed forward; or otherwiſe, to oblige them to furniſh proviſions for the ſixty galleys they had demanded, and continue in that road till they ſhould have concluded a peace with the citizens of Selinunta, either by force of arms or ſome other way. He ſaid, that they afterwards ſhould return to Athens, after having thus made a parade of their forces, and the aſſiſtance they gave their allies; unleſs they ſhould have an opportunity of making ſome attempt in favour of the Leontines, or of bringing over ſome city into their alliance.

Alcibiades anſwered, that it would be inglorious, after their ſailing out with ſo noble a fleet, to return without doing any thing; and that they ſhould firſt endeavour to conclude an alliance with the Greeks and Barbarians, in order to divide them from the Syracuſans, and procure troops and proviſions from them; and eſpecially to ſend a deputation to Meſſina, which was a kind of key to Sicily, and its harbour capacious enough to hold all the fleet. He declared further, that after ſeeing who were their friends and who their enemies, and ſtrengthening themſelves by the addition of a new reinforcement, they then ſhould attack either Selinunta or Syracuſe; in caſe the one ſhould refuſe to conclude a peace with Egeſta, and the other not permit the Leontines to return to their city.

Lamachus offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the moſt prudent; that was, to ſail directly for Syracuſe, before its citizens had time to recover from their ſurpriſe, or prepare for their defence. He obſerved, that the ſudden arrival of an armed force always ſtrikes the greateſt terror; and that when enemies are allowed time to reflect and make preparations, it alſo revives their courage; whereas, when they are ſuddenly attacked, and ſtill in confuſion, they are generally overcome; that as they would be maſters of the open country, they ſhould not be in want of any thing; but, on the contrary, would oblige the Sicilians to de-

clare for them: that at laſt they ſhould ſettle in Megara, which was quite deſert and a near neighbour to Syracuſe, and there lay up their fleet in ſafety. However, his counſel not being followed, he agreed to that of Alcibiades: accordingly they ſailed for Sicily, where Alcibiades took Catana by ſurpriſe.

SECT. X. *Alcibiades is recalled. He flies, and is ſentenced to die as an Outlaw. He retires to Sparta. Flexibility of his Genius and Diſpoſition.*

[c] THIS was the firſt and laſt exploit performed by Alcibiades in this expedition, he being immediately recalled by the Athenians, in order to be tried upon the accuſation againſt him. For, from the departure of the fleet, his enemies, who had no regard to the welfare of their country; and who, upon the ſpecious pretence of religion, which is often made a cloak to cover the darkeſt deſigns, meditated nothing but ſatiating their hatred and revenge; his enemies, I ſay, taking advantage of his abſence, had proceeded in the affair with greater vigour than ever. All thoſe, againſt whom informations were lodged, were thrown into priſon, without ſo much as being ſuffered to be heard, and that too on the evidence of the moſt profligate and abandoned citizens; as if, ſays Thucydides, it was not as great a crime to puniſh the innocent, as to ſuffer the guilty to eſcape. One of the informers was proved to be perjured by his own words; having declared that he ſaw and knew one of the accuſed by moonlight; whereas it appeared, that there was no moon at that time. But notwithſtanding this manifeſt perjury, the populace were as furious as ever. The remembrance of the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides made them apprehenſive of the like fate; and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with this fear they would not give ear to any thing.

At laſt they ſent out the * ſhip of Salamin, ordering the captain not to carry off Alcibiades by force, for fear

[c] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446—450. Plut. in Alcib. p. 202.

* This was a ſacred veſſel appointed to fetch criminals.

of

of raiſing a tumult in the army; but only to order him to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his preſence. Alcibiades obeyed the order, and went immediately on board his galley; but the inſtant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on ſhore, he diſappeared, and eluded the purſuit of thoſe who ſought after him. Being aſked whether he would not rely on his country, with regard to the judgment it might paſs on him: "I would not," ſays he, "rely on my mother, for fear leſt ſhe ſhould inadvertently miſtake a * black bean for a white one." The galley of Salamin returned back without the commander, who was aſhamed of his having ſuffered his prey to eſcape him in that manner. Alcibiades was ſentenced to die for his contumacy. His whole eſtate was confiſcated, and all prieſts and prieſteſſes were commanded to curſe him. Among the latter was one Theano, who alone had the courage to oppoſe this decree, ſaying: "† That ſhe had been appointed prieſteſs, not to curſe but to bleſs." Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to die, "I ſhall make them ſenſible," ſays he, "that I am alive."

[f] Much about this time Diagoras of Melia was proſecuted at Athens. He had ſettled himſelf in the latter city, where he taught atheiſm, and was brought to a trial for his doctrine. [g] Diagoras eſcaped the puniſhment which would have been inflicted on him, by flying from the city; but he could not wipe off the ignominy of the ſentence which condemned him to death. The Athenians had ſo great an abhorrence for the impious principles inculcated by him, that they even ſet a price upon his head, and promiſed a reward of a talent to any man who ſhould bring him dead or alive.

[h] About twenty years before, a like affair had happened to Protagoras, for having only treated the ſame queſtion by way of problem. He had ſaid in the begin-

[f] Joſeph. contr. App. [g] Diod. l. xiii. p. 137. [h] Diog. Laert. in Protag. Joſeph. contr. App. Cic. l. i. de nat. deor. n. 62.

* The judges made uſe of beans in giving their ſuffrages, and the black bean denoted condemnation.

† Φασκουσα ευχων ὁ χαταρων ἱερειαν γεγονεναι.

ning

ning of one of his books: "Whether the gods do or do not exist is a question which I know not whether I ought to affirm or deny: for our understandings are too much clouded, and the life of man is too short, for the solution of so nice and difficult a point." But the Athenians could not bear to have a subject of this nature made a doubt; and for this reason they ordered proclamation to be made by the public crier, for all persons who had any copies of this book, to bring them to the magistrates: after which they were burnt as infamous pieces, and the author was banished for ever from all the territories of the Athenians.

Diagoras and Protagoras had been the disciples of Democritus, who first invented the philosophy of atoms. I shall speak of him in another place.

[1] From the departure of Alcibiades, Nicias had possessed the whole authority: for Lamachus his colleague, though a man of bravery and experience, was however in no credit, because of his extreme poverty, for which he was despised by the soldiers. But the Athenians were not always in this way of thinking; for we have seen that Aristides, poor as he was, was no less esteemed and respected on that account: but in this last expedition, the people in general had imbibed a passion for luxury and magnificence; the natural consequence of which is a love of riches. As Nicias, therefore, governed all affairs solely, all his actions were of the same cast with his disposition, that is, of a slow and fearful kind: he suffered every thing to languish, sometimes either by lying still and undertaking nothing, sometimes by only sailing along the coast, or losing time in consulting and deliberating; all which soon suppressed, on one side, the ardour and confidence the troops expressed at first; and, on the other, the fear and terror with which the enemy had been seized, at the sight of so terrible an armament. He besieged Hybla; and though it was but a small city, he was however obliged to raise the siege some days after, which brought him into the highest contempt. He retired at last to

[1] Thucyd. p. 452, 453. Plut. in Nic. p. 533.

Catana,

Catana, after having performed but one exploit, *viz.* the ruining of Hyccara, a ſmall town inhabited by Barbarians, from which place, it is ſaid, that Lais the courteſan, at that time very young, was ſold with the reſt of the captives, and carried to Peloponneſus.

[k] In the mean time Alcibiades, having left Thurium, was arrived at Argos; and as he quite deſpaired of ever being recalled home, he ſent a meſſenger to the Spartans, deſiring leave to reſide among them, under their guard and protection. He promiſed in the moſt ſolemn manner, that if they would conſider him as their friend, he would perform greater ſervices for their ſtate than he before had done injuries to it. The Spartans received him with open arms; and ſoon after his arrival in their city, he gained the love and eſteem of all its inhabitants. He charmed, and even enchanted them, by his conforming himſelf ſo eaſily to their way of living. Such people as ſaw Alcibiades ſhave himſelf to the ſkin, bathe in cold water, eat of the coarſe, heavy cakes which were their uſual food, and be ſo well ſatisfied with their black broth; could not perſuade themſelves, that a man, who ſubmitted ſo cheerfully to this kind of life, had ever kept cooks in his palace; had uſed eſſences and perfumes; had worn the rich ſtuffs of Miletus; in a word, that he had hitherto lived in the midſt of voluptuouſneſs and profuſion of all things. But flexibility was the characteriſtic that chiefly diſtinguiſhed Alcibiades. Cameleon-like, he could aſſume all ſhapes and colours, to win the favour of thoſe among whom he reſided. He immediately aſſumed their manners and adapted himſelf to their taſte, as if they had been natural in him; and though he inwardly had an averſion to them, he could however cover his diſguſt with an eaſy, ſimple, and unconſtrained air. With ſome he had all the graces and vivacity of the gayeſt youth, and with others all the gravity of old age. In Sparta, he was laborious, frugal, and auſtere; in Ionia, enjoyment, idleneſs, and pleaſure made up his whole life: in Thrace, he was always on horſeback or carouſing;

[k] Plut. in Alcib. p. 230.

CITY OF SYRACUSE
the Athenians

ing;

ing; and when he resided with Tissaphanes the satrap, he exceeded all the magnificence of the Persians in luxury and profusion.

But he was not barely satisfied with gaining the esteem of the Lacedæmonians. He insinuated himself so far into the affection of Timea, the wife of king Agis, that he had a son by her, who, in public, went by the name of Leotychides; though his mother, in private, and among her women and female friends, did not blush to call him Alcibiades; so violent was her passion for that Athenian. Agis was informed of this intrigue, and therefore refused to own Leotychides for his son; for which reason he was afterwards excluded the throne.

SECT. XI. *Description of Syracuse.*

AS the siege of Syracuse is one of the most considerable in the Grecian history; the particular circumstances of which I thought proper to relate, for that reason, in order to give my readers an idea of the manner of besieging by the ancients; I judged it necessary, before I enter into that detail, to give the reader a description and plan of the city of Syracuse; in which he will also find the different fortifications, both of the Athenians and Syracusans, mentioned in this siege.

[1] Syracuse stood on the eastern coast of Sicily. Its vast extent, its advantageous situation, the conveniency of its double harbour, its fortifications built with the utmost care and labour, and the multitude and wealth of its inhabitants, made it one of the greatest, the most beautiful, and most powerful among the Grecian cities. *We are told, its air was so pure and serene, that there was no day in the year, how cloudy soever it might be, in which the sun did not display its beams.

[1] Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117—119.

**Urbem Syracusus elegerat, cujus hic situs atque hæc natura esse loci cœlique dicitur, ut nullus unquam dies tam magna turbulentaque tempestate fuerit, quin aliquo tempore solem ejus diei homines viderent.* Cic. Verr. 7. n. 26.

[m] It was built by Archias the Corinthian, a year after Naxos and Megara had been founded on the same coast.

When the Athenians besieged this city, it was divided into three parts, viz. the Island, Acradina, and Tyche. Thucydides mentions only these three divisions. Two more, viz. Neapolis and Epipolæ, were afterwards added.

The ISLAND, situated to the south, was called Νησος, (Nasos) signifying, in Greek, an island, but pronounced according to the Doric dialect; and Ortygia. It was joined to the continent by a bridge, [n] It was in this island that the Syracusans afterwards built the citadel, and the palace for their kings. This quarter or division of the city was of very great importance, because it might render those who possessed it, master of the two ports which surround it. It was for this reason the Romans, when they took Syracuse, would not suffer any Syracusans to inhabit the island.

[o] There was in this island a very famous spring, called Arethusa. The ancients, or rather the poets, from reasons which have not the least shadow of probability, supposed that Alpheus, a river of Elis in Peloponnesus, rolled its waters either through or under the waves of the sea, without ever mixing with them, as far as the spring or fountain of Arethusa. It was this fiction gave occasion to the following lines of Virgil:

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem ——
Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,
Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam.
VIRG. Eclog. 10.

Thy sacred succour, Arethusa, bring,
To crown my labour: 'tis the last I sing,——

[m] A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709. Strabo, l. vi. p. 269.
[n] Cic. Verr. 7. n. 97.
[o] Strab. l. vi. p. 270. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iii. c. 26.

So

So may thy ſilver ſtreams beneath the tide,
Unmix'd with briny ſeas ſecurely glide.
DRYDEN.

ACHRADINA, ſituated entirely on the ſea-ſide, towards the eaſt, was the moſt ſpacious, the moſt beautiful, and beſt fortified quarter of the city.

TYCHE, ſo called from the temple of Fortune, (Τυχη) which embelliſhed that part of the city, extended along Achradina weſtward from the north towards the ſouth, and was very well inhabited. It had a famous gate called Hexapylum, which led into the country, and was ſituated to the north of the city.

EPIPOLÆ was a hill without the city, which it commanded. It was ſituated between Hexapylum and the point of Euryelus, towards the north and weſt. It was exceedingly ſteep in ſeveral places, and, for that reaſon, of very difficult acceſs. At the time of the ſiege in queſtion, it was not ſurrounded with walls; and the Syracuſans defended, it with a body of troops, againſt the attacks of the enemy. Euryelus was the paſs or entrance which led to Epipolæ. On the ſame hill of Epipolæ was a fort called Labdalon, or Labdalum.

It was not till long after (under Dionyſius the tyrant) that Epipolæ was ſurrounded with walls, and incloſed within the city, of which it formed a fifth part, but was thinly inhabited. A fourth diviſion had been added before, called NEAPOLIS, that is, the new city which covered Tyche.

[p] The river Anapis ran at almoſt half a league diſtance from the city. The ſpace between them was a large and beautiful plain, terminated by two fens or moors, the one called Syraco, whence the city was named, and the other Lyſimelia. This river emptied itſelf into the great harbour. Near its mouth, ſouthward, was a kind of caſtle, called Olympia, from the temple of Jupiter Olympius ſtanding there, and in which were great riches. It was five hundred paces from the city.

[p] Plut. in Dionyſ. vit. p. 970.

Syracuſe

Syracuſe had two harbours, very near one another, and ſeparated only by the iſle, viz. the great harbour, and the ſmall one, called otherwiſe Laccus. According to the *deſcription which the Roman orator gives of them, both were ſurrounded with buildings as parts of the city.

The greateſt harbour was a little above † five thouſand paces, or two leagues, in circumference It had a gulph called Daſcon. The entrance of this port was but five hundred paces wide. It was formed, on one ſide, by the point of the iſland Ortygia; and, on the other, by the little iſland and cape of Plemmyrium, which was commanded by a fort or caſtle of the ſame name.

Above Achradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilus.

SECT. XII. *Nicias, after ſome Engagements, beſieges Syracuſe. Lamachus is killed in a Battle. The City is reduced to the greateſt Extremities.*

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

[q] AT the end of the ſummer news was brought Nicias that the Syracuſans, having reſumed courage, intended to march againſt him. Already their cavalry advanced with an air of inſolence to attack him even in his camp; and aſked, with a loud laugh, whether he was come into Sicily to ſettle in Catana. Theſe ſevere reproaches rouſed him a little, ſo that he reſolved to ſail for Syracuſe. The enterpriſe was bold and dangerous. Nicias could not, without running the utmoſt hazard, attempt to land in preſence of an enemy, who waited for him with the greateſt reſolution; and would not fail to charge him the inſtant he ſhould offer to make a deſcent. Nor was it ſafer for him to march

[q] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 453—461. Plut. in Nic. p. 533, 534. Diod. l. cxxxvii, cxxxviii.

* *Portus habet prope in ædificatione aſpectuque urbis incluſos.* CIC. Verr. 6. n. 117.

† According to Strabo, it is eighty ſtadia in circumference, which is twice its real extent; a plain proof that this paſſage of Strabo is corrupt. CLUVER. p. 167.

his

his troops by land, becauſe, as he had no cavalry, that of the Syracuſans, which was very numerous, upon the firſt advice they ſhould have of their march, would come to blows, and overpower him by the ſuperiority of forces.

To extricate himſelf from this perplexity, and enable himſelf to ſeize, without oppoſition, upon an advantageous poſt, which a Syracuſan exile had diſcovered to him, Nicias had recourſe to ſtratagem. He cauſed a falſe piece of news to be given to the enemy, viz. that by means of a conſpiracy, which was to take effect on a certain day, they might ſeize on his camp, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the arms and baggage. The Syracuſans, on this promiſe, marched towards Catana, and pitched their camp near Leontium. The moment the Athenians had advice of this, they embarked with all their troops and ammunition, and, in the evening, ſteered for Syracuſe. They arrived, by day break, in the great harbour, landed near Olympia, in the place which had been pointed out to them, and there fortified themſelves. The enemy, finding themſelves ſhamefully overreached, returned immediately to Syracuſe: and, in the greateſt rage, drew up in battle array, ſome days after, before the walls of the city. Nicias marched out of the trenches, and a battle was fought. Victory was a long time doubtful, but a very heavy ſhower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, coming unexpectedly, the Syracuſans, who were unexperienced, and the greateſt part of them having never carried arms before, were frightened at the tempeſt, whilſt their enemies laughed at it, as the mere effect of the ſeaſon; and regarded nothing but the enemy, who were much more to be dreaded than the ſtorm. The Syracuſans, after making a long and vigorous reſiſtance, were forced to give way. The Athenians could not purſue them far, becauſe their horſe, which was ſtill in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. The Syracuſans retreated in good order into the city, after having thrown a body of troops into the temple of Olympia, to prevent its being plundered.

This

This temple ſtood pretty near the camp of the Athenians, who were very deſirous of taking it, becauſe it abounded with gold and ſilver offerings, which the piety of kings and nations had conſecrated. Nicias having delayed ſending troops to ſeize it, loſt the opportunity, and gave the Syracuſans time to throw into it, as was before obſerved, a detachment to defend it. It was thought he did this on purpoſe, and out of reverence to the gods; becauſe, had the ſoldiers plundered this temple, the public would not have reaped any benefit by it, and himſelf only had been accuſed of the ſacrilege.

After the battle, the Athenians, who were not yet in a condition to attack Syracuſe, retired with their fleet to Naxos and Catana to winter there, with deſign to return in the beginning of the next ſpring, and lay ſiege to the city. To do this they wanted money, proviſions, and particularly horſe, of which they were abſolutely deſtitute. The Athenians depended upon obtaining part of theſe ſuccours from the people of Sicily, whom they ſuppoſed would join them the inſtant they ſhould hear of their victory; and at the ſame time they ſent an expreſs to Athens, to ſolicit the like aid. They alſo addreſſed the Carthaginians for their alliance; and ſent deputies to ſome cities of Italy, ſituated on the coaſt of the Tuſcan ſea, which had promiſed to aſſiſt them.

The Syracuſans were far from deſponding. Hermocrates, who, of all their leaders, was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his valour, his judgment, and experience, repreſented to them, in order to raiſe their hopes, that they had not been wanting in courage but in conduct; that the enemies, though very brave, owed their victory to their good fortune rather than to their merit; that the having a multitude of leaders, (they were fifteen in number) from which confuſion and diſobedience are inſeparable, had done them prejudice; that it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to chooſe experienced generals, to keep the reſt in their duty; and exerciſe their forces continually during the winter ſeaſon. This advice being followed, Hermocrates and two more were elected generals; after which they ſent deputies to Corinth

rinth and Lacedæmon, to renew the alliance, and, at the ſame time, to engage them to make a diverſion, in order to oblige, if poſſible, the Athenians to recal their troops out of Sicily, or, at leaſt, to prevent their ſending a reinforcement thither. The fortifying of Syracuſe was the chief object of their care. Accordingly they took into the city, by a wall, all the tract of land towards Epipolæ, from the northern extremity of Tyche, deſcending weſtward towards the quarter or diviſion of the city called afterwards Neapolis, in order to remove the enemy to a greater diſtance, and to give them more trouble in making their contravallation, by obliging them to give a larger extent to it. This part, in all probability, had been neglected, becauſe it ſeemed to be ſufficiently defended by its rugged and ſteep ſituation. They alſo garriſoned Megara and Olympia, and drove ſtakes into all thoſe parts of the ſea ſhore where the enemy might eaſily make a deſcent. Hearing afterwards that the Athenians were at Naxos, they went and burnt the camp of Catana, and retired, after laying waſte the country adjacent to it.

[1] The ambaſſadors of Syracuſe, being arrived among the Corinthians, aſked ſuccour of them, as having been their founders, which was immediately granted; and, at the ſame time, they ſent an embaſſy to the Lacedæmonians, to invite them to declare in their favour. Alcibiades enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence, which his reſentment againſt Athens inflamed prodigiouſly. He adviſed and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to appoint Gylippus their general, and ſend him into Sicily; and, at the ſame time, to invade the Athenians, in order to make a powerful diverſion. In the third place, he counſelled them to fortify Decelia, in Attica, which quite completed the ruin of the city of Athens, it not being able ever to recover that blow: for, by this fort, the Lacedæmonians made themſelves maſters of the country, by which the Athenians were deprived of their ſilver mines of Laurium, and of the

[1] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 471—482. Plut. in Alcib. p. 203. In Nic. p. 534, 535. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138.

revenues of their lands: nor could they be ſuccoured by their neighbours, Decelia becoming the aſylum of all the malecontents and partizans of Sparta.

Nicias had received ſome ſuccours from Athens. It conſiſted of two hundred and fifty horſemen, whom the Athenians ſuppoſed would be furniſhed with horſes in Sicily (the troops bringing only the furniture) and of thirty horſe archers, with three hundred talents, that is, three hundred thouſand French crowns*. Nicias now began to prepare for action. He was accuſed of often letting ſlip opportunities, by his loſing time in deliberating, arguing, and concerting meaſures: however, when once he entered upon action, he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he before had been ſlow and timorous in undertaking, as he ſhowed on the preſent occaſion.

The Syracuſans hearing that the Athenians had a reinforcement of cavalry, and would ſoon march and lay ſiege to their city; and knowing they could not poſſibly approach it, or make a contravallation, unleſs they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the hill of Epipolæ, which commanded Syracuſe, they reſolved to guard the avenue to it, which was the only paſs by which the enemy could get up to it, every other part being rugged and inacceſſible. Marching therefore down into the meadow, or plain, bordered by the river Anapis, and reviewing their troops there, they appointed ſeven hundred foot, under the command of Diomilus, to guard that important poſt; and commanded them to repair to it, at the firſt ſignal which ſhould be given for that purpoſe. But Nicias conducted his deſign with ſo much prudence, expedition, and ſecrecy, that they had not time to do this. He ſailed from Catana with all his fleet, without the enemy's having the leaſt ſuſpicion of his deſign. Being arrived at the port of Trogilus near Leontium, which is but a quarter of a league (ſix or ſeven furlongs) from Epipolæ, he put his land forces on ſhore, after which he retired with his fleet

* About 67,000l. ſterling.

to

to Thapſus, a ſmall peninſula of Syracuſe, the entrance to which he ſhut up with a ſtaccado.

The land forces marched with the utmoſt expedition to ſeize on Epipolæ, by the paſs of Euryelus, before the enemy, who were in the plains of Anapis at above a league's diſtance, had the leaſt notice of their arrival. At the firſt news of this, the ſeven hundred ſoldiers, under the command of Diomilus, advanced forward in confuſion, but were eaſily defeated; and three hundred of them, with their leader, left dead in the field. The Athenians, after ſetting up a trophy, built a fort in Labdalon, on the ſummit of Epipolæ; in order to ſecure their baggage and moſt valuable effects in it, whenever they ſhould be forced to fight, or work at the contravallation.

Soon after, the inhabitants of Egeſta ſent the Athenians three hundred horſe, to which ſome of their Sicilian allies added a hundred more, that with the two hundred and fifty ſent before by the Athenians, and who had furniſhed themſelves with horſes in Sicily, made a body of ſix hundred and fifty horſe.

The plan laid down by Nicias, in order for taking Syracuſe, was, to ſurround all the city on the land ſide with a ſtrong contravallation, in order to cut off all communication with the place from without, in hopes, no doubt, that his fleet would afterwards enable him to prevent the Syracuſans from receiving any ſuccours or proviſions by ſea.

Having left a garriſon in Labdalon, he came down from the hill, advanced towards the northern extremity of Tyche, and halting there, he employed the whole army in throwing up a line of contravallation, to ſhut up their city northward from Tyche as far as Trogilus, ſituate on the ſea ſide. This work was carried on with ſuch a rapidity, as terrified the Syracuſans. They thought it abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the carrying on of this work, and accordingly made ſome ſallies and attacks, but always with diſadvantage, and even their cavalry was routed. The day after the action, the contravallation

travallation (northward) was continued by part of the army, during which the reſt carried ſtones and other materials towards Trogilus, in order to finiſh it.

The beſieged, by the advice of Hermocrates, thought it adviſable not to venture a ſecond battle with the Athenians; and only endeavoured to put a ſtop to their works, at leaſt to render them uſeleſs, by running a line to cut that carried on by the Athenians. They imagined, that in caſe they ſhould be ſuffered to complete their wall, it would be impoſſible for the Athenians to make any farther progreſs in their work: or that, ſhould they endeavour to prevent it, it would ſuffice for the Syracuſans to oppoſe them with a part of their forces, after having ſhut up ſuch avenues as were moſt acceſſible with ſtrong paliſades; and that the Athenians, on the contrary, would be obliged to ſend for all their forces, and entirely abandon their works.

Accordingly they came out of their city, and working with inexpreſſible ardour, they began to raiſe a wall; and in order to carry it on with leſs moleſtation, they covered it with ſtrong paliſades, and flanked it with wooden towers, at proper diſtances, to defend it. The Athenians ſuffered the Syracuſans to carry on their works undiſturbed, becauſe, had they marched only part of their troops againſt them, they would have been too weak; and if they had brought them all, they then muſt have been obliged to diſcontinue their works, which they were reſolved not to do. The work being completed, the Syracuſans left a body of troops to defend the paliſade and guard the wall, and then returned into the city.

In the mean time the Athenians cut off the canals by which water was conveyed into the city; and obſerving the Syracuſan ſoldiers, who had been left to guard the wall, very negligent in their duty; ſome returning at noon either into the city or their tents, and the reſt not keeping a proper guard; they detached three hundred choſen ſoldiers, and ſome light infantry, to attack this poſt; during which the reſt of the army marched towards the city, to prevent any ſuccours from

coming

coming out of it. Accordingly, the three hundred soldiers having forced the palisade, pursued those who guarded it as far as that part of the city wall which covered Temenos, were pouring in indiscriminately with them, they were repulsed by the inhabitants with loss. The whole army afterwards demolished the wall, and pulled up the palisades of the intrenchment, and carried them off.

After this success, whereby the Athenians were masters of the northern parts, they began the very next day, a still more important work, and which would quite finish their inclosure of the city, viz. to carry a wall from the hills of Epipolæ, westward, through the plain and the fens as far as the great harbour. To prevent this, the besieged beginning the same kind of work as they had carried on on the other side, ran a trench, lined with palisades, from the city through the fens, to prevent the Athenians from carrying their contravallations as far as the sea. But the latter, after finishing the first part of the wall on the hills of Epipolæ, resolved to attack this new work. For this purpose, they ordered their fleet to sail from Thapsus to the great harbour of Syracuse, it having continued in that road hitherto; and the besieged had always the sea open to them, by which the besiegers were obliged to get their provision from Thapsus by land. The Athenians came down therefore from Epipolæ into the plain before day-break; when throwing planks and beams into that part where the fen was only slimy, and more firm than in other places, they immediately carried the greatest part of the fosse lined with palisades, and then the rest, after having beaten the Syracusans, who gave way and retired; such as were on the right towards the city, and the rest towards the river. Three hundred chosen Athenians having attempted to cut off the passage of the latter, flew towards the bridge; but the enemy's cavalry, the greatest part of which were drawn up in battle, repulsed them; and afterwards charged the right wing of the Athenians, and put the first battalions into disorder. Lamachus perceiving this from the left wing, where he commanded

commanded, ran thither with the Argives and ſome archers; but having paſſed a trench, and being abandoned by his ſoldiers, he was killed with ſix or ſix who followed him. The enemy immediately paſſed the river, and ſeeing the reſt of the army come up, they retired.

At the ſame time their right wing, which had returned towards the city, reſumed courage from this ſucceſs, and drew up in order of battle before the Athenians; after having detached ſome troops to attack the fort on the hills of Epipolæ, which ſerved as a magazine to the enemy, and was thought to be unguarded. They forced an intrenchment that covered the fort, but Nicias ſaved it. He was ſick in this fort, and at that time in his bed, with only his domeſtics about him. Animated by the danger and the preſence of the enemy, he ſtruggles with his indiſpoſition, riſes up, and commands his ſervants to ſet fire immediately to all the timber, lying between the intrenchment and the fort for the military engines, and to the engines themſelves. This unexpected conflagration ſtopped the Syracuſans, ſaved Nicias, the fort, and all the rich effects of the Athenians, who made haſte to the relief of that general. At the ſame time, the fleet was ſeen ſailing into the great harbour, according to the orders given for that purpoſe. The Syracuſans, having perceived this from the hill, and fearing they ſhould be attacked from behind, and overpowered by the land forces, they retired, and returned to the city with all their forces; now no longer expecting, after having loſt their foſſe lined with paliſades, that it would be poſſible for them to prevent the enemy from carrying on their contravallation as far as the ſea.

In the mean time the Athenians, who had contented themſelves with building a ſingle wall on the hills of Epipolæ, and through ſuch places as were craggy and of difficult acceſs, being come down into the plain, began to build, at the foot of the hills, a double wall, intending to carry it as far as the ſea, viz. a wall of contravallation againſt the beſieged, and another of circumvallation againſt thoſe Syracuſan troops which were

were out of the city, and ſuch allies as might come to its aid.

From thenceforth Nicias, who was now ſole general, conceived great hopes; for ſeveral cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either ſide, came and joined him; and there arrived from all quarters, veſſels laden with proviſions for the army, all parties being eager to go over to him, becauſe he had acquired the ſuperiority, and been exceedingly ſucceſsful in all his undertakings. The Syracuſans, ſeeing themſelves blocked up both by ſea and land, and loſing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already propoſed an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their aſſiſtance, having heard in his paſſage, the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole iſland as loſt, ſailed forward, nevertheleſs; not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preſerve to the nations of Italy, ſuch cities as were ſubject to them in that iſland, if it were not too late, and if this could be done. For fame had declared in all places, that the Athenians had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole iſland; and were headed by a general whoſe wiſdom and good fortune rendered him invincible. Nicias himſelf, now (contrary to his natural diſpoſition) confiding in his own ſtrength, and elate from his ſucceſs; perſuaded alſo by the ſecret advices which were brought him daily from Syracuſe, and the meſſengers who were ſent to him, that the city would immediately capitulate; did not regard Gylippus's approach, and in conſequence took no precautions to prevent his landing, eſpecially when he heard that he brought but very few veſſels; terming him a trifling pirate, not worthy, in any manner, his notice. But a general ought to be extremely careful not to abate his cares and vigilance, upon account of ſucceſs, becauſe the leaſt negligence may ruin every thing. Had Nicias ſent the ſmalleſt detachment to oppoſe Gylippus's landing, he would have taken Syracuſe, and the whole affair had been ended.

SECT.

SECT. XIII. *The Syracusans resolve to capitulate, but Gylippus's Arrival changes the Face of Affairs. Nicias is forced by his Colleagues to engage in a Sea-fight, and is overcome. His Land Forces are also defeated.*

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE fortifications of the Athenians were now almost completed; and they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and the fens towards the great port, and had almost reached it. There now remained, on the side towards Trogilus, only a small part of the wall to be finished. The Syracusans were therefore on the brink of ruin, and had no hopes left, as they were no longer able to defend themselves, and did not expect any succours. For this reason they resolved to surrender. Accordingly a council was held to settle articles of capitulation, in order to present them to Nicias; and several were of opinion, that it would be proper to capitulate soon, before the city should be entirely invested.

It was at that very instant, and in the most critical juncture, that an officer, Gongyles, by name, arrived from Corinth, on board a ship with three benches of oars. At his arrival all the citizens flocked round him. He informed them, that Gylippus would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other galleys, which came to their aid. The Syracusans astonished, or rather stupified, as it were, with this news, could scarce believe what they heard. Whilst they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus, to inform them of his approach, and order them to march out all their troops to meet him. He himself, after having taken a * fort in his way, marched in battle array directly for Epipolæ; and ascending by Euryelus, as the Athenians had done, he

• A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. Thucyd. l. vii. p. 485—489. Plut. in Nic. p. 535, 536. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138, 139.

* Jeges.

prepared

prepared to attack them from without, whilſt the Syracuſans ſhould charge them, on their ſide, with the forces of Syracuſe and his. The Athenians, exceedingly ſurpriſed by his arrival, drew up haſtily, and without order under the walls. With regard to himſelf, laying down his arms when he approached, he ſent word by a herald, that he would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condeſcend to make the leaſt anſwer to this propoſal; and ſome of his ſoldiers burſting out a laughing, aſked the herald, "Whether the preſence of a Lacedæmonian privateer, and a trifling wand, could make any change in the preſent ſtate of the city?" Both ſides therefore prepared for battle.

Gylippus ſtormed the fort of Labdalon, and cut to pieces all who were found in it. The ſame day an Athenian galley was taken, as it ſailed into the harbour. The beſieged afterwards drew a wall from the city, towards Epipolæ, in order to cut (about the extremity of it) the ſingle wall of the Athenians; and to deprive them of all communication with the troops, poſted in the intrenchments which ſurrounded the city on the north ſide towards Tyche and Trogilus. The Athenians after having finiſhed the wall, which extended as far as the ſea towards the great harbour, were returned to the hills. Gylippus perceiving, in the ſingle wall which the Athenians had built on the hills of Epipolæ, a part that was weaker and lower than the reſt, marched in the night with his troops; but being diſcovered by the Athenians, who were encamped without, he was forced to retire, upon ſeeing them advance directly towards him. They raiſed the wall higher, and themſelves undertook the guard of it; after having fixed their allies in the ſeveral poſts of the remainder of the intrenchments.

Nicias, on the other ſide, thought proper to fortify the Cape of Plemmyrium, which, by its running into the ſea, ſtraitened the mouth of the great harbour; and his deſign thereby was, to procure proviſions, and all other things he might want, the more eaſily; becauſe the Athenians,

by

by poſſeſſing themſelves of that poſt, drew near the little port, wherein lay the chief naval forces of the Syracuſans, and were the better able to obſerve the various motions of it; and that beſides, by having the ſea open, they would not be forced to have all their proviſions from the bottom of the great harbour; as they muſt have been, ſhould the enemy, by ſeizing on the mouth of it, oblige them to keep cloſe in the harbour, in the manner they then did. For Nicias, from the arrival of Gylippus, had no hopes left but from the ſide next the ſea. Sending therefore his fleet, and part of his troops thither, he built three forts, by which the ſhips were enabled to lie at anchor; he alſo ſecured there a great part of the baggage and ammunition. It was then that the troops on board the fleet ſuffered very much; for, as they were obliged to go a great way to fetch wood and water, they were ſurrounded by the enemy's horſe, the third part of which were poſted at Olympia, to prevent the garriſon of Plemmyrium from ſallying, and were maſters of the field. Advice being brought to Nicias, that the Corinthian fleet was advancing, he ſent twenty galleys againſt it; ordered them to obſerve the enemy towards Locris, Regium, and the reſt of the avenues of Sicily.

In the mean time Gylippus, employing thoſe very ſtones which the Athenians had got together, for their uſe, went on with the wall which the Syracuſans had begun to carry through Epipolæ; and drew up daily in battle array before it, as did the Athenians. When he ſaw it was a proper time for engaging, he began the battle in the ſpot lying between the two walls. The narrowneſs of it having rendered his cavalry and archers uſeleſs, he came off with loſs, and the Athenians ſet up a trophy. Gylippus, to reanimate his ſoldiers by doing them juſtice, had the courage to reproach himſelf for the ill ſucceſs they had met with; and to declare publicly, that he, not they, had occaſioned the late defeat; becauſe he had made them fight in too narrow a ſpot of ground. However, he promiſed ſoon to give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his; and

and accordingly, the very next day, he led them against the enemy, after having exhorted them, in the strongest terms, to behave in a manner worthy of their ancient glory. Nicias perceiving, that though he should not desire to come to a battle, it would however be absolutely necessary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their line beyond the contravallation, to which they were already very near; (because otherwise this would be granting them a certain victory) he therefore marched against the Syracusans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place, where the walls terminated on both sides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle; when charging the enemy's left wing with his horse, he put it to flight, and soon after defeated the right. We have here an instance of what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing; for Gylippus, with the same men, the same arms, the same horses, and the same ground, by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night, the victors carried on their wall beyond the contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to surround them.

[t] After this success, the Syracusans, to whose aid the Corinthian fleet was arrived, unperceived by that of the Athenians, resumed courage, armed several galleys, and marching into the plains, with their cavalry and other forces, took a great number of prisoners. They sent deputies to Lacedæmonia and Corinth, to desire a reinforcement; Gylippus went in person to all the cities of Sicily to solicit them to join him; and brought over the greatest part of them, who accordingly sent him powerful succours. Nicias, finding his troops lessen, and those of the enemy increase daily, began to be discouraged; and not only sent expresses to the Athenians, to acquaint them with the situation of affairs, but likewise wrote to them in the strongest terms. I repeat his

[t] Thucyd. l. vii. p. 490—494. Plut. in Nic. p. 556. Diod. l. xiii. p. 139.

whole letter, both as it gives a clear and exact account of the ſtate of things at that time in Syracuſe, and may ſerve as a model for ſuch kind of relations.

"Athenians: I have already informed you by ſeveral expreſſes, of what paſſed here: but it is neceſſary you ſhould know the preſent ſituation of affairs, that you may reſolve accordingly. After we had been victorious in ſeveral engagements, and almoſt completed our contravallation, Gylippus arrived in Syracuſe with a body of Lacedæmonian and Sicilian troops; and, having been defeated the firſt time, he was victorious the ſecond, by means of his cavalry and archers. We are, in conſequence, ſhut up in our intrenchments, without daring to make any attempt, or complete our works, through the ſuperiority of the enemy's forces; for part of our ſoldiers are employed in guarding our forts, and conſequently we have not an opportunity of employing all our forces in battle. Beſides, as the Syracuſans have cut our lines, by a wall, in that part where they were not complete, it will no longer be poſſible for us to inveſt the city, unleſs we ſhould force their intrenchments; ſo that inſtead of beſieging, we ourſelves are beſieged, and dare not ſtir out for fear of their horſe.

"Not contented with theſe advantages, they are bringing new ſuccours from Peloponneſus, and have ſent Gylippus to force all the neutral cities of Sicily to declare for them; and the reſt to furniſh them with men and ſhips, to attack us both by ſea and land. I ſay by ſea, which, though very ſurpriſing, is, however, but too true. For our fleet, which before was conſiderable, from the good condition of the galleys and mariners, is now very deficient in thoſe very circumſtances, and prodigiouſly weakened,

"Our galleys leak every where, becauſe we cannot draw them on ſhore to careen them, for fear, leſt thoſe of the enemy, which are more numerous, and in better condition than ours, ſhould attack us on a ſudden, which they ſeem to threaten every moment. Beſides,

we are under a neceſſity of ſending many backwards and forwards to guard the convoys which we are forced to fetch from a great diſtance, and bring along in ſight of the enemy; ſo that ſhould we be ever ſo little negligent in this point, our army would be ſtarved.

"With regard to the ſhips' crews, they decreaſe ſenſibly every day; for as great numbers of them diſperſe to maraud, or to fetch wood and water, they are often cut to pieces by the enemy's horſe. Our ſlaves, allured by the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp, deſert very faſt to it. The foreigners, which were forced into the ſervice, diminiſh daily; and ſuch as have been raiſed with money, who came for plunder rather than fighting, finding themſelves baulked, go over to the enemy, who are ſo near us, or elſe hide themſelves in Sicily, which they may eaſily do in ſo large an iſland. A great number of citizens, though long uſed to, and well ſkilled in working of ſhips, by bribing the captains put others in their room, who are wholly unexperienced, and incapable of ſerving, and, by that means, have quite ſubverted all diſcipline. I am now writing to men perfectly well verſed in naval affairs: and who are very ſenſible, that, when order is neglected, every thing grows worſe and worſe, and a fleet muſt inevitably be ruined.

"But the moſt unhappy circumſtance is, that though I am generaliſſimo, I cannot put a ſtop to theſe diſorders. For (Athenians) you are very ſenſible, that ſuch is your diſpoſition, that you do not eaſily brook reſtraint; beſides, I do not know where to furniſh myſelf with ſeamen, whilſt the enemy get numbers from all quarters. It is not in the power of our Sicilian allies to aid us; and ſhould the cities of Italy, from whence we have our proviſions (hearing the extremity to which we are reduced, and your not taking the leaſt care to ſend us any ſuccour) join the Syracuſans, we are undone; and the enemy will have no occaſion to fight us.

"I could write of things which would be more agreeable, but of none that could be more advantageous to you, nor which could give you a more juſt idea of the ſubjects on which you are to deliberate. I am ſenſible that you love to have ſuch advices only ſent you as are pleaſing; but then I know, on the other ſide, that when affairs turn out otherwiſe than you expected and hoped for, you accuſe thoſe who deceived you; which induced me to give you a ſincere and genuine account of things, without concealing a ſingle circumſtance. By the way, I am to inform you, that no complaints can be juſtly made either againſt the officers or common ſoldiers, both having done their duty very well.

"But now that the Sicilians join all their forces againſt us, and expect a new army from Peloponneſus; you may lay this down as the foundation for your deliberations, that our preſent troops are not ſufficient; and, therefore, we either muſt be recalled, or elſe a land and naval force, equal to the firſt, muſt be ſent us, with money in proportion. You muſt alſo think of appointing a perſon to ſucceed me; it being impoſſible for me, through my nephritic diſorder, to ſuſtain any longer the weight of the command. I imagine that I deſerve this favour at your hands on account of the ſervice I have done you, in the ſeveral commands conferred upon me, ſo long as my health would permit me to act.

"To conclude; whatever reſolution you may come to, the requeſt I have to make, is, that you would execute it ſpeedily, and in the very beginning of the ſpring. The ſuccours which our enemies meet with in Sicily are all ready; but thoſe which they expect from Peloponneſus may be longer in coming. However, fix this in your minds, that if you do not exert yourſelves, the Lacedæmonians will not fail, as they have already done, to be beforehand with you."

The Athenians were ſtrongly affected with this letter, which made as great an impreſſion on them as Nicias expected.

expected. However, they did not think proper to appoint him a ſucceſſor; and only nominated two officers who were under him, viz. Menander and Euthydemus, to aſſiſt him till other generals ſhould be ſent. Eurymedon and Demoſthenes were choſen to ſucceed Lamachus and Alcibiades. The former ſet out immediately with ten galleys, and ſome money *, about the winter ſolſtice, to aſſure Nicias that a ſpeedy ſuccour ſhould be ſent him; during which the latter was raiſing troops and contributions, in order to ſet ſail early in the ſpring.

[u] The Lacedæmonians, on the other ſide, being ſupported by the Corinthians, were very induſtrious in preparing reinforcements to ſend into Sicily, and to enter Attica, in order to keep the Athenian fleet from ſailing to that iſland. Accordingly they entered Attica early under the command of king Agis; and after having laid waſte the country, they fortified Decelia; having divided the work among all the forces, to make the greater diſpatch. This poſt is about a hundred and twenty furlongs from Athens, that is, about ſix French leagues, and the ſame diſtance from Bœotia. Alcibiades was perpetually ſoliciting the Lacedæmonians, and could not be eaſy, till he had prevailed with them to begin that work. This annoyed the Athenians moſt of all: for hitherto, the enemy retiring after they had laid waſte the Athenian territories, the latter were unmoleſted all the reſt of the year; but from the fortifying of Decelia, the garriſon left in it was continually making incurſions, and alarming the Athenians, Athens being now become a kind of frontier town: for, in the day time, a guard was mounted at all the gates; and, in the night, all the citizens were either on the walls, or under arms. Such veſſels as brought proviſions from the iſland of Eubœa, and which before had a much ſhorter paſſage by Decelia, were forced to go round about, in order to double the cape of Sunium; by which means proviſions, as well as goods imported, grew much dearer.

[u] A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. Thucyd. lib. vii. p. 494—496, & 502—504. Diod. l. xiii. p. 140.

* 120 talents.

To

To heighten the calamity, upwards of twenty thousand slaves, the greatest part of whom were artificers, went over to the enemy, to fly from the extreme misery with which the city was afflicted. The cattle of all kinds died. Most of the horses were lamed, being continually upon guard, or upon parties. Every thing being laid waste in this manner, and the Athenians enjoying no longer the revenues which arose from the produce of their lands, there was a prodigious scarcity of money; so that they were forced to take the twentieth part of all the imports, to supply their usual subsidies.

* In the mean time Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned, with as many men as he could raise in the whole island; and prevailed with the Syracusans to fit out the strongest fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at sea, upon the presumption that the success would answer the greatness of the enterprise. This advice was strongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracusans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the seas. He observed, that the Athenians themselves had not received it from their ancestors, nor been always possessed of it: that the Persian war had in a mannar forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, notwithstanding two great obstacles, their disposition, and the situation of their city, which stood at a considerable distance from the sea: that they had made themselves formidable to other nations, not so much by their real strength, as by their courage and intrepidity: that they ought to copy them; and since they had to do with enemies who were so enterprising, it was fit they should be equally daring.

This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land-forces in the night time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five galleys of Syracuse, which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the lesser, where was an arsenal for ships, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium, to amaze the Athenians, who would see themselves attacked both by sea and land at the same time.

* Thucyd. l. vii. p. 497—500. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140.

The

The Athenians, at this news, went on board alſo; and with twenty-five ſhips ſailed to fight the thirty-five Syracuſan veſſels, which were ſailing out againſt them from the great harbour; and oppoſed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy, which were come out of the little port. A ſharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour; one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Thoſe who defended the forts of Plemmyrium, having flocked to the ſhore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break; and having carried the greateſt of them by ſtorm, the ſoldiers who defended the other two were ſo terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment. After this advantage, the Syracuſans ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs; for ſuch of their veſſels as fought at the entrance of the harbour (after having forced the Athenians) bulged furiouſly one againſt the other as they entered it in diſorder; and by this means ſhifted the victory to their enemies, who were not contented with purſuing, but alſo gave chace to thoſe who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracuſan galleys were ſunk, and a great number of the ſailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewiſe loſt three, and after towing off thoſe of the enemy, they raiſed a trophy on a little iſland lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the centre of their camp.

The Syracuſans alſo raiſed three trophies for their taking of the three forts; and after raſing one of the ſmaller, they repaired the fortifications of the other two, and put garriſons into them. Several Athenians had been either killed or made priſoners there; and great ſums of money were taken, the property of the public, as well as of merchants and captains of galleys, beſides a large quantity of ammunition; this being a kind of magazine for the whole army. They likewiſe loſt the ſtores and rigging of forty galleys, with three ſhips that lay in the dock. But a more conſiderable circumſtance was, Gylippus thereby prevented Nicias from getting proviſions and ammunition ſo eaſily; for, whilſt the latter

latter was poſſeſſed of Plemmyrium, they procured theſe ſecurely and expeditiouſly; whereas, after their being diſpoſſeſſed of it, it was equally difficult and hazardous, becauſe they could not bring in any thing without fighting; the enemy lying at anchor juſt off their fort. Thus the Athenians could have no proviſions but from the point of their ſwords, which diſpirited the ſoldiers very much, and threw the whole army into a great conſternation.

[y] There afterwards was a little ſkirmiſh in defending a ſtaccado which the inhabitants had made in the ſea, at the entrance of the old harbour, to ſecure the ſhipping. The Athenians having raiſed towers and parapets on a large ſhip, made it advance as near as poſſible to the ſtaccado, in order that it might ſerve as a bulwark to ſome ſhips which carried military engines, with which they drew up ſtakes by the help of pullies and ropes, excluſive of thoſe which the divers ſawed in two; the beſiegers defending themſelves with their harbour, and the enemies with their tower. Such ſtakes as had been driven in, level with the ſurface of the water, in order to ſtrand thoſe veſſels that ſhould come near them, were the hardeſt to force away. The divers alſo bribed the enemy, and moſt of the ſtakes were torn up; but then others were immediately driven in their places. The utmoſt efforts were uſed on both ſides, in the attack as well as the defence.

[z] One circumſtance, which the beſieged conſidered of the greateſt importance, was to attempt a ſecond engagement both by ſea and land, before the fleet, and other ſuccours, ſent by the Athenians, ſhould arrive. They had concerted freſh meaſures for a battle at ſea, by improving from the errors they had committed in the laſt engagement. The change made in the galleys was, their prows were now ſhorter, and at the ſame time ſtronger and more ſolid than before. For this purpoſe they fixed great pieces of timber, projecting forward, on each ſide of the prows; and to theſe pieces they

[y] Thucyd. l. vii. p. 500, 501.
[z] Ibid. p. 509—513. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140, 141.

joined

joined beams by way of props. Thefe beams extended to the length of fix cubits on each fide of the veffel, both within and without. By this they hoped to gain the advantage over the galleys of the Athenians, which did not dare, becaufe of the weaknefs of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not to mention, that fhould the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to fpread themfelves, nor to pafs between two galleys, in which lay their greateft art; nor to tack about after they fhould have been repulfed, in order to return to the charge; whereas the Syracufans, by their being mafters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all thefe advantages, and might reciprocally affift one another. On thefe circumftances the latter founded their hopes of victory.

Gylippus therefore firft drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city; whilft the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their galleys fet fail.

Nicias did not care to venture a fecond battle, faying, that as he expected a frefh fleet every moment, and a great reinforcement under Demofthenes, it would betray the greateft want of judgment, fhould he, as his troops were inferior in number to thofe of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had juft before been appointed to fhare the command with Nicias till the arrival of Demofthenes, fired with ambition, and jealous of thofe generals, were eager to perform fome great exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and, if poffible, to eclipfe that of the other. The pretence they alleged on this occafion was the fame and reputation of Athens; and they afferted with fo much vehemence, that it would be entirely deftroyed fhould they fhun the battle, as the Syracufans offered it them, that they at laft forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had feventy-five galleys, and the Syracufans eighty.

The firſt day the fleets continued in ſight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging; and only a few ſkirmiſhes paſſed, after which both parties retired; and it was juſt the ſame with the land forces. The Syracuſans did not make the leaſt motion the ſecond day. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, cauſed the tranſports to draw up in a line, at ſome diſtance from one another, in order that his galleys might retire behind them with ſafety, in caſe he ſhould be defeated. On the morrow, the Syracuſans came up ſooner than uſual, when a great part of the day was ſpent in ſkirmiſhing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not ſuppoſe they would return, but imagined that fear had made them fly: but having refreſhed themſelves in great diligence, and returning on board their galleys, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them. The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ſhips, they entered them in great diſorder, ſo that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle, and moſt of the ſailors were faſting. Victory did not long continue in ſuſpenſe. The Athenians, after making a ſhort and ſlight reſiſtance, retired behind their line of tranſport ſhips. The enemy purſued them thither, and were ſtopped by the ſail-yards of thoſe ſhips, to which were fixed dolphins * of lead, which being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's galleys, would have ſunk them at once. The Athenians loſt ſeven galleys in this engagement, and a great number of ſoldiers were either killed or taken priſoners.

[a] This loſs threw Nicias into the utmoſt conſternation. All the misfortunes he had met with, ever ſince the time he had firſt enjoyed the ſupreme command, came into his mind; and he now is involved in a greater than any of them, by his complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilſt he was revolving theſe gloomy

[a] Thucyd. l. vii. p. 513—518. Plut. in Nic. p. 537. Diod. p. 141, 142.

* This engine, ſo violent was its motion, broke through a galley from the deck to the hold.

ideas

ideas, Demosthenes's fleet was seen coming forward in great pomp; and with such an air as should fill the enemy with dread: it was now the day after the battle. This fleet consisted of seventy-three galleys, on board of which were five thousand fighting men, and about three thousand archers, slingers and bowmen. All these galleys were richly trimmed; their prows being adorned with shining streamers, manned with stout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the sound of clarions and trumpets; Demosthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph, purposely to strike terror into the enemy.

This gallant sight alarmed them indeed beyond expression. They did not see any end, or even the least suspension of their calamities: all they had hitherto done or suffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, since, though they had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica, they were however able to send a second army into Sicily, as considerable as the former; and that their power, as well as their courage, seemed, notwithstanding all their losses, instead of diminishing to increase daily?

Demosthenes having made an exact enquiry into the state of things, imagined that it would not be proper for him to lose time, as Nicias had done, who, having spread an universal terror at his first arrival, became afterwards the object of contempt, for his having wintered in Catana instead of going directly to Syracuse; and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it. He flattered himself with the hopes that he should be able to carry the city at the first attack, by taking advantage of the alarm which the news of his arrival would spread in every part of it, and by that means should immediately put an end to the war. Otherwise he intended to raise the siege, and no longer harass and lessen the troops by fighting battles never decisive; nor quite exhaust the city of Athens, by employing its treasures in needless expences.

Nicias

Nicias, terrified by this bold and precipitate resolution of Demosthenes, conjured him not to be so hasty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cause to repent of what he should do. He observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their provisions as well as money were entirely exhausted, that their allies were going to abandon them; that they must soon be reduced to such extremity, for want of provisions, as would force them to surrender, as they had before resolved: for there were certain persons in Syracuse who held a secret correspondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, because the Syracusans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that should the necessity to which they were reduced be ever so little increased, they would surrender at discretion.

As Nicias did not explain himself clearly, and would not declare in express terms, that sure and certain advices were sent him of whatever was transacted in the city, his remonstrances were considered as an effect of the timidity and slowness with which he had always been reproached. "Such," said they, "are his usual protraction, delays, distrusts, and fearful precaution, whereby he has deadened all the vivacity, and extinguished all the ardour of the troops, in not marching them immediately against the enemy; but on the contrary, by deferring to attack them, till his own forces were weakened and despised." This made the rest of the generals and all the officers come over to Demosthenes's opinion, and Nicias himself was at last forced to acquiesce with it.

Demosthenes, after having attacked, to no purpose, the wall which cut the contravallation of the besiegers, confined himself to the attack of Epipolæ, from a supposition that should he once be master of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He therefore took provisions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing necessary for him to defend that post after he should possess himself of it. As there was no going up to it in the day time undiscovered, he marched thither

thither in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias ſtaying behind to guard the camp. They went up by the way of Euryelus, as before, unperceived by the ſentinels; attack the firſt intrenchment, and ſtorm it, after killing part of thoſe who defended it. Demoſthenes, not ſatisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his ſoldiers from cooling, and not delay the execution of his deſign, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, ſuſtained by Gylippus, march under arms out of the intrenchments. Being ſeized with aſtoniſhment, which the darkneſs of the night increaſed, they were immediately repulſed and put to flight. But as the Athenians advanced in diſorder, to force whatever might reſiſt their arms, leſt the enemy might rally again, ſhould time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their ſurpriſe, they are ſtopped on a ſudden by the Bœotians, who make a vigorous ſtand, and marching againſt the Athenians with their pikes preſented, they repulſe them with great ſhouts, and make a dreadful ſlaughter. This ſpreads an univerſal terror through the reſt of the army. Thoſe who fled either force along ſuch as were advancing to their aſſiſtance, or elſe, miſtaking them for enemies, turn their arms againſt them. They now were all mixed indiſcriminately, it being impoſſible to diſcover objects in the horrors of a night, which was not ſo gloomy as entirely to make objects imperceptible, nor yet light enough to diſtinguiſh thoſe which were ſeen. The Athenians ſought for one another to no purpoſe; and from their often aſking the *word*, by which only they were able to know one another, a ſtrange confuſion of ſounds was heard, which occaſioned no little diſorder; not to mention that they, by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; becauſe by their being together and in a body, they had no occaſion to repeat it. In the mean time, thoſe who were purſued threw themſelves from the top of the rocks, and many were daſhed to pieces by the fall; and as moſt of thoſe who eſcaped ſtraggled from one another up and down the fields and woods,

woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horſe, who purſued them. Two thouſand Athenians were ſlain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; thoſe who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to eſcape over the precipices.

SECT. XIV. *The Conſternation with which the Athenians are ſeized. They again hazard a Sea-fight, and are defeated. They reſolve to retire by Land. Being cloſe purſued by the Syracuſans, they ſurrender. Nicias and Demoſthenes are ſentenced to die, and executed. The Effect which the News of the Defeat of the Army produces in Athens.*

THE Athenian generals, after ſuſtaining ſo great a loſs, were in a prodigious dilemma, and did not know how to act in the preſent diſcouragement and deſpair of the troops who died daily, either by the diſeaſes of the autumn, or by the bad air of the fens near which they were encamped. Demoſthenes was of opinion that it would be proper for them to leave the country immediately, ſince they had been unſucceſsful in ſo important an enterpriſe; eſpecially as the ſeaſon was not too far advanced for ſailing; and that they had ſhips enough to force a paſſage, in caſe the enemy ſhould diſpute it with them. He declared, that it would be of much greater advantage to oblige the enemy to raiſe their blockade of Athens than for them to continue that of Syracuſe, by which they exhauſted themſelves to no purpoſe; that he was certain they would not be reinforced by a new army; and that they could not hope to overcome the enemy with the weak one under their command.

Nicias was ſenſible that the arguments his colleague uſed were very juſt, and he himſelf was of his opinion: but at the ſame time he was afraid, leſt ſo public a confeſſion of the weak condition to which they were reduc-

* Thucyd. l. vii. p. 511—520. Plut. in Nic. p. 538—542. Diod. p. 142.

ed,

ed, and their resolution to leave Sicily (the report of which would certainly reach the enemy) should complete the ruin of their affairs; and perhaps make them unable to execute their resolution when they should attempt it. Besides they had some little hopes left that the besieged, being themselves reduced to great extremity by their absolute want of provisions and money, would at last be inclined to surrender upon honourable terms. Thus, although he was in reality uncertain and wavering, he insinuated, that he did not care to quit Sicily, till the Athenians should have first sent orders for that purpose; and that otherwise they would be highly displeased: that as those who were to judge them had not been eye-witnesses of the state of things, they would be of a different opinion; and, at the instigation of some orator, certainly condemn them: that most of those men, who now exclaimed with the greatest vehemence against the difficulties they laboured under, would then change their note, and accuse them of having been bribed to raise the siege: that knowing so well, as he did, the disposition and character of the Athenians, he chose to die gloriously by the enemy's sword, rather than be ignominiously condemned by his fellow-citizens.

These reasons, though they appeared very strong, were not yet able to convince Demosthenes; and it was still his opinion, that the only good choice they could make would be to retire. However, as he had been unsuccessful in his former opinion, he was afraid of insisting upon this; and he was the more inclined to come into that of Nicias, from imagining with many others, that this general might have some secret resource, as he was so firmly resolved to stay.

[c] Gylippus, after having made the tour of Sicily, had brought a great body of troops with him. This new reinforcement terrified the Athenians exceedingly, whose army diminished daily by sickness; and they now began to repent their not having raised the siege, especially as the besieged were preparing to attack them

[c] Thucyd. l. vii. p. 521—548. Plut. in Nic. p. 538. Diod. l. xiii. 142—161.

both

both by ſea and land. Beſides Nicias no longer oppoſed this reſolution, and only deſired to have it kept ſecret. Orders were therefore given, as privately as poſſible, for the fleet to prepare for ſetting ſail with the utmoſt expedition.

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to ſet ſail (wholly unſuſpected by the enemy, who were far from ſurmiſing they would leave Sicily ſo ſoon) the moon was ſuddenly eclipſed in the middle of the night, and loſt all its ſplendor; which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who, from ignorance and ſuperſtition, were aſtoniſhed at ſo ſudden a change, the cauſes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the conſequences of it. They then conſulted the ſoothſayers; and who being equally unacquainted with the reaſons of this phænomenon, only augmented their conſternation. It was the cuſtom, after ſuch accidents had happened, to ſuſpend their enterpriſes but for three days. The ſoothſayers pronounced, that he muſt not ſet ſail till three times nine days were paſt, (theſe are Thucydides's words) which doubtleſs was a myſterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias ſcrupulous to a fault, and full of a miſtaken veneration for theſe blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the ſame day of the next month; as if he had not ſeen the planet very clearly, the inſtant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interpoſition of the earth's body.

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians being ſoon ſpread over the city, a reſolution was taken to attack the beſiegers both by ſea and land. The Syracuſans began the firſt day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a ſlight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a ſecond attack; and at the ſame time ſailed with ſeventy-ſix galleys againſt eighty-ſix of the Athenians. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having ſpread along the ſhore to ſurround them, this movement proved fatal to him:

him: for, as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracusans, after forcing the main battle, which was in the centre, attacked him; drove him vigorously into the gulph called Dascon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon lost his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chace to the rest of the galleys, and run them against the shore. Gylippus, who commanded the land army, seeing the Athenian galleys were forced aground, and not able to return into their staccado, landed with part of his troops, in order to charge the soldiers, in case they should be forced to run ashore; and to give his friends the more room to tow such galleys as they should have taken. However, he was repulsed by the Tyrrhenians, who were posted on that side; and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to sustain them, to retire with some loss as far as the moor called Lysimelia, which lay near it. The latter saved most of their ships, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracusans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, resolving to burn the rest, they filled an old vessel with combustible materials; and having set fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind against the Athenians, who nevertheless extinguished the fire, and drove off that ship.

Each side erected trophies: the Syracusans for the defeat of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before; and the Athenians for their having driven part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently disposed. The Syracusans, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation at the arrival of Demosthenes with his fleet, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, resumed fresh hope, and assured themselves of a complete victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, frustrated of their only resource, and overcome by sea, so contrary to their expectations, entirely lost courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

The enemy, to deprive them of all resource and prevent their escaping, shut the mouth of the great harbour,

bour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with galleys placed croſſwiſe, and other veſſels fixed with anchors and iron chains; and at the ſame time made the requiſite preparations for the battle, in caſe they ſhould have courage to engage again. When the Athenians ſaw themſelves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers aſſembled, in order to deliberate on the preſent ſtate of affairs. They were in abſolute want of proviſions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire; and they could not procure any from other places, unleſs they were maſters of the ſea. This made them reſolve to venture a ſea-fight. In this view they were determined to leave their old camp, and their walls, which extended to the temple of Hercules, and to intrench themſelves on the ſhore, near their ſhips, in the ſmalleſt compaſs poſſible. Their deſign was to leave ſome forces in that place to guard their baggage and the ſick; and to fight with the reſt on board all the ſhips they ſhould have ſaved. They intended to retire into Catana, in caſe they ſhould be victorious: otherwiſe, to ſet fire to their ſhips, and to march by land to the neareſt city belonging to their allies.

This reſolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled a hundred and ten galleys (the others having loſt their oars) with the flower of his infantry; and drew up the reſt of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on the ſhore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracuſan galleys, Nicias had provided harping irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to cloſe fight, as on ſhore. But the enemy perceiving this, covered the prows and upper part of their galleys with leather, to prevent their being ſo eaſily laid hold of. The commanders on both ſides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men; and none could ever have been prompted from ſtronger motives; for the battle which was going to be fought,

was

was to determine, not only their lives and liberties, but alſo the fate of their country.

The battle was very obſtinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, eaſily took thoſe ſhips which defended the entrance of it; but, when they attempted to break the chain of the reſt to widen the paſſage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred galleys came ruſhing on each ſide, in a narrow place, there muſt neceſſarily be a very great confuſion; and the veſſels could not eaſily advance forward or retire, nor turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the galleys, for this reaſon, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent diſcharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed with a ſhower of ſtones, which always did execution from what place ſoever they were thrown; whereas they defended themſelves only by ſhooting darts and arrows, which, by the motion of the ſhips from the agitation of the ſea, did not carry true, and by that means the greateſt part of them did little execution. Ariſton the pilot had given the Syracuſans this counſel. Theſe diſcharges being over, the ſoldiers, heavily armed, attempted to enter the enemy's ſhips in order to fight hand to hand: and it often happened, that whilſt they were climbing up one ſide, their own ſhips were entered on the other; and two or three ſhips would be grappled to one, which occaſioned a great perplexity and confuſion. Further, the noiſe of the ſhips that daſhed one againſt the other, the different cries of the victors and vanquiſhed, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a paſſage, whatever might be the conſequence, to ſecure their return into their own country; and this the enemy employed their utmoſt efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more complete and more glorious victory. The two land armies, which were drawn up on the higheſt part of the ſhore, and the inhabitants of the city who were there ran to the walls; whilſt the reſt kneeling in the temples, were imploring heaven to give ſucceſs to their citizens; all theſe

ſaw

ſaw clearly, becauſe of their little diſtance from the fleets, every thing that paſſed; and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror. Attentive to, and ſhuddering at every moment, and the ſeveral changes which happened; they diſcovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different geſtures; ſtretching out their hands, ſometimes towards the combatants to animate them, and at other times towards heaven, to implore the ſuccour and protection of the gods. At laſt, the Athenian fleet, after ſuſtaining a long battle and a vigorous reſiſtance, was put to flight, and driven againſt the ſhore. The Syracuſans, who were ſpectators of this victory, conveyed to the whole city, by an univerſal ſhout, the news of this victory. The victors, now maſters of the ſea, and ſailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuſe, erected a trophy; whilſt the Athenians, who were quite dejected and overpowered, did not ſo much as requeſt that their dead ſoldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the laſt ſad duty to their remains.

There now remained but two methods for them to chooſe; either to attempt the paſſage a ſecond time, for which they had ſhips and ſoldiers ſufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. Demoſthenes propoſed the former; but the ſailors, in the deepeſt affliction, refuſed to obey, fully perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain a ſecond engagement. The ſecond method was therefore reſolved upon, and accordingly they prepared to ſet out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who ſuſpected their deſign, was very ſenſible that it was of the utmoſt importance not to ſuffer ſo great a body of forces to eſcape; ſince they otherwiſe might fortify themſelves in ſome corner of the iſland, and renew the war. The Syracuſans were at that time in the midſt of their feſtivity and rejoicings; and meditating nothing but how they might beſt divert themſelves

themſelves after the toils they had ſuſtained in fight. They were then ſolemnizing the feſtival of Hercules. To deſire the Syracuſans to take up arms again, in order to purſue the enemy; and to attempt to draw them from their diverſions, either by force or perſuaſion, would have been to no purpoſe; for which reaſon another expedient was employed. Hermocrates ſent out a few horſemen, who were to paſs for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud: "Tell Nicias not to retire till daylight; for the Syracuſans lie in ambuſh for him, and have ſeized on the paſſes." This falſe advice ſtopped Nicias at once; and he did not even ſet out the next day, in order that the ſoldiers might have time to prepare for their departure; and carry off whatever might be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and abandon the reſt.

The enemy had time enough for ſeizing the avenues. The next morning early they poſſeſſed themſelves of the moſt difficult paſſes, fortified thoſe places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and ſpread detachments of horſe up and down the plain; ſo that there was not one place through which the Athenians could paſs without fighting. They ſet out upon their march the third day after the battle, with deſign to retire to Catana, the whole army was in inexpreſſible conſternation, to ſee ſuch great numbers of men, either dead or dying, ſome of whom were left expoſed to wild beaſts, and the reſt to the cruelty of the enemy. Thoſe who were ſick and wounded conjured them with tears to take them along with the army, and held by their clothes when they were going; or elſe, dragging themſelves after them, followed them as far as their ſtrength would permit; and, when this failed, they had recourſe to tears, ſighs, imprecations; and ſending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods as well as men to avenge their cruelty, whilſt every place echoed with lamentations.

The whole army was in as deplorable a condition. All men were ſeized with the deepeſt melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguiſh, when

when they repreſented to themſelves the greatneſs from which they were fallen, the extreme miſery to which they were reduced, and the ſtill greater evils from which they foreſaw it would be impoſſible for them to eſcape. They could not bear the compariſon for ever preſent in their thoughts, of the triumphant ſtate in which they had left Athens, in the midſt of the good wiſhes and acclamations of the people; with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

But the moſt melancholy part of the ſpectacle, and that which moſt deſerved compaſſion, was Nicias. Dejected and worn out by a tedious illneſs; deprived of the moſt neceſſary things, at a time when his age and infirmities required them moſt; pierced, not only with his private grief, but with that of others, all which preyed upon his heart, this great man, ſuperior to all his evils, thought of nothing but how he might beſt comfort his ſoldiers, and revive their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that matters were not yet deſperate, and that other armies had eſcaped from greater dangers; that they ought not to accuſe themſelves, or grieve too immoderately, for misfortunes which they had not occaſioned; that if they had offended ſome god, his vengeance muſt be ſatiated by this time; that fortune, after having ſo long favoured the enemy, would at laſt be tired of perſecuting them; that their bravery and their numbers made them ſtill formidable (being ſtill near forty thouſand ſtrong;) that no city in Sicily would be able to withſtand them, nor prevent their ſettling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do, but to take care ſeverally of themſelves, and march in good order; that by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only reſource, they would not only ſave themſelves, but alſo their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the firſt commanded by Nicias, and the ſecond by Demoſthenes, with the baggage in the centre.

centre. Being come to the river Anapis, they forced the paſſage, and afterwards were charged by all the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who diſcharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during ſeveral days march; every one of the paſſes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to diſpute every inch of their way. The enemy did not care to hazard a battle againſt an army which deſpair alone might render invincible; and, the inſtant the Athenians preſented the Syracuſans battle, the latter retired; but whenever the former would proceed in their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

Demoſthenes and Nicias, ſeeing the miſerable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of proviſions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it adviſable to retire towards the ſea, by a quite contrary way from that in which they then marched, and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, inſtead of proceeding to Catana, as they firſt intended. They ſet out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confuſion and diſorder, as generally happens to great armies in the gloomy horrors of the night, eſpecially when the enemy is not far off. However, the vanguard, commanded by Nicias, came forward in good order; but above half the rearguard, with Demoſthenes at their head, quitted from the main body, and loſt their way. On the next day the Syracuſans, who, on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmoſt diligence, came up with him about noon; and having ſurrounded him with their horſe, they drove him into a narrow place incloſed with a wall, where his ſoldiers fought like lions. Perceiving, at the cloſe of the day, that they were oppreſſed with fatigue, and covered with wounds, they gave the iſlanders leave to retire, which ſome of them accepted, and afterwards ſpared the lives of the reſt, who ſurrendered at diſcretion with Demoſthenes, after having ſtipulated that they ſhould not be put to death, nor ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment. About ſix thouſand ſoldiers ſurrendered on theſe conditions.

Nicias

Nicias arrived the ſame evening at the river Erineus, and paſſing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and ſummoned him to ſurrender at diſcretion, as Demoſthenes had done. Nicias could not perſuade himſelf at firſt, that what they told him concerning that general was true, and therefore deſired leave to ſend ſome horſe for information. Upon their returning with the news that Demoſthenes had really ſurrendered in that manner. Nicias offered to pay the expences of the war, upon condition that they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hoſtages, as they ſhould be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this propoſal with diſdain and inſolence, and renewed the attack. Nicias, though in abſolute want of all things, however ſuſtained the charge the whole night, and marched towards the river Aſinarus. When they were got to the banks of it, the Syracuſans advancing up to them, threw moſt of them into the ſtream; the reſt having already plunged voluntarily into it, to quench their thirſt. Here the greateſt and moſt bloody havoc was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the leaſt pity as they were drinking. Nicias finding all loſt, and unable to bear this diſmal ſpectacle, ſurrendered at diſcretion; upon condition that Gylippus ſhould diſcontinue the fight, and ſpare the reſt of his army. A great number were killed and more taken priſoners, ſo that all Sicily was filled with them. [d] The Athenians ſeemed to have been diſpleaſed with their general, for ſurrendering in this manner at diſcretion; and, for this reaſon, his name was omitted in a public monument on which was engraved the names of thoſe commanders who had loſt their lives in fighting for their country.

The victors adorned with the arms taken from the priſoners the fineſt and largeſt trees they could find on the banks of the rivers, and made a kind of trophies of thoſe trees, when crowning themſelves with chaplets of flowers, dreſſing their horſes in the richeſt caparisons,

[d] Pauſan. l. i. p. 56.

and

and cropping thoſe of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuſe, after having happily terminated the moſt conſiderable war in which they had ever been engaged with the Greeks; and won, by their ſtrength and valour, a moſt ſignal and moſt complete victory. The next day a council was held, to deliberate on what was to be done with the priſoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of the greateſt authority among the people, propoſed, that all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all ſuch Sicilians as had joined with them, ſhould be impriſoned, and only two meaſures of flour, and one of water, given them daily; that the ſlaves and all the allies ſhould be publicly ſold; and that the two Athenian generals ſhould be firſt ſcourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

[c]This laſt article was exceedingly diſliked by all wiſe and compaſſionate Syracuſans. Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and juſtice, attempted to make ſome remonſtrances to the people, but they would not hear him; and the ſhouts which echoed on all ſides, prevented him from continuing his ſpeech. At that inſtant an *ancient man, venerable for his great age and gravity, who, in this war, had loſt two ſons, the only heirs to his name and eſtate, made his ſervants carry him to the tribunal for harangues, and the inſtant he appeared a profound ſilence was made. "You here behold," ſays he, "an unfortunate father, who has felt more than any other Syracuſan the fatal effects of this war, by the death of two ſons, who formed all the conſolation, and were the only ſupports of my old age. I cannot, indeed, forbear admiring their courage and felicity, in ſacrificing, to their country's welfare, a life of which they would one day have been deprived by the common courſe of nature: but then I cannot but be ſtrongly affected with the cruel wound which their death has made in my heart; nor forbear hating and deteſting the Athenians, the authors of this unhappy war, as the murderers of my children. But,

[c] Diod. l. xiii. p. 149—161.
* Nicolaus.

however, I cannot conceal one circumſtance, which is, that I am leſs ſenſible to my private affliction, than to the honour of my country; and I ſee it expoſed to eternal infamy by the barbarous advice which is now given you. The Athenians, indeed, merit the worſt treatment, and every kind of puniſhment that could be inflicted on them, for ſo unjuſtly declaring war againſt us; but have not the gods, the juſt avengers of crimes, puniſhed them and revenged us ſufficiently? When their generals laid down their arms, and ſurrendered, did they not do this in the hopes of having their lives ſpared? And, if we put them to death, will it be poſſible for us to avoid the juſt reproach of our having violated the law of nations, and diſhonoured our victory by an unheard-of cruelty? How! will you ſuffer your glory to be thus ſullied in the face of the whole world: and have it ſaid, that a nation, who firſt dedicated a temple in their city to clemency, had not found any in yours? Surely victories and triumph do not give immortal glory to a city; but the exerciſing mercy towards a vanquiſhed enemy, the uſing moderation in the greateſt proſperity, and fearing to offend the gods by a haughty and inſolent pride. You doubtleſs have not forgot, that this Nicias, whoſe fate you are going to pronounce, was the very man who pleaded your cauſe in the aſſembly of the Athenians; and employed all his credit, and the whole power of his eloquence, to diſſuade his country from embarking in this war. Should you therefore pronounce ſentence of death on this worthy general, would it be a juſt reward for the zeal he ſhowed for your intereſt? With regard to myſelf, death would be leſs grievous to me, than the ſight of ſo horrid an injuſtice, committed by my countrymen and fellow citizens."

The people ſeemed moved to compaſſion at this ſpeech, eſpecially, as, when this venerable old man firſt aſcended, they expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on thoſe who had brought all his calamities upon him, inſtead of ſuing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians having expatiated, with vehemence, on the unheard-of cruelties which their

republic had exercised on several cities belonging to their enemies, and even to their ancient allies; the inveteracy which their commanders had shown against Syracuse, and the evils they would have made it suffer had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans of infinite numbers of Syracusans, who bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whose manes could be appeased no other way than by the blood of their murderers: on these representations, the people returned to their sanguinary resolution, and followed Diocles's advice in every respect. Gylippus used his utmost endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demosthenes given up to him (especially as he had taken them) in order for him to carry them to Lacedæmon. But his demand was rejected with a haughty scorn, and the two generals were put to death.

All wise and compassionate men could not forbear shedding tears for the tragical fate of two such illustrious personages; and particularly for Nicias, who, of all men of his time, seemed least to merit so ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the speeches and remonstrances he had made to prevent this war; and, on the other side, when they considered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion; the greatest part of them were tempted to exclaim against Providence, in seeing that a man, who had ever shown the highest reverence for the gods, and had always exerted himself to the utmost for their honour and worship, should be so ill rewarded by them, and meet with no other fate than the most abandoned wretches. But it is no wonder that the calamities of good men should inspire the heathens with such thoughts, and make them murmur and despond; since they did not know the holiness of the Divine Being, nor the corruption of human nature.

The prisoners were shut up in the mines *(prisons of Syracuse)* where, crouded one upon the other, they suffered incredible torments for eight months. Here they were for ever exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; scorched, in the day-time, by the burning rays of

the ſun, or frozen, in the night, by the colds of autumn; poiſoned by the ſtench of their own excrements, by the carcaſes of thoſe who died of their wounds and ſickneſs; in fine, worn out by hunger and thirſt, for their daily allowance to each was but a ſmall meaſure of water, and two of meal. Thoſe who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be ſold as ſlaves (many of whom were citizens who had concealed their condition) found a leſs rigorous fate. Their wiſdom, their patience, and a certain air of probity and modeſty, were of great advantage to them; for they were ſoon reſtored to their liberty, or met with the kindeſt and moſt generous treatment from their maſters. Several of them even owed the good uſage they met with to Euripides, the fineſt ſcenes of whoſe tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them; ſo that when they returned to their own country, they went and ſaluted that poet as their deliverer; and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour by his verſes.

[f] The news of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens would not believe it at firſt; and were ſo far from giving credit to it, that they ſentenced that man to death who had firſt publiſhed it. But when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation; and as if themſelves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and reſentment againſt the orators who had promoted the enterpriſe, as well as againſt the ſoothſayers, who, by their oracles, or ſuppoſed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of ſucceſs. They had never been reduced to ſo deplorable a condition as now, having neither horſe, foot, money, galleys, nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepeſt deſpair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elate with ſo great a victory, and ſtrengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens, both by ſea and land, with all the forces of Peloponneſus. Cicero had reaſon to obſerve*, ſpeaking of the battles in

[f] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 551—553. Plut. de Garrulit. p. 509.

* *Hic primùm opes illius civitatis victæ, comminutæ, depreſſæque ſunt: in hoc portu Atheniensium nobilitatis, imperii, gloriæ naufragium factum exiſtimatur.* Cic. Verrin. 7. n. 97.

the harbour of Syracuſe, that it was there the troops of Athens, as well as their galleys, were ruined and ſunk: and that, in this harbour, the power and glory of the Athenians were miſerably ſhipwrecked.

The Athenians, however, did not ſuffer themſelves to be wholly dejected, but reſumed courage. They now reſolved to raiſe money on all ſides, and to import timber for building of ſhips, in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the iſland of Eubœa. They retrenched all ſuperfluous expences, and eſtabliſhed a new council of ancient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they ſhould be propoſed to the people. In fine, they omitted nothing which might be of ſervice in the preſent conjuncture; the alarm which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the neceſſities of the ſtate, and docile to all advice that might promote its intereſt.

The defeat of the army under Nicias was followed by the taking of Athens, of which the ancient form of government was entirely changed by Lyſander.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. *Conſequences of the Defeat of the Athenians in Sicily. Revolt of the Allies. Alcibiades grows into great Power with Tiſſaphernes.*

[8] THE defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe gave occaſion for great movements throughout all Greece. The people, who had not yet joined either ſide, and waited to be determined by the event, reſolved to declare againſt them. The allies of the Lacedæmonians believed, that the time was come to deliver them for ever from the expences of a war which lay very heavy upon them, by the ſpeedy and final ruin of Athens. Thoſe of Athens, who followed them only out of conſtraint, ſeeing no appearance of any future reſource for

[8] A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 553.

that

that republic, after the dreadful blow it had received, thought it best to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture, for throwing off the yoke of dependance, and resuming their liberty. Dispositions of this kind inspired the Lacedæmonians with great views, which were supported by the hopes they had conceived that their Sicilian allies would join them in the spring with a naval army, augmented by the ruins of the Athenian fleet.

[h] In effect the people of Eubœa, Chio, and Lesbos, with several others, gave the Lacedæmonians to understand, that they were ready to quit the party of the Athenians, if they would take them under their protection. At the same time came deputies from Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus. The first was governor of Lydia and Ionia, the other of the Hellespont. Those viceroys of Darius wanted neither application nor zeal for the interest of their master. Tissaphernes, promising the Lacedæmonians all the necessary expences for their troops, pressed them to arm directly, and to join him; because the Athenian fleet prevented him from levying the usual contributions in his province; and had put it out of his power to remit those of preceding years to the king. He hoped besides, with that powerful aid, to get into his hands, with more ease, a certain nobleman who had revolted, and whom he had the king's orders to send to him dead or alive. This was Amorges the bastard of Pissuthna. Pharnabasus, at the same time, demanded ships to reduce the cities of the Hellespont from their subjection to the Athenians; who also prevented him from levying the tributes of his government.

The Lacedæmonians thought it proper to begin by satisfying Tissaphernes; and the credit of Alcibiades contributed very much to the taking that resolution. He embarked with Chalcidæus for Chio, which took arms upon their arrival, and declared for the Lacedæmonians. Upon the news of this revolt the Athenians resolved to take the * thousand talents out of the trea-

[h] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 555—558.
* Three millions of livres.

sury,

ſury, which had been depoſited there from the beginning of the war, after having repealed the decree which prohibited it. Miletus alſo revolted ſoon after. Tiſſaphernes, having joined his troops with thoſe of Sparta, attacked and took the city of Iaſus, in which Amorges [i] had ſhut himſelf up, who was taken alive and ſent into Perſia. That governor gave a month's pay to the whole army, at a drachma, or ten pence, a day to each ſoldier, obſerving, that he had orders to give them only half that ſum for the future.

[k] Calcidæus then made a treaty with Tiſſaphernes, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, of which one of the principal articles was, that all the country which had been ſubject to the king or his predeceſſors, ſhould remain in his hands. It was renewed ſome time after by Theramenes, another general of the Lacedæmonians, with ſome ſmall alterations. But when this treaty came to be examined at Sparta, it was found, that too great conceſſions had been made to the king of Perſia, in giving up all the places held by himſelf or his anceſtors, which was to make him maſter of the greateſt part of Greece, Theſſaly, Locris, and the whole country as far as Bœotia, without mentioning the iſlands; from whence the Lacedæmonians would appear rather to have enſlaved Greece, than re-eſtabliſhed its liberty. It was therefore neceſſary to make further alterations in it, with which Tiſſaphernes and the other governors made great difficulties to comply. A new treaty was however concluded, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

In the mean time, ſeveral cities of Ionia declared for Lacedæmon, to which Alcibiades contributed very much. Agis, [l] who was already his enemy in effect of the injury he had done him, could not ſuffer the glory he acquired: for nothing was done without the advice of Alcibiades, and it was generally ſaid, that the ſucceſs of all enterpriſes was owing to him. The moſt powerful and ambitious of the Spartans, from the ſame ſentiments of jealouſy, looked upon him with an evil

[i] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 568. [k] Idem. p. 561—571, 572—576.
[l] Idem. p. 577—579. Plut. in Alcib. p. 164, 165.

eye,

eye, and at length by their intrigues obliged the principal magiſtrates to ſend orders into Ionia for putting him to death. Alcibiades, being ſecretly apprized of this order, did not diſcontinue his ſervices to the Lacedæmonians, but kept himſelf ſo well upon his guard, that he avoided all the ſnares which were laid for him.

[m] For his better ſecurity he threw himſelf into the protection of Tiſſaphernes, the great king's governor at Sardis, and was not long without ſeeing himſelf in the higheſt degree of credit and authority in the court of the Barbarian. For the Perſian, who was full of fraud and artifice, a great friend to knaves and bad men, and ſet no value upon ſimplicity and integrity, infinitely admired the ſmooth addreſs of Alcibiades, the eaſe with which he aſſumed all kind of manners and characters, and his great ability in the conduct of affairs. And indeed there was no heart ſo hard, or temper ſo untractable, as to hold out againſt the graces and charms of his converſation and intimacy. Even thoſe who feared and envied him moſt, enchanted, in a manner, by his affable air and engaging behaviour, could not diſſemble the infinite ſatisfaction they felt in ſeeing and converſing with him.

Tiſſaphernes therefore, though otherwiſe very haughty and brutal, and who, of all the Perſians, hated the Greeks moſt, was ſo much taken with the complacency and inſinuations of Alcibiades, that he gave himſelf wholly up to him, and flattered him more than he was flattered by him: inſomuch that he gave the name of Alcibiades to the fineſt and moſt delightful of his gardens, as well from the abundance of its fountains and canals, and the verdure of its groves, as the ſurpriſing beauty of its retreats and ſolitudes, which art and nature ſeemed to vie in embelliſhing, and wherein a more than royal magnificence was diſplayed.

Alcibiades, who found there was no longer any ſafety for him in the party of the Spartans, and who always apprehended the reſentment of Agis, began to do them

[m] A. M. 3593. Ant. J. C. 411.

ill

ill offices with Tiſſaphernes, to prevent his aiding them with all his forces, and ruining the Athenians entirely. He had no difficulty in bringing the Perſian into his views, which was conformable to his maſter's intereſts, and to the orders he had received from him. For after the famous treaty concluded under Cimon, the kings of Perſia, not daring to attack the Greeks with open force, took other meaſures to ruin them. They endeavoured underhand to excite diviſions amongſt them, and to foment troubles by conſiderable ſums of money, which they found means to convey ſometimes to Athens, and ſometimes to Sparta. They applied themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully to keep up a balance of power between thoſe two republics, that the one could never entirely reduce the other. They granted them only ſlight aids, that could effect nothing deciſive, in order to undermine them inſenſibly, and exhauſt both parties gradually, by weakening them upon one another.

It is in this kind of conduct that policy makes the ability of miniſters conſiſt; who from the receſs of their cabinets, without noiſe or emotion, without any great expences, or ſetting numerous armies on foot, effect the reduction of the ſtates whoſe power gives them umbrage, either by ſowing domeſtic diviſions amongſt them, or by promoting the jealouſy of their neighbours, in order to ſet them at variance with each other.

We muſt confeſs, however, that this kind of policy gives us no very favourable idea of the kings of Perſia. To reduce themſelves, powerful as they were, to ſuch mean, obſcure, and indirect meaſures, was to confeſs their weakneſs, and how unable they believed themſelves to attack their enemies with open force, and to reduce them by honourable means. Beſides, does it conſiſt with juſtice to employ ſuch methods in regard to people, againſt whom there is no foundation of complaint, who live in peace under the faith of treaties, and whoſe ſole crime is the apprehenſion of their being one day in a condition to do hurt? And it is lawful by ſecret corruptions to enſnare the fidelity of ſubjects,

and to be the accomplice of their treasons, by putting arms into their hands against their native country?

What glory and renown would not the kings of Persia have acquired, if content with the vast and rich dominions, which Providence had given them, they had applied their good offices, power, and even treasures, to conciliate the neighbouring people with each other, to remove their jealousies, to prevent injustice and oppression; and if, feared and honoured by them all, they had made themselves the mediators of their differences, the security of their peace, and the guarantee of their treaties? Can any conquest, however great, be compared with such glory?

Tissaphernes acted upon other principles, and had no thought but of preventing the Greeks from being in a condition to attack the Persians, their common enemy. He entered freely therefore into the views of Alcibiades, and at the same time that he declared himself openly for the Lacedæmonians, did not fail to assist the Athenians underhand, and by a thousand secret methods; deferring the payment of the Lacedæmonian fleet, and retarding the arrival of the Phœnician ships, of which he had long kept them in hopes. He omitted no occasion of giving Alcibiades new marks of his friendship and esteem, which rendered that general equally considerable to both parties. The Athenians, who had sadly experienced the effects of having drawn his anger upon them, were not now to repent their passing sentence of condemnation upon him. Alcibiades also on his side, who was extremely sorry to see the Athenians in so mournful a situation, began to fear that the city of Athens being entirely ruined, he might fall into the hands of the Spartans, who mortally hated him.

SECT. II. *The Return of Alcibiades to Athens negociated, upon Condition of establishing the aristocratical, in the Room of the democratical, Government. Tissaphernes concludes a new Treaty with the Lacedæmonians.*

THE Athenians were intent upon nothing so much as Samos, where they had all their forces. From thence with their fleet they reduced all the cities that had abandoned them under their obedience, kept the rest in their duty [a], and found themselves still in a condition to make head against their enemies, over whom they had obtained several advantages. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the hundred and fifty Phœnician ships which he hourly expected; and rightly perceived, that if so powerful a fleet should join the enemy, there was no longer any safety for their city. Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that passed amongst the Athenians, sent secretly to the principal of them at Samos, to sound their sentiments, and to let them know that he was not averse to returning to Athens, provided the administration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, with design to concert with him the proper measures for the success of that undertaking. He promised to procure the Athenians not only the favour of Tissaphernes, but of the king himself, upon condition they would abolish the democracy or popular government; because the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon those of the inconstant and capricious multitude.

The deputies lent a willing ear to these proposals, and conceived great hopes of discharging themselves from part of the public impositions, because being the richest of the people, the burden lay heaviest upon them, and of making their country triumph after having possessed

[a] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 579—587 [b] Plut. in Alcib. p. 204—206.

themselves

themſelves of the government. At their return, they began by bringing over ſuch as were moſt proper to ſhare in their deſign: after which they cauſed a report to be ſpread amongſt the troops, that the king was inclined to declare in favour of the Athenians, upon condition that Alcibiades was reinſtated, and the popular government aboliſhed. That propoſal ſurpriſed the ſoldiers, and was generally rejected at firſt; but the charm of gain, and the hope of a change to their advantage, ſoon ſoftened what was harſh and ſhocking in it, and even made them ardently deſire the recal of Alcibiades.

Phrynicus, one of their generals, rightly judging that Alcibiades affected an oligarchy no more than he did the democracy, and that in decrying the people's conduct, he had no other view than to acquire the favour and confidence of the nobility for his own re-eſtabliſhment, had the boldneſs to oppoſe their reſolutions, which were about to take place. He repreſented, that the change they meditated might very probably excite a civil war to the ruin of the ſtate; that it was very unlikely that the king of Perſia would prefer the alliance of the Athenians to that of the Spartans, ſo much more advantageous to him; that this change would not retain the allies in their duty, nor bring over thoſe who had renounced it, who would perſiſt in preferring their liberty; that the government of a ſmall number of rich and powerful perſons would not be more favourable to either the citizens or allies, than that of the people, becauſe ambition was the great cauſe of all misfortunes in a republic, and the rich were the ſole promoters of all troubles for the aggrandizing of themſelves; that a ſtate ſuffered more oppreſſions and violences under the rule of the nobility, than that of the people, whoſe authority kept the former within due bounds, and was the aſylum of ſuch as they deſired to oppreſs; that the allies were too well acquainted with theſe truths from their own experience, to want any leſſons upon the ſubject.

Theſe remonſtrances, as wiſe as they were, had no effect. Piſander was ſent to Athens with ſome of the

ſame faction, to propoſe the return of Alcibiades, the alliance of Tiſſaphernes, and the abolition of the democracy. They repreſented, that by changing the government, and recalling Alcibiades, Athens might obtain a powerful aid from the king of Perſia, which would be a certain means to triumph over Sparta. Upon this propoſal great numbers exclaimed againſt it, and eſpecially the enemies of Alcibiades. They alleged amongſt other reaſons, the imprecations pronounced by the prieſts, and all the orders of religion, againſt him, and even againſt ſuch as ſhould propoſe to recal him. But Piſander, advancing into the midſt of the aſſembly, demanded, whether they knew any other means to ſave the republic in the deplorable condition to which it was reduced: and as it was admitted there were none, he added, that the preſervation of the ſtate was the queſtion, and not the authority of the laws, which might be provided for in the ſequel; but at preſent there was no other method for the attainment of the king's friendſhip and that of Tiſſaphernes. Though this change was very offenſive to the people, they gave their conſent to it at length, with the hope of re-eſtabliſhing the democracy in time, as Piſander had promiſed; and they decreed that he ſhould go with ten more deputies to treat with Alcibiades and Tiſſaphernes, and that in the mean time Phrynicus ſhould be recalled, and another general appointed to command the fleet in his ſtead.

The deputies did not find Tiſſaphernes in ſo good a diſpoſition as they had been made to hope. He was afraid of the Lacedæmonians, but did not care to render the Athenians too powerful. It was his policy, by the advice of Alcibiades, to leave the two parties always at war, in order to weaken and conſume them by each other. He therefore made great difficulties. He demanded at firſt, that the Athenians ſhould abandon all Ionia to him, and afterwards inſiſted upon their adding the neighbouring iſlands. Thoſe demands being complied with, he further required, in a third interview, permiſſion to fit out a fleet, and to cruiſe in the Grecian ſeas;

ſeas; which had been expreſsly provided againſt in the celebrated treaty concluded with Artaxerxes. The deputies thereupon broke up the conferences with indignation, and perceived that Alcibiades had impoſed upon them.

Tiſſaphernes without loſs of time concluded a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians; in which, what had diſpleaſed in the two preceding treaties was retrenched. The article, which yielded to Perſia the countries in general, that had been in the actual poſſeſſion of the reigning king Darius, or his predeceſſors, was limited to the provinces of Aſia. The king engaged to defray all expences of the Lacedæmonian fleet, upon the foot, and in the condition it then was, till the arrival of that of Perſia; after which they were to ſupport it themſelves; unleſs they ſhould chooſe that the king ſhould pay it, to be reimburſed after the concluſion of the war. It was further agreed, that they ſhould unite their forces, and continue the war, or make peace, by common conſent. Tiſſaphernes, to keep his promiſe, ſent for the fleet of Phœnicia. This treaty was made in the eleventh year of Darius, and the twentieth of the Peloponneſian war.

SECT. III. *The whole Authority of the Athenian Government having been veſted in four hundred Perſons, they abuſe it tyrannically, and are depoſed. Alcibiades is recalled. After various Accidents, and ſeveral conſiderable Victories, he returns in Triumph to Athens, and is appointed Generaliſſimo. He cauſes the great Myſteries to be celebrated, and departs with the Fleet.*

PISANDER, at his return to Athens, found the change he had propoſed at his ſetting out much forwarded, to which he put the laſt hand ſoon after. To give a form to this new government, he cauſed ten commiſſaries with abſolute power to be appointed, who were however at a certain fixed time to give the people

[p] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 590, 594. Plut. in Alcib. p. 105.

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an account of what they had done. At the expiration of that term, the general aſſembly was ſummoned, wherein their firſt reſolution was, that every one ſhould be admitted to make ſuch propoſals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accuſation of infringing the law, or conſequential penalty. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council ſhould be formed, with full power to adminiſter the public affairs, and to elect new magiſtrates. For this purpoſe five preſidents were eſtabliſhed, who nominated a hundred perſons, including themſelves. Each of theſe choſe and aſſociated three more at his own pleaſure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an abſolute power was lodged. But to amuſe the people, and conſole them with a ſhadow of popular government, whilſt they inſtituted a real oligarchy, it was ſaid that the four hundred ſhould call a council of five thouſand citizens, to aſſiſt them when they ſhould judge it neceſſary. The council and aſſemblies of the people were held as uſual; nothing was done however, but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almoſt a hundred years, after having aboliſhed the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides.

This decree being paſſed without oppoſition, after the ſeparation of the aſſembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by a hundred and twenty young men, whom they made uſe of when any execution required it, entered the ſenate, and compelled the ſenators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magiſtrates out of their own body, obſerving the uſual ceremonies upon ſuch occaſions. They did not think proper to recal thoſe who were baniſhed, leſt they ſhould authoriſe the return of Alcibiades, whoſe uncontrollable ſpirit they apprehended, and who would ſoon have made himſelf maſter of the people. Abuſing their power in a tyrannical manner, ſome they put to death, others they baniſhed, confiſcating their eſtates with impunity. All who ventured to oppoſe this change, or

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even to complain of it, were butchered upon falſe pretexts; and thoſe would have met with a bad reception, who demanded juſtice of the murderers. The four hundred, ſoon after their eſtabliſhment, ſent ten deputies to Samos for the army's concurrence to it.

[q] All that had paſſed at Athens was already known there, and the news had enraged the ſailors to the higheſt degree. They depoſed immediately ſeveral of their chiefs, whom they ſuſpected, and put others into their places, of whom Thraſylus and Thraſybulus were the principal, and in higheſt credit. Alcibiades was recalled and choſen generaliſſimo by the whole army, which deſired to ſail directly for the Piræus, to attack the tyrants: but he oppoſed it, repreſenting that it was neceſſary he ſhould firſt have an interview with Tiſſaphernes, and that as they had choſen him general, they might rely upon him for the care of the war. He ſet out immediately for Miletus. His principal deſign was to ſhow himſelf to that governor with all the power he had been inveſted, and to let him ſee that he was in a condition to do him much good or much harm. The conſequence of which was, that as he had kept the Athenians in awe by Tiſſaphernes, he now awed Tiſſaphernes no leſs by the Athenians; and we ſhall ſee in the ſequel that this interview was not unneceſſary.

Alcibiades, upon his return to Samos, found the army more inflamed than at firſt. The deputies of the four hundred arrived there during his abſence, and had endeavoured in vain to juſtify the alteration made at Athens to the ſoldiery. Their diſcourſes, which were often interrupted by tumultuous cries, ſerved only to exaſperate them more, and they earneſtly demanded to be led againſt the tyrants directly. Alcibiades did not act on this occaſion as every body elſe would have done, in conſequence of having been raiſed to ſo high a dignity by the favour of the people: for he did not think himſelf obliged to an abſolute and implicit compli-

[q] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 595—604. Plut. in Alcib. p. 205. Diod. p. 165.

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ance with them in every thing, though, from an exile and a fugitive, they had made him general of so great a fleet, and so numerous and formidable an army: but, as a statesman and great politician, he believed it his duty to oppose the blind fury that hurried them on into evident danger, and to prevent them from committing a fault, which must have been attended with their utter ruin. This wise steadiness preserved the city of Athens. For had they sailed thither at first, the enemy had made themselves masters of Ionia, the Hellespont, and all the islands without resistance; whilst the Athenians, by carrying the war into their own city, would have exhausted their whole forces against one another. He prevented the deputies from being ill treated, and dismissed them; saying, that he did not object to the five thousand citizens having the supreme authority in the republic, but that it was necessary to depose the four hundred, and to re-establish the senate.

[r] Whilst this passed, the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians impatiently expected, approached, and and news came that it was arrived at * Aspendus. Tissaphernes went to meet it; nobody being able to divine the cause of that journey. He had sent for that fleet at first to flatter the Lacedæmonians with the hopes of a powerful aid, and to put a stop to their progress, by making them wait its arrival. It was believed that his journey had the same motive; to prevent their doing any thing in his absence, and that their soldiers and mariners might disband for want of pay. However it was, he did not bring the fleet with him, from the view, no doubt, of keeping the balance equal, which was the king of Persia's interest, and to exhaust both parties, by the length of the war. For it had been very easy to have put an end to it by the assistance of this additional fleet, as the Lacedæmonians alone were already as strong at sea as the Athenians. His frivolous excuse, of its not being complete, for not bringing it with him, sufficiently shows that he had other reasons for his conduct.

[r] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 604, 606. * A city of Pamphylia.

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[1] The return of the deputies without ſucceſs, who had been ſent to Samos, and the anſwer of Alcibiades, excited new troubles in the city, and gave a mortal wound to the authority of the four hundred. The tumult increaſed exceedingly, when news was brought, that the enemy, after having beat the fleet, ſent by the four hundred to the aid of Eubœa, had made themſelves maſters of the iſland. Athens was in the higheſt terror and conſternation upon this account. For neither the defeat of Sicily, nor any other preceding it, were ſo conſiderable as the loſs of this iſland, from whence the city received conſiderable ſupplies, and almoſt all its proviſions. If in the confuſion, in which Athens was at that time between two factions, the victorious fleet had fallen upon the port, as it might have done, the army of Samos would have been indiſpenſably obliged to have flown to the defence of their country: and then the republic would have had only the city of Athens remaining of all its dominions. For the Helleſpont, Ionia, and all the iſlands, ſeeing themſelves abandoned, would have been reduced to take party, and go over to the Peloponneſians. But the enemy were not capable of ſuch great deſigns; and this was not the firſt time the Lacedæmonians had been obſerved to have loſt their advantages by the ſlowneſs and protraction natural to them.

Athens without delay depoſed the four hundred, as authors of all the troubles and diviſions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by unanimous conſent, and earneſtly ſolicited to make all poſſible haſte to the aſſiſtance of the city. But judging, that if he returned immediately to Athens, he ſhould owe his recal to the compaſſion and favour of the people, he reſolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deſerve it by ſome conſiderable exploit. [1] For this purpoſe, leaving Samos with a ſmall number of ſhips, he cruiſed about the iſland of Cos and Cnidos; and

[1] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 607—614. Plut. in Alcib. p. 206—210. Diod. p. 171, 172, & 175—177, & 189—192.

[1] A. M. 3595. Ant. J. C. 409.

and having learned that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was ſailed to the Helleſpont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in purſuit of him, he ſteered that way with the utmoſt diligence to ſupport them, and arrived happily with his eighteen veſſels, at the time the fleets were engaged near Abydos in a battle, which laſted till night, without any advantage on either ſide. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at firſt, who believed him ſtill their friend, and diſpirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades, hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, fell upon the Lacedæmonians, who were ſtrongeſt, and purſued the Athenians, put them to flight, drove them aſhore; and, animated by his ſucceſs, ſunk their veſſels, and made a great ſlaughter of the ſoldiers, who had thrown themſelves into the ſea to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, though Pharnabaſus ſpared no pains to aſſiſt them, and had advanced at the head of his troops to the coaſt, to favour their flight, and to ſave their ſhips. The Athenians, after having taken thirty of their galleys, and retaken thoſe they had loſt, erected a trophy.

Alcibiades, vain of his ſucceſs, had the ambition to deſire to appear before Tiſſaphernes in his triumphant equipage, and to make him rich preſents, as well in his own, as in the name of the people of Athens. He went to him therefore with a magnificent retinue, worthy of the general of Athens. But he did not meet with the favourable reception he expected. For Tiſſaphernes, who knew he was accuſed by the Lacedæmonians, and feared that the king would puniſh him at length for not having executed his orders, found Alcibiades's preſenting himſelf very opportune, and cauſed him to be ſeized and ſent priſoner to Sardis; to ſhelter himſelf by that injuſtice againſt the repreſentations of the Lacedæmonians.

Thirty days after Alcibiades, having found means to get a horſe, eſcaped from his guards and fled to Clazomena, where, to revenge himſelf on Tiſſaphernes, he gave out that he had ſet him at liberty. From Clazomena he repaired to the Athenian fleet, where he was joined by Theramenes with twenty ſhips from Macedonia,

nia, and by Thrasybulus with twenty more from Thasos. He sailed from thence to Parium in the Propontis. All those ships, to the number of fourscore and six, being come thither, he left that place in the night, and arrived the next morning at Proconnesus, a small isle near Cyzicum. He heard there that Mindarus was at Cyzicum, with Parnabasus and his land army. He rested that whole day at Proconnesus. On the morrow he harangued his soldiers, and represented to them the necessity there was for attacking the enemy by sea and land, and for making themselves masters of Cyzicum; demonstrating, at the same time, that without a complete and absolute victory, they could have neither provisions nor money. He had taken great care that the enemy should not be apprized of his approach. By good fortune for him, a great storm of rain and thunder, followed by a thick gloom, helped him to conceal his enterprise so successfully, that not only the enemy were prevented from perceiving that he advanced, but the Athenians themselves, whom he had caused to embark with precipitation, did not know that he had weighed anchor and put to sea.

When the gloom was dispersed, the Lacedæmonian fleet appeared, exercising at some distance before the port. Alcibiades, who apprehended that the enemy, upon the sight of so great a number of ships, would make the harbour, ordered the captains to keep back a little, and to follow him at a good distance; and taking only forty vessels, he advanced towards the enemy, to offer them battle. The enemy, deceived by this stratagem, and despising his small number, advanced against him, and began the fight. But when they saw the rest of the Athenian fleet come up, they immediately lost courage, and fled. Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, pursued them to the shore, landed, and killed a great number of them in the flight. Mindarus and Pharnabasus opposed his efforts in vain; the first, who fought with astonishing valour, he killed, and put the other to flight.

The Athenians by this victory, which made them masters of the slain, the arms, spoils, and whole fleet of the enemy,

enemy, besides the taking of Cyzicum, not only possessed themselves of the Hellespont, but drove the Spartans entirely out of that sea. Letters were intercepted, in which the latter, with a conciseness truly laconic, advised the Ephori of the blow they had received in terms to this effect: "The flower of your army is cut off; Mindarus is dead; the rest of the troops are dying with hunger; and we neither know what to do, nor what will become of us."

The news of this victory occasioned no less joy to the Athenians than consternation to the Spartans. [u] They dispatched ambassadors immediately to demand, that an end should be put to a war equally destructive to both people, and that a peace should be concluded upon reasonable conditions, for the re-establishment of their ancient concord and amity, of which they had for many years experienced the salutary effects. The wisest and most judicious of the citizens of Athens were unanimously of opinion, that it was proper to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture for the concluding of a treaty which might put an end to all jealousies, appease all animosities, and remove all distrusts. But those, who found their advantage in the troubles of the state prevented the good effects of that disposition. [x] Cleophon, amongst others, the most reputed orator at that time, animated the people from the tribunal of harangues, by a violent and seditious discourse, insinuating, that their interests were betrayed by a secret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, which aimed at depriving them of all the advantages of the important victory they had gained, and at making them lose for ever the opportunity of being fully avenged for all the wrongs and misfortunes Sparta had caused them to suffer. This Cleophon was an inconsiderable fellow, a musical instrument maker. It was reported also that he had been a slave, and had got himself fraudulently inrolled in the register of the citizens. He carried his audacity and fury so far, as to threaten to plunge his dagger into the throat of any one who should talk of peace. The Athenians

[u] Diod. l. iii. p. 177—179. [x] Æsch. in Orat. de fals. legat.

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puffed up with their prefent profperity, forgetting their paft misfortunes, and promifing themfelves all things from the valour and good fortune of Alcibiades, rejected all propofals of accommodation, without reflecting, that there is nothing fo fluctuating and precarious as the fuccefs of war. The ambaffadors retired without being able to effect any thing. Such infatuation and irrational pride are generally the forerunners of fome great misfortune.

Alcibiades knew well how to make ufe of the victory he had gained, and prefently after befieged Chalcedonia, which had revolted from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrifon. During this fiege he took another town, called Selymbria. Pharnabafus, terrified by the rapidity of his conquefts, made a treaty with the Athenians to this effect; "That Pharnabafus fhould pay them a certain fum of money; that the Chalcedonians fhould return to their obedience, depend upon the Athenians, and pay them tribute; and that the Athenians fhould commit no hoftilities in the province of Pharnabafus, who engaged for the fafe conduct of their ambaffadors to the great king." Byzantium and feveral other cities fubmitted to the Athenians.

[y] Alcibiades, who defired with the utmoft paffion to fee his country again, or rather to be feen by his country after fo many victories over their enemies, fet out for Athens. The fides of his fhips were covered with bucklers and all forts of fpoils, in form of trophies; and caufing a great number of veffels to be towed after him by way of triumph, he difplayed alfo the enfigns and ornaments of thofe he had burnt, which were more than the others; the whole amounting to about two hundred fhips. It is faid, that reflecting on what had been done againft him, upon approaching the port, he was ftruck with fome terror, and was afraid to quit his veffel till he faw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the fhore to receive him, and earneftly entreated him to land.

The people came out of the city in a body to meet

[y] A. M. 3597. Ant. J. C. 407.

him,

him, and at his appearance ſet up incredible ſhouts of joy. In the midſt of an infinite number of officers and ſoldiers, all eyes were fixed ſolely on him, whom they conſidered as victory itſelf deſcended from the ſkies: all around him paſſionately careſſing, bleſſing, and crowning him in emulation of each other. Thoſe who could not approach him, were never tired with contemplating him at a diſtance, whilſt the old men ſhowed him to their children. They repeated with the higheſt praiſes all the great actions he had done for his country; nor could they refuſe their admiration even to thoſe he had done againſt it during his baniſhment, of which they imputed the fault to themſelves alone. This public joy was mingled with tears and regret, from the remembrance of paſt misfortunes, which they could not avoid comparing with their preſent felicity. "We could not have failed," ſaid they, "of the conqueſt of Sicily; our other hopes could never have proved abortive, if we had referred all our affairs and forces to the diſpoſal of Alcibiades alone. In what a condition was Athens when he took upon him our protection and defence! We had not only almoſt entirely loſt our power at ſea, but were ſcarce poſſeſſed of the ſuburbs of our city; and, to add to our misfortunes, were torn in pieces by a horrid civil war. He notwithſtanding has raiſed the republic from its ruins; and not content with having reinſtated it in the poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the ſea, has rendered it univerſally victorious by land; as if the fate of Athens had been in his hands alone, either to ruin or preſerve it, and victory was annexed to his perſon, and obeyed his orders."

This favourable reception of Alcibiades did not prevent his demanding an aſſembly of the people, in order to his juſtification before them; well knowing how neceſſary it was for his ſafety to be abſolved in form. He appeared therefore; and after having deplored his miſfortunes, which he imputed very little to the people, and entirely aſcribed to his ill fortune, and ſome demon envious of his proſperity, he repreſented to them the deſigns of the enemy, and exhorted them not to conceive

conceive other than great hopes. The Athenians, transported with hearing him ſpeak, decreed him crowns of gold, appointed him general by ſea and land with unlimited power, reſtored him all his fortunes, and ordered the * Eumolpides and Ceryces to abſolve him from the curſes they had pronounced againſt him by the order of the people; doing their utmoſt to make him amends for the injury and ſhame of his baniſhment by the glory of his recal, and to efface the remembrance of the anathemas themſelves had decreed, by the vows and prayers which they made in his favour. Whilſt all the Eumolpides and Ceryces were employed in revoking thoſe imprecations, Theodorus, the principal of them, had the courage to ſay: "But for me, I have not curſed him, if he has done no evil to his country;" inſinuating, by that bold expreſſion, that the maledictions, being conditional, could not fall upon the head of the innocent, nor be averted from the guilty.

In the midſt of this glory and ſhining proſperity of Alcibiades, the majority of the people could not help being concerned, when they conſidered the time of his return. For it happened preciſely upon the day when the Athenians celebrated the feaſt in honour of Minerva, adored under the name of Agraulis. The prieſts took off all the ornaments from the goddeſs's ſtatue to waſh it, from whence that feaſt was called πλυντηρια, and afterwards covered it; and that day was accounted one of the moſt omnious and unfortunate. It was the 25th of the month Thargelion, which anſwers to the ſecond of July[z]. This circumſtance diſpleaſed that ſuperſtitious people, becauſe it ſeemed to imply, that the goddeſs, patroneſs and protectreſs of Athens, did not receive Alcibiades agreeably, and with a benign aſpect, ſince ſhe covered and concealed herſelf, as if ſhe would keep him off, and remove him from her.

[z] N. S.

* The Eumolpides and Ceryces were two families at Athens, who had different functions in the myſteries of Ceres. They took their names from Eumolpus and Ceryx, the firſt who had exerciſed thoſe offices. Perhaps the employment of the latter had ſome relation to that of heralds, Κηρυκες.

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[a] All things having however ſucceeded according to his wiſh, and the hundred ſhips he was to command being ready, he deferred his departure out of a laudable ambition to celebrate the great myſteries; for from the time the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelia, and taken poſſeſſion of all the ways from Athens to Eleuſina, the feaſt had not been ſolemnized in all its pomp, and the proceſſion had been obliged to go by ſea. The particular ceremonies of this ſolemnity may be ſeen in the beginning of the next volume.

Alcibiades believed it would be a moſt glorious action, and attract the bleſſings of the gods, and the praiſes of men, if he reſtored all its luſtre and ſolemnity to this feaſt, in making the proceſſion go by land under the convoy of his troops, to defend it againſt the attacks of the enemy. For either Agis would ſuffer it to paſs quietly, notwithſtanding the numerous troops he had at Decelia, which would conſiderably leſſen the reputation of that king, and be a blot in his glory: or, if he ſhould chooſe to attack it, and oppoſe the march, he ſhould then have the ſatisfaction to fight a ſacred battle, a battle grateful to the gods, for the greateſt and moſt venerable of all their myſteries, in the ſight of his country and citizens, who would be witneſſes of his valour and regard for religion. It is very likely, that by this public and oſtentatious act of piety, which ſtruck the people's view in ſo ſenſible a manner, and was ſo extremely to his taſte, Alcibiades's principal deſign was to efface entirely from their minds the ſuſpicions of impiety, to which the mutilation of ſtatues, and profanation of myſteries, had given birth.

Having taken that reſolution, he gave notice to the Eumolpides and Ceryces to hold themſelves in readineſs, poſted ſentinels upon the hills, ſent out runners at the break of day, and taking with him the prieſts, the initiated, and the probationers, with thoſe who initiated them, he covered them with his army, and diſpoſed the whole pomp with wonderful order, and pro-

[a] Plut. in Alcib. p. 210.

found ſilence. Never was ſhow, ſays Plutarch, more auguſt, nor more worthy the majeſty of the gods, than this warlike proceſſion, and religious expedition; in which even thoſe, who envied the glory of Alcibiades, were obliged to own, that he was no leſs happy in diſcharging the functions of a high prieſt, than thoſe of a general. No enemy dared to appear, or diſturb that pompous march, and Alcibiades reconducted the ſacred troops to Athens with entire ſafety. This ſucceſs gave him new courage, and raiſed the valour and boldneſs of his army to ſuch a degree, that they looked upon themſelves as invincible whilſt he commanded them.

He acquired the affection of the poor, and the lower ſort of people ſo much, that they moſt ardently deſired to have him for their king. Many of them openly declared themſelves to that effect; and there were ſome who addreſſed themſelves to him, and exhorted him to ſet himſelf above envy, and not to trouble himſelf about laws, decrees, or ſuffrages; to put down thoſe wordy impertinents that diſturbed the ſtate with their vain harangues, to make himſelf maſter of affairs, and to govern with entire authority without fearing accuſers. For him, what his thoughts of the tyranny, and his deſigns were, are unknown; but the moſt powerful citizens, apprehending the breaking out of a fire, of which they already ſaw the ſparks, preſſed him to depart without delay; granting whatever he demanded, and giving him for colleagues the generals moſt agreeable to him. He ſet ſail accordingly, with a hundred ſhips, and ſteered for the iſland of Andros, that had revolted. His high reputation, and the good fortune which had attended him in all his enterpriſes, made nothing but what was great and extraordinary to be expected from him.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *The Lacedæmonians appoint Lysander Admiral. He becomes very powerful with young Cyrus, who commanded in Asia. He beats the Athenian Fleet near Ephesus, in the Absence of Alcibiades, who is deprived of the Command. Ten Generals are chosen in his Stead. Callicratidas succeeds Lysander.*

[b] THE Lacedæmonians, justly alarmed at the return and success of Alcibiades, conceived that such an enemy made it necessary to oppose him with an able general, capable of making head against him. For this reason they made choice of Lysander, and gave him the command of the fleet. When he arrived at Ephesus, he found the city very well disposed in his favour, and well affected to Sparta; but otherwise in a very unhappy situation. For it was in danger of becoming barbarous, by assuming the manners and customs of the Persians, who had great commerce with it, as well from the neighbourhood of Lydia, as because the king's generals commonly took up their winter quarters there. An idle and voluptuous life, filled up with luxury and empty show, could not fail of disgusting infinitely a man like Lysander, who had been bred from his birth in the simplicity, poverty, and severe discipline of Sparta. Having brought his army to Ephesus, he gave orders for assembling ships of burden there from all parts, erected an arsenal for building of galleys, made the ports free for merchants, gave the public places to artificers, put all arts in motion, and held them in honour; and by these means filled the city with riches, and laid the foundations of that grandeur and magnificence, to which it afterwards attained. So great a change can the application and ability of a single person occasion in a state!

Whilst he was making these dispositions, he received advice that Cyrus, the king's youngest son, was arrived at Sardis. That prince could not be above sixteen years old at that time, being born after his father's accession

[b] Xenoph. Hellen. l. xi. p. 440—442. Plut. in Lysand. p. 434, 435. Diod. l. xiii. p. 192—197.

to the crown, in the ſeventeenth year of his reign. Paryſatis, his mother, loved him to idolatry, and had the entire aſcendant of her huſband. It was ſhe that occaſioned his having the ſupreme government of all the provinces of Aſia Minor given him; a command that ſubjected all the provincial governors of the moſt important part of the empire to his authority. The view of Paryſatis was, without doubt, to put the young prince into a condition to diſpute the throne with his brother after the king's death; as we ſhall ſee he does to ſome effect. One of the principal inſtructions, given him by his father upon ſending him to his government, was to give effectual aid to the Lacedæmonians againſt Athens; an order very contrary to the meaſures obſerved till then by Tiſſaphernes, and the other governors of thoſe provinces. It had always been their maxim, ſometimes to aſſiſt one party, ſometimes the other, in order to hold their power in ſuch a balance, that the one might never be able to cruſh the other entirely: from whence it followed, that both parties were kept weak by the war, and neither in condition to form any enterpriſes againſt the Perſian empire.

Upon Lyſander's being appriſed, therefore, of the arrival of Cyrus at Sardis, he ſet out from Epheſus to make him a viſit, and to complain of the delays and breach of faith of Tiſſaphernes, who, notwithſtanding the orders he had received to ſupport the Lacedæmonians, and to drive the Athenians out of the ſea, had always covertly favoured the latter, out of regard for Alcibiades, whoſe meaſures he entirely gave into, and had been the ſole cauſe of the loſs of the fleet, by not ſupplying it with the neceſſary quantity of proviſions. This diſcourſe pleaſed Cyrus, who looked upon Tiſſaphernes as a very bad man, and his particular enemy; and he anſwered, that the king had given him orders to ſupport the Lacedæmonians powerfully, and that he had received five hundred talents* for that purpoſe. Lyſander, contrary to the common character of the Spartans, was ſubmiſſive and condeſcending, full of

* Five hundred thouſand crowns, about 112,500l. ſterling.

complacency for the grandees, always ready to pay his court to them, and supporting, for the good of the service, all the weight of their haughtiness and vanity with incredible patience; in which behaviour some people make the whole address and merit of a courtier consist.

He did not forget himself on this occasion, and setting at work all that the industry and art of a complete courtier could suggest of flattery and insinuation, he perfectly gained the young prince's favour and good opinion. After having praised his generosity, magnificence, and zeal for the Lacedæmonians, he desired him to give each soldier and mariner a drachma * per day, in order to debauch those of the enemy by that means, and thereby terminate the war the sooner. Cyrus very much approved the project; but said, that he could make no change in the king's order, and that the treaty with them expressly settled only half a talent † to be paid monthly for each galley. The prince, however, at the end of a banquet, which he gave him before his departure, drinking to his health, and pressing him to ask something of him, Lysander desired that an ‡ obolus a day might be added to the seamen's pay. This was granted, and he gave them four oboli instead of three, which they received before, and paid them all the arrears due to them, with a month's advance; giving Lysander ten thousand § daricks for that purpose; that is, a hundred thousand livres, or about five thousand pounds sterling.

This largess filled the whole fleet with ardour and alacrity, and almost unmanned the enemy's galleys; the greatest part of the mariners deserting to the party where the pay was best. The Athenians, in despair upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interposition of Tissaphernes; but he would not hearken to them notwithstanding the satrap represented,

* Ten pence.

† One thousand five hundred livres, about 112l. sterling.

‡ The drachma was six oboli, or ten pence French; each obolus being three halfpence; so that the four oboli were sixpence halfpenny a day, instead of five pence, or three oboli.

§ A darick is about a pistole.

that

that it was not for the king's intereſt to aggrandize the Lacedæmonians, but to balance the power of one ſide with that of the other, in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own diviſions.

Though Lyſander had conſiderably weakened the enemy by augmenting the mariners pay, and thereby very much hurt their naval power, he dared not however hazard a battle with them, particularly apprehending Alcibiades, who was a man of execution, had the greater number of ſhips, and had never been overthrown in any battle either by ſea or land. But after Alcibiades had left Samos to go into Phocæa and Ionia, to raiſe money, of which he was in want for the payment of his troops, and had given the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with expreſs orders not to fight or attack the enemy in his abſence; the new commander, to make ſhow of his courage, and to brave Lyſander, entered the port of Epheſus with two galleys, and after having made a great noiſe, retired with loud laughter, and an air of contempt and inſult. Lyſander, enraged at that affront, immediately detached ſome galleys, and went himſelf in purſuit of him. But as the Athenians advanced to ſupport Antiochus, he ordered other galleys of his ſide to come on, till the whole fleet arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both ſides. Lyſander gained the victory, and having taken fifteen of the Athenian galleys, he erected a trophy. Alcibiades, on his return to Samos, failed even into the port to offer him battle; but Lyſander was contented with his victory, and did not think proper to accept it; ſo that he retired without doing any thing.

[c] Thraſybulus, at the ſame time, the moſt dangerous enemy he had in his army, left the camp, and went to Athens to accuſe him. To inflame his enemies in the city the more, he told the people in a full aſſembly, that Alcibiades had entirely ruined their affairs, and the navy, by the licence he had introduced; that he had given

[c] A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 506.

himſelf

himſelf up to the moſt *notorious debauchees and drunkards, who, from common ſeamen were the only perſons in credit about him; that he abandoned his whole authority to them, to be at leiſure to enrich himſelf in the provinces, and to plunge himſelf there into intemperance and all other infamous exceſſes, to the diſgrace of Athens, whilſt his fleet was left neglected in the face of the enemy's.

Another article of accuſation againſt him was taken from the forts he had built near the city of Byzantium, for an aſylum and retreat for him; as neither being able nor willing to return any more to his country. The Athenians, a capricious, inconſtant people, gave credit to theſe impeachments. The loſs of the laſt battle, and his little ſucceſs ſince his departure from Athens, inſtead of the great and wonderful actions expected from him, entirely ſunk him in their opinions; and his own glory and reputation may be ſaid to have occaſioned his ruin. For he was ſuſpected of not deſiring to do what was not done, which they could not believe out of his power, becauſe they were fully perſuaded, that nothing he deſired to do was impoſſible to him. They made it a crime in Alcibiades, that the rapidity of his conqueſts did not anſwer to that of their imaginations; not conſidering, that he made war without money upon a people who had the great king for their treaſurer, and that he was often obliged to quit his camp, to go in queſt of what was neceſſary for the payment and ſubſiſtence of his troops. However it was, Alcibiades was depoſed, and ten generals nominated in his ſtead; of which, when he received advice, he retired, in his galley, to ſome caſtles he had in the Thracian Cherſoneſus.

[d] About this time died Pliſtonax, one of the kings of Lacedæmonia, and was ſucceeded by Pauſanias, who reigned fourteen years. The latter made a fine anſwer

[d] Diod. p. 196.

* Antiochus is pointed at in this place, a mean, debauched man, who had acquired the favour of Alcibiades by catching a quail for him which he had let fly.

to

to one who asked, why it was not permitted to change any thing in the ancient customs of Sparta: "*Because," says he, "at Sparta the laws command men, and not men the laws."

[1] Lysander, who intended to establish the government of the nobility in all the cities in the dependence of Sparta, that the governors of his choosing might be always at his disposal, from his having rendered them independent of their people, he caused such persons of the principal cities to come to Ephesus, as he knew to be the boldest, and most enterprising and ambitious. These he placed at the head of affairs, promoted to the greatest honours, and raised to the first employments of the army, thereby rendering himself, says Plutarch, the accomplice of all the crimes and oppressions they committed to advance and enrich themselves. For this reason they were always extremely attached to him, and regretted him infinitely, when Callicratidas came to succeed him, and took upon him the command of the fleet. He was not inferior to Lysander either in valour or military knowledge, and was infinitely above him in point of moral virtue. Alike severe to himself and others, inaccessible to flattery and sloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modesty, temperance, and austerity of the ancient Spartans; virtues that began to distinguish him particularly, as they were not too common in his time. His probity and justice were proof against all things; his simplicity and integrity abhorred all falsehood and fraud, to which were joined a truly Spartan nobleness and grandeur of soul. The great and powerful could not hinder themselves from admiring his virtue; but they were better pleased with the facility and condescension of his predecessor, who was blind to the injustice and violence of their actions.

It was not without mortification and jealousy Lysander saw him arrive at Ephesus to take upon him the com-

[1] Xenoph. Hellen l. i. p. 442—444. Plut. in Lysand. p. 433—436. Diod. p. 197, 198.

* Οτι τῆς νομῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῆς ἀνδρᾶς τῶν νομῶν χωρὶς εἶναι δεῖ. Plut. in Apoph. p. 230.

mand, and out of a criminal baſeneſs and treachery, not uncommon with thoſe who hearken more to their private ambition than the good of the public, he did him all the ill offices in his power. Of the ten thouſand daricks, which Cyrus had given him for the augmentation of the mariners pay, he returned the remainder to that prince; telling Callicratidas, that he might apply to the king for the money, and that it depended on him to find means for the ſubſiſtence of his army. This conduct gave him great trouble, and diſtreſſed him exceedingly. For he had brought no money with him from Sparta, and could not reſolve to extort any from the citizens, as he found them ſufficiently rifled already.

[f] In this urgent neceſſity a perſon having offered him fifty talents (that is to ſay, fifty thouſand crowns) to obtain a favour he could not grant with juſtice, he refuſed them. Upon which Cleander, one of his officers, ſaid, "I would accept them, were I in your place." "And ſo would I," replied the general, "were I in yours."

He had no other reſource therefore than to go, as Lyſander had done, to aſk money at the gates of the king's general and lieutenants, for which he was the leaſt proper of all mankind. Nurtured and educated in the love of liberty, full of great and noble ſentiments, and infinitely remote from all flattery and baſeneſs, he was convinced at heart, that it was leſs evil and diſhonour for Greeks to be overcome by Greeks, than infamouſly to make their court, and beg at the gates of Barbarians, whoſe only merit conſiſted in their gold and ſilver. The whole nation were indeed diſgraced by ſo mean a proſtitution.

Cicero, in his Offices, draws two very different characters of perſons employed in the adminiſtration of government, and makes the application of them to the two generals, of whom we ſpeak. The one, ſays he, * zealous lovers of truth, and declared enemies of all

[f] Plut. in Apoph. p. 222.

* *Sunt his alii multum diſpares ſimplices et aperti; qui nihil ex occulto, nihil ex inſidiis agendum putant veritatis cultores, fraudis inimici: itemque alii, qui quidvis*

fraud, piqued themſelves upon their ſimplicity and candour, and do not believe, that it can ever conſiſt with honour to lay ſnares, or uſe artifice. The others, prepared to do or ſuffer for every thing, are not aſhamed of the meaneſt actions and proſtitutions, provided from thoſe unworthy means they have reaſon to expect the ſucceſs of their deſigns. Cicero places Callicratidas amongſt the former, and Lyſander amongſt the latter, to whom he gives two epithets not much to his honour, and hardly conſiſtent with the Spartan character, when he calls him *very artful and very patient*, or rather *very complaiſant*.

Callicratidas, however, forced by neceſſity, went to Lydia, and repaired immediately to the palace of Cyrus, where he deſired that prince might be told, that the admiral of the Grecian fleet was come to ſpeak with him. He was anſwered, that Cyrus was then at table, engaged in a * party of pleaſure; to which he replied with a modeſt tone and air, that he was in no haſte, and would wait till the prince came forth. The guards ſet up a laugh, wondering at the honeſt ſtranger's ſimplicity, which had ſo little the air of the world in it; and he was obliged to retire. He came thither a ſecond time, and was again denied admittance. Upon which he returned to Epheſus, loading thoſe with curſes and imprecations, who had firſt made their court to Barbarians, and by their flattery and ſubmiſſions had taught them to make their riches a title and pretence for inſulting the reſt of mankind. Addreſſing himſelf at the ſame time to thoſe about him, he ſwore, that as ſoon as he returned to Sparta, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the Greeks amongſt themſelves, that for the future they might become formidable to the Barbarians, and have no further occaſion for

quidvis perpetiantur cuivis deſerviant, dum, quod velint, conſequantur. Quo in genere verſutiſſimum et patientiſſimum Lacedæmonium Lyſandrum accepimus, nectraque Callicratidem. Offic. l. i. n. 109.

* The Greek ſays literally that he was drinking, πίνει. The Perſians valued themſelves upon drinking a great deal, as an inſtance of their merit, as we ſhall ſee in Cyrus's letter to the Lacedæmonians.

their

their aid to invade and ruin each other. But that generous Spartan, whose thoughts were so noble, and so worthy the Lacedæmonian name, and whose justice, magnanimity, and valour, might rank him with all that Greece had ever produced, of the most excellent and most consummate, had not the good fortune to return to his country, nor to apply himself to a work so great, and so worthy of him.

SECT. V. *Callicratidas is defeated by the Athenians near the Arginusæ. The Athenians pass Sentence of Death upon several of their Generals for not having brought off the Bodies of those who had been slain in the Battle. Socrates alone has the Courage to oppose so unjust a Sentence.*

[8] CALLICRATIDAS, after having gained several victories over the Athenians, had at last pursued Conon, one of their generals, into the port of Mitylene, where he kept him blocked up. This was in the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. Conon seeing himself besieged by sea and land without hope of aid, and in want of provisions, found means to apprise Athens of the extreme danger he was in. Extraordinary efforts were made to relieve him, and in less than a month's time a fleet of a hundred and ten sail were fitted out, on board of which were embarked all who were capable of bearing arms, as well slaves as freemen, with some horse. At Samos they were joined by the allies with forty galleys, and steered for the Arginusæ, islands situate between Cuma and Mitylene. Callicratidas, being informed of their course, left Eteonicus to continue the siege with fifty ships, and put to sea with a hundred and twenty sail, with design to face the enemy, and prevent their relieving Conon. The right wing of the Athenians was commanded by Protomachus and Thrasylus, who had each fifteen galleys. They were supported by a second line with a like number of ships, commanded by Lysias and Aris-

[8] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 444–452. Diod. l. xiii. p. 198, & 201, 217–222.

togenes.

togenes. The left wing, like the other, drawn up in two lines, was under Ariſtocrates and Diomedon, ſupported by Eraſmides and Pericles*. The main body, conſiſting of near thirty galleys, amongſt which were the three Athenian admirals, was diſpoſed in one line. They had ſtrengthened each of their wings with a ſecond line, becauſe their galleys were neither ſo ſwift, nor ſo eaſy to manage, as thoſe of the enemy; ſo that there was reaſon to fear their getting between two, and being charged on both ſides at the ſame time. The Lacedæmonians and their allies, who perceived they were inferior in number to the enemy, contented themſelves with drawing up in one line, in order to equal their front, and for the greater facility of running between the Athenian galleys, and turning nimbly round them. Callicratidas's pilot, daunted at the inequality, adviſed him not to hazard the battle, and to retire: but he replied, that he could not fly without ſhame, and that his death was of ſmall importance to the republic. "Sparta," ſaid he, "does not depend upon one man." He commanded the right wing, and Thraſonidas the Theban the left.

It was terrible to behold the ſea covered with three hundred galleys ready to engage. Never had more numerous naval armies of the Greeks joined battle before. The ability, experience, and valour of the generals who commanded, left nothing to deſire; ſo that there was reaſon to believe this battle would decide the fate of both people, and put an end to a war that had endured ſo long. When the ſignals were given, the two armies raiſed great ſhouts and began the fight. Callicratidas, who from the anſwer of the augurs expected to fall in the battle, did amazing actions of valour. He attacked the enemy with incredible courage and boldneſs, ſunk ſome of the ſhips, diſabled others by breaking their oars and piercing their ſides with the prow or beak of his galley. At length he attacked that of Pericles, and made a thouſand holes in it; but the latter having hooked him faſt with a grappling iron, he found it impoſſible to dis-

* He was ſon of the great Pericles.

engage

engage himself, and was surrounded in an instant by several of the Athenian vessels. His own was immediately filled with the enemy, and after a dreadful slaughter, he fell dead, rather overwhelmed by their numbers than vanquished. The right wing, which he commanded, having lost its admiral, was put to flight. The left, composed of Bœotians and Eubœans, still made a long and vigorous resistance, from the important concern they were in, lest they should fall into the hands of the Athenians, against whom they had revolted; but they were at length obliged to give way, and retire in disorder. The Athenians erected a trophy in the Arginusæ. They lost twenty-five galleys in this battle, and the enemy more than seventy, of which number were nine of the ten furnished by the Lacedæmonians.

[h] Plutarch equals Callicratidas, the Lacedæmonian general, for his justice, valour, and magnanimity, with all who had ever rendered themselves most worthy of admiration amongst the Greeks.

[i] He blames him however exceedingly for hazarding the battle at the Arginusæ, and observes, that to avoid the reproach of having retired out of fear, he had through a mistaken sense of honour, failed in the essential duty of his function. For, says Plutarch, if (to use the comparison of * Iphicrates) the light-armed infantry resemble the hands, the horse the feet, the main body the breast, and the general the head; the general, who abandons himself rashly to the impetuosity of his valour, does not so much neglect or expose his own life, as the lives of those, whose safety depends upon his. Our Lacedæmonian chief was therefore in the wrong, continues Plutarch, to answer the pilot, who advised him to retire, "Sparta does not depend upon one man." For though it be true, that Callicratidas, fighting under the orders of another by sea or land, *was no more than one man*, yet, commanding an army, all who obeyed his orders were collected in his person; and he, in whom so many thousands might be lost, *was no longer*

[h] Plut. in Lysand. p. 436. [i] Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

* He was a famous general of the Athenians.

one

one man. * Cicero had passed the same judgment upon him before Plutarch. After having said, that there were many persons to be found, who were ready to sacrifice their fortunes, and even lives, for their country, but who out of a false delicacy in point of glory would not hazard their reputation for it in the least; he cites the example of Callicratidas, who answered those who advised him to retreat from the Arginusæ, "That Sparta could fit out another fleet, if this were lost; but for himself, he could not fly before the enemy without shame and infamy."

I return to the sequel of the battle near the Arginusæ. The Athenian generals ordered Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and some other officers, to return with about fifty galleys to take up the wrecks and dead bodies, in order to their interment, whilst they rowed on with the rest against Eteonicus, who kept Conon besieged before Mitylene. But a rude tempest came on suddenly and prevented the execution of this order. Eteonicus having received news of the defeat, and fearing it might occasion alarm and terror amongst the troops, sent back those who brought it, with orders to return with wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and to give out that Callicratidas had gained the victory, and destroyed the whole Athenian fleet. Upon their return he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving, and having made his troops take some refreshment, he sent the galleys away directly, the wind being fair, and marched off the land-army to Methymna, after having burnt the camp. Conon being delivered in this manner from the blockade, joined the victorious fleet, which returned forthwith to Samos. However, when it was known at Athens that the dead bodies had been left without interment, the

* *Inventi multi sunt, qui non modo pecuniam, sed vitam etiam, profundere pro patria parati essent, iidem gloriæ jacturam ne minima quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem postulante: ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedæmoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello, multaque fecisset egregiè, vertit ad extremum omnia cum consilio non paruit eorum, qui classem ab Arginusis removendam, nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit, Lacedæmonios, classe illa amissa, aliam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse.* Offic. l. 1. n. 48.

people

people were highly enraged, and laid the whole weight of their resentment upon those they believed guilty of that crime. The ancients held it a great one not to provide sepulture for the dead; and we may observe, that after all their battles, the first care of the conquered, notwithstanding the sense of their misfortune, and their great affliction for a bloody defeat, was to demand a suspension of arms from the victor, in order to pay their last duties to those who had fallen in battle; upon which they believed their happiness in another life depended. They had little or no idea of the resurrection of the body; but however, the Pagans, in the soul's concern for the body after death, the religious regard paid to it, and the passion with which they rendered solemn honours to the dead, seem to argue, that they had some confused notion of a resurrection which subsisted amongst all nations, and descended from the most ancient tradition, though they could not distinguish clearly upon it.

Hence arose the fury of the people of Athens. They immediately nominated new generals, retaining only Conon of the old ones, to whom they gave Adimantes and Philocles for colleagues. Eight days after which, two of them withdrew themselves, and only six returned to Athens. Theramenes, the tenth general, who returned before the rest of the fleet, accused the other chiefs before the people, making them responsible for not bringing off the dead after the battle; and to clear himself, read the letter they had written to the senate and people, wherein they excused themselves from the violence of the storm, without charging any body. That calumny was detestably vile, as done in abuse of their reserve in not mentioning him in their letter, and in not laying a fault to his charge of which he might have appeared the most guilty. The generals, at their return not being able to prevail for the time necessary for making their defence, contented themselves with representing in few words the state of the affair, and appealed for the truth of what they said to the pilots, and all present when it happened. The people seemed to receive their excuse favourably, and several persons

ſons offered themſelves for their ſureties; but it was thought proper to adjourn the aſſembly, becauſe of the night, and it being the people's cuſtom to give their ſuffrages by lifting up of hands, their reſolution could not be known; beſides which the council were firſt to give their opinion upon the queſtion to be propoſed to the people.

The feaſt of Apaturia unexpectedly coming on, in which it was the cuſtom to aſſemble by families, the relations of Theramenes poſted ſeveral perſons in mourning habits, and ſhaved, in proper places, who ſaid, they were the kindred of thoſe who had been ſlain in the battle, and obliged Callixenes to accuſe the generals in the Senate. It was decreed in conſequence, that as the accuſation and defence had been heard in the laſt aſſembly, the people by their reſpective tribe ſhould give their voices, and if the accuſed were found guilty, they ſhould be puniſhed with death, their eſtates confiſcated, and the tenth part conſecrated to the * goddeſs. Some ſenators oppoſed this decree as unjuſt, and contrary to the laws: but as the people, at the inſtigation of Callixenes, threatened to include the oppoſers in the ſame cauſe and crime with the generals, they were ſo mean as to deſiſt from their oppoſition, and to ſacrifice the innocent generals to their own ſafety, by conſenting to the decree. Socrates (the celebrated philoſopher) was the only one of the ſenators who ſtood firm, perſiſted obſtinately in oppoſing a decree ſo notoriouſly unjuſt, and ſo contrary to all laws. The orator, who mounted the tribunal in defence of the generals, ſhowed, "That they had failed in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders that the dead bodies ſhould be taken up: that if any one were guilty, it was he, who being charged with theſe orders, had neglected to put them in execution; but that he accuſed nobody; and that the tempeſt which came on unexpectedly at the very inſtant was an unanſwerable apology, and entirely diſcharged the accuſed from all guilt. He demanded, that a whole day ſhould be allowed them to make their

* Minerva.

defence,

defence, a favour not denied to the moſt criminal, and that they ſhould be tried ſeparately. He repreſented, that they were not in the leaſt obliged to precipitate a ſentence, wherein the lives of the moſt illuſtrious of the citizens were concerned; that it was in ſome meaſure attacking the gods to make * men reſponſible for the winds and weather; that they could not, without the moſt flagrant ingratitude and injuſtice, put the conquerors to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of thoſe who envied them; that if they did ſo, their unjuſt judgment would be followed with a ſudden, but vain repentance, which would leave behind it the ſharpeſt remorſe, and cover them with eternal ſhame and infamy." The people ſeemed at firſt to be moved with theſe reaſons; but animated by the accuſers, they pronounced ſentence of death againſt eight of their generals; and ſix of them, who were preſent, were ſeized, in order to their being carried to execution. One of them, Diomedon, a perſon of great reputation for his valour and probity, demanded to be heard. "Athenians," ſaid he, "I wiſh the ſentence you have paſſed upon us may not prove the misfortune of the republic; but I have one favour to aſk of you in behalf of my colleagues and myſelf, which is to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourſelves, as we are not in a condition to diſcharge them; for it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy." There was not one good citizen, that did not melt into tears at this diſcourſe, ſo full of goodneſs and religion, and admire with ſurpriſe the moderation of a perſon, who ſeeing himſelf unjuſtly condemned, did not however vent the leaſt reſentment, or even complaint againſt his judges, but was ſolely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country, which had doomed them to pe-

* *Quem adeo iniquum, ut ſceleri aſſignet, quod venti et fluctus deliquerint?* TACIT. Annal. l. xiv. c. 3.

rish) upon what it owed the gods in common with them for the victory they had lately obtained.

The six generals were hardly executed, when the people opened their eyes, and perceived all the horror of that sentence; but their repentance could not restore the dead to life. Callixenes, the orator, was put in prison, and refused to be heard. Having found means to make his escape, he fled to Decelia to the enemy, from whence he returned some time after to Athens, where he died of hunger, universally detested and abhorred by all the world, as all false accusers and slanderers ought to be. Diodorus remarks, that the people themselves were justly punished for their crime by the gods, who abandoned them soon after, not to a single master, but to thirty tyrants, who treated them with the utmost rigour and cruelty.

[k] The disposition of a people is very naturally imaged in this account; and Plato, upon the same event, draws in few words their character with much spirit and resemblance. The * commonalty, says he, is an unconstant, ungrateful, cruel, suspicious animal, incapable of submitting to the government of reason; which is no wonder, adds he, as it is commonly composed of the dregs of a city, and is a monstrous assemblage, without form or order, of all that is worst in it.

The same relation shows what effect fear can have upon the minds of men, even upon those who pass for the wisest, and how few there are, who are capable of supporting inflexibly the view of present danger and disgrace. Though the justness of the generals cause was perfectly known in the senate, at least by the major part of it, as soon as the people's rage was mentioned, and the terrible menaces they murmured, those grave senators, most of whom had commanded armies, and who all of them had frequently exposed themselves to the greatest dangers of war, instantly changed sides and came over to the most notorious calumny, and crying injustice, that ever had being. An evident proof, that

k Plut. in Axioch. p. 368, 369.

* Δημος αφικορον, αχαριστον, ωμον, βασκανον, απαιδευτον.

there

there is a courage, though very rare, which infinitely transcends the valour, that induces so many thousands of men every day to confront the most terrible dangers in battle.

Amongst all the judges, only one, truly worthy of his reputation, the great Socrates, in this general treason and perfidy, stood firm and immovable; and though he knew his suffrage and unaided voice would be of little or no consequence to the accused, he thought them a just homage to oppressed innocence, and that it was *unworthy an honest man to govern himself by the fury of a blind and frantic people. We see in this instance how far the cause of justice may be abandoned. We may conclude it was not better defended before the people. Of more than three thousand citizens, who composed the assembly, two only took upon them the defence of their generals, Euriptodemus and Axiochus. Plato has preserved their names, and given that of the latter to the dialogue, from whence part of these reflections are taken.

[l]The same year the battle of the Arginusæ was fought, Dionysius possessed himself of the tyranny in Sicily. I shall defer speaking of him till the ensuing volume, in which I shall treat the history of the tyrants of Syracuse at large.

SECT. VI. *Lysander commands the Lacedæmonian Fleet. Cyrus is recalled to Court by his Father. Lysander's celebrated Victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos.*

[m]AFTER the defeat at the Arginusæ, the affairs of the Peloponnesians declining, the allies, supported by the credit of Cyrus, sent an embassy to Sparta, to demand that the command of the fleet should again be given to Lysander, with the promise of serving with more affection and courage, if their request

[l] A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 406.

[m] A. M. 3519. Ant. J. C. 405. Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 45. Plut. in Lys. l. ix. 436, 437. Diod. l. xiii. p. 223.

* Ου γαρ εφαινετο μοι σεμνον δημω μαινομενω συνεξαρχειν.

were

were granted. As it was contrary to the laws of Sparta that the ſame perſon ſhould be twice admiral; the Lacedæmonians, to ſatisfy the allies, gave the title of admiral to one Aracus, and ſent Lyſander with him, whom in appearance they commiſſioned only as vice-admiral, though in effect with all the authority of the ſupreme command.

All thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in the government of the cities, and were of moſt authority in them, ſaw him arrive with extreme joy; promiſing themſelves, from his influence, the final ſubverſion of the democratic power. His character of complacency for his friends, and indulgence to all their faults, ſuited much better with their ambitious and injurious views, than the auſtere equity of Callicratidas. For Lyſander was a man of the moſt corrupt heart, and gloried in having no principles in point of virtue or the moſt ſacred duties. He made no ſcruple to employ artifice and deceit upon all occaſions, and eſteemed juſtice only as far as it ſerved his meaſures. When it did not promote them, he never failed to prefer the uſeful, which with him was alone laudable and excellent; from a perſuaſion that truth had in its own nature no advantage over falſehood, and that the value of both one and the other was to be determined by the convenience reſulting from them. And for thoſe who repreſented to him, that it was unworthy the deſcendants of Hercules to make uſe of fraud and treachery, he laughed at them; "For," ſaid he, "where the lion's ſkin is not long enough, it is neceſſary to tack the fox's tail to it."

An expreſſion aſcribed to him, ſufficiently denotes how ſmall an account he made of perjury. He uſed to ſay, "* Children are amuſed with baubles, and men with oaths;" ſhowing, by ſo profeſſed a want of religion, that the gods were more inconſiderable with him

* The Greek text admits another ſenſe, which is perhaps no leſs good. "Children may uſe art, and cheat one another in their games, and men in their oaths." Ἐκέλευε τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις, τοὺς ἀνδρας ὅρκοις ἐξαπατᾶν.

than

than his enemies. For he who deceives with a falſe oath, plainly declares in ſo doing, that he fears his enemies, but that he deſpiſes God.

[n] Here ends the twenty-ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war. In this year, it was, that young Cyrus dazzled with the uſual ſplendor of ſupreme authority, and jealous of the leaſt omiſſion in point of ceremonial homage, diſcovered, by a remarkable action, the ſecret of his heart. Brought up from his infancy in the reigning houſe, nurtured under the ſhade of the throne amidſt the ſubmiſſions and proſtrations of the courtiers, entertained long by the diſcourſes of an ambitious mother who idolized him, in the deſire and hope of empire, he began already to affect the rights of ſovereignty, and to exact the honours paid to it with ſurpriſing haughtineſs and rigour. Two Perſians of the royal family, his couſin-germans by their mother, his father Darius's ſiſter, had omitted to cover their hands with their ſleeves in his preſence, according to a ceremonial obſerved only to the kings of Perſia. Cyrus, reſenting that neglect as a capital crime, condemned them both to die, and cauſed them to be executed at Sardis without mercy. Darius, at whoſe feet their relations threw themſelves to demand juſtice, was very much affected with the tragical end of his two nephews, and looked upon this action of his ſon's as an attempt upon himſelf, to whom alone that honour was due. He reſolved therefore to take his government from him, and ordered him to court upon the pretext of being ſick, and having a deſire to ſee him.

Cyrus before his departure ſent for Lyſander to Sardis, and put into his hands great ſums of money for the payment of his fleet, promiſing him ſtill more for the future. And with the oſtentation of a young man, to let him ſee how much he deſired to oblige him, he aſſured him, that though the king his father ſhould ceaſe to afford him any ſupplies, he would furniſh him the more willingly out of his own coffers, and that rather than he ſhould want the neceſſary proviſions, he

[n] Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 454.

would

would even cause the throne of massy gold and silver, upon which he sat in judgment, to be melted down. At length, when he was upon the point of setting out, he empowered him to receive the tributes and revenues of the cities, confided the government of his provinces to him, and conjured him with embraces not to give battle in his absence, unless superior in force; because the king neither wanted the will nor the power to give him that superiority to the enemy; promising at the same time, with the strongest assurances of affection, to bring him a great number of ships from Phœnicia and Cilicia.

[n] After that prince's departure, Lysander sailed towards the Hellespont, and laid siege to Lampsacus. Torax, having marched thither with his land forces at the same time, assaulted the city on his side. [o] The place was carried by storm, and abandoned by Lysander to the mercy of the soldiers. The Athenians, who followed him close, came to an anchor in the port of Eleontum in the Chersonesus, with a hundred and fourscore galleys. But upon the news of the taking of Lampsacus, they immediately steered for Sestos, and after having taken in provisions, they stood away from thence, sailing along the coast to a place called * Ægospotamos, where they halted over against the enemy, who were then at anchor before Lampsacus. The Hellespont is not above two thousand paces broad in that place. The two armies, seeing themselves so near each other, expected only to rest that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next.

But Lysander had another design in view. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board their galleys, as if they were in reality to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themselves in readiness, and to wait his orders with profound silence. He ordered the land army in like manner to draw up in battle upon the coast, and to wait the day without any noise. On the morrow, as soon as the sun was risen,

[n] Xenoph. Hellen l. ii. p. 455—458. [o] Plut. in Lys. p. 437, & 440. Idem in Alcib. p. 212. Diod. l. xiii. p. 225, 226.

* The river of the goat.

the

the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lysander, though his ships were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay still without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not suffer his soldiers to go ashore, till two or three galleys, which he had sent out to observe them, were returned with advice, that they had seen the enemy land. The next day passed in the same manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reserve and apprehension, extremely augmented the security and boldness of the Athenians, and inspired them with an extreme contempt for an army, which fear, in their sense, prevented from showing themselves, and attempting any thing.

Whilst this passed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horse and came to the Athenian generals; to whom he represented, that they kept upon a very disadvantageous coast, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their provisions from Sestos with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to suffer the soldiers and mariners of the fleet, as soon as they were ashore, to straggle and disperse themselves at their own pleasure, whilst the enemy's fleet faced them in view, accustomed to execute the orders of their general with instant obedience, and upon the slightest signal. He offered also to attack the enemy by land with a strong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, especially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themselves with refusing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall upon them, and if favourable, that Alcibiades would engross the honour of it; but rejected also with insult his wise and salutary counsel, as if a man in disgrace lost his sense and abilities with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day the Athenians presented themselves again, and offered him battle; retiring in the evening

 according

according to cuſtom with more inſulting airs than the days before. Lyſander, as uſual, detached ſome galleys to obſerve them, with orders to return with the utmoſt diligence, when they ſaw the Athenians landed, and to put up a brazen buckler at each ſhip's head as ſoon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himſelf in the mean time ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the ſeamen and ſoldiers in readineſs to row and fight on the firſt ſignal.

As ſoon as the bucklers were put up in the ſhips heads and the admiral's galley had given the ſignal by the ſound of trumpet, the whole fleet ſet forwards in good order. The land army at the ſame time made all poſſible haſte to the top of the promontory to ſee the battle. The ſtrait that ſeparates the two continents in this place, is about fifteen ſtadia*, or three quarters of a league in breadth, which ſpace was preſently cleared through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the firſt who perceived from ſhore, the enemy's fleet advance in good order to attack him; upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of ſorrow and perplexity, ſome he called to by their names, ſome he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their galleys; but all his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the ſoldiers being diſperſed on all ſides. For they were no ſooner come on ſhore, than ſome were run to the ſuttlers, ſome to walk in the country, ſome to ſleep in their tents, and others had begun to dreſs their ſuppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in the generals, who not ſuſpecting the leaſt danger, indulged themſelves in taking their repoſe, and gave their ſoldiers the ſame liberty.

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries and a great noiſe of their oars, when Conon, diſengaging himſelf with nine galleys, of which number was the ſacred ſhip called the *Paralian*, ſtood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponneſians, falling upon the reſt of the fleet, took immediate-

* 1875 paces.

ly

ly the galleys which were empty, and disabled and destroyed such as began to fill with men. The soldiers, who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or flying on shore were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in pursuit of them. Lysander took three thousand prisoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet. After having plundered the camp, and fastened the enemy's galleys to the sterns of his own, he returned to Lampsacus, amidst the sound of flutes and songs of triumph. It was his glory to have achieved one of the greatest military exploits recorded in history, with little or no loss, and to have terminated a war in the small space of an hour, which had already lasted seven and twenty years, and which, perhaps, without him, had been of much longer continuance. Lysander immediately sent dispatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

The three thousand prisoners, taken in this battle, having been condemned to die, Lysander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had caused all the prisoners taken in two galleys, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly persuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the prisoners of war, in order to disable them from handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to serve at the oar. Lysander therefore caused him to be brought forth, and asked him, what sentence he would pass upon himself, for having induced his city to pass that cruel decree. Philocles, without departing from his haughtiness in the least, notwithstanding the extreme danger he was in, made answer, "Accuse not people of crimes who have no judges, but, as you are victor, use your right, and do by us as we had done by you, if we had conquered." At the same instant he went into a bath, put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremost to the execution. All the prisoners were put to the sword, except Adamantus, who had opposed the decree.

After this expedition, Lysander went with his fleet to all the maritime cities, and gave orders for all Athenians in them to withdraw, as soon as possible, to Athens, without permitting them to take any other route; declaring, that after a certain time fixed, all such should be punished with death, as should be found out of Athens. This he did as an able politician, to reduce the city by famine the more easily, and to render it incapable of sustaining a long siege. He afterwards applied himself in subverting the democratic, and all other forms of government throughout the cities; leaving in each of them a Lacedæmonian governor, called *harmostes*, and ten archons or magistrates, whom he chose out of the societies he had established in them. He thereby, in some measure, secured to himself universal authority, and a kind of sovereignty over all Greece; putting none into power but such as were entirely devoted to his service.

SECT. VII. *Athens, besieged by Lysander, capitulates, and surrenders. Lysander changes the Form of Government, and establishes thirty Commanders in it. He sends Gylippus before him to Sparta with all the Gold and Silver taken from the Enemy. Decree of Sparta upon the Use to be made of it. The Peloponnesian War ends in this Manner. Death of Darius Nothus.*

[p] WHEN the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens by a ship, which arrived in the night at the Piræeus, the city was in universal consternation. Nothing was heard but cries of sorrow and despair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates. They represented to themselves the miseries of a long siege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the insolence of a proud victor, and the shameful slavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and insupportable to them than the most severe punishments, and death

[p] A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 458—462. Plut. in Lysand. p. 440, 441.

itself.

itſelf. The next day the aſſembly was ſummoned, wherein it was reſolved to ſhut up all the ports, one only excepted; to repair the breaches in the walls; and mount guard, to prepare againſt a ſiege.

In effect Agis and Pauſanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced towards Athens with all their troops. Lyſander ſoon after arrived at the Piræeus with a hundred and fifty ſail, and prevented all ſhips from going in or coming out. The Athenians, beſieged by ſea and land, without proviſions, ſhips, hope of relief, or any reſource, reinſtated all perſons attainted by any decree, without ſpeaking the leaſt word of a capitulation, however, though many already died of famine. But when their corn was entirely conſumed, they ſent deputies to Agis, to propoſe a treaty with Sparta, upon condition of abandoning all their poſſeſſions, the city and port only excepted. He referred the deputies to Lacedæmon, as not being empowered to treat with them. When they arrived at Salaſia, upon the frontier of Sparta, and had made known their commiſſion to the Ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other propoſals, if they expected peace. The ephori had demanded, that twelve hundred paces of the wall on each ſide of the Piræeus ſhould be demoliſhed: but an Athenian, for venturing to adviſe a compliance, was ſent to priſon, and prohibition made againſt propoſing any thing of that kind for the future.

In this deplorable condition, Theramenes declared in the aſſembly, that if he were ſent to Lyſander, he would know, whether the propoſal made by the Lacedæmonians for diſmantling the city was intended to facilitate its ruin, or to prevent a revolt. The Athenians having deputed him accordingly, he was more than three months abſent; no doubt with the view of reducing them, by famine, to accept any conditions that ſhould be offered. On his return, he told them, that Lyſander had detained him all that time, and that at laſt he had been given to underſtand that he might apply to the Ephori. He was therefore ſent back with nine others to Sparta, with full powers to conclude a treaty. When

they arrived there, the Ephori gave them audience in the general aſſembly, where the Corinthians and ſeveral other allies, eſpecially the Thebans, inſiſted that it was abſolutely neceſſary to deſtroy the city without hearkening any further to a treaty. But the Lacedæmonians, preferring the glory and ſafety of Greece to their own grandeur, made anſwer, that they would never be reproached with having deſtroyed a city that had rendered ſuch great ſervices to all Greece; the remembrance of which ought to have much greater weight with the allies, than the reſentment of private injuries received from it. The peace was therefore concluded under theſe conditions: "That the fortifications of the Piræeus, with the long wall that joined that port to the city, ſhould be demoliſhed; that the Athenians ſhould deliver up all their galleys, twelve only excepted; that they ſhould abandon all the cities they had ſeized, and content themſelves with their own lands and country; that they ſhould recal their exiles, and make a league offenſive and defenſive with the Lacedæmonians, under whom they ſhould march wherever they thought fit to lead them."

The deputies on their return were ſurrounded with an innumerable throng of people, who apprehended that nothing had been concluded, for they were not able to hold out any longer, ſuch multitudes dying every day of famine. The next day they reported the ſucceſs of their negociation; the treaty was ratified, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome perſons; and Lyſander, followed by the exiles, entered the port. It was upon the very day the Athenians had formerly gained the famous naval battle of Salamin. He cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed to the ſound of flutes and trumpets, and with all the exterior marks of triumph and rejoicing, as if all Greece had that day regained its liberty. Thus ended the Peloponneſian war, after having continued during the ſpace of twenty-ſeven years.

Lyſander, without giving the Athenians time to look about them, changed the form of their government entirely, eſtabliſhed thirty archons, or rather tyrants, over the

the city, put a good garrison into the citadel, and left the Spartan Callibius *harmostes*, or governor. Agis dismissed his troops. Lysander, before he disbanded his, advanced against Samos, which he pressed so warmly, that it was at last obliged to capitulate. After having established its ancient inhabitants in it, he proposed to return to Sparta, with the Lacedæmonian galleys, those of the Piræeus, and the beaks of those he had taken.

He had sent Gylippus, who had commanded the army in Sicily, before him, to carry the money and spoils, which were the fruit of his glorious campaigns, to Lacedæmon. The money, without reckoning the innumerable crowns of gold, given him by the cities, amounted to fifteen hundred talents, that is to say, fifteen hundred thousand crowns*. Gylippus, who carried this considerable sum, could not resist the temptation of converting some part of it to his own use. The bags were sealed up carefully, and did not seem to leave any room for theft. He unsewed them at the bottom; and after having taken out of each of them what money he thought fit, to the amount of three hundred talents, he sewed them up again very neatly, and thought himself perfectly safe. But when he arrived at Sparta, the accounts, which had been put up in each bag, discovered him. To avoid punishment, he banished himself from his country, carrying along with him in all places the disgrace of having sullied, by so base and sordid an avarice, the glory of all his great actions.

From this unhappy example, the wisest and most distinguishing of the Spartans, apprehending the all-powerful effects of money, which enslaved not only the vulgar, but even the greatest of men, extremely blamed Lysander for having acted so contradictorily to the fundamental laws of Sparta, and warmly represented to the Ephori, how incumbent it was upon them to † banish all that gold and silver from the republic, and to lay the heaviest of curses and imprecations upon it,

* About 337,000l. sterling.

* Απεδι πομπειω θαι παν το αργυριον ϗ το χρυσιον ωσπερ κηρας επαγωγιμως.

as

as the fatal bane of all other ſtates, introduced only to corrupt the wholeſome conſtitution of the Spartan government, which had ſupported itſelf for ſo many ages with vigour and proſperity. The Ephori immediately paſſed a decree to proſcribe that money, and ordained that none ſhould be current, except the uſual pieces of iron. But Lyſander's friends oppoſed this decree, and ſparing no pains to retain the gold and ſilver in Sparta, the affair was referred for further deliberation. There naturally ſeemed only two methods to be conſidered, which were, either to make the gold and ſilver ſpecies current, or to cry them down, and prohibit them abſolutely. The men of addreſs and policy found out a third expedient, which, in their ſenſe, reconciled both the others with great ſucceſs: this was wiſely to chooſe the mean betwixt the vicious extremes of too much rigour, and too much neglect. It was therefore reſolved, that the new coin of gold and ſilver ſhould be ſolely employed by the public treaſury; that it ſhould only paſs in the occaſions and uſes of the ſtate; and that every private perſon, in whoſe poſſeſſion it ſhould be found, ſhould be immediately put to death.

A ſtrange expedient, ſays Plutarch! As if Lycurgus had feared the ſpecies of gold and ſilver, and not the avarice they occaſion; an avarice, leſs to be extinguiſhed by prohibiting to particulars the poſſeſſion of it, than inflamed by permitting the ſtate to amaſs and make uſe of it for the ſervice of the public. For it was impoſſible, whilſt that money was in honour and eſteem with the public, that it ſhould be deſpiſed in private as uſeleſs, and that people ſhould look upon that as of no value in their domeſtic affairs, which the city prized, and were ſo much concerned to have for its occaſions; bad uſages, authoriſed by the practice and example of the public, being a thouſand times more dangerous to particulars, than the vices of particulars to the public. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, continues Plutarch, in puniſhing thoſe with death who ſhould make uſe of the new money in private, were ſo blind and imprudent to imagine, that the placing of the law, and the terror of puniſh-

punishment as a guard at the door, was sufficient to prevent gold and silver from entering the house: they left the hearts of their citizens open to the desire and admiration of riches, and introduced themselves a violent passion for amassing treasure, in causing it to be deemed a great and honourable thing to become rich.

[q] It was about the end of the Peloponnesian war, that Darius Nothus, king of Persia, died, after a reign of nineteen years. Cyrus had arrived at the court before his death, and Paryfatis, his mother, whose idol he was, not contented with having made his peace, notwithstanding the faults he had committed in his government, pressed the old king to declare him his successor also, after the example of Darius the First, who gave Xerxes the preference before all his brothers, because born, as Cyrus was, after his father's accession to the throne. But Darius did not carry his complaisance for her so far. He gave the crown to Arsaces, his eldest son, by Paryfatis also, whom Plutarch called Arsicas, and bequeathed only to Cyrus the provinces he had already.

[q] A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

BOOK

BOOK THE NINTH.

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CONTINUED,

DURING THE FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON.

CHAP. I.

THIS chapter contains the domeſtic troubles of the court of Perſia; the death of Alcibiades; the reeſtabliſhment of the liberty of Athens; and Lyſander's ſecret deſigns to make himſelf king.

SECT. I. *Coronation of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Cyrus attempts to aſſaſſinate his Brother, and is ſent into Aſia Minor. Cruel Revenge of Statira, Wife of Artaxerxes, upon the Authors and Accomplices in the Murder of her Brother. Death of Alcibiades. His Character.*

[a] ARSACES, upon aſcending the throne, aſſumed the name of Artaxerxes, the ſame to whom the Greeks gave the ſurname of *MNEMON, from his prodigious memory. [b] Being near his father's bed, when he was dying, he aſked him, a few moments be-

[a] A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. [b] Athen. l. xii. p. 548.

* Which word ſignifies in the Greek, one of a good memory.

fore

fore he expired, what had been the rule of his conduct during so long and happy a reign as his, that he might make it his example. "It has been," replied he, "to do always what justice and religion required of me." Words of deep sense, and well worthy of being set up in letters of gold in the palaces of kings, to keep them perpetually in mind of what ought to be the guide and rule of all their actions. It is not uncommon for princes to give excellent instructions to their children on their death-beds, which would be more efficacious, if preceded by their own example and conduct; without which they are as weak and impotent as the sick man who gives them, and seldom survive him long.

[b] Soon after Darius's death, the new king set out from his capital for the city of *Pasargades, in order to his coronation, according to custom, by the priests of Persia. There was in that city a temple of the goddess who presided in war, in which the coronation was solemnized. It was attended with very singular ceremonies, which no doubt had some mysterious sense; though Plutarch does not explain it. The prince at his consecration took off his robe in the temple, and put on that worn by the ancient Cyrus, before he came to the throne, which was preserved in that place with great veneration. After that, he ate a dry fig, chewed some leaves of the turpentine tree, and drank a draught composed of milk and vinegar. This might signify, that the sweets of sovereign power are mingled with the sours of care and disquiet, and that if the throne be surrounded with pleasures and honours, it is also attended with pains and anxieties. It seems sufficiently evident, that the design in putting the robes of Cyrus upon the new king, was to make him understand, that he should also clothe his mind with the great qualities and exalted virtues of that prince.

Young Cyrus, whose soul was all ambition, was in despair upon being for ever prevented from ascending a throne his mother had given him, and on seeing the

[b] Plut. in Artax. p. 1012.

* A city of Persia built by Cyrus the Great.

ſceptre which he thought his right, transferred into the hands of his brother. The blackeſt crimes coſt the ambitious nothing. Cyrus reſolved to aſſaſſinate Artaxerxes in the temple itſelf, and in the preſence of the whole court, juſt when he took off his own, to put on the robe of Cyrus. Artaxerxes was apprized of this deſign by the prieſt himſelf, who had educated his brother, to whom he had imparted it. Cyrus was ſeized, and condemned to die, when his mother Paryſatis, almoſt out of her ſenſes, flew to the place, claſped him in her arms, tied herſelf to him with the treſſes of her hair, faſtened her neck to his, and by her ſhrieks and tears, and prayers, prevailed ſo far as to obtain his pardon, and that he ſhould be ſent back to his government of the maritime provinces. He carried thither with him an ambition no leſs ardent than before, was animated beſides with the reſentment of the check he had received, and the warm deſire of revenge, and armed with an almoſt unbounded power. Artaxerxes, upon this occaſion, acted contrary to the moſt common rules of policy, which do not admit * the nouriſhing and enflaming, by extraordinary honours, the pride and haughtineſs of a bold and enterpriſing young prince like Cyrus, who had carried his perſonal enmity to his brother ſo far, as to have reſolved to aſſaſſinate him with his own hand, and whoſe ambition for empire was ſo great, as to employ the moſt criminal methods for the attainment of its end.

[c] Artaxerxes had eſpouſed Statira. Scarce had her huſband aſcended the throne, when ſhe employed the power her beauty gave her over him, to avenge the death of her brother Teriteuchmes. Hiſtory has not a more tragical ſcene, nor a more monſtrous complication of adultry, inceſt, and murder; which, after having occaſioned great diſorders in the royal family, terminated at length in the moſt fatal manner to all who had any ſhare in it. But it is neceſſary, for the reader's knowledge of the fact, to trace it from the beginning.

[c] Cteſ. c. li. lv.

* *Ne quis mobiles adoleſcentium animos præmaturis honoribus ad ſuperbiam extolleret.* TACIT. Annal. l. iv. c. 17.

Hidarnes,

Hidarnes, Statira's father, a Perſian of very great quality, was governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Statira was a lady of extraordinary beauty, which induced Artaxerxes to marry her, who was then called Arſaces. At the ſame time Teriteuchmes, Statira's brother, married Hameſtris, Arſaces's ſiſter, one of the daughters of Darius and Paryſatis; in favour of which marriage Teriteuchmes, upon his father's death, had his government given him. There was at the ſame time another ſiſter in this family, no leſs beautiful than Statira, and who beſides excelled in the arts of ſhooting with the bow, and throwing the dart. Teriteuchmes, her brother, conceived a criminal paſſion for her, and, to gratify it, reſolved to ſet himſelf at liberty by killing Hameſtris, whom he had eſpouſed. Darius, having been informed of this project, by the force of preſents and promiſes engaged Udiaſtes, Teriteuchmes's intimate friend and confident, to prevent ſo black a deſign, by aſſaſſinating him. He obeyed, and had for his reward the government of him he had put to death with his own hands.

Amongſt Teriteuchmes's guards was a ſon of Udiaſtes, called Mithridates, very much attached to his maſter. The young gentleman, upon hearing that his father had committed this murder in perſon, uttered all manner of imprecations againſt him, and full of horror for ſo infamous and vile an action, ſeized on the city of Zaris, and openly revolting, declared for the eſtabliſhment of Teriteuchmes's ſon. But that young man could not hold out long againſt Darius. He was blocked up in the place with the ſon of Teriteuchmes, whom he had with him; and all the reſt of the family of Hidarnes were put in priſon, and delivered to Paryſatis, to do with them as that mother, exaſperated to the laſt exceſs by the treatment either done or intended againſt her daughter Hameſtris, ſhould think fit. That cruel princeſs began by cauſing Roxana, whoſe beauty had been the occaſion of this evil, to be ſawed in two, and ordered all the reſt to be put to death, except Statira, whoſe life ſhe granted to the tears and the moſt tender

and ardent ſolicitations of Arſaces; whoſe love for his wife made him ſpare no pains for her preſervation, though Darius, his father, believed it neceſſary, even for his own good, that ſhe ſhould ſhare the ſame fate with the reſt of her family. Such was the ſtate of the affair at the death of Darius.

Statira, as ſoon as her huſband was upon the throne, cauſes Udiaſtes to be delivered into her hands. She ordered his tongue to be torn out, and made him die in the moſt exquiſite torments ſhe could invent, to puniſh the crime which had occaſioned the ruin of her family. She gave his government to Mithridates, in recompence for his attachment to the intereſts of her family. Paryſatis, on her ſide, took her revenge on the ſon of Teriteuchmes, whom ſhe cauſed to be poiſoned, and we ſhall ſee that Statira's turn was not very remote.

We ſee here the terrible effects of female revenge, and in general of what exceſſes they are capable, who find themſelves above all laws, and have no other rule for their actions than their will and paſſions.

Cyrus, having reſolved to dethrone his brother, employed Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian general, to raiſe a body of Grecian troops, under pretence of a war, which that Spartan was to carry into Thrace. I ſhall defer ſpeaking of this famous expedition, and alſo of the death of Socrates, which happened about the ſame time; intending to treat thoſe two great events in all the extent they deſerve. It was without doubt with the ſame view, that Cyrus preſented Lyſander a galley of two cubits in length, made of ivory and gold, to congratulate him upon his naval victory. That galley was conſecrated to Apollo in the temple of Delphos. Lyſander went ſoon after to Sardis, charged with magnificent preſents for Cyrus from the allies.

It was upon that occaſion Cyrus had the celebrated converſation with Lyſander, related by Xenophon, and which Cicero after him has applied ſo beautifully. That young * prince, who piqued himſelf more upon

* *Narrat Socrates in eo libro Cyrum minorem, regem Perſarum, praeſtantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, cum Lyſander Lacedæmonius vir ſummæ virtutis, venuſſet*

his integrity and politeness than nobility and grandeur, pleased himself with conducting in person so illustrious a guest through his gardens, and to make him observe the various beauties of them. Lysander, struck with so fine a prospect, admired the manner in which the several parts were laid out, the height and projection of the trees, the neatness and disposition of the walks; the abundance of fruits, planted with an art which had known how to unite the useful with the agreeable; the beauty of the parterres, and the glowing variety of flowers, exhaling odours universally throughout the delightful scene. "Every thing charms and transports me in this place," said Lysander, addressing himself to Cyrus; "but what strikes me most, is the exquisite taste and elegant industry of the person who drew the plan of the several parts of this garden, and gave it the fine order, wonderful disposition, and happiness of symmetry, which I cannot sufficiently admire." Cyrus infinitely pleased with this discourse, replied, "It was I that drew the plan, and entirely marked it out; and not only that, many of the trees which you see, were planted with my own hands."—"What," replied Lysander, considering him from head to foot, "is it possible, with these purple robes and splendid vestments, those strings of jewels and bracelets of gold, those buskins so richly embroidered, that you could play the gardener, and employ your royal hands in planting trees?"—"Does that surprise you?" said Cyrus, "I swear by the god * Mithras, that when my

venisset ad eum Sardes, eique que dona à sociis attulisset, et cæteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quemdam conseptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines, et humum subactam atque puram, et suavitatem odorum qui efflarentur è floribus; tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam solertiam ejus, à quo essent illa dimensa atque descripta. Et ei Cyrum respondisse: Atque ego ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satæ. Tum Lysandrum intuentem ejus purpuram et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: Recte vero, te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta est. Cic. de Senec. n. 59.

* The Persians adored the sun under that name, who was their principal god.

health admits, I never ſit down to table without having made myſelf ſweat with ſome fatigue or other, either in military exerciſe, rural labour, or ſome other toilſome employment, to which I apply with pleaſure, and without ſparing myſelf." Lyſander was amazed at this diſcourſe, and preſſing him by the hand; * "Cyrus," ſaid he, "you are truly happy, and deſerve your high fortune; becauſe you unite it with virtue."

Alcibiades was at no ſmall pains to diſcover the myſtery of the levies made by Cyrus, and went into the province of Pharnabaſus, with deſign to proceed to the court of Perſia, and to apprize Artaxerxes of the ſcheme laid againſt him. Had he arrived there, a diſcovery of ſuch importance had infallibly procured him the favour of that prince, and the aſſiſtance he wanted for the re-eſtabliſhment of his country. But the Lacedæmonian partizans at Athens, that is to ſay, the thirty tyrants, apprehended the intrigues of ſo ſuperior a genius as his, and repreſented to their maſters, that they were inevitably ruined, if they did not find means to rid themſelves of Alcibiades. The Lacedæmonians thereupon wrote to Pharnabaſus, and with an abject meanneſs not to be excuſed, and which ſhowed how much Sparta had degenerated from her ancient manners, made preſſing inſtances to him, to deliver them at any rate from ſo formidable an enemy. The ſatrap complied to their wiſh. Alcibiades was then in a ſmall town in Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine † Timandra. Thoſe who were ſent to kill him, not daring to enter his houſe, contented themſelves with ſurrounding and ſetting it on fire. Alcibiades, having quitted it through the flames, ſword in hand, the Barbarians were afraid to ſtay to come to blows with him, but flying and retreating as he advanced, they poured their darts and arrows upon him, and he fell dead upon

* Δικαιως, ω Κυρε ευδαιμονις· αγαθος γαρ ων ευδαιμονεις. Which Cicero tranſlates: *Recte verò te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta eſt.*

† It was ſaid that Lais the famous courtezan, called the Corinthian, was the daughter of this Timandra.

the

the ſpot. Timandra took up his body, and having adorned and covered it with the fineſt robes ſhe had, ſhe made as magnificent a funeral for it, as her preſent condition would admit.

Such was the end of Alcibiades, whoſe great virtues were ſtifled and ſuppreſſed by ſtill greater vices. * It is not eaſy to ſay, whether his good or bad qualities were moſt pernicious to his country; for, with the one he deceived, and with the other he oppreſſed it. In him diſtinguiſhed valour was united with nobility of blood. His perſon was beautiful and finely made, he was eloquent, of great ability in affairs, inſinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory; but without prejudice to his inclination for pleaſure; nor was he ſo fond of pleaſure as to neglect his glory for it. He knew how to give into, or abſtract himſelf from it, according to the ſituation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his. He metamorphoſed himſelf with incredible facility, like a Proteus, into the moſt contrary forms, and ſupported them all with as much eaſe and grace, as if each had been natural to him.

This convertibility of character, according to occaſions, the cuſtoms of countries, and his own intereſts, diſcover a heart void of principles, without either truth or juſtice. He did not confine himſelf either to religion, virtue, laws, duties, or his country. His ſole rule of action was his private ambition, to which he reduced every thing. His aim was to pleaſe, to dazzle, and be beloved; but at the ſame time to ſubject thoſe he ſoothed. He favoured them only as they ſerved his purpoſes; and made his correſpondence and ſociety a means for engroſſing every thing to himſelf.

His life was a perpetual mixture of good and evil. His ſallies for virtue were ill ſuſtained, and quickly degenerated into vices and crimes, very little to the honour of the inſtructions of that great philoſopher,

* *Cujus neſcio utrum bona an vitia patriæ perniſioſiora fuerint; illis enim cives ſuos decepit, his afflixit.* VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 1.

who

who took no ſmall pains to cultivate him into a man of worth. His actions were glorious; but without rule or principle. His character was elevated and grand; but without connection and conſiſtence. He was ſucceſſively the ſupport and terror of the Lacedæmonians and Perſians. He was either the misfortune or refuge of his own country, according to his declaring for or againſt it. In fine, he was the author of an univerſal deſtructive war in Greece, from the ſole motive of commanding, by inducing the Athenians to beſiege Syracuſe; much leſs from the hope of conquering Sicily, and afterwards Africa, than with the deſign of keeping Athens in dependence upon himſelf; convinced, that having to deal with an inconſtant, ſuſpicious, ungrateful, jealous people, averſe to thoſe that governed, it was neceſſary to engage them continually in ſome great affair, in order to make his ſervices always neceſſary to them, and that they might not be at leiſure to examine, cenſure, and condemn his conduct.

He had the fate generally experienced by perſons of his character, and of which they cannot reaſonably complain. He never loved any one, himſelf being his ſole motive; nor ever found a friend. He made it his merit and glory to amuſe all men, and nobody confided in, or adhered to him. His ſole view was to live with ſplendor, and to lord it univerſally; and he periſhed miſerably, abandoned by the whole world, and obliged at his death to the feeble ſervices and impotent zeal of one only woman for the laſt honours rendered to his remains.

About this time died Democritus the philoſopher, of whom more will be ſaid elſewhere.

SECT.

SECT. II. *The Thirty exercise the most horrid Cruelties at Athens. They put Theramenes, one of their Colleagues, to Death. Socrates takes his Defence upon himself. Thrasybulus attacks the Tyrants, makes himself Master of Athens, and restores its Liberty.*

[d] THE council of thirty, established at Athens by Lysander, committed the most execrable cruelties. Upon pretence of restraining the multitude within their duty, and to prevent seditions, they had caused guards to be assigned them, had armed three thousand of the citizens for that service, and at the same time disarmed all the rest. The whole city was in the utmost terror and dismay. Whoever opposed their injustice and violence, became the victims of them. Riches were a crime that never failed of drawing a sentence upon their owners, always followed with death, and the confiscation of estates; which the thirty tyrants divided amongst themselves. They put more people to death, says Xenophon, in eight months of peace, than the enemies had done in a war of thirty years.

The two most considerable persons of the thirty were Critias and Theramenes, who at first lived in great union, and always acted in concert with each other. The latter had some honour, and loved his country. When he saw with what an excess of violence and cruelty his colleagues behaved, he declared openly against them, and thereby drew their resentment upon him. Critias became his most mortal enemy, and acted as informer against him before the senate, accusing him of disturbing the tranquillity of the state, and of designing to subvert the present government. As he perceived that the defence of Theramenes was heard with silence and approbation, he was afraid, that if the affair was left to the decision of the senate, they would acquit him. Having therefore caused a band of young men, whom he had armed with poniards, to advance

[d] Xenoph. Hist. l. ii. p. 462, & 479. Diod. l. xiv. p. 235—238. Justin. l. v. c. 8, 10.

to

All the citizens of any consideration in Athens, and who retained a love of liberty, quitted a place reduced to so hard and shameful a slavery, and sought elsewhere an asylum and retreat, where they might live in safety. At the head of these was Thrasybulus, a person of extraordinary merit, who beheld with the most lively affliction the miseries of his country. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive those unhappy fugitives of this last resource. They published an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge, decreed that they should be delivered up to the thirty tyrants, and condemned all such as should contravene the execution of this edict, to pay a fine of five talents. Only two cities rejected with disdain so unjust an ordinance, Megara and Thebes; the latter of which made a decree to punish all persons whatsoever, who should see an Athenian attacked by his enemies without doing his utmost to assist him. Lysias, an orator of Syracuse, who had been banished by the thirty,* raised five hundred soldiers at his own expence, and sent them to the aid of the common country of eloquence.

Thrasybulus lost no time. After having taken Phyla, a small fort of Attica, he marched to the Piræeus, of which he made himself master. The thirty flew thither with their troops, and a battle sufficiently warm ensued. But as the soldiers on one side fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and on the other with indolence and neglect for the power of others, the success was not doubtful, but followed the better cause. The tyrants were overthrown. Critias was killed upon the spot. And as the rest of the army were taking to flight, Thrasybulus cried out; "Wherefore do you fly from me as from a victor, rather than assist me as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow-citizens; nor have we declared war against the city, but against the thirty tyrants." He continued with bidding them remember, that they had the same origin, country, laws,

* *Quingentos milites, stipendio suo instructos, in auxilium patriæ communis eloquentiæ misit.* JUSTIN. l. v. c. 9.

and

and religion; he exhorted them to compaſſionate their exiled brethren, to reſtore their country to them, and reſume their liberty themſelves. This diſcourſe had ſuitable effects. The army, upon their return to Athens, expelled the thirty, and ſubſtituted ten perſons to govern in their room, whoſe conduct proved no better than theirs.

It is a matter of ſurpriſe, that ſo ſudden, ſo univerſal, ſo tenacious, and ſo uniform a conſpiracy againſt the public good, ſhould always actuate the ſeveral bodies of perſons eſtabliſhed in the adminiſtration of this government. This we have ſeen in the four hundred formerly choſen by Athens; again in the thirty; and now in the ten. And what augments our wonder is, that this paſſion for tyranny ſhould poſſeſs ſo immediately republicans, born in the boſom of liberty, accuſtomed to an equality of condition on which it is founded, and principled from their earlieſt infancy in an abhorrence of all ſubjection and dependency. [f] There muſt be on the one ſide in power and authority ſome violent impulſe to actuate in this manner ſo many perſons, of whom many, no doubt, were not without ſentiments of virtue and honour; and to baniſh ſo ſuddenly the principles and manners natural to them; and on the other an exceſſive propenſity in the mind of man to ſubject his equals, to rule over them imperiouſly, to carry him on to the laſt extremes of oppreſſion and cruelty, and to make him forget at once all laws, nature, and religion.

The thirty being fallen from their power and hopes, ſent deputies to Lacedæmon to demand aid. It was not Lyſander's fault, who was ſent to them with troops, that the tyrants were not re-eſtabliſhed. But king Pauſanias, moved with compaſſion for the deplorable condition, to which a city, once ſo flouriſhing, was reduced, had the generoſity to favour the Athenians in ſecret, and at length obtained a peace for them. It was ſealed with the blood of the tyrants, who, having taken arms to reinſtate themſelves in the government, and being

[f] *Vi dominationis convulſus.* TACIT.

preſent

present at a parley for that purpose, were all put to the sword, and left Athens in the full possession of its liberty. All the exiles were recalled. Thrasybulus at that time proposed the celebrated amnesty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath that all past transactions should be buried in oblivion. The government was re-established upon its ancient foot; the laws restored to their pristine vigour, and magistrates elected with the usual forms.

I cannot forbear observing in this place the wisdom and moderation of Thrasybulus, so salutary and essential after so long a continuance of domestic troubles. This is one of the finest events in ancient history, worthy the Athenian lenity and benevolence, and has served as a model to successive ages in good government.

Never had tyranny been more cruel and bloody than that the Athenians had lately thrown off. Every house was in mourning; every family bewailed the loss of some relation. It had been a series of public robbery and rapine, in which licence and impunity had authorized all manner of crimes. The people seemed to have a right to demand the blood of all accomplices in such notorious malversations, and even the interest of the state to authorize such a claim, that by exemplary severities such enormous crimes might be prevented for the future. But Thrasybulus rising above those sentiments, from the superiority of his more extensive genius, and the views of a more discerning and profound policy, foresaw, that by giving in to the punishment of the guilty, eternal seeds of discord and enmity would remain, to weaken the republic by domestic divisions, which it was necessary to unite against the common enemy, and occasion the loss to the state of a great number of citizens, who might render it important services from the view itself of making amends for past misbehaviour.

Such a conduct after great troubles in a state has always seemed, with the ablest politicians, the most certain and ready means to restore the public peace and tranquillity.

tranquillity. * Cicero, when Rome was divided into two factions upon the occasion of Cæsar's death, who had been killed by the conspirators, calling to mind this celebrated amnesty, proposed after the example of the Athenians, to bury all that had passed in eternal oblivion. [g] Cardinal Mazarin observed to Don Lewis de Haro, prime minister of Spain, that this gentle and humane conduct in France had prevented the troubles and revolts of that kingdom from having any fatal consequences, and "that the king had not lost a foot of land by them to that day;" whereas the inflexible severity of the Spaniards "was the occasion, that the subjects of that monarchy, whenever they threw off the mask, never returned to their obedience but by the force of arms; which sufficiently appears," says he, "in the example of the Hollanders, who are in the peaceable possession of many provinces, that not an age ago were the patrimony of the king of Spain."

Diodorus Siculus takes occasion from the thirty tyrants of Athens, whose immoderate ambition induced them to treat their country with the most excessive cruelties, to observe how unfortunate it is † persons in power to want a sense of honour, and to disregard either the present opinion, or the judgment posterity will form of their conduct: for from the contempt of reputation the transition is too common to that of virtue itself. They may perhaps, by the awe of their power, suppress for some time the public voice, and impose a forced

g Let. XV. of Card. Maz.

* *In ædem Telluris convocati sumus; in quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamentum pacis; Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum, Græcum etiam* ‡ *verbum usurpavi, quod tum in sedandis discordiis usurpaverat civitas illa; atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui.* PHILIP. l. i. n. i.

‡ Some believe that word was αμνησια; but as it is not found in the historians who have treated this fact, it is more likely, that it was μημνησικακησειν, which has the same sense, and is used by them all.

† *Cetera principibus statem adesse unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptâ famâ, contemni virtutes—Quo magis socordiam eorum irrideri libet, qui præsenti potentiâ credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis ævi memoriam—suum cuique decus posteritas rependit.* TACIT. Annal. l. iv. c. 30, & 55.

silence

ſilence upon cenſure; but the more conſtraint they lay upon it during their lives, the more liberal will it be, after their deaths, of complaints and reproaches, and the more infamy and imputation will be fixed to their memories. The power of the thirty was of a very ſhort duration, their guilt immortal, which will be remembered with abhorrence throughout all ages, whilſt their names will be recorded in hiſtory only to render them odious, and to make their crimes deteſtable. He applies the ſame reflection to the Lacedæmonians, who after having made themſelves maſters of Greece by a wiſe and moderate conduct, fell from that glory, through the ſeverity, haughtineſs, and injuſtice, with which they treated their allies. There is doubtleſs no reader, whom their abject and cruel jealouſy, in regard to Athens, enſlaved and humbled, has not prejudiced againſt them; nor is there any reſemblance in ſuch behaviour of the greatneſs of mind and noble generoſity of ancient Sparta; ſo much power has the luſt of dominion and proſperity over even virtuous men. Diodorus concludes his reflection with a maxim very true, though very little known: "The greatneſs and majeſty of princes," ſays he, (and the ſame may be ſaid of all perſons in high authority) "can be ſupported only by humanity and juſtice with regard to their ſubjects; as on the contrary they are ruined and deſtroyed by a cruel and oppreſſive government, which never fails to draw upon them the hatred of their people."

SECT. III. *Lyſander abuſes his Power in an extraordinary Manner. He is recalled to Sparta upon the Complaint of Pharnabaſus.*

AS Lyſander had the greateſt ſhare in the celebrated exploits, which had raiſed the glory of the Lacedæmonians to ſo high a pitch; ſo had he acquired a degree of power and authority, of which there was no example before in Sparta; but he ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by a preſumption and vanity ſtill greater

[a] Plut. in Lyſand. p. 443—445.

than

than his power. He permitted the Grecian cities to dedicate altars to him as to a god, and to offer ſacrifices, and ſing hymns and canticles in honour of him. The Samians ordained, by a public decree, that the feaſts celebrated in honour of Juno, and which bore the name of that goddeſs ſhould be called the *Feaſts of Lyſander*. He had always a crowd of poets about him (who are often a tribe of venal flatterers) who emulated each other in ſinging his great exploits, for which they were magnificently paid. Praiſe is undoubtedly due to noble deeds; but diminiſhes their luſtre when either forged or exceſſive.

This ſort of vanity and ambition, had he ſtopped there, would have hurt only himſelf, by expoſing him to envy and contempt; but a natural conſequence of it was that through his arrogance and pride, in conjunction with the inceſſant flatteries of thoſe around him, he carried the ſpirit of command and authority to an inſupportable exceſs, and obſerved no longer any meaſures either in rewarding or puniſhing. The abſolute government of cities with tyrannic power were the fruits of his friendſhip, and the ties of hoſpitality with him; and only the death of thoſe he hated, could put an end to his reſentment and diſpleaſure, without its being impoſſible to eſcape his vengeance. What Sylla cauſed to be inſcribed upon his tomb, might, with equal propriety, have been engraved upon Lyſander's: That no man had ever ſurpaſſed him in doing good to his friends, or evil to his enemies.

Treachery and perjury coſt him nothing whenever they prompted his deſigns; nor was he leſs cruel than revengeful; of which what he did at Miletus is a ſufficient proof. Apprehending that thoſe who were at the head of the people would eſcape him, he ſwore not to do them any hurt. Thoſe unfortunates gave credit to his oath, and no ſooner appeared in public, than they were put to the ſword with his conſent by the nobility, who killed them all, though no leſs than eight hundred. The number of thoſe in the party of the people, whom he cauſed to be maſſacred in the other cities, is incredible;

for he did not only deſtroy to ſatiate his own reſentments, but to ſerve, in all places, the enmity, malice, and avarice of his friends, whom he ſupported in gratifying their paſſions by the death of their enemies.

There was no kind of injuſtice and violence which the people did not ſuffer under the government of Lyſander; whilſt the Lacedæmonians, who were ſufficiently informed of his conduct, gave themſelves no trouble to prevent its effects. It is too common for thoſe in power to be little affected with the vexations and oppreſſions laid upon perſons of low condition and credit, and to be deaf to their juſt complaints, though authority is principally confided in them for the defence of the weak and poor, who have no other protectors. But if ſuch remonſtrances are made by a great or powerful perſon, from whom they may have any thing to hope or fear, the ſame authority that was ſlow and drowſy, becomes immediately warm and officious; a certain proof that it is not the love of juſtice that actuates it: this appears here in the conduct of the Lacedæmonian magiſtrates. Pharnabaſus, weary of Lyſander's repeated injuſtices, who ravaged and pillaged the provinces under his command, having ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta, to complain of the wrongs he had received from that general, the Ephori recalled him. Lyſander was at that time in the Helleſpont. The letter of the Ephori threw him into great conſternation. As he principally feared the complaints and accuſations of Pharnabaſus, he made all the haſte he could to come to an explanation with him, from the hope of ſoftening him, and making his peace. He went for that purpoſe to him, and deſired, that he would write another letter to the Ephori, intimating a ſatisfaction in his conduct. But Lyſander, ſays Plutarch, in ſuch an application to Pharnabaſus, forgot the * proverb, *Set a thief to catch a thief.* The ſatrap, promiſed all he deſired, and accordingly wrote ſuch a letter in Lyſander's preſence as he had aſked of him, but prepared another to a quite different effect. When he was to ſeal it, as both letters were of the ſame ſize and

* The Greek proverb is *Cretan againſt Cretan*, from the people of Crete, who paſſed for the greateſt cheats and liars in the world.

form, he dexterouſly put that he had written in ſecret into the place of the other, without being obſerved, which he ſealed and gave him.

Lyſander departed well ſatisfied, and being arrived at Sparta, alighted at the palace where the ſenate was aſſembled, and delivered Pharnabaſus's letter to the Ephori. But he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed when he heard the contents, and withdrew in extreme confuſion and diſorder. Some days after he returned to the ſenate, and told the Ephori, that he was obliged to go to the temple of Ammon to acquit himſelf of the ſacrifices he had vowed to that god before his battles. That pilgrimage was no more than a pretence, to cover the pain it gave him to live as a private perſon in Sparta, and to ſubmit to the yoke of obeying; he, who till then had always governed. Accuſtomed long to commanding armies, and to the flattering diſtinctions of a kind of ſovereignty exerciſed by him in Aſia, he could not endure the mortifying equality with the multitude, nor reſtrain himſelf to the ſimplicity of a private life. Having obtained permiſſion, not without great difficulties, he embarked.

As ſoon as he was gone, the kings, reflecting that he held all the cities in his dependence, by the means of their governors and magiſtrates eſtabliſhed by him, to whom they were alſo indebted for their unlimited authority, and that he was thereby effectually lord and maſter of all Greece, applied themſelves vigorouſly to reſtore the government of the people, and to depoſe all his creatures and friends from any ſhare in it. This alteration occaſioned great tumults at firſt. About the ſame time Lyſander, being apprized of the deſign of Thraſybulus, to re-eſtabliſh the liberty of his country, returned with the utmoſt diligence to Sparta, and endeavoured to engage the Lacedæmonians to ſupport the party of the nobility at Athens. We have before obſerved, that Pauſanias, from a more noble ſpirit of equity and generoſity, gave peace to Athens, and by that means, ſays Plutarch, clipped the wings of Lyſander's ambition.

CHAP. II.

Young Cyrus, with the Aid of the Grecian Troops, endeavours to dethrone his Brother Artaxerxes. He is killed in Battle. Famous Retreat of the Ten Thousand.

ANTIQUITY has few events so memorable as those I am about to relate in this place. We see on one side a young prince, abounding, otherwise, with excellent qualities, abandoned to his violent ambition, carry the war from far against his brother and sovereign, and go to attack him almost in his own palace, with the view of depriving him at once of his crown and life. We see him, I say, fall dead in the battle, at the feet of that brother, and terminate, by so unhappy a fate, an enterprise equally glaring and criminal. On the other hand, the Greeks who follow him*, destitute of all succour after the loss of their chiefs, without allies, provisions, money, horse, or archers, reduced to less than ten thousand men, with no resource but in their own persons and valour, supported only by the warm desire of preserving their liberty, and of returning to their native countries; these Greeks, with bold and intrepid resolution, make their retreat before a victorious army of a million of men, traverse five or six hundred leagues, notwithstanding vast rivers and innumerable passes, and arrive at last in their own country, through a thousand fierce and barbarous nations, victorious over all obstacles in their way, and over all the dangers which either concealed fraud or open force reduce them to undergo.

This retreat, in the opinion of the best judges, and most experienced in the art of war, is the boldest and best-conducted exploit to be found in ancient history, and is deemed a perfect model in its kind. Happily for us it is described to the most minute circumstance by a historian, who was not only eye-witness of the facts he

* *Post mortem Cyri, neque armis à tanto exercitu vinci, neque dolo capi potuerunt; revertentesque inter tot indomitas nationes et barbaras gentes per tanta itineris spatia, virtute se usque terminos patriæ defenderunt.* JUSTIN, l. v. c. 11.

relates,

relates, but the firſt mover, the ſoul of this great enterpriſe. I ſhall only abridge it, and abſtract its moſt material circumſtances; but I cannot omit adviſing young perſons, who make arms their profeſſion, to conſult the original, of which there is a good tranſlation extant in French, though far ſhort of the admirable beauties of the text. It is very difficult to meet with a more able maſter than Xenophon in the art of war, to whom may be well applied here what Homer ſays of Phœnix, the governor of Achilles [u], "That he was equally capable of forming his pupil for eloquence or arms."

Μυθων τε ρητηρ εμεναι, πρηκτηρα τε εργων.

SECT. I. *Cyrus raiſes Troops ſecretly againſt his Brother Artaxerxes. Thirteen Thouſand Greeks join him. He ſets out for Sardis, and arrives in Babylonia after a March of ſix Months.*

[x] WE have already ſaid, that young Cyrus, ſon of Darius Nothus and Paryſatis, ſaw with pain his elder brother Artaxerxes upon the throne, and that at the very time the latter was taking poſſeſſion of it, he had attempted to deprive him of his crown and life together. Artaxerxes was not inſenſible of what he had to fear from a brother of his enterpriſing and ambitious ſpirit, but could not refuſe pardoning him to the prayers and tears of his mother Paryſatis, who doated upon this youngeſt ſon. He removed him therefore into Aſia to his government; confiding to him, contrary to all the rules of policy, an abſolute authority over the provinces left him by the will of the king his father.

As ſoon as he arrived there, his thoughts were ſolely intent upon revenging the ſuppoſed affront he had received from his brother, and to dethrone him. [y] He received all that came from the court with great favour and affability, to induce them inſenſibly to quit the

[u] Iliad. x. ver. 443.

[x] A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 440. Diod. l. xiv. p. 243—249, & 252. Juſtin. l. v. c. 11. Xenoph. de Cyri Exped. l. i. p. 243—248.

[y] A. M. 3601. Ant. J. C. 403.

king's

king's party and adhere to him. He gained alſo the hearts of the Barbarians under his government; familiarizing himſelf with them, and mingling with the common ſoldiery, though without forgetting the dignity of their general; theſe he formed, by various exerciſes, for the trade of war. He applied particularly in ſecret to raiſe, from ſeveral parts, and upon different pretexts, a body of Grecian troops, upon whom he relied much more than upon thoſe of the Barbarians. Clearchus retired to his court after having been baniſhed from Sparta, and was of great ſervice to him, being an able, experienced, and valiant captain. [n] At the ſame time ſeveral cities in the provinces of Tiſſaphernes revolted from their obedience in favour of Cyrus. This incident, which was not an effect of chance, but of the ſecret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. Cyrus, under the pretence of arming againſt Tiſſaphernes, aſſembled troops openly; and to amuſe the court the more ſpeciouſly, ſent grievous complaints to the king, againſt that governor, demanding his protection and aid in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner. Artaxerxes was deceived by theſe appearances, and believed that all Cyrus's preparations regarded only Tiſſaphernes, and continued quiet, from the aſſurance of having nothing to apprehend for himſelf.

[o] Cyrus knew well how to improve the imprudent ſecurity and indolence of his brother, which ſome people conceived the effect of his goodneſs and humanity. And indeed in the beginning of his reign he ſeemed to imitate the virtues of the firſt Artaxerxes, whoſe name he bore. For he demeaned himſelf with great mildneſs and affability to ſuch as approached him; he honoured and rewarded magnificently all thoſe whoſe ſervices had merited favour; when he paſſed ſentence to puniſh, it was without either outrage or inſult; and when he made preſents, it was with a gracious air, and ſuch obliging circumſtances, as infinitely exalted their value, and implied, that he was never better pleaſed than when he had an opportunity of doing good to his ſub-

[n] A. M. 3602. Ant. J. C. 402. [o] Plut. in Artax. p. 1013.

jects.

jects. To all these excellent qualities it had been very necessary for him to have added one no less royal, and which would have put him upon his guard against the enterprises of a brother, whose character he ought to have known; I mean a wise foresight, that penetrates the future, and renders a prince attentive to prevent or frustrate whatever may disturb the tranquillity of the state.

The emissaries of Cyrus at the court were perpetually dispersing reports and opinions amongst the people, to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They talked that the state required a king of Cyrus's character; a king magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and showered his favours upon those that served him; and that it was necessary for the grandeur of the empire to have a prince upon the throne, fired with ambition and valour for the support and augmentation of its glory.

[p] The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. He was then twenty-three years old at most. After the important services he had done the Lacedæmonians, without which they had never obtained the victories that had made them masters of Greece, he thought he might safely open himself to them. He therefore imparted to them the present situation of his affairs, and the end he had in view; convinced that such a confidence could not but incline them the more in his favour.

In the letter he wrote them, he spoke of himself in very magnificent terms. He told them he had a greater and more royal heart than his brother; that he was better versed in philosophy and the knowledge of the Magi*, and that he could drink more wine without being disordered in his senses, a very meritorious quality amongst the Barbarians, but not so proper to recommend him to the opinion of those he wrote to. The Lacedæmonians sent orders to their fleet to join that of the prince

[p] A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401.

* By the knowledge of the Magi, amongst the Persians, was meant the science of religion and government.

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immediately, and to obey the commands of Tamos, his admiral, in all things, but without the leaſt mention of Cyrus, or ſeeming, in any manner, privy to his deſign. They thought that precaution* neceſſary for their juſtification with Artaxerxes, in caſe affairs ſhould happen to terminate in his favour.

The troops of Cyrus, according to the review afterwards made, conſiſted of thirteen thouſand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army, and of a hundred thouſand regular men of the barbarous nations. Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponneſian troops, except the Achæans, who had Socrates of Achaia for their leader. The Bœotians were under Proxenes the Theban, and the Theſſalians under Menon. [q] The Barbarians had Perſian generals, of whom the chief was Ariæus. The fleet conſiſted of thirty-five ſhips under Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian, and of twenty-five commanded by Tamos the Egyptian, admiral of the whole fleet. It followed the land army, coaſting along the ſhore.

Cyrus had opened his deſign only to Clearchus of all the Greeks, foreſeeing aright that the length and boldneſs of the enterpriſe could not fail of diſcouraging and diſguſting the officers, as well as ſoldiers. He made it his ſole application to gain their affections during the march, by treating them with kindneſs and humanity, converſing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they ſhould want for nothing. Proxenes, between whoſe family and Xenophon's an ancient friendſhip ſubſiſted, preſented that young Athenian to Cyrus[r], who received him very favourably, and gave him an employment in his army amongſt the Greeks. He ſet out for Sardis at length, and marched towards the upper provinces of Aſia. The troops knew neither the occaſion of the war, nor into what countries they were going. Cyrus had only cauſed it to be given

[q] Xenoph. Cyri Exped. l. i. p. 252. [r] Xenoph. l. ii. p. 294.

* *Quærentus apud Cyrum gratiam; et apud Artaxerxem, ſi viciſſet, venia patrocinia, cum nihil adverſus eum aperte decreviſſent.* JUSTIN. l. v. c. 11.

out,

out, that he ſhould act againſt the Piſidians, who had infeſted his province by their incurſions.

[s] Tiſſaphernes, rightly judging that all theſe preparations were too great for ſo ſmall an enterpriſe as againſt Piſidia, had ſet out poſt from Miletus to give the king an account of them. This news occaſioned great trouble at court. Paryſatis, the mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus was looked upon as the principal cauſe of this war; and all perſons in her ſervice and intereſt were ſuſpected of holding intelligence with Cyrus. Statira, eſpecially, the reigning queen, reproached her inceſſantly in the moſt violent terms. "Where is now," ſaid ſhe to her, "that faith you have ſo often engaged for your ſon's behaviour? Where thoſe ardent prayers you employed to preſerve from death that conſpirator againſt his king and brother? It is your unhappy fondneſs has kindled this war, and plunged us into an abyſs of misfortunes." The antipathy and hatred of the two queens for each other was already very great, and much enflamed by ſuch warm reproaches. We ſhall ſee what conſequences they have. Artaxerxes aſſembled a numerous army to receive his brother.

[t] Cyrus advanced continually by great marches. What troubled him moſt on the way was the paſs of Cilicia, which was a narrow defile between very high and ſteep mountains, that would admit no more than one carriage to paſs at a time. Syenneſis, king of the country, prepared to diſpute this paſſage with him, and would infallibly have ſucceeded, but for the diverſion made by Tamos with his fleet, in conjunction with that of the Lacedæmonians. To defend the coaſts againſt the inſults of the fleet, Syenneſis abandoned that important poſt, which a ſmall body of troops might have made good againſt the greateſt army.

When they arrived at Tarſus, the Greeks refuſed to march any farther, rightly ſuſpecting that they were intended againſt the king, and loudly exclaiming that they

[s] Plut. in Artax. p. 1014. [t] Xenoph. l. i. p. 248–261.

had

had not entered into the ſervice on that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occaſion for all his addreſs and ability to ſtifle this commotion in its birth. At firſt he made uſe of authority and force, but with very ill ſucceſs, and deſiſted therefore from an open oppoſition to their ſentiments: he even affected to enter into their views, and to ſupport them with his approbation and credit. He declared publicly, that he would not ſeparate himſelf from them, and adviſed them to depute perſons to the prince, to know from his own mouth againſt whom they were to be led, that they might follow him voluntarily, if they approved his meaſures; if not, that they might demand his permiſſion to withdraw. By this artful evaſion he appeaſed the tumult, and made them eaſy, and they choſe him and ſome other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had ſecretly appriſed of every thing, made anſwer that he was going to attack * Abrocomas his enemy, at twelve days march from thence upon the Euphrates. When this anſwer was repeated to them, though they plainly ſaw againſt whom they were going, they reſolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, inſtead of one † daric a month to each ſoldier, promiſed to give them one and a half.

Some time after Cyrus was informed that two of the principal officers, upon account of a private quarrel with Clearchus, had deſerted, with part of their equipage, on board a merchant ſhip. Many were of opinion, that it was proper to ſend two galleys after them; which might be done with great eaſe, and that when they were brought back, they ſhould be made an example, by ſuffering death in the ſight of the whole army. Cyrus, convinced that favour ‡ was the moſt certain means to the attainment of affection, and that puniſhments, like

* It is not ſaid where he commanded. It appears to be upon the Euphrates. He marched with three hundred thouſand men to join the king's army, but did not arrive till after the battle.

† The daric was worth ten livres.

‡ *Beneficiis potius quam remediis ingenia experiri placuit.* PLIN. in Traj.

violent

violent remedies, ought never to be uſed but in extreme neceſſity, declared publicly that he would not ſuffer it to be ſaid, that he had detained any one in his ſervice by force; and added, that he would ſend them their wives and children, whom they had left as hoſtages in his hands. An anſwer of ſo much wiſdom and generoſity had a ſurpriſing effect; and made even thoſe his firm adherents, who were before inclined to retire. This is an excellent leſſon for all who govern. There is in the mind of man a fund of natural generoſity, which it is neceſſary to know and apply. Threats exaſperate them, and chaſtiſement makes them revolt, when endeavours are uſed to force them to do their duty againſt their will. * They deſire a certain degree of confidence in their honour, and that the glory of acquitting themſelves of it out of choice be left in their power: to ſhow that you believe men faithful, is often the beſt means to make them ſo.

Cyrus ſoon after declared, that he marched againſt Artaxerxes. Upon which ſome murmuring was heard at firſt, but it ſoon gave place to the expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction, occaſioned by that prince's magnificent promiſes to the army.

[u] As Cyrus advanced by long marches, he was informed from all parts that the king did not intend to come directly to battle, but had reſolved to wait in the remote parts of Perſia, till all his forces were aſſembled; and that to ſtop his enemies, he had ordered an intrenchment to be thrown up in the plains of Babylonia, with a foſſe of five fathoms broad, and three deep, extending the ſpace of twelve † paraſangas or leagues, from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the foſſe a way had been left

[u] Plut. in Artax. p. 1014. Xenoph. l. i. p. 261—266.

* *Neſcio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos eſſe patitur, quam qui cogit.* PLIN. ibid.

Plerumque habita fides ipſam obligat fidem. LIV.

† The paraſanga is a meaſure of ways peculiar to the Perſians. It was commonly thirty ſtadia, which make about a league and a half French. Some were from twenty to ſixty ſtadia. In the march of Cyrus's army, I ſuppoſe the paraſanga only twenty ſtadia, or one league, for reaſons I ſhall give hereafter.

of

of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus paſſed with his whole army, having reviewed it the day before. The king had neglected to diſpute this paſs with him, and ſuffered him to continue his march towards Babylon. It was Tiribaſus, who determined him not to fly in ſuch a manner before an enemy, againſt whom he had infinite advantages, as well from the number of his troops as the valour of his generals. He reſolved therefore to advance againſt the enemy.

SECT. II. *The Battle of Cunaxa. The Greeks are Victorious on their ſide, Artaxerxes on his. Cyrus is killed.*

[x] THE place where the battle was fought, was called Cunaxa, about * twenty-five leagues from Babylon. The army of Cyrus conſiſted of thirteen thouſand Greeks, a hundred thouſand Barbarians, and twenty chariots armed with ſcythes. The enemy in horſe and foot might amount to about twelve hundred thouſand under four generals, Tiſſaphernes, Gobryas, Arbaces, and Abrocomas, without including ſix thouſand choſen horſe, that fought where the king was preſent, and never quitted his perſon. But Abrocomas, who had the command of three hundred thouſand men, did not arrive till five days after the battle. In the king's army were only a hundred and fifty chariots armed with ſcythes.

Cyrus believed, from the enemy's not having defended the paſs at the foſſe, that there would be no battle; ſo that the next day the army marched with great negligence. But on the third, Cyrus being in his chariot, with a few ſoldiers in their ranks before him, and the reſt marching without any order, or having their arms carried for them, a horſeman came in full ſpeed, crying as he paſſed that the enemy approached in order of battle. Upon this, great confuſion enſued, from the apprehenſion that they ſhould not have

[x] Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263—266. Diod. l. xiv. p. 253, 254. Plut. p. 1014—1017.

* Five hundred ſtadia.

time

time to draw up the army. Cyrus, leaping from his chariot, put on his arms immediately, and getting on horseback with his javelin in his hand, he gave orders universally to the troops to stand to their arms, and fall into their ranks; which was executed with so much expedition, that the troops had not time to refresh themselves.

Cyrus posted upon his right a thousand Paphlagonian horse, supported by the Euphrates, and the light-armed infantry of the Greeks; and next them, Clearchus, Proxenes, and the rest of the general officers to Menon, at the head of their several corps. The left wing, composed of Lydians, Phrygians, and other Asiatic nations were commanded by Ariæus, who had a thousand horse. Cyrus placed himself in the centre, where the chosen troops of the Persians and other Barbarians were posted. He had around him six hundred horsemen, armed at all points, as were their horses with head and breast pieces. The prince's head was uncovered, as were those of all the Persians, whose custom it was to give battle in that manner: the arms of all his people were red, and those of Artaxerxes were white.

A little before the onset Clearchus advised Cyrus not to charge in person, but to cover himself in the rear of the Grecian battalions. "What is it you say?" replied Cyrus. "At the time I am endeavouring to make myself king, would you have me show myself unworthy of being so?" That wise and generous answer proves, that he knew the duty of a general, especially on a day of battle. Had he withdrawn when his presence was most necessary, it would have argued his want of courage, and intimidated others. It is necessary, always preserving the due distinction between the leader and the troops, that their danger should be common, and no one exempt from it; lest the latter should be alarmed by a different conduct. Courage in an army depends upon example, upon the desire of being distinguished, the fear of dishonour, the incapacity of doing otherwise than the rest, and the equality of danger. The retiring of Cyrus had either ruined, or greatly weakened

weakened all theſe potent motives, by diſcouraging as well the officers as ſoldiers of his army. He thought, that being their general, it was incumbent upon him to diſcharge all the functions of that office, and to ſhow himſelf worthy to be the leader and ſoul of ſuch a number of valiant men, ready to ſhed their blood for his ſervice.

It was now noon, and the enemy did not appear. But about three of the clock a great duſt like a white cloud aroſe, followed ſoon after with a blackneſs that overcaſt the whole plain; after which was ſeen the glittering of armour, lances, and ſtandards. Tiſſaphernes commanded the left, which conſiſted of cavalry armed with white cuiraſſes, and of light armed infantry; in the centre was the heavy armed foot, a great part of which had bucklers made of wood, which covered the ſoldier entirely (theſe were Egyptians). The reſt of the light armed infantry and of the horſe formed the right wing. The foot were drawn up by nations, with as much depth as front, and in that order compoſed ſquare battalions. The king had poſted himſelf in the main body with the flower of the whole army, and had ſix thouſand horſe for his guard, commanded by Artagerſes. Though he was in the centre he was beyond the left wing of Cyrus's army, ſo much did the front of his own exceed that of the enemy in extent. A hundred and fifty chariots, armed with ſcythes, were placed in the front of the army at ſome diſtance from one another. The ſcythes were fixed to the axle downwards and aſlant, ſo as to cut down, and overthrow all before them.

As Cyrus relied very much upon the valour and experience of the Greeks, he bade Clearchus, as ſoon as he had beat the enemies in his front, to take care to incline to his left, and fall upon the centre where the king was poſted, the ſucceſs of the battle depending upon that attack. But Clearchus, finding it very difficult to make his way through ſo great a body of troops, replied, that he need be in no pain, and that he would take care to do what was neceſſary.

The

The enemy in the mean time advanced ſlowly in good order. Cyrus marched in the ſpace between the two armies, the neareſt his own, and conſidered both of them with great attention. Xenophon, perceiving him, ſpurred directly up to him, to know whether he had any further orders to give. He called out to him, that the ſacrifices were favourable, and that he ſhould tell the troops ſo. He then haſtened through the ranks to give his orders, and ſhowed himſelf to the ſoldiers with ſuch a joy and ſerenity in his countenance, as inſpired them with new courage, and at the ſame time with an air of kindneſs and familiarity, that excited their zeal and affection. It is not eaſy to comprehend, what great effects a word, a kind air, or a look of a general, will have upon a day of action; and with what ardour a common man will ruſh into danger, when he believes himſelf not unknown to his general, and thinks his valour will oblige him.

Artaxerxes moved on continually, though with a ſlow pace, and without noiſe and confuſion. That good order and exact diſcipline extremely ſurpriſed the Greeks, who expected to ſee much hurry and tumult in ſo great a multitude, and to hear confuſed cries, as Cyrus had foretold them.

The armies were not diſtant above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to ſing the hymn of battle, and to march on, ſoftly at firſt, and with ſilence. When they came near the enemy, they ſet up great cries, ſtriking their darts upon their ſhields to frighten the horſe, and then moving all together, they ſprung forwards upon the Barbarians with all their force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels, and fled univerſally; except Tiſſaphernes, who ſtood his ground with a ſmall part of his troops.

Cyrus ſaw with pleaſure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by thoſe around him. But he did not give himſelf up to a vain joy, nor as yet reckon himſelf victor. He perceived, that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank, and marched directly againſt him with his ſix hundred

horſe. He killed Artagerſes, who commanded the king's guards of ſix thouſand horſe, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. Diſcovering his brother, he cried out, with his eyes ſparkling with rage, *I ſee him*, and ſpurred againſt him, followed only by his principal officers; for his troops had quitted their ranks to follow the runaways, which was an eſſential fault.

[y] The battle then became a ſingle combat, in ſome meaſure, between Artaxerxes and Cyrus, and the two brothers were ſeen tranſported with rage and fury, endeavouring, like Eteocles and Polynices, to plunge their ſwords into each others hearts, and to aſſure themſelves of the throne by the death of their rival.

Cyrus, having opened his way through thoſe who were drawn up in battle before Artaxerxes, joined him, and killed his horſe, which fell with him to the ground. He roſe, and was remounted upon another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a ſecond wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his laſt. The king, like a lion wounded by the hunters, was only the more furious from the ſmart, and ſprung forward, impetuouſly puſhing his horſe againſt Cyrus, who, running headlong, and without regard to his perſon, threw himſelf into the midſt of a flight of darts aimed at him from all ſides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the inſtant all the reſt diſcharged upon him. Cyrus fell dead: ſome ſay by the wound given him by the king; others affirm, that he was killed by a Carian ſoldier. Mithridates, a young Perſian nobleman, aſſerted, that he had given him the mortal ſtroke with a javelin, which entered his temple and pierced his head quite through. The greateſt perſons of his court, reſolving not to ſurvive ſo good a maſter, were all killed around his body; a certain proof, ſays Xenophon, that he well knew how to chooſe his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmeſt of all his adherents, fled with the left wing, as ſoon as he heard of his death.

[y] Diod. l. xiv. p. 254.

Artaxerxes,

Artaxerxes, after having caufed the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Mefabetes, purfued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not ftopped there, but having paffed through it, continued his retreat to the place where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues diftant.

Tiffaphernes, after the defeat of the greateft part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the reft againft them, and by the fide of the river, paffed through the light-armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him paffage, and made their difcharge upon him as he paffed without lofing a man. They were commanded by Epifthenes of Amphipolis, who was efteemed an able captain. Tiffaphernes kept on without returning to the charge, becaufe he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to Cyrus's camp, where he found the king, who was plundering it; but had not been able to force the quarter defended by the Greeks left to guard it, who faved their baggage.

The Greeks on their fide, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what had paffed elfewhere, believed each of them that they had gained the victory; the firft, becaufe they had put the enemy to flight, and purfued them; and the king, becaufe he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought and plundered their camp. The event was foon cleared up on both fides. Tiffaphernes, upon his arrival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and purfued it with great vigour; and the Greeks on their fide learned, that the king, in purfuing Cyrus's left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice, the king rallied his troops, and marched in queft of the enemy; and Clearchus, being returned from purfuing the Perfians, advanced to fupport the camp.

The two armies were foon very near each other, when by a movement made by the king, he feemed to intend to charge the Greeks by their left, who fearing to be furrounded on all fides, wheeled about, and halted with the river on their backs, to prevent their being taken

for the immediate guard of his perſon, and for no other purpoſe whatſoever. Too much ardour is often prejudicial in a battle, and it is the duty of an able general to know how to reſtrain and direct it.

Cyrus himſelf erred highly in this reſpect, and abandoned himſelf too much to his blind paſſion for glory and revenge. In running headlong to attack his brother, he forgot that there is a wide difference between a general and a private ſoldier. He ought not to have expoſed himſelf, but as it was conſiſtent with a prince; as the head, not the hand; as the perſon who was to give orders, and not as thoſe who were to execute them.

I ſpeak in this manner after the judges in the art of war, and would not chooſe to advance my own opinion upon things out of my ſphere.

SECT. III. *Eulogy of Cyrus.*

* XENOPHON gives us a magnificent character of Cyrus, and that not upon the credit of others, but from what he ſaw and knew of him in his own perſon. He was, ſays he, in the opinion of all that were acquainted with him, after Cyrus the Great, a prince the moſt worthy of the ſupreme authority, and had the moſt noble, and moſt truly royal ſoul. From his infancy he ſurpaſſed all of his own age in every exerciſe, whether it were in managing the horſe, drawing the bow, throwing the dart, or in the chace, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf once by fighting and killing a bear that attacked him. Thoſe advantages were exalted in him by the nobleneſs of his air, an engaging aſpect, and by all the graces of nature, that conduce to recommend merit.

When his father had made him ſatrap of Lydia, and the neighbouring * provinces, his chief care was to make the people ſenſible, that he had nothing ſo much at heart, as to keep his word inviolably, not only with regard to public treaties, but the moſt minute of his

* De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 266, 267.
* Great Phrygia and Cappadocia.

promiſes;

promiſes; a quality very rare amongſt princes, and which however is the baſis of all good government, and the ſource of their own, as well as their people's happineſs. Not only the places under his authority, but the enemy themſelves, repoſed an entire confidence in him.

Whether good or ill were done him, he always deſired to return it double, and that he might live no longer (as he ſaid himſelf) than whilſt he ſurmounted his friends in benefits, and his enemies in vengeance. (It had been more glorious for him to have overcome the latter by the force of favour and benevolence.) Nor was there ever prince, that people were more afraid to offend, nor for whoſe ſake they were more ready to hazard their poſſeſſions, lives, and fortunes.

Leſs intent upon being feared than beloved, his ſtudy was to make his greatneſs appear only where it was uſeful and beneficial, and to extinguiſh all other ſentiments, but thoſe which flow from gratitude and affection. He was induſtrious to do good upon all occaſions, to confer his favours with judgment and in ſeaſon, and to ſhow, that he thought himſelf rich, powerful, and happy, only as he made others ſenſible of his being ſo by his benevolence and liberality. But he took care not to exhauſt the means by an imprudent profuſion. He did not * laviſh, but diſtribute his favours. He choſe rather to make his liberalities the rewards of merit than mere donations, and that they ſhould be ſubſervient in promoting virtue, and not in ſupporting the ſoft and abject ſloth of vice.

He was particularly pleaſed with conferring his favours upon valiant men, and governments and rewards were only beſtowed on thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their actions. He never granted any honour or dignity to favour, intrigue, or faction, but to merit only; upon which depends not only the glory but the proſperity of governments. By that means he ſoon made virtue eſtimable, and the purſuit of men; and rendered vice contemptible and horrid. The provinces,

* *Habebit ſinum facilem, non perforatum: ex quo multa exeant, nihil excidat.* SENEC. de vit beat. l. xxiii.

animated with a noble emulation to deſerve, furniſhed him in a very ſhort time with a conſiderable number of excellent ſubjects of every kind; who under a different government would have remained unknown, obſcure, and uſeleſs.

Never did any one know how to oblige with a better grace, or to win the hearts of thoſe who could ſerve him with more engaging behaviour. As he was fully ſenſible that he ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of others for the execution of his deſigns, he thought juſtice and gratitude required that he ſhould render his adherents all the ſervices in his power. All the preſents made him, whether of ſplendid arms, or rich apparel, he diſtributed among his friends, according to their ſeveral taſtes or occaſions; and uſed to ſay, that the brighteſt ornament, and moſt exalted riches of a prince, conſiſted in adorning and enriching thoſe who ſerved him well. In effect, ſays Xenophon, to do good to one's friends, and to excel them in liberality, does not ſeem ſo admirable in ſo high a fortune; but to tranſcend them in goodneſs of heart and ſentiments of friendſhip and affection, and to take more pleaſure in conferring, than receiving obligations; in this, I find Cyrus truly worthy of eſteem and admiration. The firſt of theſe advantages he derives from his rank; the other from himſelf and his intrinſic merit.

By theſe extraordinary qualities he acquired the univerſal eſteem and affection as well of the Greeks as Barbarians. A great proof of what Xenophon here ſays, is, that none ever quitted the ſervice of Cyrus for the king's; whereas great numbers went over every day to him from the king's party after the war was declared, and even of ſuch as had moſt credit at the court; becauſe they were all convinced, that Cyrus knew beſt how to diſtinguiſh and reward their ſervices.

It is moſt certain that young Cyrus did not want great virtues and a ſuperior merit; but I am ſurpriſed that Xenophon, in drawing his character, has deſcribed only the moſt beautiful features, and ſuch as are proper to excite our admiration of him, without ſaying the

leaſt

leaſt word of his defects, and eſpecially of that immoderate ambition, that was the ſoul of all his actions, and which at length put arms into his hands againſt his elder brother and king. Is it allowable in an hiſtorian, whoſe chief duty it is to paint virtue and vice in their proper colours, to relate at large an enterpriſe of ſuch a nature, without intimating the leaſt diſlike or imputation againſt it? but with the Pagans, ambition was ſo far from being conſidered as a vice, that it often paſſed for a virtue.

SECT. IV. *The King is for compelling the Greeks to deliver up their Arms. They reſolve to die rather than ſurrender themſelves. A Treaty is made with them. Tiſſaphernes takes upon him to conduct them back to their own Country. He treacherouſly ſeizes Clearchus and four other Generals, who were all put to Death.*

THE Greeks having learned, the day after the battle, that Cyrus was dead, ſent deputies to Ariæus, the general of the Barbarians, who had retired with his troops to the place from whence they had marched the day before the action, to offer him as victors, the crown of Perſia in the room of Cyrus. At the ſame time arrived Perſian heralds at arms from the king, to ſummon them to deliver up their arms; to whom they anſwered with an haughty air, that they talked a ſtrange language to conquerors; that if the king would have their arms, he might come and take them if he could; but that they would die before they would part with them: that if he would receive them into the number of his allies, they would ſerve him with fidelity and valour; * but if he imagined to reduce them into ſlavery as conquered, he might know, they had wherewithal to defend themſelves, and were determined to looſe their lives and liberty together. The heralds added, that they had orders to tell them, that if they continued in the place where

[a] Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 272—292. Diod. l. xiv. p. 255—257.

* *Sin ut victis ſervitium indiceretur, eſſe ſibi ferrum et juventutem, et promptum libertati aut ad mortem animum.* TACIT. Annal. l. iv. c. 46.

they

they were, they would be allowed a ſuſpenſion of arms, but if they advanced or retired, that they would be treated as enemies. The Greeks agreed, and were aſked by the heralds what anſwer they ſhould report. Peace in continuing here, or war in marching, replied Clearchus, without explaining himſelf farther; from the view of keeping the king always in ſuſpence and uncertainty.

The anſwer of Ariæus to the Grecian deputies was, that there were many Perſians more conſiderable than himſelf, who would not ſuffer him upon the throne, and that he ſhould ſet out early the next day to return into Ionia; that, if they would march thither with him, they might join him in the night. Clearchus, with the advice of the officers, prepared to depart. He commanded from thenceforth, as being the ſole perſon of ſufficient capacity; for he had not been actually elected general in chief.

The ſame night, Milthocytes the Thracian, who commanded forty horſe, and about three hundred foot of his own country, went and ſurrendered himſelf to the king; the reſt of the Greeks began their march under the conduct of Clearchus, and arrived about midnight at the camp of Ariæus. After they had drawn up in battle, the principal officers went to wait on him in his tent, where they ſwore alliance with him; and the Barbarian engaged to conduct the army without fraud. In confirmation of the treaty, they ſacrificed a wolf, a ram, a boar, and a bull; the Greeks dipped their ſwords, and the Barbarians the points of their javelins, in the blood of the victims.

Ariæus did not think it proper to return by the ſame rout they came, becauſe, having found nothing for their ſubſiſtence the laſt ſeventeen days of their march, they muſt have ſuffered much more, had they taken the ſame way back again. He therefore took another; exhorting them only to make long marches at firſt; in order to evade the king's purſuit, which they could not effect. Towards the evening, when they were not far from ſome villages where they propoſed to halt, the ſcouts came in with

with advice, that they had seen several equipages and convoys, which made it reasonable to judge, that the enemy were not far off. Upon which they stood their ground, and waited their coming up; and the next day, before sun-rising, drew up in the same order as in the preceding battle. So bold an appearance terrified the king, who sent heralds, not to demand, as before, the surrender of their arms, but to propose peace and a treaty. Clearchus, who was informed of their arrival, whilst he was busy in drawing up his troops, gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them, that he was not yet at leisure to hear them. He assumed, purposely, an air of haughtiness and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and, at the same time, to show the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the most showy of his officers, expressly chosen for the occasion, and had heard what the heralds had to propose; he made answer, that they must begin with giving battle, because the army being in want of provisions, had no time to lose. The heralds having carried back this answer to their master, returned immediately; which showed, that the king, or whoever spoke in his name, was not very distant. They said, they had orders to conduct them to villages, where they would find provisions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

The army staid there three days, during which, Tissaphernes arrived from the king, with the queen's brother, and three other Persian grandees, attended by a great number of officers and domestics. After having saluted the generals, who advanced to receive him, he told them by his interpreter, that being a neighbour of Greece, and seeing them engaged in dangers, out of which it would be difficult to extricate themselves, he had used his good offices with the king, to obtain permission to reconduct them into their own country; being convinced, that neither themselves nor their cities would ever be unmindful of that favour: that the king, without having declared himself positively upon that head, had commanded him to come to them, to know

for what cauſe they had taken arms againſt him; and adviſed them to make the king ſuch an anſwer, as might not give any offence, and might enable him to do them ſervice. "We call the gods to witneſs," replied Clearchus, "that we did not liſt ourſelves to make war with the king, or to march againſt him. Cyrus concealing his true motives under different pretexts, brought us almoſt hither without explaining himſelf, the better to ſurpriſe you. And when we ſaw him ſurrounded with dangers, we thought it infamous to abandon him, after the favours we had received from him. But as he is dead, we are releaſed from our engagement, and neither deſire to conteſt the crown with Artaxerxes, nor to ravage his country, provided he does not oppoſe our return. However, if we are attacked, we ſhall endeavour, with the aſſiſtance of the gods, to make a good defence; and ſhall not be ungrateful in regard to thoſe who render us any ſervice." Tiſſaphernes replied, that he would let the king know what they ſaid, and return with his anſwer. But his not coming the next day gave the Greeks ſome anxiety: he, however, arrived on the third, and told them, that after much controverſy, he had at length obtained the king's grace for them: for, that it had been repreſented to the king, that he ought not to ſuffer people to return with impunity into their country, who had been ſo inſolent to come thither to make war upon him. "In fine," ſaid he, "you may now aſſure yourſelves of not finding any obſtacle to your return, and of being ſupplied with proviſions or ſuffered to buy them; and you may judge, that you are to paſs without committing any diſorders in your march, and that you are to take only what is neceſſary; provided you are not furniſhed with it." Theſe conditions were ſworn to on both ſides. Tiſſaphernes and the queen's brother gave their hands to the colonels and captains in token of amity. After which Tiſſaphernes withdrew to diſpoſe his affairs; promiſing to return as ſoon as they would admit, in order to go back with them into his government.

The

The Greeks waited for him above twenty days, continuing encamped near Ariæus, who received frequent visits from his brothers, and other relations, as did the officers of his army from the Persians of the different party; who assured them from the king of an entire oblivion of the past; so that the friendship of Ariæus for the Greeks appeared to cool every day more and more. This change gave them cause of uneasiness. Several of the officers went to Clearchus and the other generals, and said to them, "What do we here any longer? Are we not sensible, that the king desires to see us all perish, that others may be terrified by our example? Perhaps he keeps us waiting here till he reassembles his dispersed troops, or sends to seize the passes in our way; for he will never suffer us to return into Greece, to divulge our own glory and his shame." Clearchus made answer to this discourse, that to depart without consulting the king, was to break with him, and to declare war by violating the treaty; that they should remain without a conductor in a country where nobody would supply them with provisions; that Ariæus would abandon them; and that even their friends would become their enemies; that he did not know, but there might be other rivers to pass, and that, though the Euphrates were the only one, they could not get over it, were the passage ever so little disputed. That if it were necessary to come to a battle they should find themselves without cavalry against an enemy, that had a very numerous and excellent body of horse; so that if they gained the victory, they could make no great advantage of it, and if they were overcome, they were utterly and irretrievably lost. "Besides, why should the king, who has so many other means to destroy us, engage his word only to violate it, and thereby render himself execrable in the sight of gods and men?"

Tissaphernes, however, arrived with his troops, in order to return into his government, and they set forwards all together under the conduct of that satrap, who supplied them with provisions. Ariæus with his troops encamped with the Barbarians, and the Greeks separately

rately, at ſome diſtance, which kept up a continual diſtruſt amongſt them. Beſides which, there happened frequent quarrels for wood or forage, which augmented their averſion for each other. After three days march, they arrived at the wall of Media, which is a hundred feet high, twenty broad, and twenty leagues* in extent, all built of bricks, cemented with bitumen, like the walls of Babylon, from which it was not very diſtant, at one of its extremities. When they had paſſed it, they marched eight leagues, in two days, and came to the river Tygris, after having croſſed two of its canals, cut expreſsly for watering the country. They then paſſed the †Tygris upon a bridge of twenty-ſeven boats, near Sitacum, a very great and populous city. After four days march, they arrived at another city, very powerful alſo, called Opis. They found there a baſtard brother of Artaxerxes with a very conſiderable body of troops, which he was bringing from Suſa and Ecbatana to his aid. He admired the fine order of the Greeks. From thence, having paſſed the deſerts of Media, they came, after a march of ſix days, to a place called the Lands of Paryſatis, the revenues of which appertained to that princeſs. Tiſſaphernes, to inſult the memory of her ſon Cyrus, ſo dearly beloved by her, gave the villages to be plundered by the Greeks. Continuing their march through the deſert on the ſide of the Tygris, which they had on the left, they arrived at Cænæ, a very great and rich city, and from thence at the river Zabates.

The occaſions of diſtruſt increaſed every day between the Greeks and Barbarians. Clearchus thought it incumbent on him to come to an explanation once for all with Tiſſaphernes. He begun with obſerving upon the ſacred and inviolable nature of the treaties ſubſiſting between them. "Can a man," ſaid he,

* Twenty paraſangas.

† The march of the Greeks and the reſt of the army, from the day after the battle till the paſſing of the Tygris, abounds, in the text of Xenophon, with very great obſcurities, to explain which fully require a long diſſertation. My plan does not admit me to enter into ſuch diſcuſſions, which I muſt therefore refer to thoſe who are more able than me.

 "conſcious

"conſcious of the guilt of perjury, be capable of living at eaſe? How would he ſhun the wrath of the gods, the witneſſes of treaties, and eſcape their vengeance, whoſe power is univerſal?" He added afterwards many things to prove, that the Greeks were obliged, by their own intereſt, to continue faithful to him, and that, by renouncing his alliance, they muſt firſt inevitably renounce not only all religion, but reaſon and common ſenſe. Tiſſaphernes ſeemed to reliſh this diſcourſe, and ſpoke to him with all the appearance of the moſt perfect ſincerity; inſinuating, at the ſame time, that ſome perſons had done him bad offices with him. "If you will bring your officers hither," ſaid he, "I will ſhow you thoſe who have wronged you in their repreſentations." He kept him to ſupper, and profeſſed more friendſhip for him than ever.

The next day Clearchus propoſed, in the aſſembly, to go with the ſeveral commanders of the troops to Tiſſaphernes. He ſuſpected Menon in particular, whom he knew to have had a ſecret conference with the ſatrap in the preſence of Ariæus; beſides which, they had already differed ſeveral times with each other. Some objected that it was not proper that all the generals ſhould go to Tiſſaphernes, and that it did not conſiſt with prudence to rely implicitly upon the profeſſions of a Barbarian. But Clearchus continued to inſiſt upon what he had moved, till it was agreed that the four other commanders, with twenty captains, and about two hundred ſoldiers, under the pretext of buying proviſions in the Perſian camp, where there was a market, ſhould be ſent along with him. When they came to the tent of Tiſſaphernes, the five commanders, Clearchus, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates, were ſuffered to enter, but the captains remained without at the door. Immediately, on a certain ſignal before agreed on, thoſe within were ſeized, and the others put to the ſword. Some Perſian horſe afterwards ſcoured the country, and killed all the Greeks they met, whether freemen or ſlaves. Clearchus, with the other generals was ſent to the king, who ordered their heads to be

ſtruck

ſtruck off. Xenophon deſcribes, with ſufficient extent, the characters of thoſe officers.

Clearchus was valiant, bold, intrepid, and of a capacity for forming great enterpriſes. His courage was not raſh, but directed by prudence, and he retained all the coolneſs of his temper and preſence of mind in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. He loved the troops, and let them want for nothing. He knew how to make them obey him; but out of fear. His mien was awful and ſevere; his language rough; his puniſhments inſtant and rigorous: he gave way ſometimes to paſſion, but preſently came to himſelf, and always chaſtiſed with juſtice. His great maxim was, that nothing could be done in an army without a ſevere diſcipline; and from him came the ſaying, that a ſoldier ought to fear his general more than the enemy. The troops * eſteemed his valour and did juſtice to his merit; but they were afraid of his humour, and did not love to ſerve under him. In a word, ſays Xenophon, the ſoldiers feared him as ſcholars do a ſevere pedagogue. We may ſay of him, with Tacitus, that by an excéſs of ſeverity he made, what had otherwiſe been well done by him, unamiable; [b] *Cupidine ſeveritatis in his etiam, quæ rite faceret, acerbus.*

Proxenes was of Bœotia. From his infancy he aſpired at great things, and was induſtrious to make himſelf capable of them. He ſpared no means for the attainment of inſtruction, and was the diſciple of Gorgias the Leontine, a celebrated rhetorician, who ſold his lectures at a very high price. When he found himſelf capable of commanding, and of doing good to his friends, as well as of being ſerved by them, he entered into Cyrus's ſervice with the view of advancing himſelf. He did not want ambition, but would take no other path to glory than that of virtue. He had been a perfect captain, had he had to do with none but brave and diſciplined men, and it had been only neceſſary to be beloved. He was more apprehenſive of being in his

[b] Tacit. Annal. c. lxxv.

* *Manebat admiratio viri et fama; ſed oderant.* TACIT. Hiſtor. l. ii. c. 68.

ſoldiers

ſoldiers diſpleaſure, than his ſoldiers in his. He thought it ſufficient for a commander to praiſe good actions, without puniſhing bad ones; for which reaſon he was beloved by the worthy; but thoſe of a different character abuſed his facility. He died at thirty years of age.

*Could the two great perſons, we have here drawn after Xenophon, have been moulded into one, ſomething perfect might have been made of them; retrenching their ſeveral defects, and retaining only their virtues: but it rarely happens that the ſame man †, as Tacitus ſays of Agricola, behaves, according to the exigency of times and circumſtances, ſometimes with gentleneſs, and ſometimes with ſeverity, without leſſening his authority by the former, or the people's affection by the latter.

Menon was a Theſſalian, avaricious and ambitious, but ambitious only from the motive of avarice, purſuing honour and eſtimation for the mere lucre of money. He courted the friendſhip of the great, and of perſons in authority, that he might have it in his power to commit injuſtice and oppreſſion with impunity. To obtain his ends, all means with him were virtue; falſehood, fraud, perjury; whilſt ſincerity, and integrity of heart, ſtood in his ſcheme for weakneſs and ſtupidity. He loved nobody; and, if he profeſſed friendſhip, it was only to deceive. As others made their glory conſiſt in religion, probity, and honour, he valued himſelf upon injuſtice, deceit, and treachery. He gained the favour of the great by falſe reports, whiſpering, and calumny; and that of the ſoldiery by licence and impunity. In fine, he endeavoured to render himſelf terrible by the miſchief it was in his power to do, and imagined he favoured thoſe to whom he did none.

It was in my thoughts to have retrenched theſe characters, which interrupt the thread of the hiſtory, but

* *Egregium principatus temperamentum, ſi, demptis utriuſque vitiis ſolæ virtutes miſcerentur.* TACIT. Hiſtor. l. ii. c. 5.

† *Pro variis temporibus ac negotiis ſeverus et comis—nec illi, quod eſt rariſſimum, aut facilitas authoritatem, aut ſeveritas amorem, deminuit.* TACIT. in Agric. c. ix.

as

as they are a lively image of the manners of men, which in all times are the same, I thought retaining them would neither be useless nor disagreeable to the reader.

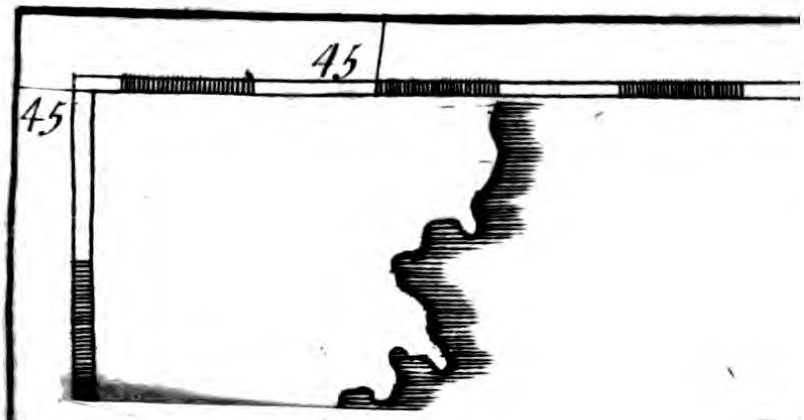
SECT. V. *Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks from the Province of Babylon to Trebisond.*

[c] THE generals of the Greeks having been seized, and the officers who attended them massacred, the troops were in the highest consternation. They were five or six hundred leagues from Greece, surrounded with great rivers and enemy nations, without any supplies of provisions. In this state of general dejection, they could not think of taking either nourishment or repose. In the middle of the night, Xenophon, a young Athenian, but of prudence and capacity superior to his years, went to some of the officers, and represented to them, that they had no time to lose; that it was of the last importance to prevent the bad designs of the enemy; that, however small their number, they would render themselves formidable if they behaved with boldness and resolution; that valour and not multitude determines the success of arms; and that it was necessary, above all things, to nominate generals immediately, because an army without commanders is like a body without a soul. A council was immediately held, at which a hundred officers were present, and Xenophon, being desired to speak, deduced the reasons at large, he had at first but lightly touched upon; and by his advice commanders were appointed. They were Timasion for Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Agias, Philesius for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.

Before the break of day, they assembled the army. The generals made speeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon amongst the rest. "Fellow soldiers," said he; "the loss of so many brave men by vile treachery, and the being abandoned by our friends, is very deplorable; but we must not sink under our misfortunes, and, if

[c] Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. iii. & iv.

we



having neither horſe nor ſingle

... our misfortunes, and, if

Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. iii. & iv.

we

we cannot conquer, let us choose rather to punish gloriously, than to fall into the hands of Barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greatest miseries. Let us all to mind the glorious battles of Platæa, Thermopylæ, Salamin, and the many others wherein our ancestors, though with a small number, have fought and defeated the innumerable armies of the Persians, and hereby rendered the name alone of Greek for ever formidable. It is to their invincible valour we owe the honour we possess, of acknowledging no masters upon earth but the gods, nor any happiness, but what consists with liberty. Those gods, the avengers of perjury, and witnesses of the enemy's treason will be favourable to us; and as they are attacked in the violation of treaties, and take pleasure in humbling the proud, and exalting the low, they will also follow us to battle, and combat for us. For the rest, fellow soldiers, as we have no refuge but in victory, which must be our hope, and will make us ample amends for whatever it costs to attain it; I should believe, if it were your opinion, that, for the making a more ready and less difficult retreat, it would be very proper to rid ourselves of all the useless baggage, and to keep only what is absolutely necessary in our march." All the soldiers that moment lifted up their hands to signify their approbation and consent to all that had been said, and without loss of time set fire to their tents and carriages; such of them as had too much equipage giving it others who had too little, and destroying the rest.

It was resolved to march the army without tumult or violence, if their return was not opposed; but otherwise to open themselves a passage sword in hand through the enemy. They began their march in the form of a great hollow square, with the baggage in the centre. Chirisophus the Lacedæmonian had the van guard; two of the oldest captains the right and left; and Timasion with Xenophon were posted in the rear as the youngest officers. The first day was rude; because, having neither horse nor slingers, they were extremely

haraſſed by a detachment ſent againſt them: but they provided againſt that inconvenience by following Xenophon's advice. They choſe two hundred men out of the Rhodians in the army, whom they armed with ſlings, and augmented their pay for their encouragement. They could throw as far again as the Perſians, becauſe they diſcharged balls of lead, and the other made uſe of large flints. They mounted alſo a ſquadron of fifty men upon the horſes intended for the baggage, and ſupplied their places with other beaſts of burden. By the means of this ſupply a ſecond detachment of the enemy were very ſeverely handled.

After ſome days march, Tiſſaphernes appeared with all his forces. He contented himſelf with haraſſing the Greeks, who moved on continually. The latter obſerving the difficulty of retreating in a hollow ſquare in the face of an enemy, from the unevenneſs of ground, hedges, and other obſtacles, which might oblige them to break it, changed their order of battle, and marched in two columns, with the little baggage they had in the ſpace between them. They formed a body of reſerve of ſix hundred choſen men, whom they divided into ſix companies, and ſubdivided by fifties and tens, to facilitate their motions according to occaſion. When the columns came cloſe to each other, they either remained in the rear, or filed off upon the flanks on both ſides, to avoid diſorder; and when they opened, they fell into the void ſpace in the rear between the two columns. Upon any occaſion of attack, they immediately ran where it was neceſſary. The Greeks ſtood ſeveral charges, but they were neither conſiderable, nor attended with much loſs.

They arrived at the river Tigris. As its depth would not permit them to repaſs it without boats, they were obliged to croſs the Carducian mountains, becauſe there was no other way, and the priſoners reported, that from thence they would enter Armenia, where they might paſs the Tygris at its ſource, and afterwards the Euphrates, not very diſtant from it. To gain thoſe defiles

files before the enemy could ſeize them, it was thought proper to ſet forwards in the night, in order to arrive at the foot of the mountains by the break of day; which was done accordingly. Chiriſophus continued at the head of the advanced guard, with the troops armed with miſſive weapons, beſides his ordinary corps; and Xenophon in the rear, with only the heavy-armed ſoldiers, becauſe at that time there was nothing to fear on that ſide. The inhabitants of the country had taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the heights, from whence it was neceſſary to drive them, which could not be done without great danger and difficulty.

The officers, having held a council of war, were of opinion, that it was proper to leave behind them all the beaſts of burden not abſolutely neceſſary, with all the ſlaves lately taken; becauſe both the one and the other would retard their march too much in the great defiles they had to paſs; beſides which, it required a greater quantity of proviſions to ſupport them, and thoſe who had the care of the beaſts were uſeleſs in fight. That regulation was executed without delay, and they continued their march, ſometimes fighting, and ſometimes halting. The paſſing of the mountains, which took up ſeven days, fatigued the troops exceedingly, and occaſioned ſome loſs; but at length they arrived at villages, where they found proviſions in abundance, and reſted ſome days, to recover the ſevere fatigues the army had ſuffered; in compariſon with which, all they had undergone in Perſia was trivial.

They found themſelves ſoon after expoſed to new danger. Almoſt at the foot of the mountains they came to a river, two hundred feet in breadth, called Centrites, which ſtopped their march. They had to defend themſelves againſt the enemy, who purſued them in the rear, and the Armenians, the ſoldiers of the country, who defended the oppoſite ſide of the river. They attempted in vain to paſs it in a place where the water came up to their armpits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, againſt which the weight of

their

their arms made them unable to resist. By good fortune they discovered another place not so deep, where some soldiers had seen the people of the country pass. It required abundance of address, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both sides of them. The army however passed the river at length without much loss.

They marched afterwards with less interruption; passed the source of the Tygris, and arrived at the little river Teleboa, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the western Armenia; which was governed by Tiribasus, a satrap much beloved by the king, and had the honour to help him to * mount on horseback when at the court: he offered to let the army pass, and to suffer the soldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition that they should commit no ravages in their march; which proposal was accepted and ratified on each side. Tiribasus kept always a flying camp at a small distance from the army. There fell a great quantity of snow, which gave the troops some inconvenience; and they learnt from a prisoner, that Tiribasus had a design to attack the Greeks at a pass of the mountains, in a defile, through which they must necessarily march. They prevented him by seizing that post, after having put the enemy to flight. After some days march through deserts, they passed the Euphrates near its source, not having the water above their middles.

They suffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind which blew in their faces, and prevented respiration; so that it was thought necessary to sacrifice to the wind, upon which it seemed to abate. They marched, on in snow five or six feet deep, which killed several servants and beasts of burden, besides thirty soldiers. They made fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day, they continued their march through the snow, when many of them from the excess of hunger, followed with langour or fainting, continued lying upon the ground, through weakness and

* The French translator of Xenophon says, *he held the king's stirrup when he got on horseback*, without considering that the ancients used none.

want

want of ſpirits. When ſomething had been given them to eat, they found themſelves relieved, and continued their march.

The enemy ſtill purſued them, of whom many, overtaken by the night, remained on the way without fire or proviſions, ſo that ſeveral died of their hardſhips, and the enemy who followed them took ſome baggage. Some ſoldiers were alſo left behind, that had loſt their ſight, and others their toes, by the ſnow. Againſt the firſt evil it was good to wear ſomething black before their eyes; and againſt the other, to keep the legs always in motion, and to bare the feet at night. Arriving in a more commodious place, they diſperſed themſelves into the neighbouring villages to recover and repoſe after their fatigues. The houſes were built under ground, with an opening at top, like a well, through which the deſcent was by a ladder; but there was another entrance for cattle. They found there ſheep, cows, goats, poultry; with wheat, barley, and pulſe; and for drink, there was beer, which was very ſtrong, when not mingled with water, but was agreeable to thoſe who were uſed to it. They drank this with a reed out of the veſſels that held the beer, upon which they ſaw the barley ſwim. The maſter of the houſe, where Xenophon lay, received him very kindly, and even ſhowed him where he had concealed ſome wine; beſides which he made him a preſent of ſeveral horſes. He taught him alſo to faſten a kind of hurdles to their feet, and to do the ſame to the other beaſts of burden, to prevent their ſinking in the ſnow; without which they would have been up to the girth in it at every ſtep. The army, after having reſted ſeven days in theſe villages, reſumed their route.

After a march of ſeven days they arrived at the river Araxes, called alſo the Phaſus, which is about a hundred feet in breadth. Two days after they diſcovered the Phaſians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the paſs of the mountains, to prevent their deſcending into the plain. They ſaw it was impoſſible

to

to avoid coming to a battle with them, and resolved to give it the same day. Xenophon, who had observed that the enemy defended only the ordinary passage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, proposed the sending of a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the enemy; which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all suspicion of their design by a march in the night, and by making a false attack by the main road, to amuse the Barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the pass cleared.

They crossed the country of the Chalybes, who are the most valiant of all the Barbarians in those parts. When they killed an enemy, they cut off his head and carried it about in triumph, singing and dancing. They kept themselves close shut up in their cities, and when the army marched, fell suddenly upon the rear, after having carried every thing of value in the country into places of safety. After twelve or fifteen days march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence they descried the sea. The first who perceived it, raised great shouts of joy for a considerable time; which made Xenophon imagine that the van guard was attacked, and go with all haste to support it. As he approached nearer, the cry of *the sea! the sea!* was heard distinctly, and the alarm changed into joy and gaiety; and when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confused noise of the whole army, crying out together, *the sea! the sea!* whilst they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers. And then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of stones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

From thence they advanced to the mountains of Colchis, one of which was higher than the rest, and of that the people of the country had possessed themselves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it to ascend, for the access was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but

but by files; becauſe the ſoldiers could not keep their ranks, from the inequality of the ground, that in ſome places was eaſy, and in others difficult to climb, which might diſcourage them. That advice was approved, and the army marched according to it. The heavy-armed troops amounted to fourſcore files, each conſiſting of about a hundred men, with eighteen hundred light armed ſoldiers, divided in three bodies, one of which was poſted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the centre. After having encouraged his troops, by repreſenting to them that this was the laſt obſtacle they had to ſurmount, and implored the aſſiſtance of the gods, the army began to aſcend the hill. The enemy were not able to ſupport their charge, and diſperſed. They paſſed the mountain, and encamped in villages, where they found proviſions in abundance.

A very ſtrange accident happened there to the army, which put them into great conſternation. For the ſoldiers finding abundance of beehives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with raving fits; ſo that thoſe, who were leaſt ill, ſeemed like drunken men, and the reſt, either furiouſly mad, or dying. The earth was ſtrewed with their bodies as after a defeat; however, none of them died, and the diſtemper ceaſed the next day about the ſame hour it had taken them. The third or fourth day the ſoldiers got up, but in the condition people are after taking a violent medicine.

Two days after the army arrived near Trebiſond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, ſituate upon the Euxine or Black Sea, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themſelves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain a happy return into their own country. They alſo celebrated the games of the horſe and foot races, wreſtling, boxing, the pancratium; the whole attended with the greateſt joy and ſolemnity.

SECT. VI. *The Greeks, after having undergone excessive Fatigues, and surmounted many Dangers, arrive upon the Sea-coast opposite to Byzantium. They pass the Strait, and engage in the Service of Seuthes, Prince of Thrace. Xenophon afterwards repasses the Sea, advances to Pergamus, and joins Thimbron, General of the Lacedæmonians, who marches against Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus.*

[d] AFTER having offered sacrifices to the several divinities, and celebrated the games, they deliberated upon the proper measures for their return into Greece. They concluded upon going thither by sea, and for that purpose Chirisophus offered to go to Anaxibius, the admiral of Sparta, who was his friend, to obtain ships of him. He set out directly, and Xenophon regulated the order it was necessary to observe, and the precautions to be taken for the security of the camp, provisions, and forage. He believed it also proper to make sure of some vessels, besides those that were expected, and made some expeditions against the neighbouring people.

As Chirisophus did not return so soon as was expected, and provisions began to be wanting, it was resolved to proceed by land; because there was not a sufficient number of ships to transport the whole army, and those, which the precaution of Xenophon had procured, were allotted to carry the women, the old and sick men, with all the unnecessary baggage. The army continued its march, and lay ten days at * Cerasus, where there was a general review of the troops, who were found to amount to eight thousand six hundred men, out of about ten thousand; the rest having died in their retreat, of their wounds, fatigues, or diseases.

[d] Xenoph. l. iii.

* This city of Cerasus became famous from the cherry trees, which Lucullus first brought into Italy, and which from thence have been dispersed all over the western world.

In

In the ſmall time the Greeks continued in theſe parts, ſeveral diviſions aroſe, as well with the inhabitants of the country, as with ſome of the officers, who were jealous of Xenophon's authority, and endeavoured to render him odious to the army. But his wiſdom and moderation put a ſtop to thoſe diſorders; having made the ſoldiers ſenſible that their ſafety depended upon preſerving union and a good underſtanding amongſt themſelves, and obedience to their generals.

From Ceraſus they went to Cotyora, which is not very remote from it. They there deliberated again upon the proper meaſures for their return. The inhabitants of the country repreſented the almoſt inſuperable difficulties of going by land, from the defiles and rivers they had to paſs, and offered to ſupply the Greeks with ſhips. This ſeemed the beſt expedient, and the army embarked accordingly. They arrived the next day at Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, and a colony of the Mileſians. Chiriſophus repaired thither with galleys, but without money, though the troops expected to receive ſome. He aſſured them that the army ſhould be paid, as ſoon as they were out of the Euxine Sea; and that their retreat was univerſally celebrated; and the ſubject of the diſcourſe and admiration of all Greece.

The ſoldiers, finding themſelves near enough to Greece, deſired to make ſome booty before they arrived there, and with that view reſolved to nominate a general with full authority, whereas, till then, all affairs were determined in the council of war by the plurality of voices. They caſt their eyes upon Xenophon, and cauſed him to be deſired to accept that office. He was not inſenſible of the honour of commanding in chief; but he foreſaw the conſequences, and deſired time to conſider. After having expreſſed the higheſt ſenſe of gratitude for an offer ſo much to his honour, he repreſented, that, to avoid jealouſy and diviſion, the ſucceſs of affairs, and the intereſt of the army, ſeemed to require that they ſhould chooſe a Lacedæmonian for their general; the Spartan ſtate at that time actually ruling Greece, and in conſideration of that choice would be

diſpoſed

diſpoſed to ſupport them. This reaſon was not reliſhed, and they objected to it, that they were far from intending a ſervile dependence upon Sparta, or to ſubmit to regulate their enterpriſes by the pleaſure or diſlike of that ſtate; and preſſed him again to accept the command. He was then obliged to explain himſelf ſincerely, and without evaſion; and declared, that having conſulted the gods by ſacrifice, upon the offer they made him, they had manifeſted their will by evident ſigns, from whence it appeared that they did not approve their choice. It was ſurpriſing to ſee the impreſſion which the ſole mention of the gods made upon the ſoldiers, otherwiſe very warm and tenacious, and who beſides are commonly little affected with the motives of religion. Their great ardour abated immediately, and without making any reply, they proceeded to elect Chiriſophus though a Lacedæmonian, for their general.

His authority was of no long continuance. Diſcord, as Xenophon had foreſeen, aroſe amongſt the troops, who were angry that their general prevented their plundering the Grecian cities, by which they paſſed. This diſturbance was principally excited by the Peloponneſians, who compoſed one half of the army, and could not ſee Xenophon an Athenian in authority without pain. Different meaſures were propoſed; but nothing being concluded, the troops divided themſelves into three bodies, of which the Achaians and Archadians, that is, the Peloponneſians, were the principal, amounting to four thouſand five hundred heavy-armed foot, with Lycon and Callimachus for their generals. Chiriſophus commanded another part of about fourteen hundred men, beſides ſeven hundred light-armed infantry. Xenophon had the third, almoſt the ſame in number, of which three hundred were light-armed ſoldiers, with about forty horſe, which were all the cavalry of the army. The firſt having obtained ſhips from the people of * Heraclea, to whom they had ſent to demand them, ſet out before the reſt to make ſome booty, and made a deſcent in the port of Calpe. Chiriſophus,

* A city of Pontus.

who

who was ſick, marched by land; but without quitting the coaſt. Xenophon landed at Heraclea, and entered into the heart of the country.

New diviſions aroſe. The imprudence of the troops and their leaders had involved them in ill meaſures, not without loſs, from whence the addreſs of Xenophon extricated them more than once. Being all reunited again, after various ſucceſs, they arrived by land at Chryſopolis in Caledonia, facing Byzantium, whither they repaired ſome days after, having paſſed the ſmall arm of the ſea, which ſeparates the two continents. They were upon the point of plundering that rich and powerful city, to revenge a fraud and injury which had been done them, and from the hope of enriching themſelves once for all, when Xenophon made all poſſible haſte thither. He admitted the juſtneſs of their revenge, but he made them ſenſible of the fatal conſequences which would attend it. "After your plundering this city, and deſtroying the Lacedæmonians eſtabliſhed in it, you will be deemed the mortal enemies of their republic, and of all their allies. Athens, my country, that had four hundred galleys at ſea and in the arſenals, when it took up arms againſt them, great ſums of money in its treaſury, a revenue of a thouſand talents, and was in poſſeſſion of all the iſles of Greece, and of many cities in Europe and Aſia, of which this was one, has nevertheleſs been reduced to yield to their power, and ſubmit to their ſway. And do you hope, who are but a handful of men, without generals, proviſions, allies, or any reſource, either from Tiſſaphernes, who has betrayed you, or the king of Perſia, whom you have attempted to dethrone; can you hope, I ſay, in ſuch a condition to make head againſt the Lacedæmonians? Let us demand ſatisfaction from the Byzantines, and not avenge their fault by a much greater of our own, which muſt draw upon us inevitable ruin." He was believed, and the affair accommodated.

[a] From thence he led them to Salmydeſſa, to ſerve

[a] Xenoph. l. vii.

Seuthes,

Seuthes, prince of Thrace, who had before solicited him by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in order to his re-establishment in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him. He had made Xenophon great promises for himself and his troops; but when they had done him the service he wanted, he was so far from keeping his word, that he did not give them the pay agreed upon. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with this breach of faith; imputing his perfidy to his minister Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his master, by saving him a sum of money, at the expence of justice, faith, and honesty; qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the most to his reputation, as well as to the success of affairs and the security of a state. But that treacherous minister who looked upon honour, probity, and justice, as mere chimeras, and that there was nothing real but the possession of much money, had no thoughts, in consequence, but of enriching himself by any means whatsoever, and robbed his master first with impunity, and all his subjects along with him. "However," continued Xenophon, "every wise man, especially in authority and command, ought to regard justice, probity, and the faith of engagements, as the most precious treasure he can possess; and as an assured resource, and an infallible support in all the events that can happen." Heraclides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner with regard to the troops as he was a native of Greece, and not a Thracian: but avarice had extinguished all sense of honour in him.

Whilst the dispute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmest, Charminus and Polynices arrived, as ambassadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republic had declared war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus; that Thimbron had already embarked with the troops and promised a darick a month to every soldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who should engage in the service. Xenophon accepted the offer, and having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation

mediation of the ambaſſadors, part of the pay due to him, he went by ſea to Lampſacus with the army, which amounted at that time to almoſt ſix thouſand men. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of Troas. Having met near Parthenia, where ended the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman returning into Perſia, he took him, his wife, and children, with all his equipage, and by that means found himſelf in a condition to beſtow great liberalities amongſt the ſoldiers, and to make them a ſatisfactory amends for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained. Thimbron at length arrived, who took upon him the command of the troops, and having joined them with his own, marched againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus.

[f] Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon reckons from the firſt ſetting out of that prince's army from the city of Epheſus to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty paraſangas or leagues, and fourſcore and thirteen days march; [g] and in their return from the place of battle to Cotyora, a city upon the coaſt of the Euxine or Black Sea, ſix hundred and twenty paraſangas or leagues, and a hundred and twenty days march. And adding both together, he ſays, the way, going and coming, was eleven hundred and fifty * five paraſangas or leagues, [h] and two hundred and fifteen days march; and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of reſt, was fifteen months.

It appears by this calculation, that the army of Cyrus marched daily, one day with another, almoſt ſix paraſangas † or leagues in going, and only five in their return.

[f] Xenoph. de Exped. l. ii. p. 276. [g] Ibid. Cyr. l. iii. p. 355.
[h] Xenoph. l. vii. p. 427.

* I add, *five*, which are left out in the text, to make the total agree with the two parts.

† The paraſanga is a meaſure of the ways peculiar to the Perſians, and conſiſts of three ſtadia. The ſtadium is the ſame with the Greeks, and contains, according to the moſt received opinion, one hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces; twenty of which in conſequence are required to the common French league. And this has been my rule hitherto, according to which the paraſanga is a league and a half.

I obſerve

return. It was natural, that Cyrus, who desired to surprise his brother, should use all possible diligence for that purpose.

This retreat of the ten thousand Greeks has always passed amongst the judges in the art of war, as I have already observed, for a perfect model in its kind, and never had a parallel. Indeed no enterprise could be formed with more valour and bravery, nor conducted with more prudence, nor executed with more success. Ten thousand men, five or six hundred leagues from their own country; who had lost their generals and best officers, and find themselves in the heart of the enemy's vast empire, undertake, in the sight of a victorious and numerous army, with the king at the head of them, to retire through the seat of his empire, and in a manner from the gates of his palace, and to traverse a vast extent of unknown countries, almost all in arms against them, without being dismayed by the prospect of the innumerable obstacles and dangers, to which they were every moment exposed; passes of rivers, of mountains, and defiles; open attacks; secret ambuscades from the people upon their route; famine, almost inevitably in vast and desert regions; and above all the treachery they had to fear from the troops, who seemed to be employed in escorting them, but in reality had orders to destroy them. For Artaxerxes, who was sensible how much the return of those Greeks into their country would cover him with disgrace, and decry the majesty of the empire in the sense of all nations, had left nothing undone to prevent it; and he desired their destruction, says Plutarch, more passionately, than to conquer Cyrus himself, or to preserve the sovereignty of his

I observe here a great difficulty. In this calculation we find, the ordinary days marches of Cyrus, with an army of more than a hundred thousand men, would have been one day with another nine leagues, during so long a time; which according to the judges in military affairs is absolutely impossible. This is what has determined me to compute the parasanga at no more than a league. Several authors have remarked, and indeed it is not to be doubted, that the stadium, and all the other measures of ways of the ancients, have differed widely according to times and places, as they still do amongst us.

estates.

eſtates. Thoſe ten thouſand men, however, notwithſtanding ſo many obſtacles, carried their point, and arrived, through a thouſand dangers, victorious and triumphant in their own country. [k] Anthony long after, when purſued by the Parthians almoſt in the ſame country, finding himſelf in like danger, cried out in admiration of their invincible valour, *O the retreat of the ten thouſand!*

And it was the good ſucceſs of this famous retreat, which filled the people of Greece with contempt for Artaxerxes, by demonſtrating to them, that gold, ſilver, luxury, voluptuouſneſs, and a numerous ſeraglio of women, were the ſole merit of the grand monarch; but that as to the reſt, his opulence and all his boaſted power were only pride and oſtentation. It was this prejudice, more univerſal than ever in Greece after this celebrated expedition, that gave birth to thoſe bold enterpriſes of the Greeks of which we ſhall ſoon treat, that made Artaxerxes tremble upon his throne, and brought the Perſian empire to the very brink of deſtruction.

SECT. VII. *Conſequences of Cyrus's Death in the Court of Artaxerxes. Cruelty and Jealouſy of Paryſatis. Statira poiſoned.*

[l] I RETURN to what paſſed after the battle of Cunaxa in the court of Artaxerxes. As he believed that he killed Cyrus with his own hand, and looked upon that action as the moſt glorious in his life, he deſired that all the world ſhould think the ſame; and it was wounding him in the moſt tender part to diſpute that honour, or endeavour to divide it with him. The Carian ſoldier, whom we mentioned before, not contented with the great preſents the king had made him upon a different pretext, perpetually declared to all that would hear him, that none but himſelf had killed Cyrus, and that the king did him great injuſtice in depriving him of the glory due to him. The prince, upon being

[k] Plut. in Ant. p. 937. Ωμυριν. [l] Plut. in Artax. p. 1018—1021.

informed

informed of that insolence, conceived a jealousy equally base and cruel, and had the weakness to cause him to be delivered to Parysatis, who had sworn the destruction of all those that had any share in the death of her son. Animated by her barbarous revenge, she commanded the executioners to take that unfortunate wretch, and to make him suffer the most exquisite tortures during ten days; then after they had torn out his eyes, to pour molten brass into his ears, till he expired in that cruel misery; which was accordingly executed.

Mithridates also, having boasted in an entertainment, where he had heated his brain with wine, that it was he gave Cyrus his mortal wound, paid very dear for that sottish and imprudent vanity. He was condemned to suffer the punishment of the * troughs, one of the most cruel that was ever invented, and after having languished in torment during seventeen days, died at last slowly in exquisite misery.

There only remained for the final execution of her project, and fully to satiate her vengeance, the punishment of the king's eunuch Mesabates, who, by his master's order, had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus. But as there was nothing to take hold of in his conduct, Parysatis laid this snare for him. She was a woman of great address, had abundance of wit, and excelled in playing at a certain game with dice. After the war, she had been reconciled with the king, played often with him, was of all his parties, had an unbounded complaisance for him, and far from contradicting him in any thing, prevented his desires, did not blush at indulging his passions, and even at supplying him with the means of gratifying them. But she took especial care never to lose sight of him, and to leave Statira as little alone with him as she could, desiring to gain an absolute ascendant over her son.

One day seeing the king entirely unemployed, and with no thoughts but of diverting himself, she proposed

* See the description of this torture, as before given in a former Volume.

playing

playing at dice with him for a thouſand daricks*, to which he readily conſented. She ſuffered him to win, and paid down the money. But affecting regret and vexation, ſhe preſſed him to begin again, and to play with her for a eunuch. The king, who ſuſpected nothing, complied, and they agreed to except five of the favourite eunuchs on each ſide, that the winner ſhould take their choice out of the reſt, and the loſer be bound to deliver him. Having made theſe conditions, they ſat down to play. The queen was all attention to the game, and made uſe of all her ſkill and addreſs in it; beſides which the dice favoured her. She won, and choſe Meſabates, for he was not one of the excepted. As ſoon as ſhe got him into her hands, before the king could have the leaſt ſuſpicion of the revenge ſhe meditated, ſhe delivered him to the executioners, and commanded them to flea him alive, to lay him afterwards upon three † croſs bars, and to ſtretch his ſkin at large before his eyes upon two ſtakes prepared for that purpoſe; which was performed accordingly. When the king knew this, he was very ſorry for it, and violently angry with his mother, But without giving herſelf any further trouble about it, ſhe told him with a ſmile, and in a jeſting way, "Really you are a great loſer, and muſt be highly in the right, to be ſo much out of humour for a decrepid wretch of a eunuch, when I, who loſt a thouſand good daricks, and paid them down upon the ſpot, do not ſay a word, and am ſatisfied."

All theſe cruelties ſeem to be only eſſays and preparations for a greater crime Paryſatis meditated. She had retained at heart a violent hatred for queen Statira, which ſhe had ſuffered to eſcape her upon many occaſions. She perceived plainly, that her credit with the king her ſon was only the effect of his reſpect and conſideration for her as his mother; whereas, that for Statira was founded in love and confidence, the beſt ſecurity of credit with him. Of what is not the jealouſy of an ambitious woman capable! She reſolved

* The darick was worth ten livres.

† Plutarch explains this circumſtance no farther.

to rid herſelf, whatever it coſt her, of ſo formidable a rival.

For the more certain attainment of her ends, ſhe feigned a reconciliation with her daughter-in-law, and treated her with all the exterior marks of ſincere friendſhip and real confidence. The two queens appearing, therefore to have forgot their former ſuſpicions and differences, lived well together, ſaw one another as before, and ate at each other's apartments. But as both of them knew how much the friendſhips and careſſes of the court were to be relied upon, eſpecially amongſt the women, they were neither of them deceived in the other; and the ſame fears always ſubſiſting, they kept upon their guard, and never ate but of the ſame diſhes and pieces. Could one believe it poſſible to deceive ſo attentive and cautious a vigilance? Paryſatis, one day when her daughter-in-law was at table with her, took an extremely exquiſite bird, that had been ſerved up, cut it in two parts, gave one half to Statira, and ate the other herſelf. Statira ſoon after was ſeized with ſharp pains, and, having quitted the table, died in the moſt horrible convulſions, not without inſpiring the king with the moſt violent ſuſpicions of his mother, of whoſe cruelty, and implacable and revengeful ſpirit, he was ſufficiently ſenſible before. He made the ſtricteſt enquiry into the crime. All his mother's officers and domeſtics were ſeized and put to the queſtion; when Gygis, one of Paryſatis's women and confidents, confeſſed the whole. She had cauſed one ſide of a knife to be rubbed with poiſon, ſo that Paryſatis, having cut the bird in two, put the ſound part into her own mouth directly, and gave Statira the other that was poiſoned. Gygis was put to death after the manner the Perſians puniſhed poiſoners, which is thus: they lay their heads upon a great and very broad ſtone, and beat upon it with another till they are entirely cruſhed, and have no remains of their former figure. As for Paryſatis, the king contented himſelf with confining her to Babylon, where ſhe demanded to retire, and told her, that he would never ſet his foot within it while ſhe was there.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

SECT. I. *The Grecian Cities of Ionia implore aid of the Lacedæmonians against Artaxerxes. Rare Prudence of a Lady continued in her Husband's Government after his Death. Agesilaus elected King of Sparta. His Character.*

[m] THE cities of Ionia, that had taken party with Cyrus, apprehending the resentment of Tissaphernes, had applied to the Lacedæmonians, as the deliverers of Greece, for their support in the possession of the liberty they enjoyed, and to prevent their country from being ravaged. We have already said that Thimbron was sent thither, to whose troops Xenophon had joined his, after their return from Persia. [n] Thimbron was soon recalled upon some discontent, and had for his successor Dercyllidas, surnamed Sisyphus, from his industry in finding resources, and his capacity in inventing machines of war. He took upon him the command of the army at Ephesus. When he arrived there, he was apprized, that there was a difference between the two satraps, who commanded in the country.

The provinces of the Persian monarchy, of which several, situate at the extremity of the empire, required too much application to be governed immediately by the prince, were confided to the care of the great lords, commonly called satraps. They had each of them, in their government, an almost sovereign authority, and were, properly speaking, not unlike the viceroys we see in our days in some neighbouring states. They were supplied with a number of troops sufficient for the defence of the country. They appointed all officers, disposed of the governments of cities, and were charged with levying and remitting the tributes to the prince. They had power to raise troops, to treat with neighbouring states, and even with the generals of the enemy; in a word, to do every thing necessary to the good

[m] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 479—487.
[n] A. M. 3605. Ant. J. C. 399.

order and tranquillity of their governments. They were independent of one another; and though they ſerved the ſame maſter, and it was their duty to concur to the ſame ends, nevertheleſs each being more affected with the particular advantage of his own province, than the general good of the empire, they often differed among themſelves; formed oppoſite deſigns, refuſed aid to their colleagues in neceſſity, and ſometimes even acted entirely againſt them. . The remoteneſs of the court, and the abſence of the prince, gave room for theſe diſſenſions; and perhaps a ſecret policy contributed to keep them up, to elude or prevent conſpiracies, which too good an underſtanding amongſt the governors might have excited.

Dercyllidas, having heard, therefore, that Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus were at variance, made a truce with the former, that he might not have them both upon his hands at the ſame time, entered Pharnabaſus's province, and advanced as far as Æolia.

Zenis, the Dardanian, had governed that province under the ſatrap's authority; and as, after his death, it was to have been given to another, Mania, his widow, went to Pharnabaſus with troops and preſents, and told him, that having been the wife of a man who had rendered him great ſervices, ſhe deſired him not to deprive her of her huſband's reward; that ſhe would ſerve him with the ſame zeal and fidelity; and that, if ſhe failed in either, he was always at liberty to take her government from her. She was continued in it by this means, and acquitted herſelf with all the judgment and ability that could have been expected from the moſt conſummate perſon in the arts of ruling. To the ordinary tributes which her huſband had paid, ſhe added preſents of an extraordinary magnificence; and when Pharnabaſus came into her province, ſhe entertained him more ſplendidly than any of the other governors. She was not contented with the conſervation of the cities committed to her care, ſhe made new conqueſts, and took * Lariſſa, Amixita, and Colona.

* From the Lydians and Piſidians.

Hence

Hence we may obſerve, that prudence, good ſenſe, and courage, are of all ſexes. She was preſent in all expeditions in a chariot, and in perſon decreed rewards and puniſhments. None of the neighbouring provinces had a finer army than hers, in which ſhe had a great number of Greek ſoldiers in her pay. She even attended Pharnabaſus in all his enterpriſes, and was of no common ſupport to him. So that the ſatrap, who knew all the value of ſo extraordinary a merit, did more honour to this lady, than to all the other governors. He even admitted her into his council, and treated her with ſuch a diſtinction as might have excited jealouſy, if the modeſty and affability of that lady had not prevented bad effects, by throwing, in a manner, a veil over all her perfections, which ſoftened their luſtre, and let them only appear to be the objects of admiration.

She had no enemies but in her own family. Midias, her ſon-in-law, ſtung with the reproach of ſuffering a woman to command in his place, and abuſing the entire confidence ſhe repoſed in him, which gave him acceſs to her at all times, ſtrangled her with her ſon. After her death he ſeized two fortreſſes, wherein ſhe had ſecured her treaſures; the other cities declared againſt him. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime. Dercyllidas happily arrived at this juncture. All the fortreſſes of Æolia, either voluntarily or by force, ſurrendered to him, and Midias was deprived of the poſſeſſions he had ſo unjuſtly acquired. The Lacedæmonian general, having granted Pharnabaſus a truce, took up his winter quarters in Bithynia, to avoid being chargeable to his allies.

[a] The next year, being continued in the command, he marched into Thrace, and arrived at the Cherſoneſus. He knew that the deputies of the country had been at Sparta, to repreſent the neceſſity of fortifying the iſthmus with a good wall againſt the frequent incurſions of the Barbarians, which prevented the cultivation of the lands. Having meaſured the ſpace, which is more than a league in breadth, he diſtributed the work amongſt

[a] A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398. Xenoph. p. 487, 488.

the

the ſoldiers, and the wall was finiſhed in the autumn of the ſame year. Within this ſpace were incloſed eleven cities, ſeveral ports, and a great number of arable lands and plantations, with paſture of all kinds. The work being finiſhed, he returned into Aſia, after having reviewed the cities and found them all in good condition.

[p] Conon, the Athenian, after loſing the battle of Ægoſopotamos, having condemned himſelf to a voluntary baniſhment, continued in the iſle of Cyprus with king Evagoras, not only for the ſafety of his perſon, but in expectation of a change in affairs; like one, ſays Plutarch, who waits the return of the tide before he embarks. He had always in view the re-eſtabliſhment of the Athenian power, to which his defeat had given a mortal wound; and full of fidelity and zeal for his country, though little favourable to him, perpetually meditated the means to raiſe it from its ruins, and reſtore it to its ancient ſplendor.

This Athenian general, knowing the ſucceſs of his views, had occaſion for a powerful ſupport, wrote to Artaxerxes to explain his project to him, and ordered the perſon who carried his letter, to apply himſelf to Cteſias, who would give it to the king. It was accordingly delivered to that phyſician, who, it is ſaid, though he did not approve the contents of it, added to what Conon had wrote, "That he deſired the king would ſend Cteſias to him, being a perſon very capable of his ſervice, eſpecially in maritime affairs." [q] Pharnabaſus, in concert with Conon, was gone to court to complain againſt the conduct of Tiſſaphernes, as too much in favour of the Lacedæmonians. Upon the warm inſtances of Pharnabaſus, the king ordered five hundred talents * to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with inſtructions to give Conon the command of it. He ſent Cteſias into Greece, who, after having viſited Cnidos, his native country, went to Sparta.

[p] Plut. in Artax. p. 1021.
[q] Diod. l. xiv. p. 267. Juſtin, l. vi. c. 1.
* 500,000 crowns, or about 112,000l. ſterling.

This

[s] This Ctesias was at first in the service of Cyrus, whom he had followed in his expedition. He was taken prisoner in the battle wherein Cyrus was killed, and was made use of to dress the wounds Artaxerxes had received, of which he acquitted himself so well, that the king retained him in his service, and made him his first physician. He passed several years in his service in that quality. Whilst he was there, the Greeks, upon all their occasions at the court, applied themselves to him, as Conon did on this. His long residence in Persia, and at the court, had given him the necessary time and means for his information in the history of the country, which he wrote in three-and-twenty books. The first contained the history of the Assyrians and Babylonians, from Ninus and Semiramis, down to Cyrus. The other seventeen treated of the Persian affairs, from the beginning of Cyrus's reign to the third year of the XCVth Olympiad, which agrees with the three hundred and ninety-eighth before JESUS CHRIST. He wrote also a history of India. Photius had given us several extracts of both these histories, which are all that remain of Ctesias. He often contradicts Herodotus, and differs sometimes also from Xenophon. He was in no great estimation with the ancients, who speak of him as of a very vain man, whose veracity is not to be relied on, and who has inserted fables, and sometimes even lies, in his history.

[t] Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus, though secretly each other's enemies, had, upon the king's orders, united their troops to oppose the enterprises of Dercyllidas, who had marched into Caria. They had reduced him to post himself so disadvantageously, that he must inevitably have perished, had they charged him immediately, without giving him time to look about him. Pharnabasus was of this opinion: but Tissaphernes apprehended the valour of the Greeks, who had been of

[s] Strab. l. xiv. p. 656. Plut. in Artax. p. 1014—1017—1020. Diod. l. xiv. p. 278. Aristot. de Hist. anim. l. viii. c. 28. Phot. Cod. lxii.

[t] A. M. 3607. Ant. J. C. 379. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. 489, 490. Diod. l. xiv. p. 267.

Cyrus's

Cyrus's army, which he had experienced, and to whom he conceived all others resembled, proposed an interview, which was accepted. Dercyllidas having demanded that the Grecian cities should continue free, and Tissaphernes, that the army and generals of Lacedæmon should retire, they made a truce, till the answers of their respective masters could be known.

[t] Whilst these things passed in Asia, the Lacedæmonians resolved to chastise the insolence of the people of Elis, who, not content with having entered into an alliance with their enemies in the Peloponnesian war, prevented their disputing the prizes in the Olympic games. Upon pretence of the non-payment of a fine by Sparta, they had insulted their citizens during the games, and hindered Agis from sacrificing in the temple of Jupiter Olympius. That king was charged with this expedition, which did not terminate till the third year after. He could have taken their city Olympia, which had no works, but contented himself with plundering the suburbs, and the places for the exercises, which were very fine. They demanded peace, which was granted, and were suffered to retain the superintendency of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, to which they had not much right, but were more worthy of that honour than those that disputed it with them.

[u] Agis in his return fell sick, and died upon arriving at Sparta. Almost divine honours were paid to his memory, and after the expiration of some days, according to the custom, Leotychides and Agesilaus, the one son and the other brother of the deceased, disputed the crown. The latter maintained, that his competitor was not the son of Agis, and supported his assertion by the confession of the queen herself, who knew best, and who had often, as well as her husband, acknowledged as much. In effect, there was a current report, that she had him by Alcibiades[x], as has been related in its place, and that the Athenian general had corrupted her by a

[t] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 486, 493. Diod. l. xiv. p. 292.
[u] Xenoph. p. 493. Plut. in Lys. p. 445. In Agesil. p. 597.
[x] Athen. l. xii. p. 534.

present

present of a thousand * daricks. Agis protested the contrary at his death. Leotychides having thrown himself at his feet, all bathed in tears, he could not refuse the grace he implored of him, and owned him for his son before all that were present.

Most of the Spartans, charmed with the virtue and great merit of Agesilaus, and deeming it an extraordinary advantage to have a person for their king who had been educated amongst them, and passed like them through all the rigour of the Spartan education, supported him with their whole power. An ancient oracle, that advised Sparta to beware of a *lame reign*, was urged against him. Lysander only made a jest of it, and turned its sense against Leotychides himself; endeavouring to prove, that, as a bastard, he was the lame king the oracle intended to caution them against. Agesilaus, as well by his own great qualities as the powerful support of Lysander, carried it against his nephew, and was declared king.

As by the laws the kingdom had devolved to Agis, his brother Agesilaus, who seemed to be destined to pass his life as a private person, was educated like other children in the Spartan discipline, which was a very rough manner of life, and full of laborious exercise, but † taught youth obedience perfectly well. The law dispensed with this education only to such children, as were designed for the throne. Agesilaus therefore had this in peculiar, that he did not arrive at commanding, till he had first learned perfectly well how to obey. From thence it was, that of all the kings of Sparta he best knew how to make his subjects love and esteem him ‡, because that prince, to the great qualities with which nature had endowed him for commanding and the so-

* 1000 pistoles.

† Hence it was, that the poet Simonides called Sparta, *the tamer of men*, δαμασιμβροτον, as that of the Grecian cities, which rendered its inhabitants by good habits the most active and vigorons, and at the same time the most obedient to the laws, of all mankind, ως μαλιστα δια των εθων τους πολιτας τοις νομοις πειθομενους καὶ χειροηθεις ποιησαν.

‡ Τω Φυσει ηγεμονικω καὶ βασιλικω προσκλησαμενος απο της αγωγης το δημοτικον καὶ φιλανθρωπον.

vereignty, had united by his education the advantage of being humane and popular.

It is ſurpriſing that Sparta, a city ſo renowned in point of education and policy, ſhould conceive it proper to abate any thing of its ſeverity and diſcipline in favour of the princes who were to reign; they having moſt need of being early habituated to the yoke of obedience, in order to their being better qualified to command.

[x] Plutarch obſerves, that from his infancy Ageſilaus was remarkable for uniting qualities in himſelf, which are generally incompatible; a vivacity of ſpirit, a vehemence, an invincible reſolution in appearance, an ardent paſſion for being firſt and ſurpaſſing all others, with a gentleneſs, ſubmiſſion, and docility, that complied at a ſingle word, and made him infinitely ſenſible of the lighteſt reprimand, ſo that every thing might be obtained of him from the motives of honour, but nothing by fear or violence.

He was lame, but that defect was covered by the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and ſtill more by the gaiety with which he ſupported and rallied it firſt himſelf. It may even be ſaid, that the infirmity of his body ſet his valour and paſſion for glory in a ſtronger light; there being no labour nor enterpriſe, however difficult, that he would refuſe upon account of that inconvenience.

[y] Praiſe, without an air of truth and ſincerity, was ſo far from giving him pleaſure, that it offended him, and was never received by him as ſuch, but when it came from the mouths of thoſe, who upon other occaſions had repreſented his failings to him with freedom. He would never ſuffer during his life that his picture ſhould be drawn, and even in dying, expreſsly forbad any image to be made of him, either in colours or relievo. [z] His reaſon was that his great actions, if he had done any, would ſupply the place of monuments; without which all the ſtatues in the world would do him no manner of honour. We only know, that he

[x] In Ageſil. p. 596. [y] Plut. in Moral. p. 55.
[z] Ibid. p. 191.

was

was of ſmall ſtature, which the Spartans did not affect in their kings; and Theophraſtus affirms, that the Ephori laid a fine upon their king Archidamus, the father of him we ſpeak of, for having eſpouſed a very little woman: "* For," ſaid they, "ſhe will give us poppets inſtead of kings."

[a] It has been remarked, that Ageſilaus, in his way of living with the Spartans, behaved better with regard to his enemies than his friends; for he never did the leaſt wrong to the former, and often violated juſtice in favour of the latter. He would have been aſhamed not to have honoured and rewarded his enemies, when their actions deſerved it; and was not able to reprove his friends when they committed faults. He would even ſupport them when they were in the wrong [b], and upon ſuch occaſions looked upon the zeal for juſtice as a vain pretence to cover the refuſal of ſerving them. And in proof of this, a ſhort letter is cited, written by him to a judge in recommendation of a friend; the words are: "If Nicias be not guilty, acquit him for his innocence; if he be, acquit him for my ſake; but however it be, acquit him."

It is underſtanding the rights and privileges of friendſhip very ill, to be capable of rendering it in this manner the accomplice of crimes, and the protectreſs of bad actions. It is the fundamental law of friendſhip, ſays Cicero, never to aſk of, or grant any thing to, friends, that does not conſiſt with juſtice and honour: [c] *Hæc prima lex in amicitia ſanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati.*

Ageſilaus was ſo delicate in this point, at leaſt in the beginning, and omitted no occaſion of gratifying his friends, and even his enemies. By this officious and obliging conduct, ſupported by his extraordinary merit, he acquired great credit, and almoſt abſolute power in the city, which ran ſo high as to render him ſuſpected by his country. The Ephori, to prevent its effects, and give a check to his ambition, laid a fine

[a] Plut. in Ageſil. p. 598. [b] Ibid. p. 603. [c] De amicit. n. 40.

* Ου γαρ βασιλεις, εφασαν, αμμιν αλλα βασιλειδια γεννασει.

upon

upon him; alleging as their ſole reaſon*, that he attached the hearts of the citizens to himſelf alone, which were the right of the republic, and ought not to be poſſeſſed but in common.

When he was declared king, he was put into poſſeſſion of the whole eſtate of his brother Agis, of which Leotychides was deprived as a baſtard. But ſeeing the relations of that prince, on the ſide of his mother Lampito, were all very poor, he divided the whole inheritance with them, and by that act of generoſity acquired great reputation, and the good will of all the world, inſtead of the envy and hatred he might have drawn upon himſelf by the inheritance. Theſe ſort of ſacrifices are glorious, though rare, and can never be ſufficiently eſteemed.

Never was king of Sparta ſo powerful as Ageſilaus, and it was only, as Xenophon ſays, by obeying his country, in every thing, that he acquired ſo great an authority; which ſeems a kind of paradox, thus explained by Plutarch. The greateſt power was veſted at that time in the Ephori and ſenate. The office of the Ephori ſubſiſted only one year; they were inſtituted to limit the too great power of the kings, and to ſerve as a barrier againſt it, as we have obſerved elſewhere. For this reaſon, the kings of Sparta, from their eſtabliſhment had always retained a kind of hereditary averſion for them, and continually oppoſed their meaſures. Ageſilaus took a quite contrary method. Inſtead of being perpetually at war with them, and claſhing upon all occaſions with their meaſures, he made it his buſineſs to cultivate their good opinion, treated them always with the utmoſt deference and regard, never entered upon the leaſt enterpriſe without having firſt communicated it to them, and upon their ſummons quitted every thing, and repaired to the ſenate with the utmoſt promptitude and reſignation: whenever he ſat upon his throne to adminiſter juſtice, if the Ephori entered, he never failed to riſe up to do them honour. By all theſe inſtances of reſpect, he ſeemed to add new dig-

* Οτι τυς κοινυς πολιτας, κλαται.

nity

nity to their office, whilst in reality he augmented his own power, without its being observed, and added to the sovereignty a grandeur the more solid and permanent, as it was the effect of the people's good will and esteem for him. The greatest of the Roman emperors, as Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were convinced, that the utmost a prince could do, to honour and exalt the principal magistrates, was only adding to his own power, and strengthening his authority, which neither should, nor can be founded in any thing but justice.

Such was Agesilaus, of whom much will be said hereafter, and with whose character it was therefore necessary to begin.

SECT. II. *Agesilaus sets out for Asia. Lysander falls out with him, and returns to Sparta. His ambitious Designs to alter the Succession to the Throne.*

[d] AGESILAUS had scarce ascended the throne when accounts came from Asia, that the king of Persia was fitting out a great fleet, with intent to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their empire at sea. Conon's letters, seconded by the remonstrances of Pharnabasus, who had in concert represented to Artaxerxes the power of Sparta, as formidable, had made a strong impression upon that prince. From that time he had it seriously in his thoughts to humble that proud republic, by raising up its rival, and by that means re-establishing the ancient balance between them, which could alone assure his safety, by keeping them perpetually employed against each other, and thereby prevented from uniting their forces against him.

Lysander, who desired to be sent into Asia, in order to re-establish his creatures and friends in the government of the cities, from which Sparta had removed them, strongly disposed Agesilaus to take upon himself the charge of the war, and to prevent the Barbarian

[d] A. M. 3608. Ant. J. C. 396. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 495, 496. Ibid. de Agesil. p. 652. Plut. in Agesil. p. 598, & in Lysand. p. 446.

king

king, by attacking him remote from Greece, before he ſhould have finiſhed his preparations. The republic having made this propoſal to him, he could not refuſe it, and charged himſelf with the expedition againſt Artaxerxes, upon condition that thirty Spartan captains ſhould be granted him, to aſſiſt him and compoſe his council, with two thouſand new citizens to be choſen out of the helots who had been lately made freemen, and ſix thouſand troops of the allies, which was immediately reſolved. Lyſander was placed at the head of the thirty Spartans, not only upon account of his great reputation, and the authority he had acquired, but for the particular friendſhip between him and Ageſilaus, who was indebted to him for the throne, as well as the honour which had been lately conferred upon him of being elected generaliſſimo.

The glorious return of the Greeks who had followed Cyrus, and whom the whole power of Perſia was not able to prevent from retreating into their own country, had inſpired all Greece with a wonderful confidence in their forces, and a ſupreme contempt for the Barbarians. In this diſpoſition of the people, the Lacedæmonians conceived it would reproach them, to neglect ſo favourable a conjuncture for delivering the Greeks in Aſia from their ſubjection to thoſe Barbarians, and for putting an end to the outrages and violences with which they were continually oppreſſing them. They had already attempted this by their generals Thimbron and Dercyllidas; but all their endeavours having hitherto proved ineffectual, they referred the conduct of this war to the care of Ageſilaus. He promiſed them either to conclude a glorious peace with the Perſians, or to employ them ſo effectually, as ſhould leave them neither leiſure nor inclination to carry the war into Greece. The king had great views, and thought of nothing leſs than attacking Artaxerxes in Perſia itſelf.

When he arrived at Epheſus, Tiſſaphernes ſent to demand what reaſons had induced his coming into Aſia, and why he had taken up arms. He replied, that he came to aid the Greeks who inhabited there, and to re-

eſtabliſh them in their ancient liberty. [e] The ſatrap, who was not yet prepared, preferred art to force, and aſſured him that his maſter would give the Grecian cities of Aſia their liberty, provided he committed no acts of hoſtility till the return of the couriers. Ageſilaus agreed, and the truce was ſworn on both ſides. Tiſſaphernes, who laid no great ſtreſs upon an oath, took the advantage of this delay to aſſemble troops on all ſides. The Lacedæmonian general was apprized of it, but however kept his word; being convinced, that in affairs of ſtate, the breach of faith can have but a very ſhort and precarious ſucceſs; whereas a reputation eſtabliſhed upon inviolable fidelity in the obſervance of engagements, which the perfidy itſelf of other contracting parties has not power to alter, will eſtabliſh a credit and confidence, equally uſeful and glorious. In effect, Xenophon remarks, that this religious obſervation of treaties gained him the univerſal eſteem and opinion of the cities; whilſt the different conduct of Tiſſaphernes entirely loſt him their favour.

[f] Ageſilaus made uſe of this interval in acquiring an exact knowledge of the ſtate of the cities, and in making ſuitable regulations. He found great diſorder every where, their government being neither democratical, as under the Athenians, nor ariſtocratical, as Lyſander had eſtabliſhed it. [g] The people of the country had no communication with Ageſilaus, nor had ever known him; for which reaſon they made no court to him, conceiving, that he had the title of general for form ſake only, and that the whole power was really veſted in Lyſander. As no governor had ever done ſo much good to his friends, or hurt to his enemies, it is not wonderful that he was ſo much beloved by the one and feared by the other. All therefore were eager to pay their homage to him, were every day in crowds at his door, and made his train very numerous when he went abroad; whilſt Ageſilaus remained almoſt alone. Such a conduct could not fail of offending a general and king,

[e] Xenoph. p. 496, & 652. [f] A. M. 3609. Ant. J. C. 395.
[g] Plut. in Ageſil. p. 599, 600. In Lyſand. p. 446, 447.

extremely

extremely ſenſible and delicate in what regarded his authority; though otherwiſe not jealous of any one's merit, but on the contrary, much inclined to diſtinguiſh it with his favour. He did not diſſemble his diſguſt. He paid no regard to Lyſander's recommendation, and ceaſed to employ him himſelf. Lyſander preſently perceived this alteration in regard to him. He diſcontinued his applications for his friends to the king, deſired them not to viſit him any more, nor attach themſelves to him, but to addreſs themſelves directly to the king, and to cultivate the favour of thoſe, who in the preſent times had power to ſerve and advance their creatures. The greateſt part of them gave over importuning him with their affairs, but did not ceaſe to pay their court to him. On the contrary, they were only more aſſiduous than ever about his perſon, attended him in throngs when he took the air abroad, and regularly aſſiſted at all his exerciſes. Lyſander, naturally vain, and long accuſtomed to the homage and ſubmiſſion that attended abſolute power, did not take ſufficient care to remove the buſy crowd from his perſon, that continually made their addreſſes to him with more application than ever.

This ridiculous affectation of authority and grandeur grew ſtill more and more offenſive to Ageſilaus, and ſeemed as if intended to inſult him. He reſented it ſo highly, that having given the moſt conſiderable commands and beſt governments to private officers, he appointed Lyſander commiſſary of the ſtores, and diſtributer of proviſions; and afterwards to inſult and deride the Ionians, he told them, "that they might now go and conſult his maſter butcher."

Lyſander thought it then incumbent upon him to ſpeak and to come to an explanation with him. Their converſation was brief and laconic. "Certainly, my lord," ſaid Lyſander, "you very well know how to depreſs your friends." "Yes, when they would ſet themſelves above me; but when they are ſtudious of my dignity, I know alſo how to let them ſhare in it." "But perhaps, my lord," replied Lyſander, "I have been injured by falſe reports, and things I never did have been imputed

imputed to me. I muſt beg therefore, if it be only upon account of the ſtrangers, who have all of them their eyes upon us, that you would give me an employment in your army, wherein you ſhall think me leaſt capable of diſpleaſing, and moſt of ſerving you effectually."

The effect of this converſation was the lieutenantcy of the Helleſpont, which Ageſilaus gave him. In this employment he retained all his reſentment, without however neglecting any part of his duty, or of what conduced to the ſucceſs of affairs. Some ſmall time after he returned to Sparta without any marks of honour and diſtinction, extremely incenſed againſt Ageſilaus, and with the hope of making him perfectly ſenſible of it.

It muſt be allowed that Lyſander's conduct, as we have here repreſented it, denotes a vanity and narrowneſs of mind on his ſide, much unworthy of his reputation. Perhaps Ageſilaus carried too far his ſenſibility and delicacy in point of honour, and that he was a little too ſevere upon a friend and benefactor, whom ſecret animadverſions, attended with openneſs of heart and expreſſions of kindneſs, might have reclaimed to his duty. But as ſhining as Lyſander's merit, and as conſiderable as the ſervices he had rendered Ageſilaus might be, they could not all of them give him a right, not only to an equality with his king and general, but to the ſuperiority he affected, which in ſome meaſure tended to making the other inſignificant. He ought to have remembered, that it is never allowable for an inferior to forget himſelf, and to exceed the bounds of juſt ſubordination.

[h] Upon his return to Sparta he had it ſeriouſly in his thoughts to execute a project, which he had many years revolved in his mind. At Sparta there were only two families, or rather branches of the poſterity of Hercules, who had a right to the throne. When Lyſander had attained to that high degree of power which his great actions had acquired him, he began to ſee with pain a city, whoſe glory had been ſo much augmented by his exploits, under the government of princes, to whom he

[h] Plut. in Lyſand. p. 447, 448. Diod. l. xiv, p. 244, 245.

gave

gave place neither in valour nor birth; for he defcended, as well as themfelves, from Hercules. He therefore fought means to deprive thofe two houfes of the fole fucceffion to the crown, and to extend that right to all the other branches of the Heraclides, and even, according to fome, to all the natives of Sparta; flattering himfelf, that if his defign took effect, no Spartan could be capable of difputing that honour with him, and that he fhould have the preference to all others.

This ambitious project of Lyfander fhows, that the greateft captains are often thofe from whom a republic has moft to apprehend. Thofe haughty valiant fpirits, accuftomed to abfolute power in armies, bring back with victory a daring loftinefs of mind, always to be dreaded in a free ftate. Sparta, in giving Lyfander unlimited power, and leaving it for fo many years in his hands, did not fufficiently confider, that nothing is more dangerous than to confide to perfons of fuperior merit and abilities, employments of fupreme authority, which naturally expofes them to the temptation of rendering themfelves independent, and abfolute mafters of power. Lyfander was not proof againft it, and practifed fecretly to open himfelf a way to the throne.

The undertaking was bold, and required long preparations. He thought it impoffible to fucceed without firft making ufe of the fear of the divinity, and the terrors of fuperftition, to amaze and fubdue the citizens into a more eafy difpofition to receive what he wanted to have them underftand; for he knew that at Sparta, as well as throughout all Greece, nothing of the leaft importance was determined, without the oracle's being previoufly confulted. He tempted with great prefents the prieftS and prieftefles of Delpos, Dodona, and Ammon; though ineffectually at that time; and the latter even fent ambaffadors to Sparta, to accufe him of impiety and facrilege; but he extricated himfelf from that bad affair by his credit and addrefs.

It was neceffary to fet other engines at work. A woman in the kingdom of Pontus, affirming that fhe was with child by Apollo, had been delivered fome years before

before of a ſon, to whom the name of Silenus, was given, and the greateſt perſons of that nation had diſputed the honour of nurſing and educating him. Lyſander, taking this wonderous birth for the commencement, and in a manner the foundation of the piece he meditated, ſupplied the reſt himſelf, by employing a good number of perſons, and thoſe not inconſiderable, to diſperſe, by way of prologue to the performance, the miraculous birth of this infant; whereby, no affectation appearing in them, people were diſpoſed to believe it. This being done, they brought certain diſcourſes from Delphos to Sparta, which were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad every where, that the prieſts of the temple had in their cuſtody ſome books of very ancient oracles, which they kept concealed from all the world, and of which it was not permitted, either for them or any other perſons whatſoever, to have any knowledge; and that only a ſon of Apollo, who was to come in proceſs of time, after having given undoubted proofs of his birth to thoſe who had the books in their keeping, was to take and carry them away.

All this being well premiſed, Silenus was to preſent himſelf to the prieſts, and demand thoſe oracles as the ſon of Apollo; and the prieſts, who were in the ſecret, as actors well prepared and fully inſtructed in their parts, were on their ſide to make the moſt exact and circumſtantial enquiry into every thing, not without affecting great difficulty, and aſking endleſs queſtions for the full proof of his birth. At length, as abſolutely convinced, that this Silenus was the real ſon of Apollo, they were to produce the books, and deliver them to him; after which, this ſon of Apollo was to read the prophecies contained in them, in the preſence of all the world; and particularly that for which the whole contrivance had been cooked up. The ſenſe of this was, "That it was more expedient and advantageous for the Spartans to elect no king for the future but the moſt worthy of their citizens." Lyſander in conſequence was to mount the tribunal, to harangue the citizens, and induce them to make this alteration. Cleon of Helicarnaſſus, a celebrated

brated rhetorician, had composed a very eloquent discourse for him upon this subject, which he had got by heart.

Silenus grew up, and repaired to Greece in order to play his part, when Lysander had the mortification to see his piece miscarry, by the timidity and desertion of one of his principal actors, who broke his word, and disappeared at the very instant it was to have been performed. Though this intrigue had been carried on a great while, it was transacted with so much secrecy to the time it was to have made its appearance, that nothing of it was known during the life of Lysander. How it came to light after his death we shall soon relate, but must at present return to Tissaphernes.

SECT. III. *Expeditions of Agesilaus in Asia. Disgrace and Death of Tissaphernes. Sparta gives Agesilaus the command of its Armies by Sea and Land. He deputes Pisander to command the Fleet. Interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabasus.*

[i] WHEN Tissaphernes had received the troops assigned him by the king, and drawn together all his forces, he sent to command Agesilaus to retire out of Asia, and declared war against him in case of refusal. His officers were all alarmed, not believing him in a condition to oppose the great army of the Persian king. For himself, he heard Tissaphernes's heralds with a gay and easy countenance, and bade them tell their master, that he was under a very great obligation to him *for having made the gods, by his perjury, the enemies of Persia and the friends of Greece.* He promised himself great things from this expedition, and would have thought it an exceeding disgrace for him, that ten thousand Greeks, under the command of Xenophon, should have passed through the heart of Asia to the Grecian Sea, and beat the king of Persia as often as he appeared against them; and that he, who commanded the Lace-

[i] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 497—502. Idem, de Agesil. p. 652—656. Plut. in Agesil. p. 600.

dæmonians,

dæmonians, whose empire extended all over Greece by sea and land, should not execute some exploit worthy of glory and remembrance.

At first, therefore, to revenge the perfidy of Tissaphernes by a just and allowable deceit, he made a feint of marching his army into Caria, the residence of that satrap; and as soon as the Barbarian had caused his troops to march that way, he turned short and fell upon Phrygia, where he took many towns, and amassed immense treasures, which he distributed amongst the officers and soldiers: letting his friends see, says Plutarch, that to break a treaty, and violate an oath, is to despise the gods themselves; and that, on the contrary, to deceive an enemy by the stratagems of war, is not only just and glorious, but a sensible delight, attended with the greatest advantages.

The spring being come, he assembled all his forces at Ephesus; and to exercise his soldiers, he proposed prizes both for the horse and foot. This small inducement set every thing in motion. The place for exercises was perpetually full of all kinds of troops, and the city of Ephesus seemed only a palæstra, and a school of war. The whole market-place was filled with horses and arms, and the shops with different kinds of military equipage. Agesilaus was seen returning from the exercises, followed by a crowd of officers and soldiers, all of them crowned with wreaths, which they were going to deposit in the temple of Diana, to the great admiration and delight of all the world. For, says Xenophon, where piety and discipline are seen to flourish, the best hopes must be conceived.

To give his soldiers new valour from the contempt of their enemies, he made use of this contrivance. He ordered the commissaries, who had charge of the booty, to strip the prisoners and expose them to sale. There were abundance of buyers for their habits; but for themselves, their bodies were so soft, white, and delicate, having been nurtured and brought up in the shade, that they laughed at them, as of neither service nor value. Agesilaus took this occasion to approach

and

and ſay to his ſoldiers, pointing to the men, "ſee there againſt whom you fight;" and ſhowing them their rich ſpoils, "and there for what you fight."

When the ſeaſon for taking the field returned, Ageſilaus gave out that he would march into Lydia. Tiſſaphernes, who had not forgot the firſt ſtratagem he had uſed in regard to him, and was not willing to be deceived a ſecond time, made his troops march directly for Caria; not doubting, but at this time, Ageſilaus would turn his arms that way; the rather, becauſe it was natural for him, as he wanted cavalry, to endeavour to make a rough and difficult country the ſeat of action, which might render the horſe of an enemy uſeleſs and unſerviceable. But he deceived himſelf: Ageſilaus entered Lydia and approached Sardis. Tiſſaphernes haſtened thither with his horſe, with intent to relieve the place. Ageſilaus knowing that his infantry had not had time to arrive, thought proper to take the advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity to give him battle, before he had reaſſembled all his troops. He drew up his army in two lines; the firſt he formed of his ſquadrons, whoſe intervals he filled up with platoons of the light-armed foot, and ordered them to begin the charge, whilſt he followed with the ſecond line, compoſed of his heavy-armed infantry. The Barbarians did not ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, but took to their heels immediately. The Greeks purſued them, and forced their camp, where they made a great ſlaughter, and a ſtill greater booty.

[k] After this battle the troops of Ageſilaus were at entire liberty to plunder and ravage the whole country of the Perſians, and at the ſame time had the ſatisfaction to ſee that prince inflict an exemplary puniſhment upon Tiſſaphernes, who was a very wicked man, and the moſt dangerous enemy of the Greeks. [l] The king had already received abundance of complaints againſt his conduct. Upon this occaſion he was accuſed of treaſon, as not having done his duty in the battle. Queen Paryſatis, always actuated by her hatred and

[k] Xenoph. p. 501, & 657. Plut. in Artax. p. 1022. & in Ageſil. p. 601. [l] Diod. l. xiv. p. 299. Polyæn. Stratag. l. vii.

revenge

revenge against those who had any share in the death of her son Cyrus, did not a little contribute to the death of Tissaphernes, by aggravating with all her power the charges against him; for she had been entirely restored to favour by the king her son.

As Tissaphernes had a great authority in Asia, the king was afraid to attack him openly, but thought it necessary to take suitable precautions in seizing so powerful an officer, who might have proved a dangerous enemy. He charged Tithraustes with that important commission, and gave him two letters at the same time. The first was for Tissaphernes, and contained the king's orders in regard to the war with the Greeks, with full power to act as was requisite. The second was addressed to Ariæus, governor of Larissa; by which the king commanded him to assist Tithraustes with his council, and all his forces, in seizing Tissaphernes. He lost no time, and sent to desire Tissaphernes would come to him, that they might confer together upon the operations of the ensuing campaign. Tissaphernes, who suspected nothing, went to him with only a guard of three hundred men. Whilst he was in a bath, without sabre or other arms, he was seized, and put into the hands of Tithraustes, who caused his head to be struck off, and sent it immediately to Persia. The king gave it to Parysatis; an agreeable present to a princess of her violent and vindictive temper. Though this conduct of Artaxerxes seems little worthy of a king, nobody lamented the death of that satrap, who had no veneration for the gods, nor any regard for men; who looked upon probity and honour as empty names; who made a jest of the most sacred oaths, and believed the whole ability and policy of a statesman consisted in knowing how to deceive others by hypocrisy, fraud, perfidy, and perjury.

Tithraustes had a third writing from the king, whereby he was appointed to command the armies in the room of Tissaphernes. [m] After having executed his commission, he sent great presents to Agisilaus, to in-

[m] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii, p. 501. Plut. in Agesil. p. 601.

duce

duce him to enter more readily into his views and interest; and ordered him to be told, that the cause of the war being removed, and the author of all differences put to death, nothing opposed an accommodation; that the king of Persia consented, that the cities of Asia should enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, provided he would withdraw his troops, and return into Greece. Agesilaus replied, that he could conclude nothing without the orders of Sparta, upon whom alone depended the peace; that as for him, he was better pleased with enriching his soldiers than himself; that the Greeks besides thought it more glorious and honourable to take spoils from their enemies, than to accept their presents. However, as he was not unwilling to give Tithraustes the satisfaction of removing out of his province, and of expressing his gratitude to him for having punished the common enemy of the Greeks, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabasus. Tithraustes had himself proposed that expedition to him, and paid him thirty talents for the charges of his journey.

Upon his march, he received a letter from the magistrates of Sparta, with orders to take upon him the command of the naval army, and power to depute whom he thought fit in his stead. By these new powers he saw himself absolute commander of all the troops in that state in Asia both by sea and land. This resolution was taken, in order that all operations being directed by one and the same head, and the two armies acting in concert, the plans for the service might be executed with more uniformity, and every thing conspire to the same end. Sparta till then had never done the honour to any of their generals, to confide to him at the same time the command of the armies by sea and land. So that all the world agreed, that he was the greatest personage of his time, and best sustained the high reputation he enjoyed. But he was a man, and had his failings.

The first thing he did was to establish Pisander his lieutenant in the fleet; in which he seemed to have committed a considerable fault; because having about him

many older and more experienced captains, without regard to the ſervice of the public, to do honour to an ally, and to pleaſe his wife, who was Piſander's ſiſter, he intruſted him with the command of the fleet; that employment being much above his abilities, though he was not without his merit.

This is the common temptation of perſons in power, who believe they poſſeſs it only for themſelves and their families; as if the advantage of relation to them were a ſufficient title and qualification for poſts which require great abilities. They do not reflect, that they not only expoſe the affairs of a ſtate to ruin by their private views, but ſacrifice beſides the intereſts of their own glory, which cannot be maintained but by ſucceſſes it were inconſiſtent to expect from inſtruments ſo ill choſen.

[n] Ageſilaus continued with his army in Phrygia, upon the lands of Pharnabaſus's government, where he lived in the abundance of all things, and amaſſed great ſums of money. From thence advancing as far as Paphlagonia, he made an alliance with king Cotis, who paſſionately deſired his amity, from the ſenſe of his faith in the obſervance of treaties, and his other virtues. The ſame motive had already induced Spithridates, one of the king's principal officers, to quit the ſervice of Pharnabaſus, and go over to Ageſilaus, to whom, from his revolt, he had rendered great ſervices; for he had a great body of troops, and was very brave. This officer, having entered Phrygia, had laid waſte the whole country under Pharnabaſus, who never dared to appear in the field againſt him, nor even rely upon his fortreſſes: but carrying away whatever was moſt valuable and dear to him, he kept flying continually before him, and retired from one place to another, changing his camp every day. Spithridates at length, taking with him ſome Spartan troops, with Herippidas, (the chief of the council of thirty, ſent, by the republic, to Ageſilaus the ſecond year) watched him one day ſo cloſely, and attack-

[n] A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 507-510.

ed him so successfully, that he made himself master of his camp, and of all the rich spoils with which it abounded. But Herippidas, injudiciously setting himself up as an inexorable comptroller, was for bringing the booty that had been sunk to an account; forced even the soldiers of Spithridates to restore what they had taken, and by visiting their tents, and searching them with an unseasonable exactitude and severity, affronted Spithridates to such a degree, that he withdrew directly to Sardis with his Paphlagonians.

It is said that in this whole expedition nothing so sensibly affected Agesilaus as the retreat of Spithridates. For, besides his being very sorry for the loss of so good an officer, and such good troops, he apprehended being reproached with mean and sordid avarice: a vice equally dishonourable to himself and his country; and of which he had taken pains to avoid the slightest suspicion during his whole life. He did not think it consistent with the duty of his office to shut his eyes, through slothful ease and indolence, against all the malversations that were committed under him; but he knew, at the same time, that there is an exactitude and severity, that by being carried too far, degenerate into minuteness and petulancy, and which, through an extreme affectation of virtue, becomes a real and dangerous vice.

[a] Some time after, Pharnabasus, who saw his country ravaged, demanded an interview with Agesilaus, which was negociated by a common friend of them both. Agesilaus arrived first, with his friends, at the place agreed on, and sat down, in expectation of Pharnabasus, upon the turf, under the shade of a tree. When Pharnabasus arrived, his people spread skins upon the ground, of exceeding softness from the length of their hair, with rich carpets of various colours, and magnificent cushions. But when he saw Agesilaus sitting simply upon the ground, without any preparation, he was ashamed of his effeminacy, and sat down also upon the grass. On this occasion the Persian pride

[a] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 510—512. Plut. in Agesil. p. 602.

was ſeen to pay homage to the Spartan modeſty and ſimplicity.

After reciprocal ſalutations, Pharnabaſus ſpoke to this effect: That he had ſerved the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponneſian war to the utmoſt of his power, fought ſeveral battles for them, and ſupported their naval army without giving any room to reproach him with fraud or treachery, as Tiſſaphernes had done: that he was ſurpriſed at their coming to attack him in his government; burning the towns, cutting down the trees, and laying waſte the whole country: that if it was the cuſtom with the Greeks, who made profeſſion of honour and virtue, to treat their friends and benefactors in ſuch a manner, he did not know what they might mean by juſt and equitable. Theſe complaints were not entirely without foundation, and were uttered with a modeſt, but pathetic air and tone of voice. The Spartans, who attended Ageſilaus, not ſeeing how they could be anſwered, caſt down their eyes, and kept a profound ſilence. Ageſilaus, who obſerved it, replied almoſt in theſe terms: "Lord Pharnabaſus, you are not ignorant, that war often arms the beſt friends againſt each other for the defence of their country. Whilſt we were ſuch to the king your maſter, we treated him as a friend; but as we are become his enemies, we make open war againſt him, as it is juſt we ſhould, and endeavour to hurt him by what we act againſt you. However, from the inſtant you ſhall think fit to throw off the yoke of bondage, and prefer being called the friend and ally of the Greeks, before the name of the king of Perſia's ſlave, you may reckon that all the troops you ſee before your eyes, our arms, our ſhips, our perſons to the laſt man of us, are only here to defend your poſſeſſions, and ſecure your liberty, which of all bleſſings is the moſt precious and deſirable."

Pharnabaſus anſwered, that if the king ſent another general in his place, and ſubjected him to the new comer, he ſhould very willingly accept his offer; that otherwiſe he would not depart from the faith he had ſworn to him, nor quit his ſervice. Ageſilaus then tak-

ing him by the hand, and rising with him, replied, "That it were the pleasure of the gods, lord Pharnabasus, with such noble sentiments, that you were rather our friend than our enemy." He promised to withdraw from his government, and never return into it, whilst he could subsist elsewhere.

SECT. IV. *League against the Lacedæmonians. Agesilaus, recalled by the Ephori to defend his County, obeys directly. Lysander's Death. Victory of the Lacedæmonians near Nemea. Their Fleet beaten by Conon at Cnidos. Battle gained by the Lacedæmonians at Coronæ.*

[p] AGESILAUS had been two years at the head of the army, and had already made the most remote provinces of Asia tremble at his name, and resound with the fame of his great wisdom, disinterestedness, moderation, intrepid valour in the greatest dangers, aud invincible patience in supporting the rudest fatigues. Of so many thousand soldiers under his command, not one was worse provided, or lay harder, than himself. He was so indifferent as to heat or cold, that he seemed formed* only to support the most rigorous seasons, and such as it pleased God to send: which are Plutarch's express words.

The most agreeable of all sights to the Greeks settled in Asia, was to see the lieutenants of the great king, his satraps, and other great lords, who were formerly so haughty and untractable, soften their note in the presence of a man meanly clad, and at his single word, however short and laconic, change their language and conduct, and, in a manner, transform themselves into different creatures. Deputies from all parts were sent by the people to form alliances with him, and his army increased every day by the troops of the Barbarians that came to join him.

p A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394. Plut. in Agesil. p. 603, 604. Xenoph. in Agesil. p. 657.

* Ωσπερ μονος αει χρησθαι ταις υπο θεου κεκρασμεναις ωραις πεφυκως.

All

All Asia was already in motion, and most of the provinces ready to revolt. Agesilaus had already restored order and tranquillity in all the cities, had reinstated them in the possession of their liberty, under reasonable modifications, not only without shedding of blood, but without even banishing a single person. Not content with such a progress, he had formed the design of attacking the king of Persia in the heart of his dominions, to put him in fear for his own person and the tranquillity he enjoyed in Ecbatana and Susa, and to find him so much business as should make it impracticable for him to embroil all Greece from his cabinet, by corrupting the orators and persons of greatest authority in its cities with his presents.

[q] Tithraustes, who commanded for the king in Asia, seeing the tendency of Agesilaus's designs, and desiring to prevent their effects, had sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with great sums of money, to corrupt the principal persons in the cities, and by their means occasion defections against Sparta. He knew that the haughtiness of the Lacedæmonians (for all their generals did not resemble Agesilaus) and the imperious manner with which they treated their neighbours and allies, especially since they considered themselves as the masters of Greece, had universally disgusted the people, and excited a jealousy that waited only an occasion to break out against them. This severity of governing had a natural cause in their education. Accustomed from their infancy to obey without delay or reply, first to their tutors, and afterwards to their magistrates, they exacted a like submission from the cities in their dependence, were easily incensed by the least opposition, and by this excessive severity rendered themselves insupportable.

Tithraustes therefore did not find it difficult to draw off the allies from their party. Thebes, Argos, Corinth, entered into his measures: the deputy did not go to Athens. These three cities, influenced by those that governed them, made a league against the Lacedæmo-

[q] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 502—507. Plut. in Lysand. p. 449—451.

nians

nians who on their ſide prepared vigorouſly for the war. The Thebans, at the ſame time, ſent deputies to the Athenians to implore their aid, and that they would enter into the alliance. The deputies, after having ſlightly paſſed over their ancient diviſions, inſiſted ſtrongly upon the conſiderable ſervice they had rendered Athens, in refuſing to join its enemies, when they endeavoured its final deſtruction. They repreſented to them the favourable opportunity that offered for reinſtating themſelves in their ancient power, and to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the empire of Greece. That all the allies of Sparta, either without or within Greece, were weary of their ſevere and unjuſt ſway, and waited only the ſignal to revolt. That the moment the Athenians ſhould declare themſelves, all the cities would rouſe up at the ſound of their arms, and that the king of Perſia, who had ſworn the ruin of Sparta, would aid them with all his forces both by ſea and land.

Thraſybulus, whom the Thebans had ſupplied with arms and money, when he undertook the re-eſtabliſhment of the Athenian liberty, ſeconded their demand with great vigour, and the aid was unanimouſly reſolved. The Lacedæmonians, on their ſide, took the field without loſs of time, and entered Phocis. Lyſander wrote to Pauſanias, who commanded one of the two armies, to give him notice to march early the next day to Haliartus, which he deſigned to beſiege, and that he ſhould be there himſelf at ſun-riſe. The letter was intercepted. Lyſander, after having waited his coming up a great while, was obliged to engage, and was killed in the battle. Pauſanias received this bad news on his way; but, however, continued his march to Haliartus, and called a council of war to conſider upon a ſecond battle. He did not think it conſiſtent with prudence to hazard it, and contented himſelf with making a truce, to remove the bodies of thoſe who had fallen in the former fight. Upon his return to Sparta, he was cited to give an account of his conduct, and, refuſing to appear, was condemned to die. But he avoided the execution of that ſentence by flight, and retired to Tegeum, where

where he paſſed the remainder of his life under the ſhelter and protection of Minerva, to whom he had rendered himſelf a ſuppliant, and died of diſeaſe.

Lyſander's poverty, having been diſcovered after his death, did great honour to his memory; when it was known, that of all the gold and riches which had paſſed through his hands, of a power ſo extenſive as his had been, of ſo many cities under his government, and which made their court to him, in a word, of that kind of dominion and ſovereignty always exerciſed by him, he had made no manner of advantage for the advancement and enriching of his houſe.

Some days before his death, two of the principal citizens of Sparta had contracted themſelves to his two daughters; but when they knew in what condition he had left his affairs, they refuſed to marry them. The republic did not ſuffer ſo ſordid a baſeneſs to go unpuniſhed, nor Lyſander's poverty, which was the ſtrongeſt proof of his juſtice and virtue, to be treated as an obſtacle to allying into his family. They were fined in a great ſum, publicly diſgraced, and expoſed to the contempt of all perſons of honour. For at Sparta there were penalties eſtabliſhed, not only for ſuch as refuſed to marry, or married too late; but alſo for thoſe who married amiſs: and thoſe eſpecially were reckoned of this number, who inſtead of allying into houſes of virtue, and with their own relations, had no motive but wealth and lucre in marriage. An admirable law, and highly tending to perpetuate probity and honour in families, which an impure mixture of blood *and manners* ſeldom fails to alter and efface.

It muſt be owned, that a generous diſintereſtedneſs in the midſt of all that could inflame and gratify the luſt of gain is very rare, and well worthy of admiration; but in Lyſander it was attended with great defects, which entirely obſcure its luſtre. Without ſpeaking of his imprudence in introducing gold and ſilver into Sparta, which he deſpiſed himſelf, though he rendered it eſtimable to his country, and thereby occaſioned its ruin, what opinion can we have of a man, brave indeed,

well

well read in men, skilful in affairs, and of great ability in the arts of government, and what is commonly called policy, but who regards probity and justice as nothing; to whom falsehood, fraud, and perfidy, appear legal methods for the attainment of his ends; who does not fear, for the advancement of his friends, and the augmenting of his creatures, to commit the most flagrant injustice and oppressions, and is not ashamed to profane whatever is most sacred in religion, even to the corrupting of priests, and forging of oracles to satiate the empty ambition of being equal to a king, and of ascending the throne?

[r] When Agesilaus was upon the point of leading his troops into Persia, the Spartan Epicydidas arrived to let him know that Sparta was threatened with a furious war; that the Ephori recalled him, and ordered him to return immediately for the defence of his country. Agesilaus did not deliberate a moment, but returned this answer immediately to the Ephori, which Plutarch has transmitted to us. "[s] Agesilaus to the Ephori, greeting. We have reduced part of Asia, put the Barbarians to flight, and made great preparations for war in Ionia; but as you order me to return, I am not far behind this letter, and should prevent it if possible. I received the command not for myself, but my country and its allies. I know that a general does not deserve, or possess that name really, but as he submits to the laws and the Ephori, and obeys the magistrates."

This ready obedience of Agesilaus has been much admired and applauded, and not without reason. Hannibal, though depressed with misfortunes, and driven almost entirely out of Italy, obeyed his citizens with great reluctance, when they recalled him to deliver Carthage from the dangers that threatened it. Here a victorious prince, ready to enter the enemy's country, and to attack the king of Persia even upon his throne, almost assured of the success of his arms, on the first order of the Ephori, renounces the most soothing hopes, and the

[r] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Idem in Agesil. p. 657. Plut. in Agesil. p. 603. 604. [s] Plut. in Apoph. Laconic. p. 211.

most

moſt exalted expectations. He demonſtrates the truth of what was ſaid, "That at Sparta the laws ruled men, and not men the laws."

On his departure he ſaid, "that thirty thouſand of the king's archers drove him out of Aſia;" alluding in thoſe words to a ſpecies of Perſian coin, which had on one ſide the figure of an archer, thirty thouſand of which pieces of money had been diſperſed in Greece, to corrupt the orators and perſons of greateſt power in the cities.

[t] Ageſilaus in quitting Aſia, where he was regretted as the common father of the people, appointed Euxenes his lieutenant, and gave him four thouſand men for the defence of the country. Xenophon went with him. He left at Epheſus, with Megabyzus the guardian of Diana's temple, half the gold he had brought with him from his expedition into Perſia with Cyrus, to keep it for him in truſt, and in caſe of death to conſecrate it to the goddeſs.

[u] In the mean time the Lacedæmonians had raiſed an army, and given the command of it to Ariſtodemus, tutor to king Ageſipolis, then an infant. Their enemies aſſembled to concert the operations of the war. Timolaus of Corinth ſaid, the Lacedæmonians were like a river that grew larger as it removed from its ſource; or to a ſwarm of bees, which it is eaſy to burn in their hive, but diſperſe themſelves a great way when they fly abroad, and become formidable by their ſtings. He was therefore of opinion, that it was proper to attack them in their capitol; which was approved and reſolved. But the Lacedæmonians did not give them time. They took the field, and found the enemy near Nemæa, a city not very remote from Corinth, where a rude battle enſued. The Lacedæmonians had the advantage, which was very conſiderable. Ageſilaus having received this news at Amphipolis, as he was haſtening to the relief of his country, ſent it directly to the cities of Aſia for their encouragement, and to give them hopes of his ſpeedy return, if the ſucceſs of affairs would admit it.

[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. v. p. 359. [u] Xenoph. p. 514—517.

[x] When the approach of Agesilaus was known at Sparta, the Lacedæmonians who remained in the city, to do him honour for the ready obedience he had paid to their orders, caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all young persons who were willing to aid their king, might come and list themselves for that purpose. Not one of them failed to enter himself immediately with the utmost joy. But the Ephori chose only fifty of the bravest and most robust, whom they sent to him, and desired that he would enter Bœotia with the utmost expedition; which he did accordingly.

[y] About the same time the two fleets came up with each other near Cnidos, a city of Caria. That of the Lacedæmonians was commanded by Pisander, Agesilaus's brother-in-law, and that of the Persians by Pharnabasus and Conon the Athenian. The latter, observing that the king of Persia's supplies came slowly, and occasioned the loss of many opportunities, had resolved to go in person to the court, to solicit the king's assistance. As he would not prostrate himself before him, according to the Persian custom, he could not explain himself but by the intervention of others. He represented to him, with a force and spirit seldom pardoned in those who treat with princes, that it was equally shameful and astonishing, that his ministers, contrary to his intention, should suffer his affairs to be disconcerted and ruined for want of the necessary expences; that the richest king in the world should give place to his enemies in the very point he was so infinitely superior to them; that is, in riches; and that for want of remitting the sums his service required to his generals, all their designs were rendered abortive. These remonstrances were free, but just and solid. The king received them perfectly well, and showed, by his example, that truth may often be spoke to princes with success, if courage were not wanting. Conon obtained all he demanded, and the king made him admiral of his fleet.

[x] Plut. in Agesil. p. 605. [y] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 518. Diod. l. xiv. p. 302. Justin. l. vi. c. 2 & 3.

It

It was compoſed of more than fourſcore and ten galleys, to which the enemy's was ſomewhat inferior in number. They came in view of each other near Cnidos, a maritime city of Aſia Minor. Conon, who had in ſome meaſure occaſioned the taking of Athens by the loſs of the ſea fight near Ægoſpotamos, uſed extraordinary efforts in this to retrieve his misfortune, and to obliterate, by a glorious victory, the diſgrace of his former defeat. * He had this advantage, that in the battle he was going to give, the Perſians would be at the whole expence, and bear all the loſs themſelves; whereas the entire fruits of the victory would redound to the Athenians, without hazarding any thing of their own. Piſander had alſo ſtrong motives to ſhow his valour upon this occaſion, that he might not degenerate from the glory of his brother-in-law, and to juſtify the choice he had made in appointing him admiral. In effect, he behaved with extreme valour, and had at firſt ſome advantage; but the battle growing warm, and the allies of Sparta betaking themſelves to flight, he could not reſolve to follow them, and died ſword in hand. Conon took fifty galleys, and the reſt eſcaped to Cnidos. The conſequence of this victory was the revolt of almoſt all the allies of Sparta; ſeveral of whom declared for the Athenians, and the reſt reſumed their ancient liberty. After this battle, the affairs of the Lacedæmonians daily declined. All their actions in Aſia were no more than the feeble efforts of an expiring power, till the defeats of Leuctra and Mantinea completed their downfal.

[z] Iſocrates makes a very juſt reflection upon the revolutions of Sparta and Athens, which had always their ſource and origin in the inſolent proſperity of both thoſe republics. The Lacedæmonians, who were at firſt acknowledged maſters of Greece without oppoſition, fell from their authority only by their enormous abuſe of it.

[z] Iſocrat. in Orat. Ariop. p. 278—280.

* *Eo ſpecioſius quod ne ipſorum quidem Athenienſium ſed alieni imperii viribus dimicet, pugnaturus periculo regis, victurus præmio patriæ.* JUSTIN.

The

The Athenians ſucceeded them in power, and at the ſame time in pride; and we have ſeen into what an abyſs of misfortunes it precipitated them. Sparta having gained the ſuperiority by the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, and the taking of their city, might have improved in their meaſures from the double experience of the paſt; as well in regard to what had befallen themſelves, as from the recent example of their rival; but the moſt affecting examples and events ſeldom or ever occaſion a people to change their conduct. Sparta became as haughty and untractable as before; and ſo experienced the ſame deſtiny again.

To warn the Athenians againſt this misfortune, Iſocrates puts them in mind of the paſt, and of the times wherein they were ſucceſsful in every thing. "You imagine," ſays he, "that provided with a numerous fleet, abſolute maſters at ſea, and ſupported by powerful allies, always ready to give you aid, you have nothing to fear, and may enjoy in repoſe and tranquillity the fruits of your victories: for my part, indulge me to ſpeak with truth and freedom, I think quite otherwiſe. The cauſe of my apprehenſion is, my having obſerved, that the decline of the greateſt republics has always been at the time they believed themſelves moſt powerful, and that their very ſecurity has prepared the precipice into which they have fallen. The reaſon of this is evident. Proſperity and adverſity never come alone, but have each their train of very different effects. The firſt is attended with vain glory, pride, and inſolence, which dazzle the mind; and inſpire raſh and extravagant meaſures: on the contrary, the companions of adverſity, are modeſty, ſelf diffidence and circumſpection, which naturally render men prudent, and apt to amend from their own failings. So that it is hard to judge which of the two conditions we ought to deſire for a city; as that which appears unhappy, is an almoſt certain path to proſperity; and the other, ſo flattering and ſplendid, generally leads on to the greateſt misfortunes." The blow which the Lacedæmonians

received

received at the battle of Cnidos is a mournful proof of what he ſays.

[a] Ageſilaus was in Bœotia, and upon the point of giving battle when this bad news was brought him. Apprehending that it might diſcourage and deter his troops, he cauſed it to be reported in the army, that the Lacedæmonians had gained a conſiderable victory at ſea; and appearing in public with a wreath of flowers upon his head, he offered a ſacrifice of thankſgiving for the good news, and ſent part of it in preſents to his officers[b]. The two armies, almoſt equal in ſtrength, were in view of each other upon the plains of Coronæa, when they drew up in battle. Ageſilaus gave the left wing to the Orchomenians, and took the right himſelf. On the other ſide the Thebans were upon the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon ſays, that this was the moſt furious battle in his time, and may be believed, as he was preſent in it, and fought near the perſon of Ageſilaus, with whom he had returned from Aſia.

The firſt charge was not very obſtinate, nor of long continuance. The Thebans ſoon put the Orchomenians to flight, and Ageſilaus overthrew and routed the Argives. But both parties having learned, that their left wing had been very ſeverely handled and fled, returned immediately; Ageſilaus to oppoſe the Thebans, and to wreſt the victory out of their hands, and the Thebans to follow their left wing, which was retired to Helicon. Ageſilaus at that moment might have aſſured himſelf of a complete victory, if he would have let the Thebans paſs on, and had charged them after in the rear; but carried away by the ardour of his courage, he reſolved to ſtop them with an attack in front, and to beat them by pure force. In which, ſays Xenophon, he ſhowed more valour than prudence.

The Thebans, ſeeing Ageſilaus advance againſt them, drew all their foot immediately into one body, formed a hollow ſquare, and waited his coming up in good or-

[a] Plut. in Ageſil. p. 605.

[b] Ibid. Xenoph. Hiſt. in Græc. p. 518—520. & in Ageſil. p. 659, 660.

der.

der. The engagement was ſharp and bloody on all ſides, but particularly where Ageſilaus fought at the head of the fifty young Spartans ſent him by the city. The valour and emulation of thoſe young men were of great ſervice to Ageſilaus, and may be ſaid to have ſaved his life; for they fought around him with exceeding ardour, and expoſed themſelves foremoſt in all dangers for the ſafety of his perſon. They could not however prevent his receiving ſeveral wounds through his armour from pikes and ſwords. Notwithſtanding, after an exceeding warm diſpute, they brought him off alive from the enemy, and making their bodies a rampart for him, ſacrificed a great number of Thebans to his defence; many of thoſe young men were alſo left upon the field. At length, finding it too difficult to break the Thebans in front, they were forced to have recourſe to what they had at firſt rejected. They opened their phalanx to let them paſs; which when they had done, as they marched afterwards in more diſorder, they charged them again upon the flanks and rear. They could, however, neither break them nor put them to flight. Thoſe brave Thebans made their retreat continually fighting, and gained Helicon, elate with the ſucceſs of the battle, wherein on their ſide they had always remained invincible.

Ageſilaus, though very much weakened by the great number of his wounds, and the quantity of blood he had loſt, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried to the place where his phalanx was drawn up, and had ſeen all the dead bodies removed even upon their own arms. He was informed there, that many of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Itonienſis, which was not very diſtant from the field of battle, and aſked what he would have done with them. As he was full of veneration for the gods, he gave orders to let them go, and even ſent them a guard to eſcort them in ſafety wherever they thought fit.

The next morning Ageſilaus, to try whether the Thebans would have the courage to renew the battle, commanded his troops to crown themſelves with flowers,

ers, and the music of the army to play, whilst a trophy was erected and adorned in honour of his victory. At the same instant the enemy sent heralds to demand his permission to bury their dead; which he granted, with a truce; and having confirmed his victory by that act of a conqueror, he caused himself to be carried to Delphos, where the Pythian games were then celebrated. He made there a solemn procession, which was followed by a sacrifice, and consecrated the tenth part of the booty taken in Asia to the god, which amounted to a hundred talents*. These great men, no less religious than brave, never failed to express by presents their gratitude to the gods for their successes in arms; declaring, by that public homage, that they believed themselves indebted for their victories to their protection.

SECT. V. *Agesilaus returns victorious to Sparta. He always retains his Simplicity and ancient Manners. Conon rebuilds the Walls of Athens. A Peace, shameful to the Greeks, concluded by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian.*

[c] AFTER the festival, Agesilaus returned to Sparta. His citizens received him with all the marks of the most real joy, and beheld him with admiration, when they observed the simplicity of his manners, and the constant frugality and temperance of his life. At his return from foreign countries, where pomp, luxury, sloth, and the love of pleasures entirely prevailed, he was not infected with the manners of the Barbarians, as most of the other generals had been: he made no alteration in his diet, baths, equipage of his wife, ornaments of his arms, or furniture of his house. In the midst of so shining a reputation, and the universal applause, always the same, or rather more modest than before, he distinguished himself from the rest of the citizens, only by a greater submission to the laws, and a more

[c] Plut. in Agesil. p. 606.

* A hundred thousand crowns, or, about 22,500l. sterling.

inviolable

inviolable attachment to the cuſtoms of his country; convinced, that he was only king, to be the brighter example of thoſe virtues to others.

[d] He made greatneſs conſiſt in virtue only. Hearing the Great King (ſo the kings of Perſia uſed to call themſelves) ſpoken of in magnificent terms, and his power extremely extolled; * "I cannot conceive," ſaid he, "wherein he is greater than me, unleſs he be more virtuous."

There were at Sparta ſome citizens, who, vitiated by the prevailing taſte of Greece, made their merit and glory conſiſt in keeping a great number of horſes for the race. He perſuaded his ſiſter Cyniſca to diſpute the prize in the Olympic games, in order to ſhow the Greeks, that thoſe victories on which they ſet ſo high a value, were not the effects of valour and bravery, but of riches and expence. She was the firſt of her ſex who ſhared in this honour. He had not the ſame opinion of the exerciſes, which contributed to render the body more robuſt, and inure it to labour and fatigue; and to place them in greater eſtimation, would often honour them with his preſence.

Some time after Lyſander's death, he diſcovered the conſpiracy formed by that captain againſt the two kings, which till then had not been heard of, and came to light by a kind of accident, in the following manner: [e] upon ſome affairs, which related to the government, it was neceſſary to conſult Lyſander's papers, and Ageſilaus went to his houſe for that purpoſe. In running them over, he fell upon the ſheets, which contained at large the harangue of Cleon, for the new method of proceeding in the election of kings. Surpriſed at peruſing it, he gave over his ſearch, and went away abruptly, to communicate that oration to the citizens, and to let them ſee what manner of man Lyſander was, and how much they had been deceived in regard to him. But Lacratidas, a wiſe and prudent perſon, and preſident of the Ephori, interpoſed, by telling him, that it was highly improper to

[d] Plut. de ſui laud. p. 555. [e] Plut. in Ageſil. p. 606.

* Τιὲ' ἐμοὶ γε μειζον εἰκεινος, ει μη ϗ δικαιοτερος.

raiſe

raiſe Lyſander from the dead; on the contrary, that it was neceſſary to bury his harangue in the ſame grave with him, as of dangerous tendency, from the great art with which it was compoſed, and the force of perſuaſion that univerſally prevailed in it, againſt which it might prove no eaſy matter to reſiſt. Ageſilaus was of the ſame opinion, and the piece was conſigned to ſilence and oblivion, as the beſt uſe that could be made of it.

[f] As his credit was very high in the city, he cauſed Telutias, his brother by his mother's ſide, to be declared admiral of the fleet. It were to be wiſhed that hiſtory, to juſtify this choice, had mentioned any other qualities in that commander, than his nearneſs of blood to the king.

Ageſilaus ſoon after ſet out with his land-army to beſiege Corinth, and took the long walls as they were called, whilſt his brother Telutias attacked it by ſea. He did ſeveral other exploits againſt the people of Greece at war with Sparta, which always argue indeed the valour and experience of the general, but are neither very important nor deciſive, and which we thought, for that reaſon, might be omitted.

[g] At the ſame time Pharnabaſus and Conon, having made themſelves maſters at ſea, ravaged the whole coaſt of Laconia. That ſatrap, returning to his government of Phrygia, left Conon the command of the naval army, with very conſiderable ſums for the re-eſtabliſhment of Athens. Conon victorious, and crowned with glory, repaired thither, where he was received with univerſal applauſe. The ſad proſpect of a city formerly ſo flouriſhing, and at that time reduced to ſo melancholy a condition, gave him more grief than he felt joy in ſeeing his beloved country again, after ſo many years abſence. He loſt no time, but fell immediately to work, employing, beſides maſons and the uſual artizans, the ſoldiers, mariners, citizens, allies, in a word, all who were well inclined to Athens; Providence decreeing that this city, formerly deſtroyed by the Perſians, ſhould be re-

[f] Plut. in Ageſil. p. 606. [g] A. M. 3611. Ant. J. C. 393. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 534—537. Diod. l. xiv. p. 393. Juſtin. l. vi. c. 5.

built

built by their own hands, and that having been dismantled and demolished by the Lacedæmonians, it should be reinstated at their own cost, and by the spoils taken from them. What a vicissitude and alteration was this! Athens at this time had those for its allies, which had formerly been its most violent enemies, and for enemies, those with whom before it had contracted the most strict and most confirmed union. Conon, seconded by the zeal of the Thebans, soon rebuilt the walls of Athens, restored the city to its ancient splendor, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies. [h] After having offered to the gods a whole hecatomb, that is to say, a sacrifice of a hundred oxen, as a thanksgiving for the happy re-establishment of Athens, he made a feast, to which all the citizens, without exception, were invited.

[i] Sparta could not see without extreme affliction so glorious a revolution. It looked upon the grandeur and power of a city, its ancient rival and almost continual enemy, as its own ruin, which made the Lacedæmonians take the mean resolution of avenging themselves at once upon Athens, and Conon its restorer, by making peace with the king of Persia. With this view they dispatched Antalcides to Tiribasus. His commission consisted of two principal articles. The first was, to accuse Conon to that satrap of having defrauded the king of the money, which he had employed in the re-establishment of Athens; and of having formed the design of depriving the Persians of Æolia and Ionia, and to subject them anew to the republic of Athens, upon which they had formerly depended. By the second, he had orders to make the most advantageous proposals to Tiribasus his master could desire. Without giving himself any manner of trouble in regard to Asia, he stipulated only, that all the islands and other cities, should enjoy their laws and liberty. The Lacedæmonians thus gave up to the king, with the greatest injustice and the utmost baseness, all the Greeks settled in Asia; for whose liberty Agesilaus had so long fought.

[h] Athen. l. i. p. 3.

[i] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 537, 538. Plut. in Agesil. p. 608.

It

It is true he had no ſhare in this moſt infamous negotiation; the whole reproach of which ought to fall on Antalcides, who being the ſworn enemy of the king of Sparta, haſtened the peace by all manner of means, becauſe the war augmented the authority, glory, and reputation of Ageſilaus.

The moſt conſiderable cities of Greece had ſent deputies at the ſame time to Tiribaſus, and Conon was at the head of thoſe from Athens. All of them were unanimous in rejecting ſuch propoſals. Without ſpeaking of the intereſts of the Greeks of Aſia, with which they were extremely affected, they ſaw themſelves expoſed by this treaty; the Athenian, to the loſs of the iſles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; the Thebans, to abandon the cities of Bœotia, of which they were in poſſeſſion, and which would thereby regain their independence; and the Argives to renounce Corinth, with the loſs of which Argos itſelf would ſoon, in all probability, be attended. The deputies therefore withdrew without concluding any thing.

Tiribaſus ſeized Conon, and put him in priſon. Not daring to declare openly for the Lacedæmonians, without an expreſs order for that purpoſe, he contented himſelf with ſupplying them underhand with conſiderable ſums of money for fitting out a fleet, in order that the other cities of Greece might not be in a condition to oppoſe them. After having taken theſe precautions, he ſet out directly for the court, to give the king an account of the ſtate of his negotiation. That prince was well ſatisfied with it, and directed him in the ſtrongeſt terms to put the laſt hand to it. Tiribaſus alſo laid before him the Lacedæmonians accuſation of Conon. Some authors, according to Cornelius Nepos, have written that he was carried to Suſa, and there executed by the king's order. The ſilence of Xenophon, who was his contemporary, in regard to his death, makes it doubtful whether he did not eſcape from priſon, or ſuffer, as has been ſaid.

Whilſt this treaty was negociating, ſeveral actions little conſiderable paſſed between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

Lacedæmonians. It was alſo at the ſame time, that Evagoras extended his conqueſts in the iſland of Cyprus, of which we ſhall ſoon treat.

[k] Tiribaſus at length, upon his return, ſummoned the deputies of the Grecian cities to be preſent at the reading of the treaty. It imported, that all the Grecian cities of Aſia ſhould remain dependent on the king, and that the reſt, as well ſmall as great, ſhould have full poſſeſſion of their liberty. The king further reſerved to himſelf the iſles of Cyprus and Clazomena, and left thoſe of Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros, to the Athenians, to whom they had long appertained. By the ſame treaty he engaged to join with ſuch people as came into it, in order to make war by ſea and land againſt all who ſhould refuſe to agree to it. We have already ſaid it was Sparta itſelf propoſed theſe conditions.

All the other cities of Greece, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, rejected ſo infamous a treaty with horror. However as they were weakened and exhauſted by domeſtic diviſions, and not in a condition to ſupport a war againſt ſo powerful a prince, who threatened to fall with all his forces upon thoſe who ſhould refuſe to come into this peace, they were obliged againſt their will to comply with it, except the Thebans, who had the courage to oppoſe it openly at firſt, but were at length reduced to accept it with the others, by whom they found themſelves univerſally abandoned.

Such was the fruit of the jealouſy and diviſions, which armed the Grecian cities againſt each other, and was the end propoſed by the policy of Artaxerxes, in diſtributing ſums of money amongſt the ſeveral eſtates; invincible in arms, and to the ſword, but not to the gold and preſents of the Perſians; ſo remote were they in this reſpect from the character of the ancient Greeks their forefathers.

To comprehend aright how much Sparta and Athens differed from what they had been in former times, we have only to compare the two treaties concluded between the Greeks and Perſians; the former by Cimon

[k] A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 387. Xenoph. l. v. p. 548—551.

the

the Athenian [l] under Artaxerxes Longimanus above ſixty years before, and the latter by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian under Artaxerxes Mnemon. In the firſt, Greece victorious and triumphant, aſſures the liberty of the Aſiatic Greeks, gives the law to the Perſians, impoſes what conditions it pleaſes, and preſcribes bounds and limits, by prohibiting them to approach nearer to the ſea with their troops than the diſtance of three days march; or to appear with long veſſels in any of the ſeas between the Cyanæan and Chalidonian iſlands, that is to ſay, from the Euxine to the coaſts of Pamphilia. In the ſecond, on the contrary, Perſia, grown haughty and imperious, takes pleaſure in humbling its conquerors, in depriving them, with the ſingle ſtroke of a pen, of their empire in Aſia Minor, in compelling them to abandon baſely all the Greeks eſtabliſhed in thoſe rich provinces, to ſubſcribe to their own ſubjection, and to confine themſelves in their turn within the narrow bounds of Greece.

From whence can ſo ſtrange an alteration ariſe? Are there not on both ſides the ſame cities, the ſame people, the ſame forces, and the ſame intereſt? No doubt there are; but they are not the ſame men, or rather, they have no longer the ſame principles of policy. Let us recal thoſe happy times of Greece, ſo glorious for Athens and Sparta, when Perſia came pouring like a deluge upon this little country with all the forces of the Eaſt. What was it that rendered the two cities invincible, and ſuperior to ſuch numerous and formidable armies? Their union and good underſtanding. No diſſenſion between the two ſtates, no jealouſy of command, no private view of intereſt; in fine, no other conteſts between them, but of honour, glory, and the love of their country.

To ſo laudable an union may be added an irreconcileable hatred for the Perſians; which became a kind of nature in the Greeks, and was the moſt diſtinguiſhing character of that nation. [m] It was a capital crime, and puniſhed with death, only to mention peace, or

[l] Diod. l. xii. p. 74, 75. [m] Iſoc. in Panegyr. p. 143.

purpoſe

Teucer of * Salamin, who at his return from Troy built this city, and gave it the name of his country. His defcendants had reigned there from that time; but a ftranger of Phœnicia, having difpoffeffed the lawful king, had taken his place, and to maintain himfelf in the ufurpation, had filled the city with Barbarians, and fubjected the whole ifland to the king of Perfia.

Under this tyrant Evagoras was born, of whofe education great care was taken. He was diftinguifhed amongft the youth by the beauty of his afpect, the vigour of his body, and more by the modefty and innocence of his manners †, which are the greateft ornaments of that age. As he advanced in years, the greateft virtues, valour, wifdom, and juftice, were obferved to brighten in him. He afterwards carried thefe virtues to fo confpicuous a height, as to give jealoufy to thofe that governed; who perceived juftly that fo fhining a merit could not continue in the obfcurity of a private condition; but his modefty, probity, and integrity, reaffured them, and they repofed an entire confidence in him, to which he always anfwered by an inviolable fidelity, without ever meditating their expulfion from the throne by violence or treachery.

A more juftifiable means conducted him to it, Divine Providence, as Ifocrates fays, preparing the way for him. One of the principal citizens murdered the perfon upon the throne, and had contrived to feize Evagoras, and to rid himfelf of him, in order to fecure the crown to himfelf; but that prince efcaping his purfuit retired, to Solos, a city of Cilicia. His banifhment was fo far from abating his courage, that it gave him new vigour. Attended only with fifty followers, determined like himfelf to conquer or die, he returned to Salamin, and expelled the ufurper, though fupported by the credit and protection of the king of Perfia. Having re-eftablifhed himfelf in Salamin, he foon rendered his little kingdom moft flourifhing, by his appli-

* This Teucer was of Salamin, a little ifland near Athens, celebrated for the famous battle under Xerxes.

† *Et qui ornat ætatem, pudor.* Cic.

cation

cation to the relief of his ſubjects, and by protecting them in all things; by governing them with juſtice and benevolence; by making them active and laborious; by inſpiring them with a taſte for the cultivation of lands, the breeding of cattle, commerce, and navigation. He formed them alſo for war, and made them excellent ſoldiers.

He was already very powerful, and had acquired great reputation, when Conon, the Athenian general, after his defeat at Ægoſpotamos, took refuge with him; [p] not thinking it poſſible to find a ſafer aſylum for himſelf, nor a more powerful ſupport of his country. The reſemblance of their manners and ſentiments ſoon made them contract a ſtrict amity with each other, which continued ever after, and proved equally advantageous to both. [q] Conon was in great credit at the king of Perſia's court, which he employed with that prince, by the means of Cteſias the phyſician, to accommodate his differences with his hoſt Evagoras, and happily effected it.

Evagoras and Conon, with the great deſign of ſubverting, or at leaſt reducing, the great power of Sparta, which had rendered itſelf formidable to all Greece, concerted together the means for the attainment of that end. They were both citizens of Athens; the latter by birth, and the other by right of adoption; which his great ſervices and zeal for that republic had deſerved. [r] The ſatraps of Aſia ſaw with pain their country ravaged by the Lacedæmonians, and found themſelves in great difficulties, from not being in a condition to make head againſt them. Evagoras remonſtrated to them, that it was neceſſary to attack the enemy as well by ſea as land; and he did not contribute a little by his credit with the king of Perſia to Conon's being appointed general of his fleet. [s] The celebrated victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidos was the conſequence, and gave the mortal wound to that republic.

[p] A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405. Iſocrat. in Evag. p. 393—395.
[q] A. M. 3605. Ant. J. C. 399. [r] A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398.
[s] A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394.

[t] The Athenians, in acknowledgment of the important services Evagoras and Conon had rendered them with Artaxerxes, erected statues in honour of them.

[u] Evagoras, on his side, extended his conquests from city to city, endeavouring to make himself master of the whole island. The Cypriots had recourse to the king of Persia. That prince, alarmed by the rapid progress of Evagoras, of which he apprehended the effects, and conscious of what importance it was to him to prevent an island's falling into the hands of an enemy, so favourably situated for holding Asia Minor in awe, promised them an immediate and powerful support, without declaring openly however against Evagoras.

[x] Being employed elsewhere by more important affairs, he could not keep his word with them so soon as he expected, and had engaged. That war of Cyprus continued six years, and the success with which Evagoras supported it against the great king, ought to have banished from the Greeks all terror of the Persian name, and united them against the common enemy. It is true, the succours sent by Artaxerxes till then were little considerable, as they also were the two following years. During all that time it was less a real war, than a preparation for war: [y] but when he had disengaged himself from the Greeks, he applied to it vigorously, and attacked Evagoras with all his forces.

The army by land, commanded by Orontes his son-in-law, consisted of three hundred thousand men, and the fleet of three hundred galleys; of which Tirabasus, a Persian of the highest rank and greatest reputation, was admiral. Gaos, his son-in-law, commander under him. Evagoras, on his side, assembled as many troops and ships as he could; but they were a handful in comparison with the formidable preparation of the Persians. He had a fleet of only fourscore and ten galleys, and

[t] Pausan. l. i. p. 5. [u] Diod. l. xiv. p. 311.
[x] A. M. 3614. Ant. J. C. 390. Isocrat. in Paneg. p. 135, 136.
[y] A. M. 3618. Ant. J. C. 386. Diod. l. xv. p. 328—333.

his

his army ſcarce amounted to twenty thouſand men. As he had abundance of light veſſels, he laid ſnares for thoſe that carried the proviſions of the enemy, of which he ſunk a great number, took many, and prevented the reſt from arriving; which occaſioned a famine amongſt the Perſians, attended with violent ſeditions, which could only be appeaſed by the coming of freſh convoys from Cilicia. Evagoras ſtrengthened his fleet with ſixty galleys, which he cauſed to be built, and fifty ſent him by Achoris king of Egypt, with all the money and corn he could have occaſion for.

Evagoras, with his land forces, attacked immediately a part of the enemy's army, which was ſeparate from the reſt, and entirely routed it. This firſt action was ſoon followed by another at ſea, in which the Perſians were worſted for ſome time, till animated by the warm reproaches and remonſtrances of their admiral, they reſumed courage, and obtained a complete victory. Salamin was immediately beſieged by ſea and land. Evagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his ſon Pythagoras, quitted it in the night with ten galleys, and ſailed for Egypt, to engage the king to ſupport him vigorouſly againſt the common enemy. He did not obtain from him all the aid he expected. At his return he found the city in exceeding diſtreſs; and finding himſelf without reſource or hope, he was obliged to capitulate. The propoſals made to him were, that he ſhould abandon all the cities of Cyprus, except Salamin, where he ſhould content himſelf to reign; that he ſhould pay an annual tribute to the king, and remain in obedience to him as a ſervant to a maſter. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were, but he could never reſolve to comply with the laſt, and perſiſted always in declaring, that he could only treat as a king with a king. Tiribaſus, who commanded the ſiege, would abate nothing of his pretenſions.

Orontes, the other general, jealous of his colleague's glory, had written ſecretly to court againſt him, accuſing him, among other things, of forming deſigns againſt

the king, and ſtrengthened his accuſation from his continuing to hold a ſecret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, and his manifeſt endeavours to make the chiefs of the army his creatures, by the force of preſents, promiſes, and a complacency of manners not natural to him. Artaxerxes, upon theſe letters, believed he had no time to loſe, and that it was neceſſary to prevent a conſpiracy ready to break out. He diſpatched orders immediately to Orontes, to ſeize Tiribaſus, and ſend him to court in chains, which was inſtantly put in execution. Tiribaſus, upon his arrival, demanded to be brought to trial in form; that the heads of the accuſation ſhould be communicated to him, and the proofs and witneſſes produced. The king, employed in other cares, had no leiſure at that time to take cognizance of the affair.

Orontes, in the mean time, ſeeing that the beſieged made a vigorous defence, and that the ſoldiers of the army, diſcontented with the removal of Tiribaſus, quitted the ſervice and refuſed to obey him, was afraid affairs would take a bad turn with regard to him. [2] He therefore cauſed Evagoras to be ſpoke to underhand; the negociation was reſumed, the offers made at firſt by the latter were accepted, and the mortifying article, which had prevented the concluſion of the treaty, retrenched. The ſiege was raiſed in conſequence. Evagoras continued king of Salamin only, and engaged to pay an annual tribute.

It appears that this prince lived twelve or thirteen years after the concluſion of the treaty, for his death is dated in the year of the world 3632. His old age was attended with a happineſs and tranquillity never interrupted with ſickneſs or diſeaſe, the uſual effect of a ſober and temperate life. Nicocles, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him, and inherited his virtues as well as throne. He celebrated his funeral with the utmoſt magnificence. The diſcourſe, entitled Evagoras, compoſed by Iſocrates, to inſpire the young king with the deſire of treading in the ſteps of his father, and from which I

[2] A. M. 3619. Ant. J. C. 385.

have

have extracted the subsequent eulogium, served for his funeral oration. He also addressed another tract to Nicocles, which bears his name, wherein he gives him admirable precepts for governing well. I shall, perhaps, have occasion to speak further of them in the ensuing volume.

Eulogy and Character of Evagoras.

[a] Though Evagoras was only king of a little state, Isocrates, who was well able to judge of virtue and merit, compares him with the most powerful monarchs, and proposes him as the perfect model of a good king, convinced that not the extent of provinces, but extent of mind and greatness of soul, constitute great princes. He does in effect point out to us many qualities truly royal in him, and which ought to give us a very high idea of his merit.

Evagoras was not of the number of those princes who believe, that to reign, it is sufficient to be of the blood royal, and that the birth which gives a right to the crown, gives also the merit and qualities necessary for wearing it with honour. He did not fancy, that it could be supposed as every other condition and station of life made a kind of apprenticeship necessary to its success, the art of reigning, the most difficult and important of all, should require no pains and preparation for its attainment. He came into the world with the most happy dispositions; a great fund of genius, an easy conception, a lively and instant penetration, which nothing escaped, a solidity of judgment, that immediately resolved what it was necessary to act; qualities which might seem to dispense with all study and application; and yet, as if he had been born without talents, and found himself obliged to supply by study what he might want by nature, he neglected no means for the embellishment of his mind, and devoted a * considerable part of his time in instructing himself, in reflecting, meditating, and consulting the judgment and merit of others.

[a] Isocrat. in Evag.

* Εν τω ζητειν, ϗ φροντιζειν, ϗ βυλευεσθαι, τον πλειστον χρονον διετριβεν.

When

When he aſcended the throne, his greateſt care and application was to know mankind, in which the ability of a prince, and of thoſe who are at the head of affairs, principally conſiſts. He had, no doubt, prepared himſelf for that ſcience by the ſtudy of hiſtory, which gives a kind of anticipation of it, ſupplies the place of experience, and teaches us what the men are with whom we live, by what they have been in other ages. But we ſtudy men quite differently in themſelves; by their manners, characters, conduct, and actions. The love of the commonwealth rendered him attentive to all perſons who were capable of ſerving or hurting it. He applied himſelf to the diſcovery of their moſt ſecret inclinations and principles of action, and to the knowledge of their different talents and degrees of capacity, in order to aſſign each his proper poſt, to beſtow authority according to merit, and to make the private and public good promote each other. He neither rewarded nor puniſhed his ſubjects, ſays Iſocrates, from the report of others; but ſolely upon his own knowledge and experience of them; and neither the virtues of the good, nor the vices of the bad, eſcaped his enquiry and penetration.

He had one quality very ſeldom found in thoſe who poſſeſs the firſt rank in authority, eſpecially when they believe themſelves capable of governing alone: I mean a wonderful docility and attention to the ſenſe of others, which aroſe from a diffidence in his own abilities. With his great qualities, he did not ſeem to have occaſion for recourſe to the counſel of others, and nevertheleſs made no reſolution, and formed no enterpriſe, without having firſt conſulted the wiſe perſons he had placed about him in his court; inſtead of which, pride and preſumption, the latent poiſons of ſovereign power, incline the greateſt part of thoſe who arrive at thrones, either to aſk no counſel at all, or not to follow it when they do.

Intent upon diſcovering the excellent in every form of government and private condition of life, he propoſed the uniting of all their high qualities and great advantages in himſelf; affable and popular as in a republican

lican ſtate; grave and ſerious as in the councils of the aged and the ſenate; ſteady and deciſive as monarchy after mature deliberation; a profound politician, by the extent and rectitude of his views; an accompliſhed warrior, from intrepid valour in battle directed by a wiſe moderation; a good father, a good relation, a good friend, and what crowns all his praiſe * in every circumſtance of his character, always great, and always himſelf.

He ſupported his dignity and rank, not with an air of pride and haughtineſs, but by a ſerenity of aſpect, and a mild and eaſy majeſty, reſulting from innate virtue, and the evidence of a good conſcience. He won the hearts of his friends by his liberality, and conquered others by a greatneſs of ſoul, to which they could not refuſe their eſteem and admiration.

But what was moſt royal in him, and attracted the entire confidence of his ſubjects, neighbours, and even enemies, was his ſincerity, faith, and regard to all his engagements; and his hatred, or rather deteſtation, for all diſguiſes, falſehood, and fraud. A ſingle word on his ſide had as much regard paid to it as the moſt ſacred oath; and it was univerſally known, that nothing was capable of inducing him to violate it in the leaſt circumſtance whatſoever.

It was by all theſe excellent qualities, that he effectually reformed the city of Salamin, and entirely changed the face of its affairs in a very ſhort time. He found it groſs, ſavage, and barbarous, without any taſte either for learning, commerce, or arms. What cannot a prince do who loves his people, and is beloved by them; who believes himſelf great and powerful only to render them happy; and knows how to ſet a juſt value upon, and do honour to, their labours, induſtry, and merit of every kind? He had not been many years upon the throne before arts, ſciences, commerce, navigation, and military diſcipline, were ſeen to flouriſh at Salamin; inſomuch that that city did not give place to the moſt opulent of Greece.

* Τυραννικος δε τω πασι τουτοις διαφερειν.

Iſocrates

Isocrates often repeats, that in the praises he gives Evagoras, of which I have only extracted a part, far from exaggerating any thing, he always falls short of truth. To what can we attribute a reign so wise, so just, so moderate, so constantly employed in rendering his subjects happy, and in promoting the public good? The condition of Evagoras, before he came to govern, seems to me to have contributed very much to it. The being born a prince, and the having never experienced any other condition but that of master and sovereign, are, in my opinion, great obstacles to the knowledge and practice of the duties of that high station. Evagoras, who came into the world under a tyrant, had long obeyed before he commanded. He had borne in a private and dependent life the yoke of an absolute and despotic power. He had seen himself exposed to envy and calumny, and had been in danger for his merit and virtue. Such a prince had only to be told upon his ascending the throne, what was said to a great *emperor, "†You have not always been what you now are. Adversity has prepared you to make a good use of power. You have lived long amongst us, and like us. You have been in danger under bad princes. You have trembled for yourself, and known by experience how virtue and innocence have been treated." What he had personally suffered, what he had feared for himself or others, what he had seen unjust or unreasonable in the conduct of his predecessors, had opened his eyes, and taught him all his duty. It sufficed to tell him, what the emperor Galba told Piso, when he adopted him his associate in the empire, "‡Remember what you condemned or applauded in princes, when you were a private man. You have only to consult the judgment you then passed upon them, and to act conformably to it, for your instruction in the art of reigning well."

* Trajan.

† *Quam utile est ad usum secundorum per adversa venisse! Vixisti nobiscum, periclitatus es, timuisti. Quæ tunc erat innocentium vita scis, et expertus es.* PLIN. in Panegyr.

‡ *Utilissimus quidum ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum delectus, cogitare quid aut nolueris sub alio principe, aut volueris.* TACIT. Hist. l. i. c. 16.

Trial

TRIAL OF TIRIBASUS.

We have already ſaid, that Tiribaſus, having been accuſed by Orontes of forming a conſpiracy againſt the king, had been ſent to court in chains. Gaos, admiral of the fleet, who had married his daughter, apprehending that Artaxerxes would involve him in the affair with his father-in-law, and cauſe him to be put to death upon mere ſuſpicion, conceived he had no other means for his ſecurity than an open revolt. He was very well beloved by the ſoldiers, and all the officers of the fleet were particularly at his devotion. Without loſs of time he ſent deputies to Achoris king of Egypt, and concluded a league with him againſt the king of Perſia. On another ſide, he ſolicited the Lacedæmonians warmly to come into that league, with aſſurances of making them maſters of all Greece, and of eſtabliſhing univerſally their form of government; at which they had long ſeemed to aſpire. They hearkened favourably to theſe propoſals, and embraced with joy this occaſion of taking arms againſt Artaxerxes; the rather, becauſe the peace they had concluded with him, by which they had given up the Greeks of Aſia, had covered them with ſhame, and filled them with remorſe.

As ſoon as Artaxerxes had put an end to the war of Cyprus*, he thought of concluding alſo the affair of Tiribaſus. He was ſo juſt as to appoint for that purpoſe three commiſſioners, who were great lords of Perſia of diſtinguiſhed probity, and of the higheſt reputation in his court. The affair came to an examination, and a hearing on both ſides. For ſo conſiderable a crime, as that of having conſpired againſt the king's perſon, no other proofs were produced than the letter of Orontes; that is to ſay, of a declared enemy, ſtudious to ſupplant his rival. Orontes was in hopes, from his credit at court, that the affair would not have been

* Diodorus refers the deciſion of this affair, till after the war with the Caduſians, of which we ſhall ſoon ſpeak; this ſeems very improbable.

discussed in the usual forms, and that upon the memorial sent by him, the accused would have been condemned without further examination. But that was not the custom with the Persians. By an ancient established regulation, to which amongst other privileges they had a right by birth, no person was ever to be condemned, without being first heard and confronted with his accusers. This was granted to Tiribasus, who answered to all the articles of the letter. As to his connivance with Evagoras, the treaty itself concluded by Orontes was his apology; as it was absolutely the same that prince had proposed to him, except a condition, which would have done honour to his master. As to his intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, the glorious treaty he had made them sign sufficiently explained, whether his own, or the king's interests were his motives for it. He did not deny his credit in the army; but apprehended, it had not been long a crime to be beloved by the officers and soldiers; and concluded his defence, in representing the long services he had rendered the king with inviolable fidelity; and especially his good fortune in having formerly saved his life, when he was hunting, and in great danger of being devoured by two lions. The three commissioners were unanimous in declaring Tiribasus innocent. The king restored him to his former favour, and justly enraged at the black design of Orontes, let the whole weight of his indignation fall upon him. A single example of this kind against informers convicted of falsehood, would for ever shut the door against calumny. How many innocents have been destroyed for want of observing this rule, which even the Pagans considered as the basis of all justice, and the guardian of the public tranquillity!

SECT. VII. *The Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians. History of Datames the Carian.*

WHEN Artaxerxes had determined the Cyprian war, he entered upon another against the Cadusians, who, it is probable had revolted, and refused

[b] Plut. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024.

to

to pay the cuſtomary tribute; for authors ſay nothing as to the occaſion of this war. Thoſe people inhabited part of the mountains, ſituate between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas in the north of Media. The ſoil is there ſo ungrateful, and ſo little proper for cultivation, that no corn is ſowed upon it. The people ſubſiſt almoſt entirely upon apples, pears, and other fruits of that kind. Inured from their infancy to a hard and laborious life, they looked upon dangers and fatigues as nothing; and for that reaſon made excellent ſoldiers. The king marched againſt them in perſon at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Tiribaſus was with him in this expedition.

Artaxerxes had not advanced far into the country, when his army ſuffered greatly by famine. The troops could find nothing to ſubſiſt upon, and it was impoſſible to bring proviſions from other places, the ways being difficult and impracticable. The whole camp were reduced to eat their carriage beaſts; which ſoon became ſo ſcarce, that an aſs's head was valued at ſixty drachmas*, and was very hard to be got at that price. The king's table itſelf began to fall ſhort, and only a few horſes remained, the reſt having been entirely conſumed.

In this melancholy conjuncture, Tiribaſus contrived a ſtratagem which ſaved the king and army. The Caduſians had two kings who were encamped ſeparately with their troops. Tiribaſus, who took care to be informed of all that paſſed, had been apprized, that there was ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and that their jealouſy of each other prevented their acting in concert, as they ought to have done. After having communicated his deſign to Artaxerxes, he went himſelf to one of the kings, and diſpatched his ſon to the other. They each of them informed the king to whom they applied, that the other had ſent ambaſſadors to treat with Artaxerxes privately, and adviſed him to loſe no time, but to make his peace directly, in order that the conditions of it might be the more advantageous; promiſ-

* Thirty livres.

ing

ing to assist them with their whole credit. The fraud succeeded. The * Pagans thought it no crime to use it with enemies. Ambassadors set out from both parties with Tiribasus and his son in their company.

As this double negociation lasted some time, Artaxerxes began to suspect Tiribasus; and his enemies taking that opportunity, forgot nothing to his prejudice that might ruin him in the king's opinion. That prince already repented the confidence he had reposed in him, and thereby gave room for those who envied him, to vent their calumnies and invectives. Upon what does the fortune of the most faithful subjects depend with a credulous and suspicious prince! Whilst this passed, arrived Tiribasus on his side, and his son on the other, each with ambassadors from the Cadusians. The treaty being concluded with both parties, and the peace made, Tiribasus became more powerful than ever in his master's favour, and returned with him.

The king's behaviour in this march was much admired. Neither the gold with which he was covered, his purple robes, nor the jewels that glittered all over him, and were worth six-and-thirty millions of livres †, prevented his having an equal share in the whole fatigue with the meanest soldier. He was seen with his quiver at his back, and his shield on his arm, to dismount from his horse, and march foremost in those rugged and difficult countries. The soldiers observing his patience and fortitude, and animated by his example, became so light, that they seemed rather to fly than walk. At length he arrived at one of his palaces, where the gardens were in admirable order, and there was a park of great extent and well-planted, which was the more surprising as the whole country about it was entirely naked, and bore no kind of trees. As it was the depth of winter, and excessive cold, he gave the soldiers permission to cut down the wood in this park, without excepting the finest trees, either pines or cypresses. But the soldiers not being able to resolve to

* *Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?* VIRGIL.

† Twelve thousand talents.

fell

fell timber of ſuch exceeding beauty and ſtatelineſs, the king took an ax, and began by cutting the fineſt and largeſt tree himſelf; after which the troops ſpared none, cut down all the wood they wanted, and kindled as many fires as were neceſſary to their paſſing the night without any inconvenience. When we reflect how much value great perſons generally ſet upon their gardens and houſes of pleaſure, we muſt confeſs Artaxerxes's generoſity in making this ſacrifice, which argued a very laudable goodneſs of heart, and a ſenſibility for the diſtreſſes and ſufferings of his ſoldiers. But he did not always ſupport that character.

The king had loſt in this enterpriſe a great number of his beſt troops, and almoſt all his horſes: and as he imagined that he was deſpiſed upon that account, and the ill ſucceſs of his expedition, he became very much out of humour with the grandees of his court, and put to death a great number of them in the emotions of his wrath, and more out of diſtruſt, and the fear of their attempting ſomething againſt him. For fear in a ſuſpicious prince is a very deſtructive and bloody paſſion; whereas true courage is gentle, humane, and averſe to all jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

[c] One of the principal officers that periſhed in this expedition againſt the Caduſians was Camiſares, by nation a Carian, and governor of Leuco-Syria, a province incloſed between Cilicia and Cappadocia. His ſon Datames ſucceeded him in that government, which was given him in conſideration of the good ſervices he had alſo rendered the king in the ſame expedition. He was the greateſt captain of his time; and Cornelius Nepos, who has given us his life, does not prefer Amilcar and Hannibal to him amongſt the Barbarians. It appears from his hiſtory of it, that no one ever excelled him in boldneſs, valour, and ability, in inventing ſchemes and ſtratagems, in activity in the execution of his deſigns, in preſence of mind to reſolve in the heat of action, and to find reſources upon the moſt deſperate occaſions; in a word, in every thing that regards military

[c] Corn. Nep. in vit. Datamis.

knowledge.

knowledge. It ſeems that nothing was wanting to his having acquired a more illuſtrious name, than a noble theatre, and more exalted occaſions; and perhaps an hiſtorian to have given a more extenſive narration of his exploits. For Cornelius Nepos, according to his general plan, could not relate them but in a very ſuccinct manner.

He began to diſtinguiſh himſelf particularly by the execution of a commiſſion that was given him to reduce Thyus, a very powerful prince, and governor of Paphlagonia, who had revolted againſt the king. As he was his near relation, he thought it incumbent on him at firſt to try the methods of lenity and reconciliation, which almoſt coſt him his life, through the treachery of Thyus, by the ambuſcades he had laid for him. Having eſcaped ſo great a danger, he attacked him with open force; though he ſaw himſelf abandoned by Ariobarzanes, ſatrap of Lydia, Ionia, and all Phrygia, whom jealouſy prevented from giving him aid. He took his enemy priſoner, with his wife and children; and knowing with what joy the king would receive the news, he endeavoured to make it the more ſenſible by the pleaſure of a ſurpriſe. He ſet out with his illuſtrious priſoner, without giving the court any advice, and made great marches, to prevent its being known from rumour before his arrival. When he came to Suſa, he equipped Thyus in a very ſingular manner. He was a man of a very tall ſtature, of a haggard and terrible aſpect, a black complexion, with the hair of his head and beard very long. He dreſſed him in a magnificent habit, put a collar and bracelets of gold about his neck and arms, and added to this equipage all the ornaments of a king, as he was in effect. For himſelf, in the groſs habit of a peaſant, and clad like a hunter, he led Thyus upon the left in a leaſh, like a wild beaſt that had been taken in the toils. The novelty of the ſight drew the whole city after it, but nobody was ſo much ſurpriſed and pleaſed as the king, when he ſaw them approach in that pleaſant maſquerade. The rebellion of a prince, very powerful in his country, had given

Artaxerxes

Artaxerxes great and juſt alarm, and he did not expect to have ſeen him ſo ſoon in his hands. So ſudden and ſucceſsful an excution gave him a higher opinion than ever of the merit of Datames.

To expreſs his ſenſe of it, he gave him an equal ſhare in the command of the army, deſtined againſt Egypt, with Pharnabaſus and Tithrauſtes, the two principal perſons in the ſtate, and even appointed him general in chief, when he recalled Pharnabaſus.

When he was upon the point of ſetting out for that expedition, Artaxerxes ordered him to march directly againſt Aſpis, who had made the country revolt, which he commanded in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia. The commiſſion was little important for an officer who had been appointed general, and beſides very dangerous, becauſe it was neceſſary to go in queſt of the enemy into a very remote country. The king ſoon perceived his error, and countermanded him: but Datames had ſet out directly with a handful of men, and marched night and day; judging that diligence, without a great number of troops, was all that was neceſſary to ſurpriſe and vanquiſh the enemy. It happened according to his expectation, and the couriers diſpatched by the king, met Aſpis in chains on the road to Suſa.

Nothing was talked of at the court but Datames. It was not known which to admire moſt, his ready obedience, his wiſe and enterpriſing bravery, or his extraordinary ſucceſs. So glorious a reputation gave offence to the courtiers in power. Enemies in ſecret to each other, and divided by a contrariety of intereſts, and a competition in their pretenſions, they united together againſt a ſuperior merit which reproached their defects, and was therefore a crime in their acceptation. They conſpired to ruin him in the king's opinion, and ſucceeded but too well. As they beſieged him perpetually; and he was not upon his guard againſt perſons who appeared ſo well affected to his ſervice, they inſpired him with jealouſy and ſuſpicion to the prejudice of the moſt zealous and faithful of his officers.

An intimate friend of Datames, who held one of the highest posts at court, apprized him of what passed, and of the conspiracy which had been formed against him, and had already sunk his credit considerably with the king. * He represented to him, that if the Egyptian expedition, with which he was charged, should take a bad turn, he would find himself exposed to great dangers: that it was the custom with kings to attribute good successes to themselves and their auspicious fortune only, and to impute the bad to the faults of their generals, for which they were responsible at the peril of their heads: that he ran the greater risk, as all that were about the king's person, and had any ascendant over him, were his declared enemies, and had sworn his destruction.

Upon this advice, Datames resolved to quit the king's service, though without doing any thing hitherto contrary to the fidelity he owed him. He left the command of the army to Mandrocles of Magnesia, departed with his own troops for Cappadocia, seized Paphlagonia, which joined it, allied himself secretly with Ariobarzanes, raised troops, took possession of fortresses, and put good garrisons in them. He received advice, that the Pisidians were arming against him. He did not wait their coming on, but made his army march thither under the command of his youngest son, who had the misfortune to be killed in a battle. However lively his affliction might be upon that occasion, he concealed his death, lest the bad news should discourage his troops. When he approached near the enemy, his first care was to take possession of an advantageous post. [d] Mithrobarzanes, his father-in-law, who commanded the horse, believing his son entirely ruined, determined to go over to the enemy. Datames, without concern

[d] Diod. l. xv. p. 399.

* *Docet eum magno fore in periculo, siquid, illo imperante, in Ægypto adversi accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regum, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunæ suæ; quo facile fieri, ut impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res malè gestæ nuncientur. Illum hoc majore fore in discrimine, quòd, quibus rex maxime obediat, eos habeat inimicissimos.* CORN. NEP.

or

or emotion, caufed a rumour to be fpread throughout the army, that it was only a feint concerted between him and his father-in-law, and followed him clofe, as if he defigned to put his troops into a difpofition for charging the enemy in two different attacks. The ftratagem had all the fuccefs he expected from it. When they joined battle, Mithrobarzanes was treated as an enemy on both fides, and cut to pieces with his troops. The army of the Pifidians was put to flight, and left Datames mafter of the field, and of all the rich booty found in the camp of the conquered.

Datames had not till then declared openly againft the king, the actions we have related being only againft governors, with whom he might have particular differences, which we have obferved before was common enough. His own eldeft fon, called Scifmas, made himfelf his accufer, and difcovered his whole defigns to the king. Artaxerxes was highly apprehenfive of the confequence. He knew all the merit of this new enemy, and that he did not engage in any enterprife, without having maturely confidered all its confequences, and taken the neceffary meafures to fecure its fuccefs; and that hitherto the execution had always anfwered the wifdom of his projects. He fent an army againft him into Cappadocia of almoft two hundred thoufand men, of which twenty thoufand were horfe, all commanded by Autophradates. The troops of Datames did not amount to the twentieth part of the king's; fo that he had no refource but in himfelf, the valour of his foldiers, and the happy fituation of the poft he had chofen. For in that confifted his chief excellence; never captain having better known how to take his advantages and choofe his ground, when he was to draw up an army in battle.

His poft, as I have obferved, was infinitely fuperior to that of the enemy. He had pitched upon a fituation, where they could not furround him; where, upon the leaft movement they made they could come to blows with them with very confiderable advantage; and where, had they refolved to fight, their odds in number would

would have been abſolutely uſeleſs to them. Autophradates well knew, that according to all the rules of war, he ought not to hazard a battle in ſuch a conjuncture: but he obſerved at the ſame time, that it was much to his diſhonour, with ſo numerous an army to make choice of a retreat, or to continue any longer in inaction before a handful of enemies. He therefore gave the ſignal. The firſt attack was rude; but the troops of Autophradates ſoon gave way and were entirely routed. The victor purſued them for ſome time with great ſlaughter. There were only a thouſand men killed on the ſide of Datames.

Several battles, or rather ſkirmiſhes, were fought afterwards, in which the latter was always victorious; becauſe, perfectly knowing the country, and ſucceeding eſpecially in the ſtratagems of war, he always poſted himſelf advantageouſly, and engaged the enemy in difficult ground, from whence they could not extricate themſelves without loſs. Autophradates ſeeing all his endeavours ineffectual, and his ſupplies entirely exhauſted, and deſpairing of ever being able to ſubject by force ſo artful and valiant an enemy, entreated an accommodation, and propoſed to him the being reſtored to the king's favour upon honourable conditions. Datames was not ignorant that there was little ſecurity for him in ſuch a choice, becauſe princes are ſeldom reconciled in earneſt with a ſubject who has failed in his obedience, and to whom they ſee themſelves in ſome ſort obliged to ſubmit. However, as only deſpair had hurried them into the revolt, and he had always retained at heart the ſentiments of zeal and affection for his prince, he accepted the offers with joy, which would put an end to the violent condition his misfortune had engaged him in, and afforded him the means of returning to his duty, and of employing his talents for the ſervice of the prince to whom they were due. He promiſed to ſend deputies to the king; upon which enſued a ceſſation of arms, and Autophradates retired into Phrygia, which was his government.

Datames

Datames was not deceived. Artaxerxes, furiouſly enraged againſt him, had changed the eſteem and affection he formerly profeſſed for him, into an implacable hatred. Finding himſelf incapable of conquering him by the force of arms, he was not aſhamed to employ artifice and treachery; means unworthy every man of honour, and how much more ſo of a prince! He hired ſeveral murderers to aſſaſſinate him; but Datames was ſo happy as to eſcape their ambuſcades. At length Mithridates, the ſon of Ariobarzanes, to whom the king had made magnificent promiſes, if he could deliver him from ſo formidable an enemy, having inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip, and having long treated him with all the marks of the moſt entire fidelity to acquire his confidence, took the advantage of a favourable opportunity, when he was alone, and ſtabbed him with his ſword, before he was in a condition to defend himſelf.

Thus * fell this great captain in the ſnares of a pretended friendſhip, who had always thought it his honour to obſerve the moſt inviolable fidelity, in regard to thoſe with whom he had any engagements. Happy, had he always piqued himſelf alſo upon being as faithful a ſubject as he was a true friend; and if he had not, in the latter part of his life, ſullied the luſtre of his heroic qualities, by the ill uſe he made of them; which neither the fear of diſgrace, the injuſtice of thoſe who envied him, the ingratitude of his maſter for the ſervices he had rendered him, nor † any other pretext could ſufficiently authorize.

I am ſurpriſed that, comparable as he was to the greateſt perſons of antiquity, he has remained in a manner buried in ſilence and oblivion. His great actions

* *Ita vir, qui multos conſilio, neminem perfidia eeperat, ſimulata captus eſt amicitia.* CORN. NEP.

† This doctrine of Mr. Rollin's may do very well in France, where implicit obedience to the grand monarch is the law of the land; but it has too much of that exploded abſurdity, paſſive obedience (founded in an erroneous acceptation of religion) to be admitted in a free nation; where, by the maxims of the law, and the conſtitution of the government, the ſubject in many inſtances is diſpenſed from his obedience, and may defend himſelf (even in arms) againſt his prince, viz. in caſes of life and liberty.

and

and exploits are however worthy of being preſerved in hiſtory. For it is in ſuch ſmall bodies of troops as, thoſe of Datames, that the whole ſoul is exerted, in which the higheſt prudence is ſhown, in which chance has no ſhare, and the abilities of a general appear in in their full light.

CHAP. IV.

Hiſtory of Socrates abridged.

AS the death of Socrates is one of the moſt conſiderable events of antiquity, I thought it incumbent on me to treat that ſubject with all the extent it deſerves. In this view I ſhall premiſe ſome things which are neceſſary to the reader's having a juſt idea of this prince of the philoſophers.

Two authors will ſupply me principally with what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, Plato and Xenophon, both diſciples of Socrates. It is to them poſterity is indebted for many of his diſcourſes (*that philoſopher having left nothing in writing) and for an ample account of all the circumſtances of his condemnation and death. Plato was an eye-witneſs of the whole, and relates, in his Apology, the manner of Socrates's accuſation and defence; in his Criton, his refuſal to make his eſcape out of priſon; in his Phædon, his admirable diſcourſe upon the Immortality of the Soul, which was immediately followed by his death. Xenophon was abſent at that time, and upon his return, after the expedition of young Cyrus againſt his brother Artaxerxes; ſo that he wrote his Apology of Socrates only upon the report of others, but his actions and diſcourſes, in his four books of memorable things, he repeats from his own knowledge. Diogenes Laertius has given us the life of Socrates, but in a very dry and abridged manner.

* *Socrates, cujus ingenium varioſque ſermones immortalitati ſcriptis ſuis Plato tradidit, literam nullam reliquit.* Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 57.

SECT.

SECT. I. *Birth of Socrates. He applies at first to Sculpture; then to the Study of the Sciences: his wonderful Progress in them. His Taste for moral Philosophy. His Manner of living, and Sufferings from the Ill-humour of his Wife.*

[e] SOCRATES was born at Athens in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad. His father Sophroniscus was a sculptor, and his mother Phanarete a midwife. Hence we may observe, that meanness of birth is no obstacle to true merit, in which alone solid glory and real nobility consist. It appears from the comparisons Socrates often used in his discourses, that he was neither ashamed of his father's or mother's profession. [f] He was surprised that a sculptor should employ his whole attention to mould an insensible stone into the likeness of a man, and that a man should take so little pains not to resemble an insensible stone. [g] He would often say, that he exercised the function of a midwife with regard to the mind, in making it bring forth all its thoughts, which was indeed the peculiar talent of Socrates. He treated subjects in so simple, natural, and pure an order, that he made those with whom he disputed say what he would, and find an answer themselves to all the questions he proposed to them. He at first learned his father's trade, in which he made himself very expert. [h] In the time of Pausanias, there was a Mercury and the Graces to be seen at Athens of his workmanship; and it is to be presumed these statues would not have found place amongst those of the greatest masters in the art, if they had not been thought worthy of it.

[i] Criton is reported to have taken him out of his father's shop, from the admiration of his fine genius, and the opinion that it was inconsistent for a young man, capable of the greatest things, to continue perpetually employed upon stone with a chisel in his hand. He

[e] A. M. 3533. Ant. J. C. 471. Diog Laert. in Socrat. p. 100.
[f] Ibid. p. 110.
[g] Plat. in Theatet. p. 143, &c.
[h] Paus. l. ix. p. 596.
[i] Diog. p. 101.

was

was the disciple of Archelaus, who conceived a great affection for him. Archelaus had been pupil to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philosopher. His first study was physics, the works of nature, and the movement of the heavens, stars, and planets; according to the custom of those times, wherein only that part of philosophy was known, and Xenophon[k] assures us of his being very learned in it. But * after having found by his own experience, how difficult, abstruse, intricate, and at the same time how little useful that kind of learning was to the generality of mankind, he was the first, according to Cicero, who conceived the thought of bringing down philosophy from heaven to place it in cities, and introduce it into private houses; humanizing it, to use that expression, and rendering it more familiar, more useful in common life, more within the reach of man's capacity, and applying it solely to what might make them more rational, just, and virtuous. [l] He found there was a kind of folly in devoting the whole vivacity of his mind, and employing all his time in enquiries merely curious, involved in impenetrable darkness, and absolutely incapable of contributing to human happiness; whilst he neglected to inform himself in the ordinary duties of life, and in learning what is conformable, or opposite, to piety, justice, and probity: in what fortitude, temperance, and wisdom consist; what is the end of all government, what the rules of it, and what qualities are necessary for commanding and ruling well. We shall see in the sequel the use he made of this study.

It was so far from preventing him to discharge the duties of a good citizen, that it was the means of mak-

[k] Lib. iv. Memorab. b. 710. [l] Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 710.

* *Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis quærere.* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 10.

Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus à rebus occultis; et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocavisse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse; ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreret; cœlestia autem vel procul esse à nostra cognitione censeret, vel si maxime cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre. Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. i. n. 15.

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ing him the more obſervant of them. He bore arms, as did all the people of Athens; but with more pure and elevated motives. He made many campaigns, was preſent in many actions, and always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and fortitude. He was ſeen, towards the end of his life, giving in the ſenate, of which he was a member, the moſt ſhining proofs of his zeal for juſtice, without being intimidated by the greateſt preſent dangers.

He had accuſtomed himſelf early to a ſober, ſevere, laborious life; without which it ſeldom happens, that men are capable of diſcharging the greateſt part of the duties of good citizens. It is difficult to carry the contempt of riches and the love of poverty farther than he did. [m] He looked upon it as a divine perfection to be in want of nothing; and believed, the leſs we are contented with, the nearer we approach to the Divinity. * Seeing the pomp and ſhow diſplayed by luxury in certain ceremonies, and the infinite quantity of gold and ſilver employed in them: "How many things," ſaid he, congratulating himſelf on his condition, "do I not want." *Quantis non egeo!*

[n] His father left him fourſcore minæ, that is to ſay, four thouſand livres, which he lent to one of his friends who had occaſion for that ſum. But the affairs of that friend having taken an ill turn, he loſt the whole, and ſuffered that misfortune with ſuch indifference and tranquillity, that he did not ſo much as complain of it. [o] We find in Xenophon's Œconomics, that his whole eſtate amounted to no more than five minæ, or two hundred and fifty livres. The richeſt perſons of Athens were his friends, who could never prevail upon him to accept any ſhare of their wealth. When he was in want of any thing, he was not aſhamed to declare it: "† If I

[m] Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 731.

[n] Liban. in Apolog. Socrat p. 640. [o] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 822.

* *Socrates in pompa, cum magna vis auri argentique ferretur: Quam multa non diſidero, inquit!* Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. v.

† *Socrates amicis audientibus:* Emiſſem, *inquit*, pallium, ſi nummos haberem. *Neminem poposcit, omnes admonuit. A quo acciperet, ambitus fuit— Poſt hoc quiſquis properaveret, ſero dat; jam Socrati defuit.* Senec. de Benef. l. vii. c. 24.

had money," ſaid he one day in an aſſembly of his friends, "I ſhould buy me a cloak." He did not addreſs himſelf to any body in particular, but contented himſelf with that general information. His diſciples contended for the honour of making him this ſmall preſent; which was being too ſlow, ſays Seneca; their own obſervation ought to have prevented both the want and the demand.

He generouſly refuſed the offers and preſents of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, who was deſirous of having him at his court; adding, "that he could not go to a man who could give him more than it was in his power to return." Another philoſopher does not approve this anſwer. "Was it making a prince a ſmall return," ſays Seneca, "to undeceive him in his falſe ideas of grandeur and magnificence; to inſpire him with a contempt for riches; to ſhow him the right uſe of them; to inſtruct him in the great art of reigning; in a word, to teach him how to live and how to die? But," continues Seneca, "the true reaſon which prevented his going to the court of that prince, was, that he did not think it conſiſtent for him to ſeek a voluntary ſervitude, whoſe liberty a free city could not ſuffer him to enjoy." *Noluit ire ad voluntariam ſervitutem is cujus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit* [p].

[q] The peculiar auſterity of his life did not render him gloomy and moroſe, as was common enough with the philoſophers of thoſe times. [r] In company and converſation he was always gay and facetious, and the ſole joy and ſpirit of the entertainment. Though he was very poor, he piqued himſelf upon the neatneſs of his perſon and houſe, and could not ſuffer the ridiculous affectation of Antiſthenes, who always wore dirty and ragged clothes. He told him once, that through the holes in his cloak, and the reſt of his tatters, abundance of vanity might be diſcerned.

One of the moſt diſtinguiſhing qualities of Socrates

[p] Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6. [q] Xenoph. in conviv.
[r] Ælian. l. iv. c. 11. & l. ix. c. 35.

was a tranquillity of ſoul, that no accident, no loſs, no injury, no ill treatment, could ever alter. Some have believed, that he was by nature haſty and paſſionate, and that the moderation to which he attained was the effect of his reflections and endeavours to ſubdue and correct himſelf; which would ſtill add to his merit. [s] Seneca tells us, that he had deſired his friends to apprize him whenever they ſaw him ready to fall into a paſſion, and that he had given them that privilege over him, which he took himſelf with them. * Indeed the beſt time to call in aid againſt rage and anger, that have ſo violent and ſudden a power over us, is when we are yet ourſelves, and in cool blood. At the firſt ſignal, the leaſt animadverſion, he either ſoftened his tone, or was ſilent. Finding himſelf in great emotion againſt a ſlave, "I would beat you," ſays he, "if I were not angry: [t] *Cæderem te, niſi iraſceter.* Having received a box on the ear, he contented himſelf with only ſaying, with a ſmile, "[u] 'Tis a misfortune not to know when to put on an helmet."

Without going out of his own houſe, he found enough to exerciſe his patience in all its extent. Xantippe, his wife, put it to the ſevereſt proofs by her capricious, paſſionate, violent diſpoſition. It ſeems, before he took her for his companion, that he was not ignorant of her character; and he ſays himſelf in Xenophon [x], that he had expreſsly choſen her, from the conviction that if he ſhould be capable of bearing her inſults, there would be nobody, though ever ſo difficult to endure, with whom he could not live. Never was woman of ſo violent and fantaſtical a ſpirit, and ſo bad a temper. There was no kind of abuſe, or injurious treatment, which he had not to experience from her. She would ſometimes be tranſported with ſuch an exceſs of rage, as to tear off his cloak in the open ſtreet; [y] and even one day, after having vented all the reproaches her fury

[s] Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 15. [t] Ibid. l. i. c. 15.
[u] Ibid. l. iii. c. 11. [x] Xenoph. in conviv. p. 876.
[y] Diog. in Socrat. p. 112.

* *Contra potens malum et apud nos gratioſum, dum conſpicimus, et noſtri ſumus, advocemus.*

could ſuggeſt, ſhe emptied a pot upon his head; at which he only laughed, and ſaid, "That ſo much thunder muſt needs produce a ſhower."

[z] Some ancient authors write, that Socrates married a ſecond wife, named Myrta, who was the grand-daughter of Ariſtides the Juſt, and that he ſuffered exceedingly from them both, who were continually quarrelling with each other, and never agreed, but in loading him with reproaches, and doing him all the offence they could invent. They pretend, that during the Peloponneſian war, after the peſtilence had ſwept off great part of the Athenians, a decree was made, whereby, to retrieve the ſooner the ruins of the republic, each citizen was permitted to have two wives at the ſame time, and that Socrates took the benefit of this new law. Thoſe authors found this circumſtance ſolely upon a paſſage in a treatiſe on nobility, aſcribed to Ariſtotle. But, beſides that, according to Plutarch himſelf, Panetius, a very grave author, has fully refuted this opinion, neither Plato nor Xenophon, who were well acquainted with all that related to their maſter, ſay any thing of this ſecond marriage of Socrates; and on another ſide, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, who have treated at large all the particulars of the Peloponneſian war, are alike ſilent in regard to the pretended decree of Athens, which permitted bigamy. We may ſee in the firſt volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, a diſſertation of Monſieur Hardion's upon this ſubject, wherein he demonſtrates, that the ſecond marriage of Socrates, and the decree upon bigamy, are ſuppoſititious facts.

SECT. II. *Of the Dæmon, or familiar Spirit of Socrates.*

OUR knowledge of Socrates would be defective if we knew nothing of the genius, which, he ſaid, had aſſiſted him with its counſel and protection in the

[z] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 335. Athen. l. xiii. p. 555. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 105.

greateſt

greatest part of his actions. It is not agreed amongst authors, what this genius was, commonly called *The Dæmon of Socrates*, from the Greek word Δαιμονιον, that signifies something of a divine nature, conceived as a secret voice, a sign, or such an inspiration as diviners are supposed to have had: this genius diverted him from the execution of his designs when they have been prejudicial to him, without ever inducing him to act any thing: [a] *Esse divinum quoddam, quod Socrates dæmonium appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti, sæpe revocanti.* Plutarch, in his treatise intituled, *Of the Genius of Socrates*, repeats the different sentiments of the ancients upon the existence and nature of this genius. [b] I shall confine myself to that of them, which seems the most natural and reasonable, though he does not lay much stress upon it.

We know that the divinity has a clear and unerring knowledge of futurity: that man cannot penetrate into its darkness but by uncertain and confused conjectures: that those who succeed best in that research, are such, who by a more exact and studied comparison of the different causes capable of influencing future events, distinguish with greater force and perspicuity, what will be the result and issue of the conflict of those different causes in conducing to the success or miscarriage of an effect or enterprise. This foresight and discernment has something of divine in it, exalts us above the rest of mankind, approaches us to the divinity, and makes us participate, in some measure, in his counsels and designs, by giving us an insight and prescience, to a certain degree, of what he has ordained concerning the future. Socrates had a just and piercing judgment, joined with the most exquisite prudence. He might call this judgment and prudence Δαιμονιον, *something divine*, using indeed a kind of equivocality in the expression, without attributing to himself, however, the merit of his wisdom in conjecturing upon the future. The Abbe Fraguier comes very near the same opinion in

[a] Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 122. [b] Page 580.

the dissertation he has left us upon this subject in the [c] Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

[d] The effect, or rather function of this genius, was to stop and prevent his acting, without ever inducing him to act. He received also the same impulse, when his friends were going to engage in any bad affair, and communicated it to him; and several instances are related, wherein they found themselves very unfortunate from not having believed him. Now what other signification can be given to this, than that it implies, under mysterious terms, a mind which, by its own lights, and the knowledge of mankind, has attained a sort of insight into futurity? And if Socrates had not intended to lessen in his own person the merit of an unerring judgment, by attributing it to a kind of instinct, if at bottom he had desired any thing to be understood, besides the general aid of the divine wisdom, which speaks in every man by the voice of reason, would he have escaped, says Xenophon [e], the censure of arrogance and falsehood?

[f] God has always prevented me from speaking to you, says he to Alcibiades, whilst the weakness of your age would have rendered my discourses ineffectual to you. But I conceive I may now enter into dispute with you, as an ambitious young man, for whom the laws open a way to the dignities of the republic. Is it not visible here that prudence prevented Socrates from treating Alcibiades seriously, at a time when grave and severe conversation would have given him a disgust, of which, perhaps, he might never have got the better? [g] And when, in his dialogue upon the commonwealth, Socrates ascribes his avoiding public business to inspiration from above, does he mean any thing more than what he says in his Apology, that a just and good man, who intermeddles with the government in a corrupt state, is not long without perishing? If [h] when he appears before the judges who were to condemn him,

[c] Tom. IV. p. 368. [d] Plat. in Theag. p. 128.
[e] Memorab. l. i. p. 708. [f] Plat. in Alcib. p. 150.
[g] Lib. vi. de Rep. p. 496. Apolog. Soc. p. 31, 32.
[h] Apolog. Soc. p. 40.

that

that divine voice is not heard to prevent him, as it was upon dangerous occasions, the reason is, that he did not deem it a misfortune for him to die, especially at his age, and in his circumstances. Every body knows what his prognostication had been long before, upon the unfortunate expedition of Sicily. He attributed it to his dæmon, and declared it to be the inspiration of that spirit. A wise man, who sees an affair ill concerted, and conducted with passion, may easily prophesy upon the event of it, without the aid of a dæmon's inspiration.

It must be allowed, however, that the opinion which gives men genii and angels to direct and guard them, was not unknown, even to the pagans. [i] Plutarch cites the verses of Menander, in which that poet expressly says, "That every man at his birth has a good genius given him, which attends him during the whole course of his life as a guide and director.

> Ἀπαντι δαιμων ανδρι συμπαραστατει
> Ευθυς γενομενω, μυσαγωγος τε βιου
> Αγαθος.

It may be believed, with probability enough, that the dæmon of Socrates, which has been so differently spoken of, and thereby made it a question, whether it was a good or bad angel, was no more than the force and rectitude of his judgment, which acting according to the rules of prudence, and with the aid of a long experience, supported by wise reflections, made him foresee the events of those things, upon which he was either consulted, or deliberated himself.

I conceive, at the same time, that he was not sorry the people should believe him inspired, or that he knew futurity by any effect of the divinity whatsoever. That opinion might exalt him very much in the sense of the Athenians, and gave him an authority, of which the greatest * persons of the pagan world were very fond, and

[i] De anim. tranquil. p. 474.

* Lycurgus and Solon had recourse to the authority of oracles to advance their credit. Zeleucus pretended, that his laws had been dictated to him by Minerva. Numa Pompilius boasted his conferences with the

and which they endeavoured to acquire by ſecret communications, and pretended conferences, with ſome divinity: but it drew the jealouſy of many of the citizens upon him.

SECT. III. *Socrates declared the wiſeſt of Mankind by the Oracle of Delphos.*

[k] THIS declaration of the oracle, ſo advantageous in appearance for Socrates, did not a little contribute to the enflaming envy, and ſtirring up of enemies againſt him, as he tells us himſelf in his Apology, wherein he recounts the occaſion, and true ſenſe of that oracle.

Chærephon, a zealous diſciple of Socrates, happening to be at Delphos, demanded of the oracle, whether there was a wiſer man than Socrates in the world: the prieſteſs replied there was none. This anſwer puzzled Socrates extremely, who could ſcarce comprehend the ſenſe of it. For on the one ſide, he well knew, ſays he of himſelf, that there was neither much nor little wiſdom in him; and on the other, he could not ſuſpect the oracle of falſehood, the divinity being incapable of telling a lie. He therefore conſidered it attentively, and took great pains to penetrate the ſenſe of it. At firſt he applied himſelf to a powerful citizen; a ſtateſman, and a great politician, who paſſed for one of the wiſeſt men of the city, and who was himſelf as much convinced of his own merit as any body. He found by his converſation that he knew nothing, and inſinuated as much to himſelf in terms ſufficiently intelligible; which made him extremely odious to that citizen, and all who were preſent. He did the ſame by ſeveral others of the ſame profeſſion; and all the fruit of his enquiry was, to draw upon himſelf a greater number of enemies. From the ſtateſman he addreſſed himſelf to the poets, whom he found ſtill fuller of ſelf-eſteem, but really more void

[k] Plut. in Apolog. p. 21, 22.

the goddeſs Egeria. The firſt Scipio Africanus made the people believe that the gods gave him ſecret counſels. Even Sertorius's hind had ſomething divine in it.

of

of knowledge and wisdom. He pursued his enquiries to the artizans, and could not meet with one, who, because he succeeded in his own art did not believe himself very capable, and fully informed in all that was great besides; which presumption was the almost universal failing of the Athenians. As they had naturally abundance of wit, they pretended to be knowing in every thing, and believed themselves capable of pronouncing upon all things. His enquiries amongst strangers were not more successful.

Socrates, afterwards entering into and comparing himself with all those he had questioned*, discovered that the difference between him and them was, that they all believed they knew what they did not know, and that for his part, he sincerely professed his ignorance. From thence he concluded, that only God is truly wise, and that the true meaning of the oracle was to signify, that all human wisdom was no great matter, or, to speak more properly, was nothing at all. And as to the oracle's naming me, it no doubt did so, says he, by way of setting me up for an example, as if it intended to declare to all men, The wisest amongst you is he, who knows, like Socrates, that there is no real wisdom in him.

SECT. IV. *Socrates devotes himself entirely to the Instruction of the Youth of Athens. Affection of his Disciples for him. The admirable Principles with which he inspires them either for Government or Religion.*

AFTER having related some particularities in the life of Socrates, it is time to proceed to that in which his character principally and peculiarly consisted; I mean the pains he took to instruct mankind, and particularly informing the youth of Athens.

* *Socrates in omnibus fere sermonibus sic disputat, ut nihil affirmet ipse, refellat alios: nihil se sciere dicat, nisi id ipsum, eoque præstare cæteris, quod illi, quæ nesciant, sciere se putent; ipse se nihil scire id unum sciat, ob eamque rem se arbitrari ab Apolline omnium sapientissimum esse dictum, quod hæc esset una omnis sapientia, non arbitrari se scire quod nesciat.* Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. i. n. 15, 16.

He

[l] He seemed, says Libanius, the common father of the republic, so attentive was he to the happiness and advantage of his whole country. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the instruction of youth, in order to sow the seeds of virtue in a soil more fit to produce the fruits of it.

[m] He had no open school, like the rest of the philosophers, nor set times for his lessons. He had no benches prepared, nor even mounted a professor's chair. He was the philosopher of all times and seasons. He taught in all places, and upon all occasions; in walking, conversation, at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the public assemblies of the senate or people, in prison itself, and when he drank the poison he philosophised, says Plutarch, and instructed mankind. And from thence the same judicious author takes occasion to establish a great principle in point of government, which Seneca * before him had placed in all its light. To be a public man, says he, it is not necessary to be actually in office, to wear the robe of judge and magistrate, and to sit in the highest tribunals for the administration of justice. Many do this, who, though honoured with the fine names of orators, prætors, and senators, if they want the merit of those characters, ought to be regarded as private persons, and often confounded with the lowest and vilest of the populace. But whoever knows to give wise counsel to those who consult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to in-

[l] In Apol. Socrat. p. 641. [m] Plut. an seni sit. ger. resp. p. 796.

* *Habet ubi se etiam in privato late explicet magnus animus—Ita delituerit (viz ille) ut ubicunque otium suum absconderit, prodesse velit et singulis et universis, ingenio, voce, consilio. Nec enim is solus reip. prodest, qui candidatos extrahit, et tuetur reos, et de pace belloque censet, sed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute instruit animos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque cursu ruentes prensat ac retrahit, et si nihil aliud certe moratur, in privato publicum negotium agit. An ille plus præstat, qui inter peregrinos et cives, aut urbanus prætor adeuntibus adsessoris verba pronunciat; quam qui docet, quid sit justitia, quid pietas, quid patientia, quid fortitudo, quid mortis contemptus, quid deorum intellectus, quam gratuitum bonum sit conscientia?* SENEC. de tranquil. anim. c. iii.

spire

ſpire them with ſentiments of probity, equity, generoſity and love of their country; that is, ſays Plutarch, the true magiſtrate and ruler, in whatever condition of place he be.

Such was Socrates. The ſervices he did the ſtate, by the inſtructions he gave their youth, and the diſciples he formed, are inexpreſſibly great. Never had maſter a greater number, or ſo illuſtrious. Plato, though alone, were worth a multitude. [n] Upon the point of death he bleſſed and thanked God for three things; that he had endued him with a rational ſoul, that he was born a Greek and not a Barbarian, and that he had placed his birth in the lifetime of Socrates. Xenophon [o] had the ſame advantage. It is ſaid, that one day Socrates met him in the ſtreet, and ſtopping him with his ſtaff, aſked him whether he knew where proviſions were ſold? It was not difficult to anſwer this queſtion. But Socrates having demanded in what place men learned virtue, and ſeeing this ſecond queſtion put him to a ſtand: "If you deſire to know it," continued the philoſopher, "follow me, and you ſhall be informed." Which he did immediately, and was afterwards the firſt who collected and publiſhed his maſter's diſcourſes.

[p] Ariſtippus, upon a converſation with Iſchomachus, in which he had introduced ſome ſtrokes of Socrates's doctrine, conceived ſo ardent a paſſion to become his diſciple, that he grew lean and wan in effect of it, till he could go the fountain-head, and imbibe his fill of a philoſophy, that taught the knowledge and cure of evil.

What is reported of Euclid the Megarian, explains ſtill better how high the paſſion of Socrates's diſciples ran, to receive the benefit of his inſtructions [q]. There was at that time an open war between Athens and Megara, which was carried on with ſo much animoſity, that the Athenians obliged their generals to take an oath to lay waſte the territory of Megara twice a year, and prohibited the Megarians to ſet foot in Attica upon

[n] Plut. in Mario, p. 433.
[o] Diog. in Xenoph. p. 120.
[p] Plut. de Curioſ. p. 516.
[q] Plut. in Peric. p. 168.

pain of death. This decree could not extinguish nor suspend the zeal of Euclid. [r] He left his city in the evening in the disguise of a woman, with a veil upon his head, and came to the house of Socrates in the night, where he continued till the approach of day, when he returned in the same manner he came.

The ardour of the young Athenians to follow him was incredible. They left father and mother, and renounced all parties of pleasure, to attach themselves to him, and to hear his discourses. We may judge of this in the example of Alcibiades, the most ardent and fiery of all the Athenians. The philosopher however never spared him, and was always ready to calm the sallies of his passions, and to rebuke his pride, which was his great disease. I have before related some instances of this temper of his. [s] One day when Alcibiades was boasting of his wealth, and the great estates in his possession (which generally blow up the pride of young people of quality) he carried him to a geographical map, and asked him to find Attica. It was so small it could scarce be discerned upon that draught; he found it, however, though with some difficulty: but upon being desired to point out his own estate there; "It is too small," says he, "to be distinguished in so little a space."—"See then," replied Socrates, "how much you are affected about an imperceptible point of land." This reasoning might have been urged much farther still: for what was Attica, compared to all Greece, Greece to Europe, Europe to the whole world, and the world itself to the vast extent of the infinite orbs which surround it? What an insect, what a nothing, is the most powerful prince of the earth in the midst of this abyss of bodies and immense spaces, and how much of it does he occupy!

The young people of Athens, dazzled with the glory of Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, and full of a wild ambition, after having received for some time the lessons of the sophists, who promised to make them very great politicians, conceived themselves capable of

[r] Aul. Gel. Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 10. [s] Ælian. l. iii. c. 28.

every

every thing, and aſpired at the higheſt employments. [t] One of theſe, named Glauco, had taken it ſo ſtrongly into his head, to enter upon the adminiſtration of the public affairs, though not twenty years old, that none of his family or friends were able to divert him from a deſign ſo little conſiſtent with his age and capacity. Socrates, who had an affection for him upon account of Plato his brother, was the only perſon that could prevail upon him to change his reſolution.

Meeting him one day, he accoſted him ſo happily with diſcourſe, that he engaged him to give him the hearing. "You are deſirous then to govern the republic," ſaid he to him. "True," replied Glauco. "You cannot have a more noble deſign," anſwered Socrates, "for, if you ſucceed, you will have it in your power to ſerve your friends effectually, to aggrandize your family, and to extend the confines of your country. You will make yourſelf known not only to Athens, but throughout all Greece, and perhaps your renown, like that of Themiſtocles, may ſpread abroad amongſt the barbarous nations. In ſhort, wherever you are, you will attract the reſpect and admiration of the whole world."

So ſmooth and inſinuating a prelude was extremely pleaſing to the young man, who was taken by his blind ſide. He ſtaid willingly, gave no occaſion to preſs him on that account, and the converſation continued. "Since you deſire to be eſteemed and honoured, no doubt your view is to be uſeful to the public?"—"Certainly."—"Tell me then, I beg you, in the name of the gods, what is the firſt ſervice you propoſe to render the ſtate?" As Glauco ſeemed at a loſs, and meditated upon what he ſhould anſwer: "I preſume," continues Socrates, "it to enrich it, that is to ſay, to augment its revenues."—"My very thought."—"You are well verſed then undoubtedly in the revenues of the ſtate, and know perfectly to what they may amount, you have not failed to make them your particular ſtudy,

[t] Xenoph. memorab. l. iii. p. 772—774.

in

in order that if a fund ſhould happen to fail by any unforeſeen accident, you might be able to ſupply the deficiency by another."—" I proteſt," replied Glauco, " that never entered into my thoughts,"—" At leaſt you will tell me to what the expences of the republic amount; for you muſt know the importance of retrenching ſuch as are ſuperfluous."—" I own I am as little informed in this point as the other."—" You muſt therefore refer your deſign of enriching the ſtate till another time; for it is impoſſible you ſhould do it, whilſt you are unacquainted with its revenue and expences."

" But," ſaid Glauco, " there is ſtill another means which you have not mentioned: a ſtate may be enriched by the ruin of its enemies."—" You are in the right," replied Socrates, " but that depends upon its being the ſtrongeſt; otherwiſe it incurs the danger of loſing what it has: for which reaſon, he who talks of engaging in a war, ought to know the forces on both ſides; that if he finds his own party ſtrongeſt, he may boldly adviſe the war; and, if weakeſt, diſſuade the people from undertaking it. Now, do you know the ſtrength of our republic, and that of our enemies by ſea and land? Have you a ſtate of them in writing? Be ſo kind as to let me ſee it."—" I have it not at preſent," ſaid Glauco.—" I ſee then," ſaid Socrates, " that we ſhall not preſently enter into a war, if you are charged with the government; for you have abundance of enquiries to make, and much pains to go through, before you will reſolve upon it."

He ran over, in this manner, ſeveral other articles no leſs important, with which Glauco appeared equally unacquainted; till he brought him to confeſs, how ridiculous thoſe people were, who have the raſhneſs to intrude into government, without any other preparation for the ſervice of the public, than that of a high eſteem for themſelves, and an immoderate ambition of riſing to the firſt places and dignities. " Have a care," dear Glauco," ſaid he to him, " leſt a too warm deſire of

of honours ſhould deceive you into purſuits that may cover you with ſhame, by ſetting your incapacity and ſlender abilities in full light."

Glauco improved from the wiſe admonitions of Socrates, and took time to inform himſelf in private, before he ventured to appear in public. This is a leſſon for all ages, and may be very uſeful to perſons in all ſtations and conditions of life.

[u] Socrates did not urge his friends to enter early into public employments; but firſt to take pains for the attainment of the knowledge neceſſary to their ſucceſs in them. "[x] A man muſt be very ſimple," ſaid he, "to believe that the mechanic arts are not to be acquired without the help of proper maſters, and that the knowledge requiſite in governing ſtates, which is the higheſt degree of human prudence, demands no previous labour and application." His great care in regard to thoſe who aſpired at public employments, was to form their manners upon the ſolid principles of probity and juſtice; and eſpecially to inſpire them with a ſincere love of their country, with the moſt ardent paſſion for the public good, and a high idea of the power and goodneſs of the gods: becauſe, without theſe qualities, all other abilities ſerve only to render men more wicked, and more capable of doing evil. Xenophon has tranſmitted to us a converſation of Socrates with Euthydemus, upon Providence, which is one of the fineſt paſſages to be found in the writings of the ancients.

"Did you never reflect within yourſelf," ſays Socrates to Euthydemus, "how much care the gods have taken to beſtow upon man all that is neceſſary to his nature?"—"Never, I aſſure you," replied he. "You ſee," continued Socrates, "how neceſſary light is, and how precious that gift of the gods ought to appear to us."—"Without it," added Euthydemus, "we ſhould be like the blind, and all nature as if it were not, or were dead: but becauſe we have occaſion for ſuſpence and relaxation, they have alſo given us the night for

[u] Xenoph. memorab. l. iv. p. 800. [x] Idem, p. 792.

our

our repoſe."—"You are in the right, and for this we ought to render them continual praiſes and thankſgiving. They have ordained that the ſun, that bright and luminous ſtar, ſhould preſide over the day to diſtinguiſh its different parts, and that its light ſhould not only ſerve to diſcover the wonders of nature, but to diſpenſe univerſal light and heat; and at the ſame time they have commanded the moon and ſtars to illuminate the night, of itſelf dark and obſcure. Is there any thing more admirable than this variety and viciſſitude of day and night, of light and darkneſs, of labour and reſt; and all this for the convenience and good of man?" Socrates enumerates in like manner the infinite advantages we receive from fire and water in the occaſions of life; and continuing to obſerve upon the wonderful attention of Providence in all that regards us. "What ſay you," purſued he, "upon the ſun's return after winter to reviſit us, and that as the fruits of one ſeaſon wither and decay, he ripens new ones to ſucceed them? That having rendered man this ſervice, he retires, leſt he ſhould incommode him by exceſs of heat; and then, after having removed to a certain point, which he could not paſs without putting us in danger of periſhing with cold, that he returns in the ſame track to reſume his place in thoſe parts of the heavens, where his preſence is moſt beneficial to us? And becauſe we could neither ſupport the cold nor heat, if we were to paſs in an inſtant from the one to the other, do you not admire, that whilſt this ſtar approaches and removes ſo ſlowly, the two extremities arrive by almoſt inſenſible degrees? *Is it poſſible not to diſcover, in this diſpoſition of the ſeaſons of the year, a providence and goodneſs, not only attentive to our neceſſities, but even our delights and enjoyments?"

"All theſe things," ſaid Euthydemus, "make me doubt whether the gods have any other employment

* Ὥρας ἁρμοττουσας προς τουτο παρεχειν, αι ἡμιν ου μονον ων δεομεθα πολλα ᾳ παντοια παρασκευαζουσι, αλλα ᾳ εις ευφραινομεθα.

than

than to ſhower down their gifts and graces upon mankind. There is one point, however, that puts me to a ſtand, which is, that the brute animals partake of all theſe bleſſings as well as ourſelves."—"Yes," replied Socrates, "but do you but obſerve, that all theſe animals ſubſiſt only for man's ſervice? The ſtrongeſt and moſt vigorous of them he ſubjects at his will, he makes them tame and gentle, and uſes them ſucceſsfully in his wars, his labours, and the other occaſions of life."

"What if we conſider man in himſelf." Here Socrates examines the diverſity of the ſenſes, by the miniſtry of which man enjoys all that is beſt and moſt excellent in nature; the vivacity of his wit, and the force of his reaſon, which exalt him infinitely above all other animals; the wonderful gift of ſpeech, by the means of which we communicate our thoughts reciprocally, publiſh our laws, and govern ſtates.

"From all this," ſays Socrates, "it is eaſy to diſcern that there are gods, and that they have man in their particular care, though he cannot diſcover them by his ſenſes. Do we perceive the thunder, whilſt it ſtrikes through all things which oppoſe it? Do we diſtinguiſh the winds, whilſt they are tearing up all before them in our view? Our ſoul itſelf, with which we are ſo intimate, which moves and acts us, is it viſible, can we behold it? It is the ſame with regard to the gods, of whom none are viſible in the diſtribution of their favours. The GREAT GOD himſelf," (theſe words are remarkable, and demonſtrate that Socrates acknowledged one ſupreme God, the author of all being, and ſuperior to all others, who were only the miniſters of his will) "this Great God, who has formed the univerſe, and ſupports the ſtupendous work, whoſe every part is finiſhed with the utmoſt goodneſs and harmony; he who preſerves them perpetually in immortal vigour, and cauſes them to obey him with a never-failing punctuality, and a rapidity not to be followed by our imagination; this makes God himſelf ſufficiently viſible by the endleſs wonders of which he is author;

but continues always invisible in himself. Let us not then refuse to believe even what we do not see, and let us supply the defects of our corporeal eyes, by using those of the soul; but especially let us learn to render the just homage of respect and veneration to the divinity, whose will it seems to be, that we should have no other perception of him than by his effects in our favour. Now this adoration, this homage, consists in pleasing him, and we can only please him in doing his will."

[y] In this manner Socrates instructed youth; these are the principles and sentiments he inspired into them; on the one side, a perfect submission to the laws and magistrates, in which he made justice consist: on the other, a profound regard for the divinity, which constitutes religion. In things surpassing our understanding, he advises us to consult the gods; and as they impart themselves only to those that please them, he recommends above all things the making of them propitious by a wise regularity of conduct. "* The gods are wise," says he, "and it depends upon them either to grant what we ask, or to give us directly the reverse of it." He cites an excellent prayer from an anonymous poet: "Great God, give us, we beseech thee, those good things of which we stand in need, whether we crave them or not; and remove from us all those which may be hurtful to us, though we implore them of you." The vulgar imagined that there are things which the gods observe, and others of which they take no notice: but Socrates taught that the gods observe all our actions and words; that they penetrate into our most secret thoughts, are present in all our deliberations, and that they inspire us in all our actions.

[y] Xenoph. Memorab. l. iv. p. 803, & 805.

* Ἐπι θεοις εςιν, οδμαι ωςε ϗ διδοναι ατ' αν τις ευχομενῳ τυγχανῃ, ϗ ταναντια τυτων. Plut. Alcib. l. ii. p. 148.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

SECT.

SECT. V. *Socrates applies himself to discredit the Sophists in the Opinion of the young Athenians. What is to be understood of the ironical Character ascribed to him.*

SOCRATES found it necessary to prejudice the young people against a bad taste, which had prevailed for some time in Greece. A sect of assuming men arose, who ranking themselves as the first sages of Greece, were entirely the reverse in their conduct. For instead of being infinitely remote from all avarice and ambition, like Pittacus, Bias, Thales, and the others who made a study of wisdom their principal occupation, these men were ambitious and covetous, entered into the intrigues and affairs of the world, and made a trade of their pretended knowledge*. [z] They were called sophists, and wandered from city to city. They caused themselves to be cried up as oracles, and walked about attended by crowds of disciples, who, through a kind of enchantment, abandoned the embraces of their parents to follow these proud teachers, whom they paid a great price for their instruction. There was nothing these masters did not profess: theology, physics, ethics, arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, music, poetry, rhetoric, and history. They knew every thing, and could teach every thing. Their greatest supposed skill lay in philosophy and eloquence. Most of them, like Gorgias, valued themselves upon giving immediate answers to all questions that could be proposed to them. Their young disciples acquired nothing from their precepts but a silly esteem for themselves, and an universal contempt for every body else; so that not a scholar quitted these schools, but was more impertinent than when he first entered them.

It was necessary to decry the false eloquence and bad logic of these proud teachers in the sense of the young Athenians. To attack them in front, and dispute with

[z] Plat. in Apolog, p. 19, 20.

* *Sic enim apellantur hi, qui ostentationis aut quæstus causa philosophantur.* Cic. in Lucul, n. 129.

them

them in a direct manner by a continued discourse, was what Socrates could well have done, for he possessed in an extreme degree the talents of speaking and reasoning; but this was no means to succeed against great haranguers, whose sole aim was to dazzle their auditors with a vain glitter and rapid flow of words. He therefore took another course, and * employing the turns and address of irony, which he knew how to apply with wonderful art and delicacy, he chose to conceal, under the appearance of simplicity and the affectation of ignorance, all the beauty and great force of his genius. Nature, which had given him so fine a soul, seemed to have formed his outside expressly for supporting the ironic character. He was very ugly, and besides that, † had something very blockish and stupid in his physiognomy. The whole air of his person, which had nothing but what was very common and very poor in it, perfectly corresponded with that of his countenance.

When ‡ he happened into the company of some one of the sophists, he proposed his doubts with a diffident and modest air, asked simple questions in a plain manner, and, as if he had been incapable of expressing himself otherwise, made use of trivial comparisons, and allusions taken from the meanest employments. The sophist heard him with a scornful attention, and instead of giving him a precise answer, fell into his common places, and talked a great deal without saying any thing to the purpose. Socrates, after having praised (not to enrage) his adversary, intreated him to adapt himself to his weakness, and to descend so low as him, by sa-

* *Socrates in ironia dissimulantiaque longè omnibus lepore atque humanitate præstitit.* Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 270.

† *Zopyrus physiognomon—stupidum esse Socratem dixit et hardum.* Cic. de Fat. n. 10.

‡ *Socrates de se ipse detrahens in disputatione, plus tribuebat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est illa dissimulatione, quam Græci* εἰρωνείαν *vocant.* Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 15.

Sed et illum quem nominavi (Gorgiam) et exteros sophistas, ut è Platone intelligi potest, lusos videmus a Socrate. Is enim percontando atque interrogando elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibuscum differebat, ut ad ea, quæ ii respondisset, si quid videretur, diceret. Cic. de Finib. l. ii. n. 2.

tisfying

tisfying his queſtions in a few words; becauſe neither his wit nor his memory were capable of comprehending or retaining ſo many fine and exalted notions, and that all his knowledge was confined to queſtion and anſwer.

This paſſed in a numerous aſſembly, and the ſcientific perſon could not recede. When Socrates had once got him out of his intrenchment, by obliging him to anſwer his queſtions ſuccinctly; he carried him on from one to another to the moſt abſurd conſequences; and after having reduced him either to contradict himſelf or be ſilent, he complained that the learned man would not vouchſafe to inſtruct him. The young people, however, perceived the incapacity of their maſter, and changed their admiration for him into contempt. Thus the name of ſophiſt became odious and ridiculous.

It is eaſy to judge, that men of the ſophiſt's character, of which I have now ſpoken, who were in high credit with the great, who lorded it amongſt the youth of Athens, and had been long celebrated for their wit and learning, could not be attacked with impunity; and the rather, becauſe they had been taken in the two moſt ſenſible points, their fame, and their intereſt. [a] Socrates, for having endeavoured to unmaſk their vices, and diſcredit their falſe eloquence, experienced, from theſe corrupt and haughty men, all that could be feared or expected from the moſt malignant envy, and the moſt envenomed hatred; to which it is now time to proceed.

SECT. VI. *Socrates is accuſed of holding bad Opinions in regard to the Gods, and of corrupting the Athenian Youth. He defends himſelf without Art or Fear. He is condemned to die.*

[b] SOCRATES was accuſed a little before the firſt year of the 95th Olympiad, ſoon after the expulſion of the thirty tyrants out of Athens, in the ſixty-ninth year of his life; but the proſecution had been projected long before. The oracle of Delphos, which

[a] Plat. in Apolog. p. 23. [b] A. M. 3602. Ant. J. C. 402.

had

had declared him the wiſeſt of mankind; the contempt into which he had brought the doctrine and morals of the ſophiſts of his time, who were then in high reputation; the liberty with which he attacked all vice; the ſingular attachment of his diſciples for his perſon and maxims, had all concurred in alienating people againſt him, and had drawn abundance of envy upon him.

[c] His enemies having ſworn his deſtruction, and perceiving the difficulty of the attempt, prepared the way for it at a diſtance, and at firſt attacked him in the dark, and by obſcure and ſecret methods. It is ſaid, that to ſound the people's diſpoſition in regard to Socrates, and to try whether it would ever be ſafe to cite him before the judges, they engaged Ariſtophanes to bring him into the theatre in a comedy, wherein the firſt ſeeds of the accuſation meditated againſt him were ſown. It is not certain whether Ariſtophanes was ſuborned by Anytus, and the reſt of Socrates's enemies, to compoſe that ſatirical piece againſt him. It is very likely, that the declared contempt of Socrates for all comedies in general, and for thoſe of Ariſtophanes in particular, whilſt he profeſſed an extraordinary eſteem for the tragedies of Euripides, might be the poet's true motive for taking his revenge of the philoſopher. However, it were, Ariſtophanes, to the diſgrace of poetry, lent his pen to the malice of Socrates's enemies, or his own reſentment, and employed his whole genius and capacity to depreciate the beſt and moſt excellent man that ever the pagan world produced.

He compoſed a piece called *The Clouds*, wherein he introduced the philoſopher, perched in a baſket, and hoiſted up amidſt the air and clouds, from whence he vents maxims, or rather the moſt ridiculous ſubtleties. A very aged debtor, who deſires to eſcape the cloſe purſuits of his creditors, comes to him to be taught the art of tricking them at law; to prove by unanſwerable reaſons that he owes them nothing; and, in a word, of a very bad, to make a very good cauſe. But finding himſelf incapable of any improvements from the ſub-

[c] Ælian. l. ii. c. 13. Plat. in. Apolog. Socrat. p. 19.

lime

lime leſſons of his new maſter, he brings his ſon to him in his ſtead. This young man ſoon after quits his learned ſchool ſo well inſtructed, that at their firſt meeting he beats his father, and proves to him by ſubtle, but invincible arguments, that he has reaſon for treating him in that manner. In every ſcene where Socrates appears, the poet makes him utter a thouſand impertinencies, and as many impieties againſt the gods; and in particular againſt Jupiter. He makes him talk like a man of the greateſt vanity and opinion of himſelf; with an equal contempt for all others, who, out of a criminal curioſity, is for penetrating what paſſes in the heavens, and for diving into the abyſſes of the earth; who boaſts of having always the means to make injuſtice triumph; and who is not contented with keeping thoſe ſecrets for his own uſe, but teaches them to others, and thereby corrupts youth. All this is attended with a refined raillery, and a ſalt, which could not fail of pleaſing a people of ſo quick and delicate a taſte as the Athenians, who were beſides naturally invidious to all tranſcendent merit. They were ſo much charmed with it, that without waiting the concluſion of the repreſentation, they ordered the name of Ariſtophanes to be ſet down above thoſe of all his competitors.

Socrates, who had been informed that he was to be acted in the theatre, went thither upon the day to ſee the comedy, contrary to his cuſtom; for it was not common for him to go to thoſe aſſemblies, unleſs when ſome new tragedy of Euripides was to be performed, who was his intimate friend, and whoſe pieces he eſteemed, upon account of the ſolid principles of morality he took care to interſperſe in them. It was however obſerved, that he had not patience to wait the concluſion of one of them, wherein the actor had begun with a dangerous maxim, and went out immediately, without conſidering the injury his withdrawing might do his friend's reputation. He never went to comedies, unleſs when Alcibiades and Critias forced him thither againſt his will, offended at the unbounded licence which reigned in them, and incapable of ſeeing the re-

putation of his fellow citizens publicly torn in pieces. He was present at this without the least emotion, and without expressing any discontent; and some strangers being in pain to know who the Socrates [d] intended by the play was, he rose up from his seat and showed himself during the whole representation. He told those who were near him, and were amazed at his indifference and patience, that he imagined himself at a great entertainment, where he was agreeably laughed at, and that it was necessary to let raillery pass.

There is no appearance, as I have already observed, that Aristophanes, though he was not Socrates's friend, had entered into the black conspiracy of his enemies, and had any thought of occasioning his destruction. It is more probable that a poet, who diverted the public at the expence of the principal magistrates and most celebrated generals, was also willing to make them laugh at the expence of a philosopher. All the guilt was on the side of those who envied him, and his enemies, who were in hopes of making great use of the representation of this comedy against him. The artifice was indeed profound, and conceived with skill. In acting a man upon the stage, he is only represented on his bad, weak, or ambiguous sides. That view of him is followed with ridicule, ridicule accustoms people to the contempt of his person, and contempt proceeds to injustice. For the world are naturally bold in insulting, abusing, and injuring a man, when once he becomes the object of their general contempt.

These were the first blows struck at him, and served as an essay and trial of the great affair meditated against him. It lay dormant a long while, and did not break out in twenty years afterwards. The troubles of the republic might well occasion that long delay: for it was in that interval the enterprise against Sicily happened, the event of which was so unfortunate, that Athens was besieged and taken by Lysander, who changed its form of government, and established the

[d] Plut. de educ. liber. p. 10.

thirty

thirty tyrants, that were not expelled till a very ſmall time before the affair we ſpeak of.

[e] Melitus then appeared as accuſer, and entered a proceſs in form againſt Socrates. His accuſation conſiſted of two heads. The firſt was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and introduced new divinities: the ſecond, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring, that ſentence of death ought to paſs againſt him.

Never had accuſation ſo little probability, pretext, or foundation as this. It was now forty years that Socrates had made it his profeſſion to inſtruct the Athenian youth. He had advanced no opinions in ſecret, and in the dark. His leſſons were given publicly, and in the view of great numbers of auditors. He had always obſerved the ſame conduct, and taught the ſame principles. What then could be Melitus's motive for this accuſation, after ſuch a length of time? How came his zeal for the public good, after having been languid and drowſy for ſo many years, to awake on a ſudden, and become ſo violent? Is it pardonable, for ſo warm and worthy a citizen as Melitus would appear, to have continued mute and inactive, whilſt any one corrupted the whole youth of that city, by inſtilling ſeditious maxims into them, and by inſpiring them with a diſguſt and contempt for the eſtabliſhed government? For he who does not prevent an evil, when it is in his power, is equally criminal with him that commits it. [f] Libanius ſpeaks thus in a declamation of his, called the Apology of Socrates. But, continues he, though Melitus, whether out of diſtraction, indifference, or real avocation of his affairs, never thought for ſo many years of entering an accuſation againſt Socrates; how came it to paſs, that in a city like Athens, which abounded with wiſe magiſtrates, and, what is more, with bold informers, ſo public a conſpiracy as that imputed to Socrates, ſhould eſcape the eyes of thoſe, whom either the love of their country, or invidious malignity,

[e] A. M. 3603. Ant. J. 401.
[f] Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 645—648.

render

render ſo vigilant and attentive? Nothing was ever leſs feaſible, or more void of all probability.

[g] As ſoon as the conſpiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lyſias, the moſt able orator of his time, brought him an elaborate diſcourſe of his compoſing; wherein he had ſet forth the reaſons and meaſures of Socrates in all their light, and interſperſed the whole with tender and pathetic ſtrokes, [h] capable of moving the moſt obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleaſure, and approved it very much; but as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetoric than the ſentiments and fortitude of a philoſopher, he told him frankly, that it did not ſuit him. Upon which Lyſias, having aſked how it was poſſible to be well done, and at the ſame time not ſuit him; in the ſame manner, ſaid he, uſing according to his cuſtom a vulgar compariſon, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or ſhoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which however would not fit me. He perſiſted therefore inflexibly in the reſolution, not to demean himſelf by begging ſuffrages in the low abject manner common at that time. He employed neither artifice nor the glitter of eloquence. He had no recourſe either to ſolicitation or entreaty. He brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their ſighs and tears. Nevertheleſs, * though he firmly refuſed to make uſe of any voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the ſubmiſſive poſture of a ſuppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal. It was from a noble and intrepid aſſurance, reſulting from greatneſs of ſoul, and the conſciouſneſs of his truth and innocence. So that his defence had nothing timorous or weak in it. His diſcourſe was bold, manly, generous, without paſſion, without

[g] Cicer. l. i. de Orat. n. 231, 233. [h] Quint. l. xi. c. i.

* *His et talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæſivit ad judicium capitis, nec judicibus ſupplex fuit; adhibuitque liberam contumaciam à magnitudine animi ductam, non à ſuperbia.* Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. i.

emotion,

emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philoſopher, with no other ornament but that of truth, and brightened univerſally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was preſent, tranſcribed it afterwards, and, without any additions, compoſed from it the work, which he calls *The Apology of Socrates*; one of the moſt conſummate maſter-pieces of antiquity. I ſhall here make an extract from it.

[i] Upon the day aſſigned, the proceeding commenced in the uſual forms: the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus ſpoke. The worſe his cauſe, and the leſs provided it was with proofs, the more occaſion he had for addreſs and art to cover its weakneſs. He omitted nothing that might render the adverſe party odious; and inſtead of reaſons, which could not but fail him, he ſubſtituted the deluſive ſhine of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in obſerving that he could not tell what impreſſion the diſcourſe of his accuſers might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part, he ſcarce knew himſelf, they had given ſuch artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, though there was not the leaſt word of truth in all they had advanced.

[k] I have already ſaid that their accuſation conſiſted of two heads. The firſt regards religion. Socrates enquires, out of an impious curioſity, into what paſſes in the heavens, and in the bowels of the earth. He denies the gods adored by his country. He endeavours to introduce a new worſhip, and, if he may be believed, an unknown god inſpires him in all his actions. To make ſhort, he believes there are no gods.

The ſecond head relates to the intereſt and government of the ſtate. Socrates corrupts the youth by inſtilling bad ſentiments concerning the divinity into them, by teaching them a contempt of the laws, and the order eſtabliſhed in the republic; by declaring openly

[i] Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. Xenoph. in Apolog. Socrat. & in Memor.
[k] Plat. in Apolog. p. 24.

 againſt

against the choice of the magistrates by * lot; by exclaiming against the public assemblies, where he is never seen to appear; by teaching the art of making the worst of causes good; by attaching the youth to himself out of a spirit of pride and ambition, under the pretence of instructing them; and by proving to children, that they may abuse their parents with impunity. He glories in a pretended oracle, and believes himself the wisest of mankind. He taxes all others with folly, and condemns without reserve all their maxims and actions; constituting himself, by his own authority, the general censor and reformer of the state. Notwithstanding which the effects of his lessons may be seen in the persons of Critias and Alcibiades, his most intimate friends, who have done great mischiefs to their country, and have been the most wicked of citizens, and the most abandoned of men.

This concluded with recommending to the judges, to be very much upon their guard against the dazzling eloquence of Socrates, and to suspect extremely the insinuating and artificial turns of address, which he would employ to deceive them.

[l] Socrates began his discourse with this point, and declared that he would speak to the judges as it was his custom to talk in his common conversation, that is to say, with much simplicity, and no art.

[m] He then proceeds to particulars. Upon what foundation can it be alleged, that he does not acknowledge the gods of the republic; he, who has been often seen to sacrifice in his own house, and in the temples? Can it be doubted whether he uses divination or not, whilst it is made a crime in him to report, that he received counsels from a certain divinity, and thence con-

[l] Plat. p. 17. [m] Plat. p. 27. Xenoph. p. 703.

* Socrates in reality did not approve this manner of electing the magistrates. He observed, that when a pilot, a musician, or an architect is wanted, nobody is willing to take him at a venture; though the faults of these people are far from being of the great importance of those errors, which are committed in the administration of the republic. Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 712.

cluded

cluded that he aims at introducing new deities? But in this he innovates nothing more than others, who, putting their faith in divination, obſerve the flight of birds, conſult the entrails of victims, and remark even words and accidental encounters: different means, which the gods employ to give mankind a foreknowledge of the future. Old or new, it is ſtill evident that Socrates acknowledges divinities, by the confeſſion of even Melitus himſelf, who in his information avers that he believes dæmons, that is to ſay, ſubaltern ſpirits, the offſpring of the gods. Now every man who believes the offspring of the gods, believes the gods.

"As to what relates to the impious enquiries into natural things imputed to him; without deſpiſing or condemning thoſe who apply themſelves to the ſtudy of phyſics, he declares, that as for him, he had entirely devoted himſelf to what concerns moral virtue, the conduct of life, and the rules of government, as to a knowledge infinitely more uſeful than any other; and he calls upon all thoſe who have been hearers, to come forth and belie him if he does not ſay what is true.

"I am accuſed of corrupting the youth, and of inſtilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in regard to the worſhip of the gods, as the rules of government. You know, Athenians, that I never made it my profeſſion to teach, nor can envy, however violent againſt me, reproach me with having ever ſold my inſtructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this reſpect, which is my poverty. Always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them entire leiſure to queſtion or anſwer me, I lend myſelf to every one who is deſirous of becoming virtuous; and if, amongſt thoſe who hear me, there are any who prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be aſcribed to me. My whole employment is to perſuade the young and old againſt too much love for the body, for riches, and all other

[n] Xenoph. p. 710.

precarious things, of whatſoever nature they be, and againſt too little regard for the ſoul, which ought to be the object of their affection: for I inceſſantly urge to you, that virtue does not proceed from riches, but on the contrary riches from virtue; and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their ſource in the ſame principle.

"If to ſpeak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confeſs, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deſerve to be puniſhed. If what I ſay be not true, it is moſt eaſy to convict me of my falſehood. I ſee here a great number of my diſciples; they have only to appear. But, perhaps, the reſerve and conſideration for a maſter, who has inſtructed them, will prevent them from declaring againſt me: at leaſt their fathers, brothers, and uncles cannot, as good relations and good citizens, diſpenſe with their not ſtanding forth to demand vengeance againſt the corrupter of their ſons, brothers, and nephews. But theſe are the perſons who take upon them my defence, and intereſt themſelves in the ſucceſs of my cauſe.

"[o] Paſs on me what ſentence you pleaſe, Athenians; but I can neither repent nor change my conduct. I muſt not abandon or ſuſpend a function, which God himſelf has impoſed on me. Now he has charged me with the care of inſtructing my fellow citizens. If after having faithfully kept all the poſts, wherein I was placed by our generals at Potidæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death ſhould at this time make me abandon that in which the Divine Providence has placed me, by commanding me to paſs my life in the ſtudy of philoſophy for the inſtruction of myſelf and others; this would be a moſt criminal deſertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal, as an impious man who does not believe the gods. Should you reſolve to acquit me for the future, I ſhould not heſitate to make anſwer, Athenians, I honour and love you, but I ſhall chooſe rather to obey

[o] Plat. p. 28, 29.

God

* God than you, and to my lateſt breath ſhall never renounce my philoſophy, nor ceaſe to exhort and reprove you according to my cuſtom, by telling each of you, when you come in my way, *My † good friend, and citizen of the moſt famous city in the world for wiſdom and valour, are you not aſhamed to have no other thoughts than that of amaſſing wealth, and of acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, whilſt you neglect the treaſures of prudence, truth, and wiſdom, and take no pains in rendering your ſoul as good and perfect as it is capable of being?*

"[p] I am reproached with abject fear and meanneſs of ſpirit, for being ſo buſy in imparting my advice to every one in private, and for having always avoided to be preſent in your aſſemblies to give my counſels to my country. I think I have ſufficiently proved my courage and fortitude both in the field, where I have borne arms with you, and in the ſenate, when I alone oppoſed the unjuſt ſentence you pronounced againſt the ten captains, who had not taken up and interred the bodies of thoſe who were killed or drowned in the ſea fight near the iſland Arginuſæ; and when, upon more than one occaſion, I oppoſed the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has prevented me from appearing in your aſſemblies? It is that dæmon, that voice divine, which you have ſo often heard me mention, and Miletus has taken ſo much pains to ridicule. That ſpirit has attached itſelf to me from my infancy: it is a voice, which I never hear, but when it would prevent me from perſiſting in ſomething I have reſolved, for it never exhorts me to undertake any thing. It is the ſame being, that has always oppoſed me, when I would have intermeddled in the affairs of the republic; and that with the greateſt reaſon; for I ſhould have been amongſt the dead long ago, had I been concerned in the meaſures of the

[p] Plat. p. 31.

* Πειθομαι τω θεω μαλλον η υμιν.

† The Greek ſignifies, *O beſt of men*, ω αριστε ανδρων; which was an obliging manner of accoſting.

ſtate,

ſtate, without effecting any thing to the advantage of myſelf, or our country. Do not take it ill, I beſeech you, if I ſpeak my thoughts without diſguiſe, and with truth and freedom. Every man who would generouſly oppoſe a whole people, either amongſt us or elſewhere, and who inflexibly applies himſelf to prevent the violation of the laws, and the practice of iniquity in a government, will never do ſo long with impunity. It is abſolutely neceſſary for him, who would contend for juſtice, if he has any thoughts of living, to remain in a private ſtation, and never to have any ſhare in public affairs.

"[a] For the reſt, Athenians, if, in the extreme danger I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of thoſe, who upon leſs emergencies have implored and ſupplicated their judges with tears, and have brought forth their children, relations, and friends, it is not through pride and obſtinacy, or any contempt for you, but ſolely for your honour, and for that of the whole city. You ſhould know, that there are amongſt our citizens, thoſe who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injuſtice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation, true or falſe, which I have, would it be conſiſtent for me, after all the leſſons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myſelf, and to belie in my laſt action all the principles and ſentiments of my paſt life.

"But without ſpeaking of my fame, which I ſhould extremely injure by ſuch a conduct, I do not think it allowable to entreat a judge, nor to be abſolved by ſupplications: he ought to be perſuaded and convinced. The judge does not ſit upon the bench to ſhow favour by violating the laws, but to do juſtice in conforming to them. He does not ſwear to diſcharge with impunity whom he pleaſes; but to do juſtice where it is due. We ought not therefore to accuſtom you to perjury, nor you to ſuffer yourſelves to be accuſtomed to it; for in ſo doing, both the one and the

[a] Plat. p. 34, 35.

other

other of us equally injure justice and religion, and both are criminals.

"Do not, therefore, expect from me, Athenians, that I should have recourse amongst you to means which I believe neither honest nor lawful; especially upon this occasion, wherein I am accused of impiety by Melitus. For, if I should influence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evident, that I teach you not to believe in the gods; and even in defending and justifying myself, should furnish my adversaries with arms against me, and prove that I believe no divinity. But I am very far from such bad thoughts. I am more convinced of the existence of God than my accusers, and so convinced, that I abandon myself to God and you, that you may judge of me as you shall deem best for yourselves and me."

Socrates * pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone. His air, his action, his visage, expressed nothing of the accused: he seemed the master of his judges, from the assurance and greatness of soul with which he spoke, without, however losing any thing of the modesty natural to him. So noble and majestic a deportment displeased and gave offence. It is common for judges †, who look upon themselves as the absolute dispensers of life and death to such as are before them, to expect, out of a secret tendency of mind, that they should appear in their presence with humble submission and respectful awe: an homage which they think due to their supreme authority.

This was what happened now. Melitus, however, had not at first the fifth part of the voices. We have reason to suppose that the judges assembled upon this occasion might amount to five hundred, without reckoning the president. The law condemned the accuser to pay a fine

* *Socrates ita in judicio capitis pro se ipse dixit, ut non supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse judicum.* Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231.

† *Odit judex fere litigantis securitatem; cumque jus suum intelligat, tacitus reverentiam postulat.* Quint. l. iv. c. i.

of

of a thouſand drachmas *, if he had not the fifth part of the ſuffrages. This law had been wiſely eſtabliſhed, to check the boldneſs and impudence of calumniators. Melitus had been obliged to pay this fine, if Anytus and Lycon had not joined him, and preſented themſelves alſo as the accuſers of Socrates. Their credit drew over a great number of voices, and there were two hundred and fourſcore againſt Socrates, and, in conſequence, only two hundred and twenty for him. He wanted no more than thirty-one † to have been acquitted; for he would then have had two hundred and fifty-one, which would have been the majority.

By this firſt ſentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty, without decreeing him any ‡ penalty. For when the law did not determine the puniſhment, and when a crime againſt the ſtate was not in queſtion (in which manner I conceive Cicero's terms, *fraus capitalis*, may be underſtood) the perſon found guilty had a right to chooſe the penalty he thought he deſerved. Upon his anſwer the judges deliberated a ſecond time, and afterwards paſſed their final ſentence. Socrates was informed that he might demand an abatement of the penalty, and change the condemnation of death into baniſhment, impriſonment, or a fine. He replied generouſly, that he would chooſe neither of thoſe puniſhments, becauſe that would be to acknowledge himſelf guilty. "Athenians," ſaid he, "to keep you no longer in ſuſpenſe, as you oblige me to ſentence myſelf according to what I deſerve, I condemn myſelf for having paſſed my life in inſtructing yourſelves and your children; for having neglected with that view my domeſtic affairs, and all public employments, and dignities; for having devoted myſelf entirely to the ſervice

* 500 livres.

† The text varies in Plato; it ſays, thirty-three or thirty, whence it is probably defective.

‡ *Primis ſententiis ſtatuebant tantùm judices damnarent an abſolverent. Erat autem Athenis, reo damnato, ſi fraus capitalis non eſſet, quaſi pœnæ æſtimatio. Ex ſententia, cum judicibus daretur, interrogabatur reus, quam quaſi æſtimationem commeruiſſe ſe maxime confiteretur.* Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231, 232.

of

of my country, in labouring inceſſantly to render my fellow-citizens virtuous. I condemn myſelf, I ſay, to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the expence of the republic for the reſt of my life." * This laſt anſwer ſo † much offended the judges, that they condemned him to drink the hemlock, a puniſhment very much in uſe amongſt them.

[r] This ſentence did not ſhake the conſtancy of Socrates in the leaſt. "I am going," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his judges with a noble tranquillity, "to ſuffer death by your order, to which nature had condemned me from the firſt moment of my birth; but my accuſers will ſuffer no leſs from infamy and injuſtice by the decrees of truth. Did you expect from me, that to extricate myſelf out of your hands, I ſhould have employed, according to the cuſtom, flattery, and pathetic expreſſions, and the timorous and creeping behaviour of a ſuppliant? But in trials, as well as war, an honeſt man ought not to uſe all ſorts of means for the preſervation of his life. It is equally diſhonourable both in the one and the other, to ranſom it only by prayers and tears, and all thoſe other abject methods, you ſee every day practiſed by people in my preſent condition."

Apollodorus, who was one of his friends and diſciples, having advanced to him to expreſs his grief for his dying innocent: "What," replied he with a ſmile, "would you have had me die guilty?"

[s] Plutarch, to ſhow, that only our weakeſt part, the body, is in the power of man; but that there is

[r] Plat. p. 29. [s] De Anim. Tranquil. p. 475.

* It appears in Plato, that after this diſcourſe, Socrates, without doubt to remove from him all imputation of pride and contumacy, modeſtly offered to pay a fine proportionate to his indigence, that is to ſay, one mina (fifty livres) and that at the inſtances of his friends, who had bound themſelves for him, he roſe in his offer to thirty minæ. PLAT. *in Apolog. Socrat.* p. 38. But Xenophon poſitively aſſerts the contrary, p. 705. This difference may be reconciled, perhaps, by ſuppoſing that Socrates refuſed at firſt to make any offer, and that he ſuffered himſelf at length to be overcome by the earneſt ſolicitations of his friends.

† *Cujus reſponſo ſic judices exarſerunt, ut capitis hominem innocentiſſimum condemnarent.* CIC. l. i. de Orat. n. 233.

another infinitely more noble part of us entirely superior to their threats, and inaccessible to their inflictions, cites these admirable words of Socrates which are more applicable to his judges than his accusers, "Anytus and Melitus may kill me, but they cannot hurt me." As if he had said, in the language of the Pagans, Fortune may deprive me of my goods, my health, and my life; but I have a treasure within me, of which no violence can deprive me, I mean virtue, innocence, fortitude, and greatness of mind.

This great man*, fully convinced of the principle he had so often inculcated to his disciples, that guilt is the only evil a wise man ought to fear, chose rather to be deprived of some years, which he might have to live, than to forfeit in an instant the glory of his whole past life, in dishonouring himself for ever by the shameful behaviour he was advised to observe with his judges. Seeing that his own times had but a slight knowledge of him, he referred himself from it to the judgment of posterity, and by the generous sacrifice of a very advanced life, acquired and assured to himself the esteem and admiration of all succeeding ages.

SECT. VII. *Socrates refuses to escape out of Prison. He passes the last Day of his Life in discoursing with his Friends upon the Immortality of the Soul. He drinks the Poison. Punishment of his Accusers. Honours paid to his Memory.*

AFTER the sentence had been passed upon him, † Socrates with the same intrepid aspect with which he had held the tyrants in awe, went forward

* *Maluit vir sapientissimus quod superesset ex vita sibi perire, quam quod præterisset: et quando ab hominibus sui temporis parum intelligebatur, posteronum e judiciis reservavit, breve detrimenta jam ultimo senectutis ævum seculorum omnium consecutus.* QUINT. l. i. c. 1.

† *Socrates eodem illo vultu, quo aliquando solus triginta tyrannos in ordinem redegerat, carcerem intravit, ignominiam ipse loco detructurus. Neque enim poterat carcer videri, in quo Socrates erat.* SENEC. de Consol. ad Helvet. c. xiii.

Socrates carcerem intrando purgavit, omnique hæsitionem curia ra edit. Id. de vit. beat. c. xxvii.

towards

towards the prison, which lost that name, says Seneca, when he entered it, and became the residence of virtue and probity. His friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during thirty days, which passed between his condemnation and death. The cause of that long delay was, the Athenians sent every year a ship to the isle of Delos, to offer certain sacrifices; and it was prohibited to put any person to death in the city, from the time the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of this vessel, as a signal of its departure, till the same vessel should return. So that sentence having been passed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was necessary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval death had sufficient opportunity to present itself before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his constancy to the proof, not only by the severe rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual prospect and cruel expectation of an event, of which nature is always abhorrent. [t] In this sad condition he did not cease to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind, which his friends had always admired in him. He entertained them with the same temper he had always expressed, and Crito observes, that the evening before his death, he slept as peaceably as at any other time. He composed also a hymn, in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of Æsop's fables into verse.

The day before, or the same day that the ship was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning to let him know that bad news, and at the same time that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; that the gaoler was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, "whether he knew any place out of Attica, where people did not die?" Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed

[t] Plat. in Criton.

him

him to take the advantage of ſo precious an opportunity, adding arguments upon arguments to induce his conſent, and to engage him to reſolve upon his eſcape. Without mentioning the inconſolable grief he ſhould ſuffer for the death of ſuch a friend, how ſhould he ſupport the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in his power to have ſaved him, but that he would not ſacrifice a ſmall part of his wealth for that purpoſe? Can the people ever be perſuaded that ſo wiſe a man as Socrates would not quit his priſon, when he might do it with all poſſible ſecurity? Perhaps he might fear to expoſe his friends, or to occaſion the loſs of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty. Ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preſervation of Socrates? Even ſtrangers themſelves diſpute that honour with them; many of whom have come expreſsly with conſiderable ſums of money to purchaſe his eſcape; and declare, that they ſhould think themſelves highly honoured to receive him amongſt them, and to ſupply him abundantly with all he ſhould have occaſion for. Ought he to abandon himſelf to enemies, who have occaſioned his being condemned unjuſtly, and can he think it allowable to betray his own cauſe? Is it not eſſential to his goodneſs and juſtice to ſpare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood? But if all theſe motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himſelf, can he be inſenſible to the intereſts of his children? In what a condition does he leave them? And can he forget the father, to remember only the philoſopher?

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praiſed his zeal, and expreſſed his gratitude; but before he could give into his opinion, was for examining whether it was juſt for him to depart out of priſon without the conſent of the Athenians. The queſtion therefore here, is to know whether a man condemned to die, though unjuſtly, can without a crime eſcape from juſtice and the laws? I do not know, whether, even amongſt us, there are not many perſons to be found who believe that this may be made a queſtion.

Socrates begins with removing every thing foreign to the ſubject, and comes immediately to the bottom of the affair. "I ſhould certainly rejoice extremely, moſt dear Crito, that you could perſuade me to quit this place, but cannot reſolve to do ſo, without being firſt perſuaded. We ought not to be in pain upon what the people ſay, but for what the ſole Judge of all that is juſt or unjuſt ſhall pronounce upon us, and that alone is truth. All the conſiderations you have alleged, as to money, reputation, family, prove nothing, unleſs you ſhow me, that what you propoſe is juſt and lawful. It is a received and conſtant principle with us, that all injuſtice is ſhameful and fatal to him who commits it, whatever men may ſay, or whatever good or evil may be conſequential of it. We have always reaſoned from this principle even to our lateſt days, and have never departed in the leaſt from it. Would it be poſſible, dear Crito, that at our age our moſt ſerious diſcourſes ſhould reſemble thoſe of infants, who ſay yes and no almoſt in the ſame breath, and have nothing of fixed and determinate?" At each propoſition he waited Crito's anſwer and aſſent.

"Let us therefore reſume our principles, and endeavour to make uſe of them at this time. It has always been a maxim with us, that it is never allowable upon any pretence whatſoever to commit injuſtice, not even in regard to thoſe who injure us, nor to return evil for evil, and that when we have once engaged our word, we are bound to keep it inviolably; no intereſt being capable to diſpenſe with it. Now, if at the time I ſhould be ready to make my eſcape, the laws and republic ſhould preſent themſelves in a body before me, what could I anſwer to the following queſtions which they might put to me? What are you going to do, Socrates? To fly from juſtice in this manner, is it aught elſe but ruining entirely the laws and the republic? Do you believe, that a ſtate ſubſiſts, after juſtice is not only no longer in force in it, but is even corrupted, ſubverted, and trod under foot by particulars? But, ſay I, the republic has done me injuſtice, and has ſentenced

tenced me wrongfully. Have you forgot, the laws would reply that you are under an agreement with us to submit your private judgment to the republic? You were at liberty, if our government and constitutions did not suit you, to retire and settle yourself elsewhere: but a residence of seventy years in our city, sufficiently denotes, that our plan has not displeased you, and that you have complied with it from an entire knowledge and experience of it, and out of choice. In effect you owe all you are, and all you possess, to it: birth, nurture, education, and establishment; for all these proceed from the tuition and protection of the republic. Do you believe yourself free to break through engagements with her, which you have confirmed by more than one oath? Though she should intend to destroy you, can you render her evil for evil, and injury for injury? Have you a right to act in that manner with your father and mother; and do you not know, that your country is more considerable, and more worthy of respect, before God and man, than either father or mother, or all the relations in the world together; that your country is to be honoured and revered, to be complied with in her excesses, and to be treated with tenderness and kindness, even in her most violent proceedings? In a word, that she is either to be reclaimed by wise counsels and respectful remonstrances, or to be obeyed in her commands, and suffered without murmuring in all she shall decree? As for your children, Socrates, your friends will render them all the services in your power; at least the Divine Providence will not be wanting to them. Resign yourself therefore to our reasons, and take the counsel of those who have given you birth, nurture, and education. Set not so high a value upon your children, your life, or any thing in the world as justice; so shall it come to pass, that when you appear before the tribunal of Pluto, you will not be at a loss to defend yourself in the presence of your judges. But if you demean yourself otherwise, we shall continue your enemies as long as you live, without ever affording you relaxation or repose;

pose; and when you are dead, our sisters, the laws in the regions below, will be as little favourable to you; knowing that you have been guilty of using your utmost endeavours to destroy us."

Socrates observed to Crito, that he seemed to have a perfect sense of all he had said; and that the force of his reasons had made so strong and irresistible an impression upon his mind, that they entirely engrossed him, and left him neither thoughts nor words to object. Crito agreeing in effect that he had nothing to reply, continued silent, and withdrew with his friend. [u] At length the fatal ship returned to Athens, which was in a manner the signal for the death of Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was sick, repaired to the prison early in the morning. The gaoler desired them to wait a little, because the eleven magistrates (who had the direction of the prisons) were at that time signifying to the prisoner, that he was to die the same day. Presently after they entered, and found Socrates, whose* chains had been taken off, sitting by Xantippe his wife, who held one of his children in her arms. As soon as she perceived them, setting up great cries, sobbing, and tearing her face and hair, she made the prison resound with her complaints, "O my dear Socrates, your friends are come to see you this day for the last time!" He desired that she might be taken away, and she was immediately carried home.

Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and discoursed with them with his usual cheerfulness and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was the most important and best adapted to the present conjuncture, that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave occasion to this discourse, was a question introduced in a manner by chance, whether a true philosopher ought not to desire and take pains to die? This proposition, taken too literally, implied an opinion,

[u] Plat. in Phæd. p. 59, &c.

* At Athens, as soon as sentence was pronounced upon a criminal, he was unbound, and considered as the victim of death, whom it was no longer lawful to keep in chains.

that a philosopher might kill himself. Socrates shows that nothing is more unjust than this notion, and that man, appertaining to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it without his permission, nor depart from life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philosopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happiness which he expects in another life; and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject, from which conversation Plato's admirable dialogue, intitled *The Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the soul immortal, and refutes all the objections against it, which are very near the same as are made at this day. This treatise is too long for me to attempt an abstract of it.

* Before he answers any of these objections, he deplores a misfortune common enough amongst men, who, in consequence of hearing ignorant persons, who contradict and doubt every thing, dispute, and believe there is nothing certain. "Is it not a great misfortune, dear Phædon, that having reasons which are true, certain, and very easy to be understood, there should, however be those in the world, who are not at all affected with them, from their having heard those frivolous disputes, wherein all things appear sometimes true and sometimes false. These unjust and unreasonable men, instead of blaming themselves for these doubts, or charging the narrowness of their sense with them, from ascribing the defect to the reasons themselves, proceed at length to a detestation of them; and believe themselves more knowing and judicious than all others, because they imagine they are the only persons, who comprehend, that there is nothing true or certain in the nature of things."

Socrates demonstrates the injustice of this proceeding. He observes, that of two things equally uncertain, it

* Plut. p. 90, 91.

consists

consists with wisdom to choose that which is most advantageous with least hazard. "If what I advance," says he, "upon the immortality of the soul, proves true, it is good to believe it; and if, after my death, it proves false, I shall always have the advantage from it, to have been less sensible here of the evils which generally attend human life." This reasoning * of Socrates (which, *we are to suppose*, can be only real and true in the mouth of a Christian) is very remarkable. If what I say is true, I gain all things, whilst I hazard very little; and if false I lose nothing; on the contrary, I am still a great gainer.

Socrates does not confine himself to the mere speculation of this great truth, that the soul is immortal; he draws useful and necessary conclusions from it for the conduct of life; in explaining what the hope of a happy eternity demands from man, that it be not frustrated, and that instead of attaining the rewards prepared for the good, they do not experience the punishments allotted for the wicked. The philosopher here sets forth these great truths, which a constant tradition, though very much obscured by fiction and fable, had always preserved amongst the Pagans. The last judgment of the righteous and wicked; the eternal punishments to which great criminals are condemned; a place of peace and joy without end for the souls that retain their purity and innocence, or which, during this life, have expiated their offences by repentance and satisfaction; and an intermediate state, in which they purify themselves, for a certain time, from less considerable crimes, that have not been atoned for during this life.

[y] "My friends, there is still one thing, which it is very just to believe; if the soul be immortal, it requires to be cultivated with attention, not only for what we call the time of life, but for that which is to

[y] Plat. p. 107.

* Monsieur Pascal has expatiated upon this reasoning in his seventh article, and deduced from it a demonstration of infinite force.

follow,

follow, I mean eternity; and the least neglect in this point may be attended with endless consequences. If death were the final dissolution of being, the wicked would be great gainers in it, by being delivered at once from their bodies, their souls, and their vices: but as the soul is immortal, it has no other means of being freed from its evils, nor any safety for it but in becoming very good and very wise; for it carries nothing away with it, but its good or bad deeds, its virtues or vices, which are commonly the consequences of the education it has received, and the causes of eternal happiness or misery.

"[2] When the dead are arrived at the fatal rendezvous of departed souls, whither their * dæmon conducts them, they are all judged. Those, who have passed their lives in a manner neither entirely criminal nor absolutely innocent, are sent into a place where they suffer pains proportioned to their faults, till being purged and cleansed of their guilt, and afterwards restored to liberty, they receive the reward of the good actions they have done in the body. Those who are judged to be incurable upon account of the greatness of their crimes, who from deliberate will have committed sacrileges and murders, and other such great offences, the fatal destiny that passes judgment upon them, hurls them into Tartarus, from whence they never depart. But those who are found guilty of crimes, great indeed, but worthy of pardon; who have committed violences in the transports of rage against their father and mother, or have killed some one in a like emotion, and afterwards repented, these suffer the same punishment, and in the same place with the last; but for a time only, till by their prayers and supplications they have obtained pardon from those they have injured.

"But for those who have passed through life with

[2] Plat. p. 113, 114.

* Dæmon is a Greek word, which signifies spirit, genius, and with us, angel.

peculiar

peculiar ſanctity of manners, delivered from their baſe earthly abodes as from a priſon, they are received on high in a pure region, which they inhabit; and as philoſophy has ſufficiently purified them, they live * without their bodies through all eternity in a ſeries of joys and delights it is not eaſy to deſcribe, and which the ſhortneſs of my time will not permit me to explain more at large.

"What I have ſaid will ſuffice, I conceive, to prove that we ought to endeavour ſtrenuouſly, throughout our whole lives, to acquire virtue and wiſdom: for you ſee how great a reward, and how high a hope is propoſed to us. And though the immortality of the ſoul were dubious, inſtead of appearing a certainty as it does, every wiſe man ought to aſſure himſelf, that it is well worth his trouble to riſk his belief of it in this manner. And indeed can there be a more glorious hazard? We ought to enchant ourſelves with this bleſſed hope; for which reaſon I have lengthened this diſcourſe ſo much."

Cicero expreſſes theſe noble ſentiments of Socrates with his uſual delicacy. † Almoſt at the very moment that he held the deadly draught in his hand, he talked in ſuch a manner, as ſhowed that he looked upon death not as a violence done to him, but as a means beſtowed upon him of aſcending to heaven. He declared, that upon departing out of this life, two ways are open to us; the one leads to the place of eternal miſery, ſuch ſouls as have ſullied themſelves here below in ſhameful pleaſures and criminal actions; the other conducts

* The reſurrection of the body was unknown to the Pagans.

† *Cum pene in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita eſt, ut non ad mortem trudi verùm in cœlum videretur aſcendere. Ita enim ceſebat, itaque diſſeruit: duas eſſe vias duplicesque curſus animorum è corpore excedentium. Nam, qui ſe humanis vitiis contaminaſſent, et ſe totos libidinibus, dediſſent quibus coarctati erant domeſticis vitiis atque flagitiis ſe inquinaſſent, iis deorum quidam iter eſſe, ſeclusum à concilio deorum: qui autem ſe integros caſtoſque ſervaſſent, quibuſque fuiſſet minima cum corporibus contagio, ſeſeque ab his ſemper ſevocaſſent, eſſenque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos, à quibus eſſent profecti, reditum facilem patere.* Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. i. n. 71, 72.

thoſe to the happy manſions of the gods, who have retained their purity upon earth, and have led in human bodies a life almoſt divine.

* When Socrates had done ſpeaking, Crito deſired him to give him and the reſt of his friends his laſt inſtructions in regard to his children, and other affairs, that by executing them, they might have the conſolation of doing him ſome pleaſure. "I ſhall recommend nothing to you this day," replied Socrates, "more than I have always done, which is to take care of yourſelves. You cannot do yourſelves a greater ſervice, nor do me and my family a greater pleaſure." Crito having aſked him afterwards in what manner he thought fit to be buried: "As you pleaſe," ſaid Socrates, "if you can lay hold of me, and I not eſcape out of your hands." At the ſame time looking upon his friends with a ſmile: "I can never perſuade Crito that Socrates is he who converſes with you, and diſpoſes the ſeveral parts of his diſcourſe; for he always imagines that I am what he is going to ſee dead in a little while. He confounds me with my carcaſe, and therefore aſks me how I would be interred." In finiſhing theſe words he roſe up and went to bathe himſelf in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He ſpoke to them for ſome time, gave his orders to the women who took care of them, and then diſmiſſed them. Being returned into his chamber he laid him down upon his bed.

The ſervant of the Eleven entered at the ſame inſtant, and having informed him, that the time for drinking the hemlock was come (which was at ſunſet) the ſervant was ſo much affected with ſorrow, that he turned his back and fell a weeping. "See," ſaid Socrates, "the good heart of this man! Since my impriſonment he has often come to ſee me, and to converſe with me. He is more worthy than all his fellows. How heartily the poor man weeps for me."

* Pag. 115—118.

This

This is a remarkable example, and might teach thoſe in an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all priſoners, but more eſpecially to perſons of merit, when they are ſo unhappy as to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates aſked what it was neceſſary for him to do. "Nothing more," replied the ſervant, "than, as ſoon as you have drank off the draught, to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down upon your bed." He took the cup without any emotion or change in his colour or countenance, and regarding the man with a ſteady and aſſured look, "Well," ſaid he, "what ſay you of this drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told that there was only enough for one doſe: "At leaſt," continued he, "we may ſay our prayers to the gods, as it is our duty; and implore them to make our exit from this world, and our laſt ſtage happy; which is what I moſt ardently beg of them." After having ſpoken theſe words he kept ſilence for ſome time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity, and a ſerenity of aſpect not to be expreſſed or conceived.

Till then his friends with great violence to themſelves had refrained from tears, but after he had drank the potion, they were no longer their own maſters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almoſt the whole converſation, began then to raiſe great cries, and to lament with ſuch exceſſive grief, as pierced the hearts of all who were preſent. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his uſual mildneſs and good nature. "What are you doing?" ſaid he to them, "I admire at you. Ah! what is become of your virtue? Was it not for this I ſent away the women, that they might not fall into theſe weakneſſes? For I have always heard ſay, that we ought to die peaceably, and bleſſing the gods. Be at eaſe, I beg you, and ſhow more conſtancy and reſolution." Theſe words filled them with confuſion, and obliged them to reſtrain their tears.

In the mean time he kept walking to and fro, and when he found his legs grow weary, he laid down upon his bed, as he had been directed.

The poison then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered without doubt to prevent any thing from disturbing him in his last moments, "Crito," said he, which were his last words, "we owe a cock to Æsculapius; discharge that vow for me, and pray don't forget it;" soon after which he breathed his last. Crito went to his body, and closed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates: in the first year of the 95th Olympiad, and the seventieth of his age. Cicero * says, he could never read the description of his death in Plato without tears.

Plato, and the rest of Socrates's disciples, apprehending the rage of his accusers was not satiated by that victim, retired to Mægara to the house of Euclid; where they staid till the storm blew over. Euripides, however, to reproach the Athenians with the horrible crime they had committed, in condemning the best of men to die upon such slight grounds, composed his tragedy, called *Palamedes*, in which, under the name of that hero, who was also destroyed by a black calumniation, he deplored the misfortune of his friend. When the actor came to repeat this verse,

You doom the justest of the Greeks to perish;

the whole theatre, remembering Socrates in so distinct an image of him, melted into tears, and a decree passed to prohibit speaking any more of him in public. Some believe Euripides was dead before Socrates, and reject this circumstance.

However it were, the people of Athens did not open their eyes till some time after the death of Socrates. Their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices expired, and time having given them opportunity for reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all

* *Quid dicam de Socrate, cujus morti illacrymari soleo Platonem egens?* De nat. Deot. l. iii. n. 82.

its

its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but discourses in favour of Socrates. The academy, the Lycæum, private houses, public walks, and market places, seemed still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice. Here, said they, he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services? Athens was in universal mourning and consternation. The schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended. The accusers were called to account for the innocent blood they had caused to be shed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the rest banished. Plutarch observes, that all those, who had any share in this black calumny, were in such abomination amongst the citizens, that no one would give them fire, answer them any question, nor go into the same bath with them; and had the place cleansed where they had bathed, lest they should be polluted by touching it; which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves.

[h] The Athenians, not contented with having punished his accusers, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him, of the workmanship of the celebrated Lysippus, and placed it in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city. Their respect and gratitude rose even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demi-god, which they called Σωκρατειον, that is to say, *the chapel of Socrates.*

SECT. VIII. *Reflections upon the Sentence passed upon Socrates by the Athenians, and upon Socrates himself.*

WE must be very much surprised, when on the one side we consider the extreme delicacy of the people of Athens, as to what regards the worship of the gods, which ran so high as to occasion their con-

h. Diog. p. 116.

demning

demning the moſt eminent perſons upon the ſimple ſuſpicion of their failing in reſpect for them; and on the other, when we ſee the exceeding toleration, to call it no worſe, with which the ſame people hear comedies every day, in which all the gods are turned into ridicule, in a manner capable of inſpiring the higheſt contempt for them. All Ariſtophanes's pieces abound with pleaſantries, or rather buffooneries, of this kind; and if it is true that this poet did not know what it was to ſpare the greateſt men of the republic, it may be ſaid alſo as juſtly, he was ſtill leſs favourable to the gods.

Such were the daily entertainments in the theatre, which the people of Athens not only heard without pain, but with ſuch joy, pleaſure, and applauſe, that they rewarded the poet with public honours, who diverted them ſo agreeably. What was there in Socrates that came near this exceſſive licence? Never did any perſon of the pagan world ſpeak of the divinity, or of the adoration due to him, in ſo pure, ſo noble, and ſo reſpectful a manner. He did not declare againſt the gods publicly received and honoured by a religion more ancient than the city, he only avoided imputing to them the crimes and infamous actions, which the popular credulity aſcribed to them, and which were only proper to depreciate and decry them in the ſenſe of the people. He did not blame the ſacrifices, feſtivals, nor the other ceremonies of religion; he only taught, that all that pomp and outward ſhow could not be agreeable to the gods without uprightneſs of intention and purity of heart.

This wiſe, this illumined, this religious man, however, with all his veneration and noble ſentiments in regard to the divinity, is condemned as an impious perſon by the ſuffrages of almoſt a whole people, without his accuſers being able to inſtance one ſingle avowed fact, or to produce any proof with the leaſt appearance of probability.

From whence could ſo evident, ſo univerſal, and ſo determinate a contradiction ariſe amongſt the Athenians? A people, abounding in other reſpects with wit, taſte, and knowledge, muſt without doubt have had their

their reasons, at least in appearance, for a conduct so different, and sentiments so opposite, to their general character. May we not say that the Athenians considered their gods in a double light? They confined their real religion to the public, solemn, and hereditary worship, as they had received it from their ancestors, as it was established by the laws of the state, had been practised from immemorial time, and especially confirmed by the oracles, augurs, offerings, and sacrifices. It is by this standard they regulated their piety; against which they could not suffer the least attempt whatsoever: it was of this worship alone they were jealous; it was for these ancient ceremonies they were such ardent zealots; and they believed, though without foundation, that Socrates was an enemy to them. But there was another kind of religion founded upon fable, poetical fictions, popular opinions, and foreign customs; for this they were little concerned, and abandoned it entirely to the poets, to the representations of the theatre, and common conversation.

[c] What grossness did they not attribute to Juno and Venus? No citizen would have been satisfied, that his wife or daughters should have resembled those goddesses. Timotheus, the famous musician, having represented Diana upon the stage of Athens, transported with folly, fury, and rage, one of the spectators conceived he could not make a greater imprecation against him, than to wish his daughter might become the likeness of that divinity. It is better, says Plutarch, to believe there are no gods, than to imagine them of this kind: open and declared impiety being less profane, if we may be allowed to say so, than so gross and absurd a superstition.

However it be, the sentence of which we have related the circumstances, will, through all ages, cover Athens with infamy and reproach, that all the splendor of its glorious actions, for which it is otherwise so justly renowned, can never obliterate, and shows, at the same time, what is to be expected from a people, gentle, humane, and beneficent at bottom, for such the Athenians

[c] Plut. de superstit. p. 170.

 really

really were, but warm, proud, haughty, inconſtant, wavering with every wind, and every impreſſion. It is therefore with reaſon, that their aſſemblies have been compared to a tempeſtuous ſea; as that element, like the people, though calm and peaceable of itſelf, is ſubject to be frequently agitated by a violence not its own.

As to Socrates, it muſt be allowed that the pagan world never produced any thing ſo great and perfect. When we obſerve to what a height he carries the ſublimity of his ſentiments, not only in reſpect to moral virtue, temperance, ſobriety, patience in adverſity, the love of poverty, and the forgiveneſs of wrongs; but what is far more conſiderable, in regard to the Divinity, his unity, omnipotence, creation of the world, and providence in the government of it: the immortality of the ſoul, its ultimate end and eternal deſtiny; the rewards of the good, and the puniſhment of the wicked; when we conſider this train of ſublime knowledge, we aſk our reaſon, whether it is a pagan who thinks and ſpeaks in this manner, and can ſcarce perſuade ourſelves, that from ſo dark and obſcure a fund as paganiſm ſhould ſhine forth ſuch living and ſuch glorious rays of light.

It is true, his reputation was not without alloy, and it has been affirmed, that the purity of his manners did not anſwer thoſe of his ſentiments. [d] This queſtion has been diſcuſſed among the learned, but my plan will not admit me to treat it in its extent. The reader may ſee Abbe Fraguier's diſſertation in defence of Socrates, againſt the reproaches made him on account of his conduct. The negative argument he makes uſe of in his juſtification ſeems a very ſtrong one. He obſerves, that neither Ariſtophanes, in his comedy of The Clouds, which is entirely againſt Socrates, nor his vile accuſers in his trial, have advanced one word that tends to impeach the purity of his manners: and it is not probable, that ſuch violent enemies as thoſe would have neglected one of the moſt likely methods to diſ-

[d] Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcript. Tom. IV. p. 372.

credit

credit him in the opinion of his judges, if there had been any foundation or appearance for the uſe of it.

I confeſs, however, that certain principles of Plato, his diſciple, held by him in common with his maſter, upon the nudity of the combatants in the public games, from which, at the ſame time, he did not exclude the fair ſex, and the behaviour of Socrates himſelf, who wreſtled naked, man to man, with Alcibiades, give us no great idea of that philoſopher's delicacy in point of modeſty and baſhfulneſs. [e] What ſhall we ſay of his viſit to Theodota, a woman of Athens, of indifferent reputation, only to aſſure himſelf with his own eyes of her extraordinary beauty, which was much talked of, and of the precepts he gave her for the attraction of admirers, and the retaining them in her ſnares? Do ſuch leſſons conſiſt much with a philoſopher? I paſs over many other things in ſilence.

I am the leſs ſurpriſed after this, that ſeveral of the fathers have cenſured him in regard to purity of manners, and that they have thought fit to apply to him, as well as to his diſciple Plato, what St. Paul [f] ſays of the philoſophers; that God, by a juſt judgment, has abandoned them to a reprobate ſenſe, and to the moſt ſhameful luſts for their puniſhment; in that having clearly known there was but one true God, they had not honoured him as they ought, by publicly avowing their belief, and were not aſhamed to aſſociate him with an innumerable multitude of divinities, ridiculous and infamous even in their own opinions.

And in this, properly ſpeaking, conſiſts the crime of Socrates, who was not guilty in the eyes of the Athenians, but gave occaſion for his being juſtly condemned by the eternal truth. It had illuminated his ſoul with the moſt pure and ſublime lights, of which the pagan world was capable; for we are not ignorant, that all knowledge of God, even natural, cannot come but from himſelf alone. He held admirable principles with relation to the divinity. He agreeably rallied the

[e] Xenoph. Memorab. l. iii. p. 783—786.
[f] Rom. ch. i. ver. 17—32.

fables upon which the ridiculous myſteries of his age were founded. He often ſpoke, and in the moſt exalted terms, of the exiſtence of one only God, eternal, inviſible, creator of the univerſe, ſupreme director and arbiter of all events, avenger of crimes, and rewarder of virtues: but he *did not dare to give a public teſtimony of theſe great truths. He perfectly diſcerned the falſe and the ridiculous of the pagan ſyſtem, and nevertheleſs, as Seneca ſays of the wiſe man, and acted himſelf, he obſerved exactly all the cuſtoms and ceremonies, not as agreeable to the gods, but as enjoined by the laws. He †acknowledged at bottom one only divinity, and worſhipped, with the people, that multitude of infamous idols, which ancient ſuperſtition had heaped up during a long ſucceſſion of ages. He held peculiar opinions in the ſchools, but followed the multitude in the temples. As a philoſopher, he deſpiſed and deteſted the idols in ſecret; as a citizen of Athens and a ſenator, he paid them in public the ſame adoration with others; by ſo much the more to be condemned, ſays St. Auguſtin, as that worſhip, which was only external and diſſembled, ſeemed to the people to be the effect of ſincerity and conviction.

And it cannot be ſaid that Socrates altered his conduct at the end of his life, or that he then expreſſed a greater zeal for truth. In his defence before the people, he declared, that he had always received and honoured the ſame gods as the Athenians; and the laſt order he gave before he expired, was to ſacrifice, in his name, a cock to Æſculapius. Behold then this prince of the philoſophers declared by the Delphic oracle the wiſeſt of mankind, who, notwithſtanding his internal conviction of one only divinity, dies in the boſom of idolatry,

* *Quæ omnia (ait Seneca) ſapiens ſervabit tanquam legibus juſſa, non tanquam diis grata—Omnem iſtam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longo ævo longo ſuperſtitio congeſſit, ſic, inquit, adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad morem, quam ad rem, pertinere—Sed iſte, quem philoſophia quaſi liberum fecerat, tamen, quia illuſtris ſenator erat, colebat quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat adorabat—eo damnabilis, quo illa quæ mendacitur agebat, ſic ageret, ut eum populus veraciter agere exiſtimaret.* S. AUGUST. de civit. Dei. l. vi. c. 10.

† *Eorum ſapientes, quos philoſophos vocant, ſcholas habebant diſſentientes, et templa communia.* Id. lib. de ver. rel. c. 1.

and with the profeſſion of adoring all the gods of the pagan theology. Socrates is the more inexcuſable in this, that declaring himſelf a man expreſsly appointed by heaven to bear witneſs to the truth, he fails in the moſt eſſential duty of the glorious commiſſion he aſcribes to himſelf. For if there be any truth in religion, that we ought more particularly to avow, it is that which regards the unity of the Godhead, and the vanity of idol worſhip. In this his courage had been well placed; nor would it have been any great difficulty to Socrates, determined, beſides, as he was, to die. But, ſays * St. Auguſtin, theſe philoſophers were not deſigned by God to enlighten the world, nor to bring men over from the impious worſhip of falſe deities to the holy religion of the true God.

We cannot deny Socrates to have been the hero of the pagan world in regard to moral virtues. But to judge rightly of him, let us draw a parallel between this ſuppoſed hero and the martyrs of Chriſtianity, who often were young children and tender virgins, and yet were not afraid to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, to defend and confirm the ſame truths which Socrates knew, without daring to aſſert in public: I mean, the unity of God, and the vanity of idols. Let us alſo compare the ſo much-boaſted death of this prince of philoſophers with that of our holy biſhops, who have done the Chriſtian religion ſo much honour by their ſublimity of genius, the extent of their knowledge, and the beauty and excellence of their writings; a ſaint Cyprian, a ſaint Auguſtin, and ſo many others who were all ſeen to die in the boſom of humility, fully convinced of their unworthineſs and nothingneſs, penetrated with a lively fear of the judgments of God, and expecting their ſalvation from his ſole goodneſs and condeſcending mercy. Philoſophy inſpires no ſuch ſentiments; they could proceed only from the grace of the Mediator, which, *we are taught to believe*, Socrates did not deſerve to know.

* *Non ſic iſta nati erant, ut populorum ſuorum opinionem ad verum cultum veri Dei à ſimulacrorum ſuperſtitione atque ab hujus mundi vanitate converterent.* S. AUGUST. lib. de ver. rel. c. 2.

BOOK

BOOK THE TENTH.

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

Manners and Customs of the Greeks.

THE most essential part of history, and which it concerns the reader most to know, is that which explains the character and manners as well of the people in general, as of the great persons in particular of whom it treats; and this may be said to be in some sort the soul of history, of which the facts are only the body. I have endeavoured, as occasion offered, to paint in their true colours the most illustrious personages of Greece; it remains for me to show the genius and character of the people themselves. I shall confine myself to those of Lacedæmon and Athens, who always held the first rank amongst the Greeks, and shall reduce what I have to say upon this subject to three heads; their political government, war, and religion.

Sigonius, Meursius, Potter, and several others, who have written upon the Grecian antiquities, supply me with great lights, and are of equal use to me in the matters it remains for me to treat.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of political Government.

THERE are three principal forms of government: *Monarchy*, in which a ſingle perſon reigns; *Ariſtocracy*, in which the eldeſt and wiſeſt govern; and *Democracy*, in which the ſupreme authority is lodged in the hands of the people. The moſt celebrated writers of antiquity, as Plato, Ariſtotle, Polybius, and Plutarch, give the preference to the firſt kind, as including the moſt advantages with the feweſt inconveniencies. But all agree, and it cannot be too often inculcated, that the end of all government, and the duty in every one in authority, in whatſoever manner it be, is to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to render thoſe under his command happy and juſt, by obtaining for them on the one ſide ſafety and tranquillity, with the advantages and conveniencies of life; and on the other, all the means and helps that may contribute to making them virtuous. As the pilot's end, ſays Cicero*, is to ſteer his veſſel happily into its port, the phyſician's to preſerve or reſtore health, the general's of an army to obtain victory, ſo a prince, and every man who governs others, ought to make the utility of the governed his view and motive, and to remember, that the ſupreme rule of all juſt government is the good of the public, [a] *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.* He adds, that the greateſt and moſt noble function in the world is to be the author of the happineſs of mankind.

Plato, in a hundred places, eſteems as nothing the moſt ſhining qualities and actions of thoſe who govern, if they do not tend to promote the two great ends I have mentioned, the virtue and happineſs of the people;

[a] Cic. de. leg. l. iii. n. 8.

* *Tenes-ne igitur, moderatorem illum reip. quo referre velimus omnia?—Ut gubernatori curſus ſecundus, medico ſalus, imperatori victoria, ſic huic moderatori reip. beata civium vita propoſita eſt, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honeſta ſit. Hujus enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum eſſe perfectorem volo.* Ad. Attic. l. viii. Epiſt. 10.

and

and he refutes at large, in the firſt [b] book of his Republic, one Thraſymachus, who advanced, that ſubjects were born for the prince, and not the prince for his ſubjects; and that whatever promoted the intereſts of the prince and commonwealth, ought to be deemed juſt and lawful.

In the diſtinctions which have been made upon the ſeveral forms of government, it has been agreed, That would be the moſt perfect which ſhould unite in itſelf, by a happy mixture of inſtitutions, all the advantages, and exclude all the inconveniencies, of the reſt; and almoſt all the ancients have believed [c], that the Lacedæmonian government came neareſt to this idea of perfection.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Government of Sparta.

FROM the time that the Heraclides had re-entered Peloponneſus, Sparta was governed by two kings, who were always of the ſame two families, deſcended from Hercules by two different branches, as I have obſerved elſewhere. Whether from pride, or the abuſe of deſpotic power on the ſide of the kings, or the deſire of independence, and an immoderate love of liberty on that of the people, Sparta, in its beginnings, was always involved in commotions and revolts; which would infallibly have occaſioned its ruin, as had happened at Argos and Meſſene, two neighbouring cities, equally powerful with itſelf, if the wiſe foreſight of Lycurgus had not prevented fatal conſequences by the reformation he made in the ſtate. I have related it at large [d] in the life of that legiſlator, and ſhall only touch here upon what regards the government.

SECT. I. *Abridged Idea of the Spartan Government. Entire Submiſſion to the Laws in a Manner the Soul of it.*

LYCURGUS reſtored order and peace in Sparta by the eſtabliſhment of the ſenate. It conſiſted of twenty-eight ſenators, and the two kings preſided in it.

[b] Page 338—343. [c] Polyb. l. vi. p. 458, 459. [d] Vol. II.

This

This auguſt counſel, formed out of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced men in the nation, ſerved as a counterpoiſe to the two other authorities, that of the kings, and that of the people; and whenever the one was for overbearing the other, the ſenate interpoſed, by joining the weakeſt, and thereby held the balance between both. At length, to prevent this body itſelf from abuſing its power, which was very great, a kind of curb was annexed to it, by the nomination of five Ephori, who were elected out of the people, whoſe office laſted only one year, and who had authority, not only over the ſenators, but the kings themſelves.

The power of the kings was extremely limited, eſpecially in the city, and in time of peace. In war they had the command of the fleets and armies, and at that time greater authority. [e] However, they had even then a kind of inſpectors and commiſſioners aſſigned them, who ſerved as a neceſſary council, and were generally choſen for that office, from their being out of favour with them, in order that there ſhould be no connivance on their ſide, and the republic be the better ſerved. There was almoſt continually ſome ſecret miſunderſtanding between the two kings; whether it proceeded from a natural jealouſy between the two branches, or was the effect of the Spartan policy, to which their too great union might have given umbrage.

The Ephori had a greater authority at Sparta, than the Tribunes of the Roman people. They preſided in the election of the magiſtrates, and could call them to an account for their adminiſtration. Their power extended even to the perſons of their kings, and of the princes of the blood royal, whom they had a right to impriſon, which they actually uſed in regard to Pauſanias. When they ſat upon their ſeats in the tribunal, they did not riſe up when the kings entered, which was a mark of reſpect paid them by all the other magiſtrates, and ſeems to imply a kind of ſuperiority in the Ephori from their repreſenting the people; and it is obſerved

[e] Ariſt. de rep. l. i. p. 331.

of Agesilaus[f], that when he was seated upon his throne to dispense justice, and the Ephori came in, he never failed to rise up to do them honour. It is very probable, that, before him, it was not usual for the kings to behave in that manner, Plutarch relating this behaviour of Agesilaus as peculiar to him.

All public business was proposed and examined in the senate, and resolutions passed accordingly in the same place. But the decrees of the senate were not of force, unless ratified by the people.

There must have been exceeding wisdom in the laws established by Lycurgus for the government of Sparta, because, as long as they were exactly observed, no commotions or seditions of the people were ever known in the city, no change in the form of government was ever proposed, no private person usurped authority by violence, or made himself tyrant; the people never thought of depriving the two families, in which it had always been, of the sovereignty, nor did any of the kings ever attempt to assume more power than the laws admitted. [g]This reflection, which both Xenophon and Polybius make, shows the idea they had of the wisdom of Lycurgus, in point of his policy, and the opinion we ought to have of it. In effect, no other city of Greece had this advantage, and all of them experienced many changes and vicissitudes, for want of the like laws to perpetuate their form of government.

The reason of this constancy and stability of the Lacedæmonians in their government and conduct is, that in Sparta the laws governed absolutely, and with sovereign authority; whereas the greatest part of the other Grecian cities, abandoned to the caprice of private men, to despotic power, to an arbitrary and irregular sway, experienced the truth of Plato's saying[h], That the city is miserable, where the magistrates command the laws, and not the laws the magistrates.

[f] Plut. in Agesil. p. 597.
[g] Xenoph. in Agesil. p. 651. Polyb. l. vi, p. 456.
[h] Plut. l. iv. de leg. p. 715.

The

The example of Argos and Meſſene, which I have already related, would alone ſuffice to ſhow how juſt and true that reflection is. [h] After their return from the Trojan war, the Greeks, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Dorians, eſtabliſhed themſelves in three cities of Peloponneſus, Lacedæmon, Argos, and Meſſene; and ſwore alliance, and protection of each other. Theſe three cities, governed alike by monarchical power, had the ſame advantages; except in the fertility of the lands where they were ſituated, in which the two latter carried it extremely. Argos and Meſſene however did not long preſerve their ſuperiority. The haughtineſs of the kings, and the diſobedience of the people, occaſioned their fall from the flouriſhing condition in which they had been at firſt; and their example proved, ſays Plutarch after Plato, that it was the peculiar favour of the gods, which gave the Spartans ſuch a man as Lycurgus, capable of preſcribing ſo wiſe and reaſonable a plan of government.

To ſupport it without change, particular care was taken to educate the youth according to the laws and manners of the country, in order that they might become a ſecond nature in them, by being early ingrafted into them, and confirmed by long habitude. The hard and ſober manner in which they were brought up, inſpired them during the reſt of their lives with a natural taſte for frugality and temperance, that diſtinguiſhed them from all other people, and wonderfully adapted them to ſupport the fatigues of war. [i] Plato obſerves, that this ſalutary cuſtom had baniſhed from Sparta, and all the territory in its dependence, drunkenneſs, debauchery, and all their conſequential diſorders; inſomuch that it was a crime puniſhable by law to drink wine to exceſs even in the Bacchanalia, which every where elſe were days of licence, whereon whole cities gave themſelves up to the laſt exceſſes.

They alſo accuſtomed the children from their earlieſt infancy to an entire ſubmiſſion to the laws, magiſtrates,

[h] Plat. l. iii. de leg. p. 683—685. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 43.
[i] Plat. l. i. de leg. p. 637.

and

and all in authority; and * their education, properly ſpeaking, was no more than an apprenticeſhip of obedience. It was for this reaſon Ageſilaus adviſed Xenophon to ſend his children to Sparta, as to an excellent ſchool †, where they might learn the greateſt and moſt noble of all ſciences, *to obey and to command*, for the one naturally leads on to the other. It was not only the mean, the poor, and the ordinary citizens, who were ſubjected in this manner to the laws, but the rich, the powerful, the magiſtrates, and even kings; and they did not diſtinguiſh themſelves from the others in any thing but a more exact obedience; convinced that ſuch behaviour was the ſureſt means to their being obeyed and reſpected themſelves by their inferiors.

[l] Hence came the ſo much-celebrated anſwers of Demaratus. Xerxes could not comprehend how the Lacedæmonians, who had no maſter to controul them, ſhould be capable to confront dangers and death. "They are free and independent of all men," replied Demaratus, "but the law is above them and commands them, and that law ordains that they muſt conquer or die." [m] Upon another occaſion, when ſomebody expreſſed their ſuprife, that being king he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be baniſhed: "It is," ſays he, "becauſe at Sparta the laws are ſtronger than the kings."

[n] This appears evidently in the ready obedience of Ageſilaus to the orders of the Ephori, when recalled by them to the ſupport of his country; a delicate occaſion for a king and a conqueror; but to him it ſeemed more ‡ glorious to obey his country and the laws, than to command numerous armies, or even to conquer Aſia.

[l] Herod. l. vii. c. 145, 146. [m] Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.
[n] Idem. in Ageſil. p. 603, 604.

* Ὡς τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην εὐπειθείας. PLAT. in Lycurg. 58.

† Μαθησόμενος τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν. PLUT. in Ageſil. p. 606.

‡ *Multo glorioſius duxit, ſi inſtitutis patriæ paruiſſet, quam ſi bello ſuperaſſet Aſiam.* CORN. NEP. in Ageſil. c. iv.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Love of Poverty instituted at Sparta.*

TO this entire submission to the laws of the state, Lycurgus added another principle of government no less admirable, which was to remove from Sparta all luxury, profusion, and magnificence; to decry riches absolutely, to make poverty honourable, and at the same time necessary, by substituting a species of iron money to gold and silver coin, which till then had been current. I have explained elsewhere the measures that were used to make so difficult an undertaking succeed, and shall confine myself here to examining what judgment should be passed on it, as it affects a government.

The poverty to which Lycurgus reduced Sparta, and which seemed to prohibit all conquest, and to deprive it of all means to augment its force and grandeur, was well adapted to rendering it powerful and flourishing. Such a constitution of government, which till then had no example, nor has since been imitated by any state, argues a great fund of prudence and policy in a legislator; and the medium conceived afterwards under Lysander, in continuing individuals in their poverty, and restoring to the public the use of gold and silver coin, was it not a wise amendment of what was too strained and excessive in that law of Lycurgus of which we are speaking?

It seems, if we consult only the common views of human prudence, that it is just to reason in this manner; but the event, which is an infallible evidence and arbiter in this place, obliges me to be of a quite different opinion. Whilst Sparta remained poor, and persisted in the contempt of gold and silver, which continued for several ages, she was powerful and glorious, and the commencement of her decline may be dated from the time when she began to break through the severe prohibition of Lycurgus against the use of gold and silver money.

The education which he instituted for the young Lacedæmonians, the hard and sober life which he recom-

mended with ſo much care the painful and violent exercifes of the body prefcribed by him, the abftraction from all other application and employment; in a word, all his laws and inftitutions ſhow, that his view was to form a people of ſoldiers, ſolely devoted to arms and military functions. I do not pretend to juſtify abſolutely this ſcheme, which had its great inconveniences, and I have expreſſed my thoughts of it elſewhere. But admitting it good, we muſt confeſs that legiſlator ſhowed great wiſdom in the means he took for its execution.

The almoſt inevitable danger of a people ſolely trained up for war, who have always their arms in their hands, and what is moſt to be feared, is injuſtice, violence, ambition, the deſire of increaſing their power, of taking advantage of their neighbours' weakneſs, of oppreſſing them by force, of invading their lands under falſe pretexts, which the luſt of dominion never fails to ſuggeſt, and of extending their bounds as far as poſſible, all vices and extremes, which are horrid in private perſons, and the ordinary commerce of life, but which men have thought fit to applaud as grandeur and glory in the perſons of princes and conquerors.

The great care of Lycurgus was to defend his people againſt this dangerous temptation. Without mentioning the other means he made uſe of, he employed two which could not fail of producing their effect. The * firſt was to prohibit all navigation and war at ſea to his citizens. The ſituation of his city, and the fear leſt commerce, the uſual ſource of luxury and depravation, ſhould corrupt the purity of the Spartan manners, might have a ſhare in this decree. But his principal motive was to put it out of his citizens power to project conqueſts, which a people, ſhut up within the narrow bounds of a peninſula, could not carry very far, without being maſters at ſea.

The ſecond means, ſtill more efficacious, was to forbid all uſe of gold or ſilver money, and to introduce a ſpecies of iron coin in its ſtead, which was of great

* Απειργεῖο δε αυτοις ναυταις ειναι ᾳ ναυμαχειν. PLUT. in inſtitut. Lacon. p. 239.

weight

weight and ſmall value, and could only be current at home. How with ſuch money ſhould foreign troops be raiſed and paid, fleets fitted out, and numerous armies kept up either by land or ſea?

So that the deſign of Lycurgus, in rendering his city warlike, and putting arms into their hands, was not, as [a] Polybius obſerves, and Plutarch after him, to make them illuſtrious conquerors, who might carry war into remote regions, and ſubject great numbers of people. His ſole end was, that, ſhut up within the extent of the lands and dominion left them by their anceſtors, they ſhould have no thoughts, but of maintaining themſelves in peace, and defending themſelves ſucceſsfully againſt ſuch of their neighbours as ſhould have the raſhneſs to invade them; and for this they had occaſion for neither gold nor ſilver, finding in their own country, and ſtill more in their ſober and temperate manner of life, all that was ſufficient for the ſupport of their armies, when they did not quit their own, or the lands of their neighbours.

Now, ſays Polybius, this plan once admitted, it muſt be allowed, that there is nothing more wiſe nor more happily conceived than the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, for the maintaining a people in the poſſeſſion of their liberty, and to ſecure to them the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity. In effect, let us imagine a little republic, like that of Sparta, of which all the citizens are inured to labour, accuſtomed to live on a little, warlike, courageous, intrepid; and that the fundamental principle of this ſmall republic, is to do no wrong to any one, nor to diſturb its neighbours, nor invade their lands or intereſts, but, on the contrary, to declare in favour of the oppreſſed againſt the injuſtice and violence of oppreſſors; is it not certain, that ſuch a republic, ſurrounded by a great number of ſtates of equal extent, would be generally reſpected by all the neighbouring people, would become the ſupreme arbiter of all their quarrels, and exerciſe an empire over them, by ſo much the more glorious and laſting, as it would be

[a] Polyb. l. vi. p. 491. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 59.

 voluntary,

voluntary, and founded ſolely in the opinion thoſe neighbours would have of its virtue, juſtice, and valour?

[p] This was the end Lycurgus propoſed to himſelf. Convinced that the happineſs of a city, like that of a private perſon, depends upon virtue, and upon being well within itſelf, he regulated Sparta ſo as it might always ſuffice to its own happineſs, and act upon principles of wiſdom and equity. From thence aroſe that univerſal eſteem of the neighbouring people and even of ſtrangers for the Lacedæmonians, who aſked of them neither money, ſhips, nor troops; but only that they would lend them a Spartan to command their armies; and when they had obtained their requeſt, they paid him entire obedience, with every kind of honour and reſpect. In this manner the Sicilians obeyed Gylippus, the Chalcidians Braſidas, and all the Greeks of Aſia, Lyſander, Callicratidas, and Ageſilaus; * regarding the city of Sparta as a model for all others, in the arts of living and governing.

The epocha of the declenſion of Sparta begins with the open violation of Lycurgus's laws. I do not pretend that they had always been exactly obſerved till that time, which was far from the caſe; but the ſpirit and genius of thoſe laws had almoſt always prevailed with the majority of the perſons who governed. No ſooner had the ambition of reigning over all Greece inſpired them with the deſign of having naval armies and foreign troops, and that money was neceſſary for the ſupport of thoſe forces, Sparta, forgetting her ancient maxims, ſaw herſelf reduced to have recourſe to the Barbarians, which till then ſhe had deteſted, and baſely to make her court to the kings of Perſia, whom ſhe had formerly vanquiſhed with ſo much glory; and that only to draw from them ſome aids of money and troops againſt their own brethren, that is to ſay, againſt people born and ſettled in Greece like themſelves. Thus had they the imprudence and misfortune to recal with

[p] Plut. p. 58.

* Προς συμπασαν την των Σπαρτιατων πολιν ωσπερ παιδα γωγον η διδασκαλον ευσχημονος βιου καὶ τελαγμενης πολιτειας αποβλεποντες.

gold

gold and ſilver into Sparta, all the vices and crimes which the iron money baniſhed; and to prepare the way for the changes which enſued, and were the cauſe of their ruin. And this infinitely exalts the wiſdom of Lycurgus, in having foreſeen, at ſuch a diſtance what might ſtrike at the happineſs of his citizens, and provided ſalutary remedies againſt it in the form of government he eſtabliſhed at Sparta. Another legiſlator, who had preceded him ſeveral ages, has a right to ſhare this glory with him.

SECT. III. *Laws eſtabliſhed by Minos in Crete the Model of thoſe of Sparta.*

ALL the world knows that Lycurgus had formed the plan of moſt of his laws upon the model of thoſe obſerved in the iſland of Crete, where he paſſed a conſiderable time for the better ſtudying of them. It is proper I ſhould give ſome idea of them here, having forgot to do it in the place where it would have been more natural; that is, when I ſpoke for the firſt time of Lycurgus and his inſtitutions.

[r] Minos, whom fable calls the ſon of Jupiter, was the author of theſe laws. He lived about a hundred years before the Trojan war. He was a powerful, wiſe, and gentle prince, and ſtill more eſtimable for his moral virtues than his military abilities. After having conquered the iſland of Crete, and ſeveral others in its neighbourhood, he applied himſelf to ſtrengthen by wiſe laws the new ſtate, of which he had poſſeſſed himſelf by force of arms. [s] The end which he propoſed in the eſtabliſhment of theſe laws, was to render his ſubjects happy by making them virtuous. He baniſhed idleneſs and voluptuouſneſs from his ſtates, and with them, luxury and vicious pleaſures, the fruitful ſources of all vice. Well knowing, that liberty was juſtly regarded as the moſt precious and greateſt good, and that it cannot ſubſiſt without a perfect union of the people, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a kind of

[r] A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 128. [s] Strab. l. x. p. 480.

equality

equality amongſt them; which is the tie and baſis of it, and very proper to remove all envy, jealouſy, hatred, and diſſenſion. He did not undertake to make any new diviſions of lands, nor to prohibit the uſe of gold and ſilver. He applied himſelf to the uniting of his ſubjects by other ties, which ſeemed to him neither leſs firm nor leſs reaſonable.

He decreed, that the children ſhould be all brought up and educated together by troops and bands; in order that they might learn early the ſame principles and maxims. Their life was hard and ſober. They were accuſtomed to be ſatisfied with little, to ſuffer heat and cold, to walk over ſteep and rugged places, to ſkirmiſh with each other in ſmall parties, to ſuffer courageouſly the blows they received, and to exerciſe themſelves in a kind of dance, in which they carried arms in their hands, and which was afterwards called the Pyrrhic; in order, ſays Strabo, that even to their diverſions, every thing might breathe, and form them for war. They were alſo made to learn certain airs of muſic, but of a manly, martial kind.

[1] They were not taught either to ride, or to wear heavy armour; but in return, they were made to excel in drawing the bow, which was their moſt uſual exerciſe. Crete is not a flat even country, nor fit for breeding of horſes, as is that of the Theſſalians, who paſſed for the beſt cavalry in Greece; but a rough, broken country, full of ſhelves and high lands, where heavy-armed troops could not exerciſe themſelves in the horſe-race. But as to archery and light-armed ſoldiers, fit to execute the devices and ſtratagems of war, the Cretans pretended to hold the foremoſt rank.

Minos thought proper to eſtabliſh in Crete a community of tables and meals. Beſides ſeveral other great advantages which he found in this inſtitution, as the introducing a kind of equality in his dominions, the rich and poor having the ſame diet, the accuſtoming his ſubjects to a frugal and ſober life, the cementing friendſhip and unity between them by the uſual gaiety and

[1] Plat. de leg. l. i. p. 628.

familiarity

familiarity of the table, he had alſo in view the cuſtom of war, in which the ſoldiers are obliged to eat together. [u] It was the public that ſupplied the expences of theſe tables. Out of the revenues of the ſtate a part was applied to the uſes of religion, and the ſalaries of the magiſtrates, and the reſt allotted for the public meals. So that the women, children, and men of all ages, were fed at the coſt, and in the name of the republic. In this Ariſtotle gives the preference to the meals of Crete before thoſe of Sparta, wherein private perſons were obliged to furniſh their proportion, and without it were not admitted into the aſſemblies; which was to exclude the poor.

[x] After eating, the old men diſcourſed upon the affairs of the ſtate. The converſation turned generally upon the hiſtory of the country, upon the actions and virtues of the great men of it, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves either by their valour in war, or their wiſdom in peace; and the youth, who were preſent at theſe entertainments, were exhorted to propoſe thoſe great perſons to themſelves as their models, for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

[y] Minos, as well as Lycurgus, is reproached with having no other view in his laws than war; which is a very great fault in a legiſlator. It is true, this appears to have been his principal attention, becauſe he was convinced that the repoſe, liberty, and riches of his ſubjects, were under the protection, and in a manner under the guard of arms and military knowledge; the conquered being deprived of all thoſe advantages by the victor. But he ordained, that war ſhould be only made for the ſake of peace; and his laws are far from being confined to that ſole object.

Amongſt the Cretans, the cultivation of the mind was not entirely neglected, and care was taken to give the youth ſome tincture of learning. The works of [z] Homer, of much later date than the laws of Minos, were not unknown amongſt them, though they ſet ſmall va-

[u] Ariſt. de rep. l. ii. c. 10.
[x] Athen. l. iv. p. 643.
[y] Plat. de leg. li. p. 626.
[z] Ibid. l. ii. p. 680.

lue

lue upon, and made little use of foreign poets. [a] They were very curious in such knowledge as is proper to form the manners; and, what is no small praise, they piqued themselves upon thinking much and speaking little. [b] The poet Epimenides, who made a voyage to Athens in the time of Solon, and was in great estimation there, was of Crete, and by some placed in the number of the seven sages.

One of Minos's institutions, which Plato [c] admires the most, was to inspire early into the youth a high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of the state, and not to suffer them to dispute or call in question the wisdom of their institution; but to consider them not as prescribed and imposed by men, but as emanations of the divinity himself. Accordingly he had industriously apprized the people, that Jupiter himself had dictated them to him. He had the same attention in regard to the magistrates and aged persons, whom he recommended to honour in a peculiar manner; and in order that nothing might prevent the respect due to them, he ordained, that if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth: a wise precaution, and which would be very becoming in the ordinary practice of life.

The government of Crete was at first monarchical, of which Minos has left a perfect model to all ages. According to him, as a most great and excellent * man observes, the king can do every thing over the people, but the laws every thing over him. He has an absolute power to do good, and his hands are tied up from doing evil. The laws intrust the people in his hands as the most sacred of deposits, upon condition that he shall be their common father. The same laws require, that a single man by his wisdom and moderation shall constitute the felicity of an infinite number of subjects; and not that the subjects, by their misery and abject

[a] Plat. de leg. l. i. p. 641. [b] Plut. in Solon. p. 84.
[c] De leg. l. i. p. 634.

* Monsieur de Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray.

slavery,

ſlavery, ſhall be ſubſtituted to gratify the pride and low paſſions of a ſingle man. According to him, the king ought to be abroad the defender of his country at the head of armies, and at home the judge of his people, to render them good, wiſe, and happy. It is not for himſelf that the gods have made him king, and he is only ſo for the ſervice of his people. He owes them his whole time, care, and affection; and is worthy of the throne, only as he forgets, and devotes himſelf to the public good. [d] Such is the idea Minos had of the ſovereignty, of which he was a living image in his own perſon, and which Heſiod has perfectly expreſſed in two words, by calling that prince, "the moſt royal of mortal kings," βασιλευτατον θνητων βασιληων; that is to ſay, that he poſſed in a ſupreme degree all royal virtues, and was a king in all things.

[e] It appears, that the authority of king was of no long duration, and that it gave place to a republican government, as Minos had intended. The ſenate, compoſed of thirty ſenators, formed the public council. In that aſſembly the public affairs were examined, and reſolutions taken; but they were of no force, till the people had given them their approbation, and confirmed them by their ſuffrages. The magiſtrates, to the number of ten, eſtabliſhed for maintaining good order in the ſtate, and therefore called * *Coſmi*, held the two other bodies of the ſtate in reſpect, and were the balance between them. In time of war the ſame perſons commanded the army. They were choſen by lot, but only out of certain families. Their office was for life, and they were not accountable to any for their adminiſtration. Out of this company the ſenators were elected.

The Cretans made the ſlaves and mercenaries cultivate their lands, who were obliged to pay them a certain annual ſum. They were called *Periæci*, apparently from their being people in the neighbourhood, whom Minos had ſubjected. As they inhabited an iſland, and conſequently a country ſeparate from all others, the

[d] Plat. in Min. p. 320. [e] Ariſt. de rep. l. ii. c. 10.

* κοσμος, ordo.

Cretans

Cretans had not ſo much to fear from theſe vaſſals as the Lacedæmonians from the Helots, who often joined the neighbouring people againſt them. [f] A cuſtom anciently eſtabliſhed in Crete, from whence it was adopted by the Romans, gives us reaſon to believe, that the vaſſals who manured the lands, were treated with great goodneſs and favour. In the feaſts of Mercury, the maſters waited on their ſlaves at table, and did them the ſame offices as they received from them the reſt of the year; precious remains and traces of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, that ſeemed to inform the maſters, that their ſervants were of the ſame condition with themſelves, and that to treat them with cruelty or pride, was to renounce humanity.

[g] As a prince cannot do every thing alone, and is obliged to aſſociate co-operators with himſelf, for whoſe conduct he is accountable, Minos charged his brother Rhadamanthus with a ſhare in the adminiſtration of juſtice in the capital city; which is the moſt eſſential and indiſpenſible function of ſovereignty. He knew his probity, diſintereſtedneſs, ability, and conſtancy, and had taken pains to form him for ſo important an office. Another miniſter had the care of the reſt of the cities, who made a circuit three times a year, to examine whether the laws eſtabliſhed by the prince were duly obſerved, and the inferior magiſtrates and officers religiouſly acquitted themſelves of their duty.

Crete, under ſo wiſe a government changed its aſpect entirely, and ſeemed to have become the abode of virtue, probity, and juſtice; as we may judge, from what fable tells us of the honour Jupiter did theſe three brothers, in making them the judges of the other world; for every body knows, that fable is founded upon real hiſtory, though diſguiſed under agreeable emblems and allegories, adapted to recommend truth by the ornaments of fancy.

[h] It was, according to fabulous tradition, a law eſtabliſhed from all times, that men in departing out of this

[f] Athen. l. xiv. p. 639. [g] Plat. in Min. p. 320.
[h] Plat. in Gorg. p. 523—526. In Axioch. p. 371.

life

life ſhould be judged, in order to their receiving the reward or puniſhment due to their good or evil actions. In the reign of Saturn, and in the firſt years of that of Jupiter, this judgment was pronounced at the inſtant preceding death, which left room for very flagrant injuſtices. Princes, who had been cruel and tyrannical, appearing before their judges in all the pomp and ſplendor of their power, and producing witneſſes to depoſe in their favour; becauſe, as they were ſtill alive, they dreaded their anger; the judges, dazzled with this vain ſhow, and deceived by ſuch falſe evidence, declared theſe princes innocent, and diſmiſſed them with permiſſion to enter into the happy abodes of the juſt. The ſame may be ſaid in regard to the rich; but for the poor and helpleſs, calumny and malice purſued them even to this laſt tribunal, and found means to have them domed for ever as criminals.

Fable adds, that, upon reiterated complaints and warm remonſtrances made to Jupiter upon this account, he changed the form of theſe trials. The time for them was fixed to be the very moment after death. Rhadamanthus and Æacus, both ſons of Jove, were appointed judges; the firſt for the Aſiatics, the other for the Europeans; and Minos over them to decide ſupremely in caſes of doubt and obſcurity. Their tribunal is ſituated in a place called *The Field of Truth*, becauſe neither falſehood nor calumny can approach it. The greateſt prince muſt appear there, as ſoon as he has reſigned his laſt breath, deprived of all his grandeur, reduced to his naked ſelf, without defence or protection, ſilent and trembling for his own doom, after having made the whole world tremble for theirs. If he be found guilty of crimes, which are of a nature to be expiated, he is confined in Tartarus for a certain time only, and with aſſurance of being releaſed, as ſoon as he ſhall be ſufficiently purified. But if his crimes are unpardonable, ſuch as injuſtice, perjury, and the oppreſſion of his people, he is caſt into the ſame Tartarus, there to ſuffer eternal miſeries. The juſt, on the contrary, of whatſoever condition they are, are conducted

ducted into the bleſſed abodes of peace and joy, to partake of a felicity which ſhall have no end.

Who does not ſee that the poets, under the cover of theſe fictions, ingenious indeed, but little to the honour of the gods, intended to give us the model of an accompliſhed prince, whoſe firſt care is to render juſtice to his people; and to image the extraordinary happineſs Crete enjoyed under the wiſe government of Minos? This happineſs did not expire with him. [i] The laws he eſtabliſhed, ſubſiſted in all their vigour even in Plato's time; that is to ſay, more than nine hundred years after. [k] And they were conſidered as the effect of his long * converſations for many years with Jupiter, who had condeſcended to become his teacher, to enter into a † familiarity with him as with a friend, and to form him in the great art of reigning with a ſecret complacency, as a favourite diſciple and a tenderly-beloved ſon. It is in this manner Plato explains theſe words of Homer: [l] Διος μεγαλȣ ο αριςης; the moſt exalted praiſe, according to him, that can be given to a mortal, and which that poet aſcribes only to Minos.

Notwithſtanding ſo ſhining and ſolid a merit, the theatres of Athens reſounded with nothing ſo much as imprecations againſt the memory of Minos; and Socrates, in the dialogue of Plato I have already often cited, obſerves upon, and gives the reaſon for them: but firſt he makes a reflection well worthy of being weighed. "When either the praiſe or diſpraiſe of great men is in queſtion, it is infinitely proper," ſays he, "to treat them with circumſpection and wiſdom; becauſe upon that depends the idea men form to themſelves of virtue and vice, and the diſtinction they ought to make between the good and bad. For," adds he, "God conceives a juſt indignation, when a perſon is

[i] Plat. in Min. p. 321. [k] Idem. p. 319.
[l] Odyſſ. T. ver. 179.

* *Et Jovis arcanis Minos admiſſus.* HORAT.

† This poetical fiction is perhaps taken from the holy ſcriptures, which ſay of Moſes: "And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes, face to face, as a man ſpeaketh unto his friend." *Exod.* xxxiii. 11.

blamed

blamed who resembles himself; and on the contrary another praised, who is the reverse of him. We must not believe that nothing is sacred but brass and marble; (he speaks of the statues that were worshipped:) the just man is the most sacred, and the wicked the most detestable, of all beings in this world."

After this reflection, Socrates observes, that the source and cause of the Athenians hatred of Minos was the unjust and cruel tribute he imposed upon them, in obliging them to send him, every nine years, seven young men and as many maids, to be devoured by the Minotaur; and he could not avoid reproaching that prince, with having drawn upon himself the abhorrence of a city like Athens abounding with learned men, and of having sharpened the tongues of the poets against him, a dangerous and formidable race of men, from the poisoned shafts they never fail to let fly against their enemies.

It appears from what I have repeated, that Plato imputes to Minos the imposition of that cruel tribute. Apollodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch seem to be of the same opinion. * Monsieur the Abbe Banier alleges and proves, that they are mistaken, and confound the first Minos, of whom we speak, with a second his grandson, who reigned after him in Crete, and to avenge the death of his son Androgeus killed in Attica, declared war against the Athenians, and imposed that tribute, to which Theseus put an end by killing the Minotaur. It would indeed be difficult to reconcile so inhuman and barbarous a conduct with what all antiquity relates of the goodness, lenity, and equity of Minos, and the magnificent praises it bestows upon the polity and institutions of Crete.

It is true the Cretans degenerated very much from their ancient reputation, which at length they absolutely lost by an entire change of their manners, becoming avaricious, and self-interested to a degree of thinking that no gain was base, enemies of labour and regularity of life, professed liars and knaves; so that

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. Tom. III.

to *Cretiſe* became a proverb amongſt the Greeks, implying to lie and to deceive. Every body knows that * St. Paul cites againſt them as truth the teſtimony of one of their ancient poets, (it is believed of Epimenides) who paints them in colours much to their diſhonour; but this change of manners, in whatever time it might arrive, does not at all affect the probity of the ancient Cretans, nor the glory of Minos their king.

[m] The moſt certain proof of that legiſlator's wiſdom, as Plato obſerves, is the ſolid and laſting happineſs, which was the effect of the ſole imitation of his laws by Sparta. Lycurgus had regulated the government of that city upon the plan and idea of that of Crete, and it ſubſiſted in an uniform manner for many ages, without experiencing the viciſſitudes and revolutions ſo common in all the other ſtates of Greece.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Government of Athens.

THE government of Athens was neither ſo permanent and ſo uniform as that of Sparta, but ſuffered various alterations, according to the diverſity of times and conjunctures. Athens, after having long been governed by kings, and afterwards by archons, aſſumed entire liberty, which gave place however for ſome years to the tyrannic power of the Piſiſtratides, but was ſoon after re-eſtabliſhed, and ſubſiſted with ſplendor till the defeat in Sicily, and the taking of the city by the Lacedæmonians. Theſe ſubjected them to the Thirty Tyrants, whoſe authority was not of long duration, and gave place again to liberty, which continued amidſt various events during a long ſeries of years, till the Roman power had ſubdued Greece and reduced it into a province.

I ſhall conſider in this place only the popular government, and ſhall examine in particular five or ſix

[m] Plat. p. 320.

* Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. "The Cretans are always liars, evil beaſts, ſlow bellies." *Titus* i. 12.

heads:

heads: the foundation of the government according to Solon's eſtabliſhment, the different parts of which the republic conſiſted, the council or ſenate of the five hundred, the aſſemblies of the people, the different tribunals for the adminiſtration of juſtice, the revenues or finances of the republic. I ſhall be obliged to be more extenſive upon what regards the government of Athens, than I have been upon that of Sparta, becauſe the latter is almoſt ſufficiently known, from what has been ſaid of it in the life of Lycurgus[n].

SECT. I. *Foundation of the Government of Athens according to Solon's Plan.*

[o] SOLON was not the firſt who eſtabliſhed the popular government at Athens. Theſeus long before him had traced out the plan, and began the execution of it. After having united the twelve towns into one city, he divided the inhabitants into three bodies; that of the nobility, to whom the ſuperintendance in religious affairs, and all offices were confided; the labourers or huſbandmen; and the artiſans. He had propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a kind of equality between the three orders. For if the nobles were conſiderable by their honours and dignities, the huſbandmen had the advantage of their utility to the public, and the neceſſity there was for their labours; and the artiſans had the ſuperiority to both the other bodies in their number. Athens, to ſpeak properly, did not become a popular ſtate, till the eſtabliſhment of the nine Archons, whoſe authority continued only for one year, whereas before it was for ten; and it was not till many years after, that Solon, by the wiſdom of his laws, inſtituted and confirmed this form of government.

[p] Solon's great principle was to eſtabliſh as much as poſſible a kind of equality amongſt his citizens, which he regarded with reaſon as the foundation and eſſential point of liberty. He reſolved therefore to leave the public employments in the hands of the rich, as

[n] Vol. II. [o] Plut, in Theſ. p. 10, 11. [p] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

they had been till then, but to give the poor alſo ſome ſhare in the government, from which they were excluded. For this reaſon he made an eſtimation of what each individual was worth. Thoſe who were found to have an annual revenue of five hundred meaſures, as well in grain as liquid things, were placed in the firſt claſs, and called the *Pentacoſiomedimni*, that is, thoſe who had a revenue of five hundred meaſures. The ſecond claſs was compoſed of ſuch as had three hundred, and could maintain a horſe for war; theſe were called *horſemen* or *knights*. Thoſe who had only two hundred, were in the third claſs, and were called * *Zugitæ*. Out of theſe three claſſes only the magiſtrates and commanders were choſen. All the other citizens, who were below theſe three claſſes, and had leſs revenues, were compriſed under the name of *Theti*, hirelings, or workmen labouring with their hands. Solon did not permit them to hold any office, and granted them only the right of giving their ſuffrages in the aſſemblies and trials of the people, which at firſt ſeemed a very ſlight privilege, but at length was found to be a very great advantage, as will appear in the ſequel. I do not know whether Solon foreſaw it, but he uſed to ſay[q], that the people were never more obedient and ſubmiſſive, than when they poſſeſſed neither too much nor too little liberty: which comes very near Galba's expreſſion[r], when to incline Piſo to treat the Roman people with goodneſs and lenity, he deſires him to remember, † that he was going to command men who were incapable of bearing either entire liberty or abſolute ſubjection.

[s] The people of Athens, being become more haughty after their victories over the Perſians, pretended to have a right to ſhare in all the public offices and the magiſtra-

[q] Ibid. p. 110. [r] Tacit. Hiſt. l. x. c. 16. [s] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 332.

* It is believed they were ſo called from their being ranked between the knights and the Theti; as in the galleys, thoſe who rowed in the middle were termed Zugitæ; their place was between the Thalamitæ and Thranitæ.

† *Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.*

cy; and Ariſtides, to prevent the diſorders which too tenacious oppoſition might have occaſioned, thought proper to give way to them in this point. [t] It appears however from a paſſage in Xenophon, that the people contented themſelves with the offices from whence ſome profit aroſe, and left thoſe, which related more particularly to the government of the ſtate, in the hands of the rich.

[u] The citizens of the three firſt claſſes paid every year a certain ſum of money, to be laid up in the public treaſury; the firſt a * talent, the knights half a talent, and the Zugitæ ten † minæ.

As the proportion of revenue determined the order of the claſſes, as their revenues augmented, the people were allowed to riſe to a ſuperior claſs.

If [x] Plutarch may be believed, Solon formed two councils, which were a kind of double limitation to fix and temper the aſſemblies of the people. The firſt was the Areopagus: but it was much more ancient than his inſtitutions, and he only reformed it, and gave it new luſtre by augmenting its power. The ſecond was the council of the four hundred, that is, a hundred of each tribe; for Cecrops, the firſt king of the Athenians, had divided the people into four tribes. Cliſthenes long after him changed that order, and eſtabliſhed ten. It was in this council of the four hundred, all affairs were conſidered before they were propoſed to the aſſembly of the people, as we ſhall ſoon explain.

I do not mention here another diviſion of the people into three parties or factions, which till the time of Piſiſtratus were a continual ſource of troubles and ſeditions. One of theſe three parties was formed out of thoſe who inhabited the high lands, and favoured popular government; the other out of thoſe who lived in the plains, and they were for oligarchy; and the third out of the people upon the coaſt, and theſe held the mean between both.

[t] Xenoph. de rep. Athen. p. 691. [u] Pollux. l. viii. c. 10.
[x] In Solon. p. 88.

* One thouſand French crowns. † Five h[illegible]

It

It is neceſſary, for the better underſtanding what we have now ſaid, to enter into a more particular account of the Athenian people.

SECT. II. *Of the Inhabitants of Athens.*

[y] THERE were three ſorts of inhabitants of Athens: citizens, ſtrangers, and ſervants. In the account taken by Demetrius Phalereus in the 96th Olympiad, their number amounted to twenty-one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſtrangers, and * forty thouſand ſervants. The number of citizens was almoſt the ſame in the time of Cecrops, and leſs under Pericles.

1. *Of the Citizens.*

A citizen could only be ſuch by birth or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was neceſſary to be born of a father and mother both free, and Athenians. [z] We have ſeen that Pericles reſtored this law to all its force, which had not been exactly obſerved, and which he himſelf ſome ſmall time after infringed. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon ſtrangers; and thoſe, whom they had ſo adopted, enjoyed almoſt the ſame rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizen of Athens was ſometimes granted in honour and gratitude to thoſe who had rendered great ſervices to the ſtate; as to Hippocrates; and even kings have ſometimes canvaſſed that title for themſelves and their children. Evagoras, king of Cyprus, thought it much to his honour.

When the young men attained the age of twenty, they were inrolled upon the liſt of citizens, after having taken an oath; and it was only in virtue of that public and ſolemn act, that they became members of the ſtate. The form of this oath is exceedingly remarkable, which Stobæus and [a] Pollux have preſerved in the following words: "I will never diſhonour the

[y] A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314. Athen. l. vi. p. 272.
[z] Vol. III. [a] Pollux. l. viii. c. 9.

* The text ſays, μυριάδας τετταρακοντα, *four hundred thouſand*, which is a manifeſt error.

profeſſion

profeſſion of arms, nor ſave my life by a ſhameful flight. I will fight to my laſt breath for the religion and civil intereſts of the ſtate, in concert with the other citizens; and alone, if occaſion be. I will not bring my country into a worſe condition than I found it, but will uſe my utmoſt endeavours to make it more happy and flouriſhing. I will always ſubmit myſelf to the laws and magiſtrates, and to all that ſhall be ordained by the common conſent of the people. If any one ſhall violate, or make void the laws, I will not diſguiſe or conceal ſuch an attempt, but will oppoſe it either alone or in conjunction with my fellow-citizens; and I will conſtantly adhere to the religion of my forefathers. To all which I call to witneſs Agraulis, Enyalus, Mars, and Jupiter." I leave the reader to his own reflections upon this auguſt ceremony, well adapted to inſpire the love of their country into the hearts of the young citizens.

The whole people at firſt had been divided into four tribes, and afterwards into ten. Each tribe was ſubdivided into ſeveral parts, which were called Δημοι, *Pagi*. It was by theſe two titles the citizens were deſcribed in the public acts. *Melitus, e tribu Cecropide, e pago Pitthenſi.*

2. *Of the Strangers.*

I call thoſe by that name, who being of a foreign country, came to ſettle at Athens, or in Attica, whether for the ſake of commerce, or the exerciſing any trade. They were termed μετοικοι, *inquilini*. They had no ſhare in the government, nor votes in the aſſembly of the people, and could not be admitted into any office. They put themſelves under the protection of ſome citizen, as we find from a paſſage of * Terence, and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and ſervices, as the clients did at Rome to their patrons. They were held to obſerve all the laws of the republic, and to conform entirely to all its cuſtoms.

* *Thais patri ſe commendavit in clientelam et fidem: Nobis dedit ſeſe.* Eunuch. Act. v. Scen. ult.

They

They paid a yearly tribute to the ſtate of twelve* drachmas, and in default of payment were made ſlaves, and expoſed to ſale. [b] Xenocrates, the celebrated, but poor philoſopher, was very near experiencing this miſfortune, and was carried to priſon; but Lycurgus, the orator, having paid the tax, releaſed him from the farmers of the public revenues; a kind of men who, in all times, have been very little ſenſible to merit, with the exception of an exceeding few of their number. That philoſopher, meeting ſome time after the ſons of his deliverer, told them, "I pay your father the favour he has done me with uſury, for all the world praiſes him upon my account."

3. *Of the Servants.*

There were two kinds of them. The one, who were free, and not able to get their bread by their work, were obliged by the bad ſtate of their affairs to go into ſervice, and their condition was eaſy, and not laborious. The ſervice of the other was forced and unavoidable; theſe were ſlaves, who had either been taken priſoners in war, or bought of ſuch as trafficked publicly in them. Part of their maſter's eſtate conſiſted in them, who diſpoſed abſolutely of them, but generally treated them with great humanity. [c] Demoſthenes obſerves, in one of his harangues, that the condition of ſervants was infinitely more gentle at Athens than any where elſe. There was in that city an aſylum and place of refuge for ſlaves, where the bones of Theſeus had been interred, and that aſylum ſubſiſted in Plutarch's time. How glorious was it for Theſeus, that his tomb ſhould do that twelve hundred years after his death, which he had done himſelf during his life, and continue the protector of the oppreſſed, as he had been.

[d] When the ſlaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they had their action againſt their maſters, who were obliged to ſell them to others, if the fact was ſufficiently proved. [e] They could ranſom

[b] Plut. in Flamin. p. 375. [c] Philip. 3. [d] Plut. de ſuperſtit. p. 166. [e] Plaut. in Caſin. * Six livres.

themſelves

themſelves even againſt their maſters' conſent, when they had laid up money enough for that purpoſe. For out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their maſters, they kept the remainder for themſelves, and made a ſtock of it at their own diſpoſal. Private perſons, when they were ſatisfied with their ſervices, often gave theſe ſlaves their liberty; and the ſame grace was always granted them by the public, when the neceſſity of the times obliged the ſtate to arm and liſt them for the war among the citizens.

The humane and equitable uſage, with which the Athenians treated their ſervants and ſlaves, was an effect of the good temper natural to that people, and very remote from the auſtere and cruel ſeverity of the Lacedæmonians in regard to their Helots, which often brought their republic to the very brink of deſtruction. [f] Plutarch, with great reaſon, condemns this rigour. He thinks it proper to habituate one's ſelf always to mercy, even with regard to beaſts, were it only, ſays he, to learn by that means to treat men well, and for the ſake of habituating humanity and benevolence. He relates upon this occaſion a very ſingular fact, and very proper to explain the character of the Athenians. After having finiſhed the temple called *Hecatonpedon*, they ſet all the beaſts of burden at liberty, that had been employed in the work, and aſſigned them fat paſturages as conſecrated animals. And it was ſaid, that one of theſe beaſts having come to offer itſelf at the work, and put itſelf at the head of thoſe that drew the carriages to the citadel, walking foremoſt as if to exhort and encourage them, the Athenians ordained by a decree, that the creature would be maintained at the public expence till its death.

SECT. III. *Of the Council or Senate of Five Hundred.*

IN conſequence of Solon's inſtitutions, the people of Athens had a great ſhare and authority in the government. Appeals might be brought to their tribunal in all cauſes; they had a right to cancel the old laws, and

[f] Plut. in Catone, p. 338, 339.

eſtabliſh new ones; in a word, all important affairs, whether relating to war or peace, were decided in their aſſemblies. In order to their determinations being made with more wiſdom and maturity, Solon had inſtituted a council, compoſed of four hundred ſenators, a hundred out of each tribe, which were then four in number; they prepared and digeſted the affairs which were to be laid before the people, as we ſhall ſoon explain more at large. Cliſthenes, about a hundred years after Solon, having increaſed the number of tribes to ten, augmented alſo that of the ſenators to five hundred; each tribe ſupplying fifty. This was called the council, or ſenate, of the Five Hundred. They received their ſtipend out of the public treaſury.

They were choſen by lot, in which they made uſe of black and white beans, which were mingled and ſhaken in an urn, and each tribe gave in the names of thoſe who aſpired to that truſt, and had the revenue aſſigned by the laws to qualify them for it. None could be admitted under the age of thirty. After enquiry made into the manners and conduct of the candidate, he was made to take an oath, whereby he engaged to give at all times the beſt counſel he could to the people of Athens, and never to depart in the leaſt from the tenor of the laws.

This ſenate aſſembled every day, except upon the days appointed for feſtivals. Each tribe in its turn furniſhed thoſe who were to preſide in it, called * *Prytanes*, and this rank was decided by lot. This preſidency continued thirty-five days, which being reckoned ten times, amounts to the number of days, except four, of the lunar year followed at Athens. This time of the preſidency, or prytaniſm, was divided into five weeks with regard to the five tens of the *Prytanes*, who were to preſide in them, and every week ſeven of theſe ten Prytanes, drawn by lot, preſided, each their day, and were denominated Προεδροι, that is to ſay, *Preſidents*. He, † who was ſo for the day, preſided in the aſſembly of the ſenators and in that of the people. He was

* Πρυτανεις. † He was called Επιςατης.

charged

charged with the public ſeal, as alſo with the keys of the citadel and treaſury.

The ſenators, before they aſſembled, offered a ſacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva, under the additional appellation of *goddeſs of good counſel**, to demand the prudence and underſtanding neceſſary in wiſe deliberations. The preſident propoſed the buſineſs, which was to be conſidered in the aſſembly. Every one gave his opinion in his turn, and always ſtanding. After a queſtion had been ſettled, it was drawn up in writing, and read with a loud voice. Each ſenator then gave his vote by ſcrutiny, in putting a bean into the urn. If the number of the white beans carried it, the queſtion paſſed, otherwiſe it was rejected. This ſort of decree was called Ψηφισμα, or Προβουλευμα, as much as to ſay preparatory reſolution. It was afterwards laid before the aſſembly of the people, where, if it was received and approved, it had the force of a law; if not, its authority ſubſiſted only one year. This ſhows with what wiſdom Solon eſtabliſhed this council, to inform and direct the people, to fix their inconſtancy, to prevent their temerity, and to aſſiſt their deliberations with a prudence and maturity not to be expected in a confuſed and tumultuous aſſembly, compoſed of a great number of citizens, moſt of them without education, capacity, or much zeal for the public good. The reciprocal dependency and natural intercourſe of the two bodies of the ſtate, which were obliged to lend each other their authority, and remained equally without force when without union and a good underſtanding, were beſides a method judiciouſly contrived for ſupporting a wiſe balance between the two bodies; the people not being able to inſtitute any thing without its being firſt propoſed and approved by the ſenate, nor the ſenate to paſs any decree into a law till it had been ratified by the people.

We may judge of the importance of this council by the matters which were treated in it; the ſame, without any exception, as were laid before the people; wars, taxes, maritime affairs, treaties of peace, alliances,

* Βουλαιος, βουλαια.

in

in a word, whatever related to government; without mentioning the account which they obliged the magistrates to give on quitting their offices, and their frequent decisions and judgments upon the most serious and important affairs.

SECT. IV. *Of the Areopagus.*

THIS council took its name from the place where it assembled, called * *the quarter*, or *hill of Mars*, because, according to some, Mars had been cited thither in judgment for a murder committed by him. It was believed to be as ancient as the nation. Cicero and Plutarch attribute the institution of it to Solon; but he only re-established it, by giving it more lustre and authority than it had had till then, and for that reason was looked upon as its founder. The number of the senators of the Areopagus was not fixed; at certain times they amounted to two or three hundred. Solon thought proper, that only those who had borne the office of archon should be honoured with that dignity.

This senate had the care of seeing the laws duly observed, of inspecting the manners of the people, and especially of judging in criminal cases. They held their sittings in an open place, and during the night. The former very probably to avoid being under the same roof with the criminals, and not to defile themselves by such a commerce with them; the latter, that they might not be softened by the sight of the guilty, and might judge according to justice and the laws. It was for the same reason the orators were not permitted to use their exordium or peroration, nor allowed to excite the passions, and were obliged to confine themselves solely to the subject matter of their cause. The severity of their judgments was exceedingly dreaded, particularly in regard to murder, and they were highly attentive to inspire their citizens with horror for that crime. They † condemned

* Αρειος παγος.

† *Nec mihi videntur Areopagitæ, cum damnaverunt puerum oculos coturnicum eruentem, aliud judicasse, quàm id signum esse perniciosissimæ mentis, multisque malo futuræ si adolevisset.* QUINTIL. l. v. c. 9.

demned a child to be put to death for making it his paſtime to put out the eyes of quails; conceiving this ſanguinary inclination, as the mark of a very wicked diſpoſition, which might one day prove fatal to many, if he were ſuffered to grow up with impunity.

The affairs of religion, as blaſphemies againſt the gods, contempt of ſacred myſteries, different ſpecies of impiety, and the introduction of new ceremonies and new divinities, were alſo brought before this tribunal. [x] We read in Juſtin Martyr, that Plato, who in his travels in Egypt had acquired great lights concerning the unity of God, when he returned to Athens, took great care to diſſemble and conceal his ſentiments, for fear of being obliged to appear and give an account of them before the Areopagitæ; and we know that St. Paul was traduced before them, as teaching a new doctrine [y], and endeavouring to introduce new gods.

Theſe judges were in great reputation for their probity, equity, and prudence, and generally reſpected. Cicero, in writing to his friend Atticus, upon the fortitude, conſtancy, and wiſe ſeverity of the Roman ſenate, thinks he makes a great encomium upon it, in comparing it with the Areopagus. [z] *Senatus*, Αρειος παγος, *nil conſtantius, nil ſeverius, nil fortius.* Cicero muſt have conceived a very advantageous idea of it, to ſpeak of it as he does in the firſt book of his Offices. * He compares the famous battle of Salamin, in which Themiſtocles had ſo great a part, with the eſtabliſhment of the Areopagus, which he aſcribes to Solon; and makes no ſcruple to prefer, or at leaſt to equal the legiſlator's ſervice to that for which Athens was obliged to the

[x] Cohort. ad Græc. [y] Acts xvii. 18—20.
[z] Ad Attic. l. i. Ep. 13.

* *Quamvis Themiſtocles jure laudetur, et ſit ejus nomen, quàm Solonis, illuſtrius, citeturque Salamis clariſſimæ teſtis victoriæ, quæ anteponatur conſilio Solonis ei, quo primùm conſtituit Areopagitis; non minus præclarum hoc, quàm illud, judicandum eſt. Illud enim ſemel profuit, hoc ſemper proderit civitati: hoc conſilio leges Athenienſium, hoc majorum inſtituta ſervantur. Et Themiſtocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipſe Areopagum juverit: at ille adjuvit Themiſtoclem. Eſt enim bellum geſtum conſilio Senatus ejus, qui a Solone erat conſtitutus.* Offic. l. i. n. 75.

general

general of its army. "For in reality," ſays he, "that victory was uſeful to the republic only for once, but the Areopagus will be ſo throughout all ages; as by the wiſdom of that tribunal, the laws and ancient cuſtoms of the Athenian ſtate are preſerved. Themiſtocles did no ſervice to the Areopagus, but the Areopagus abundantly contributed to the victory of Themiſtocles; becauſe the republic was at that time directed by the wiſe counſels of that auguſt ſenate."

It appears from this paſſage of Cicero, that the Areopagus had a great ſhare in the government, and I do not doubt but it is conſulted upon important affairs. Cicero here perhaps may have confounded the council of the Areopagus with that of the Five Hundred. It is certain, however, that the Areopagitæ were extremely active in the public affairs.

Pericles, who could never enter the Areopagus, becauſe chance having always been againſt him, he had not paſſed through any of the employments neceſſary to his admiſſion, attempted to weaken its authority, and attained his point: which is a great blot in his reputation.

SECT. V. *Of the Magiſtrates.*

OF theſe a great number were eſtabliſhed for different functions. I ſhall ſpeak only of the Archons, who are the moſt known. I have obſerved elſewhere that they ſucceeded the kings, and that their authority at firſt continued during life. It was at length limited to ten years, and reduced at laſt only to one. When Solon was commiſſioned to reform the government, he found them upon this foot, and to the number of nine. He did not aboliſh their office, but he very much diminiſhed their power.

The firſt of theſe nine magiſtrates was called THE ARCHON, by way of eminence, and the year denominated from him: * *Under ſuch an Archon ſuch a battle*

* From whence he was alſo called Επωνυμος.

was

was fought. The ſecond was called THE KING, which was the remains and footſteps of the authority to which they had ſucceeded. The third was THE POLEMARCH, who at firſt commanded the armies, and always retained the name, though he had not the ſame authority, of which he had ſo long preſerved ſome part. For we have ſeen, in ſpeaking of the battle of Marathon, that the polemarch had a right to vote in the council of war, as well as the ten generals then in command. The ſix other archons were called by the common name, THESMOTHETÆ, which implies that they had a particular ſuperintendence over the laws, in order to their being duly obſerved. Theſe nine archons had each of them a peculiar province, and were judges in certain affairs allotted to their cognizance. I do not think it neceſſary to enter into the particulars of their duty, nor into thoſe of many other employments and offices, eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, for the levying of taxes and tributes, for the preſervation of good order in the city, for ſupplying it with proviſions, in a word, for every thing relating to commerce and civil ſociety.

SECT. VI. *Of the Aſſemblies of the People.*

THESE were of two ſorts, the one ordinary and fixed to certain days, and for theſe there was no kind of ſummons; the other extraordinary, according to the different occaſions that aroſe, and the people were informed of it by expreſs proclamation.

The place for the aſſembly was not fixed. Sometimes it was the public market-place, ſometimes a part of the city near the citadel, called Πνὺξ, and ſometimes the theatre of Bacchus.

The Prytanes generally aſſembled the people. Some days before the aſſembly papers were fixed up, wherein the buſineſs to be conſidered was ſet down.

All the citizens, poor as well as rich, had a right to give their ſuffrages. They were liable to a penalty, who failed of being preſent at the aſſembly, or who came

too late; and to induce their punctual attendance, a reward was annexed to it, at first of an obolus, which was the sixth part of a drachma, then of three oboli, which made about five pence French.

The assembly always began with sacrifices and prayers, in order for the obtaining from the gods the knowledge and understanding necessary to wise deliberations, and they never failed to add the most terrible imprecations against such as should wilfully advise any thing contrary to the public good.

The president proposed the affair upon which they were to deliberate. If it had been examined in the senate, and drawn up there as a question, it was read; after which those who would speak were invited to ascend the tribunal, that they might be the better heard by the people, and inform them in the matter proposed. The oldest general spoke first, and then the rest according to their seniority: when the orators had done speaking, and concluded that it was necessary to approve or reject the decree of the senate, the people proceeded to vote, and the most common method of doing it was by holding up their hands, to denote their approbation; which was called χειροτονειν. The assembly was sometime adjourned till another day, because it was too late for the number of those who lifted up their hands to be distinguished, and the plurality decided. After a resolution had been formed in this manner it was reduced to writing, and read by an officer to the people with a loud voice, who confirmed it again by holding up their hands as before; after which the decree had the force of a law. And this was called ψηφισμα, from the Greek word ψηφος, which signifies *a pebble* or *small stone*, because they were sometimes used in giving suffrages by scrutiny.

All the great affairs of the republic were discussed in these assemblies. It was in them new laws were proposed and old ones amended; the religion and worship of the gods examined; magistrates, generals, and officers created; their behaviour and conduct enquired into; peace or war concluded; deputies and ambassadors appointed; treaties

treaties and alliances ratified; freedom of the city granted; rewards and honours decreed for those who had distinguished themselves in war, or rendered great services to the republic; and punishments ordained for those who had behaved themselves ill, or had violated the laws of the state, and were banished by ostracism. In fine, justice was administered, and judgment passed there, upon the most important affairs. We see, from this account, which is, however, very imperfect, how far the people's power extended; and with what truth it may be said, that the government of Athens, though qualified with aristocracy, and the authority of the elders, was, by its constitution, democratical and popular.

I shall take occasion to observe in the sequel, of what weight the talent of eloquence is in such a republic; and in what manner orators ought to be considered in it. It is not easy to conceive, how they could make themselves heard in so numerous an assembly, and where such a multitude of auditors were present. We may judge how great that was, from what has been said of it in two instances. The first relates to ostracism, and the other to the adoption of a stranger for a citizen. On each of these occasions, it was necessary that no less than six thousand citizens should be present in the assembly.

I reserve for another place the reflections, which naturally arise from what I have already related, and what it remains for me to say further upon the government of Athens.

SECT. VII. *Of Trials.*

THERE were different tribunals, according to the difference of the affairs to be adjudged, but appeals might be brought to the people from all decrees of other judges, and this it was that rendered their power so great and considerable. [a] All the allies, when they had any cause to try, were obliged to repair to Athens; where they often remained a considerable time, without being able to obtain audience, from the multiplicity of affairs to be adjudged. This law had

[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 664.

been

been impoſed upon them, in order to render them more dependent upon the people, and more ſubmiſſive to their authority; inſtead of which, had they ſent commiſſioners to the places, they would have been the ſole perſons, to whom the allies would have made their court and paid their homage.

The parties pleaded their cauſes either in perſon, or employed advocates to do it for them. The time allowed for the hearing was generally fixed, and a water clock, called in Greek κλεψυδρα, regulated its duration. The decree was paſſed by plurality of voices; and when the ſuffrages were equal, the judges inclined to the ſide of mercy, and acquitted the accuſed. It is remarkable that a friend was not obliged to give evidence againſt a friend.

All the citizens, even the pooreſt, and ſuch as had no eſtates, were admitted into the number of the judges, provided they had attained the age of thirty, and were known to be perſons of good morals. Whilſt they ſat in judgment, they held in their hands a kind of ſceptre, which was the mark of their dignity, and laid it down when they withdrew.

The judges' ſalary was different at different times. They had at firſt only an obolus a day, and afterwards three, where their fee remained fixed. It was but a ſmall matter in itſelf, but became in time a very great charge to the public, and exhauſted the treaſury without much enriching particulars. We may judge of this from what is related in Ariſtophanes's comedy of *The Waſps*, wherein that poet ridicules the paſſion of the Athenians for trying cauſes, and their eager deſire for the gain ariſing from it, which protracted and multiplied ſuits to infinity.

In this comedy, a young Athenian, who was to act the part I have mentioned, of turning the judges and trials of Athens into ridicule, from a ſtate of the revenues paid into the public treaſury, finds their amount to be two thouſand talents *. He then examines how much of that ſum falls to the ſhare of the judges, with

* About 280,000l. ſterling.

whom

whom Athens was overrun, at three oboli a head per day. This appears to be annually, including all of them, only a hundred and fifty talents *. The calculation is easy. The judges were paid only ten months in the year, the other two being employed in festivals, when all proceedings at law were prohibited. Now three oboli a day paid to six thousand men, make fifteen talents a month, and in consequence one hundred and fifty in ten months. According to this calculation, the most assiduous judge gained only seventy-five livres (about three guineas) a year. "What then becomes of the remainder of the two thousand talents?" cries the young Athenian. "What," replies his father, who was one of the judges, "it goes to those——but let us not expose the shame of Athens; let us always be for the people." The young Athenian goes on to explain that the remainder went to such as robbed the public treasury; to the orators, who incessantly flattered the people; and to those who were employed in the government and army. I have extracted this remark from the works of Father Brumoi the Jesuit, with which I shall make very free when I come to speak of public shows and dramatic representations.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Amphictyons.*

THE famous council of the Amphictyons is introduced here, though not particular to the Athenians, but common to all Greece, because it is often mentioned in the Grecian history, and I do not know whether I shall have a more natural occasion to speak of it.

The assembly of the Amphictyons was, in a manner, the holding of a general assembly of the states of Greece. The establishment of it is attributed to Amphictyon, king of Athens and son of Deucalion, who gave them his name. His principal view in the institution of this council, was to unite, in the sacred band of amity, the several people of Greece admitted into it, and to oblige

* About 7,000l sterling.

them,

them, by that union, to undertake the defence of each other, and be mutually vigilant for the happineſs and tranquillity of their country. The Amphictyons were alſo created to be the protectors of the oracle of Delphos, and the guardians of the prodigious riches of that temple; and alſo to adjudge the differences which might ariſe between the Delphians, and thoſe who came to conſult the oracle. This council was held at Thermopolæ, and ſometimes at Delphos itſelf. It aſſembled regularly twice a year, in the ſpring and autumn, and more frequently when affairs required.

The number of people of cities which had a right to ſit in this aſſembly is not preciſely known, and varied, without doubt, at different times. When the Lacedæmonians, in order to paſs in it what decrees they thought fit, were for excluding the Theſſalians, Argives, and Thebans, [b] Themiſtocles, in the ſpeech he made to the Amphictyons to prevent that deſign from taking effect, ſeems to inſinuate, that there were only one-and-thirty cities at that time which had this right.

Each city ſent two deputies, and, in conſequence, had two votes in the council, and that without diſtinction, or the more powerful having any prerogative of honour or pre-eminence over the inferior ſtates in regard to the ſuffrages; the liberty upon which theſe people valued themſelves, requiring that every thing ſhould be equal amongſt them.

The Amphictyons had full power to diſcuſs and determine finally in all differences which might ariſe between the Amphictyonic cities, and to fine the culpable in ſuch manner as they thought fit. They could employ not only the rigour of the laws in the execution of their decrees, but even raiſe troops, if it were neceſſary, to compel ſuch as rebelled to ſubmit to them. The three ſacred wars undertaken by their order, of which I have ſpoken elſewhere, are an evident proof of this power.

Before they were inſtalled into this body, they took a very remarkable oath, of which *Æſchines has preſerv-

[b] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.
* Æſchin. in Orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας.

ed

ed the form; it runs to this effect: "I ſwear that I will never deſtroy any of the cities honoured with the right of ſitting in the Amphictyonic council, nor turn their running waters out of their courſe either in times of war or peace: if any people ſhall make ſuch an attempt, I hereby engage to carry the war into their country, to demoliſh their cities, towns, and villages, and to treat them in all things as the moſt cruel enemies. Moreover, if, at any time, any perſon ſhall dare to be ſo impious to ſteal and take away any of the rich offerings, preſerved in the temple of Apollo at Delphos, or abet any others in committing that crime, either by aiding or only counſelling him therein, I will uſe my feet, hands, voice, in a word, all my powers and faculties, to avenge ſuch ſacrilege." That oath was attended with the moſt terrible imprecations and execrations. "That if any one infringes any thing contained in the oath I have now taken, whether private perſon, city, or people, may that perſon, city, or people, be deemed accurſed; and in that acceptation, experience the whole vengeance of Apollo, Latona, Diana, and Minerva the foreknower. May their country produce none of the fruits of the earth, and their women, inſtead of generating children reſembling their fathers, bring forth nothing but monſters: may their animals ſhare in the ſame curſe. May thoſe ſacrilegious men loſe all ſuits at law; may they be conquered in war, have their houſes demoliſhed, and be themſelves and their children put to the ſword." I am not aſtoniſhed, that after ſuch terrible engagements, the holy war, undertaken by the order of the Amphictyons, ſhould be carried on with ſo much ardour and fury. The religion of an oath was of great force with the ancients; and how much more regard ought to be had to it in the Chriſtian world, which profeſſes to believe, that the violation of it ſhall be puniſhed with eternal torments; and yet how many are there amongſt us, who make a trifle of breaking through the moſt ſolemn oaths?

The

The authority of the Amphictyons had always been of great weight in Greece, but it began to decline exceedingly from the moment they condescended to admit Philip of Macedon into their body. For that prince, enjoying by this means all their right and privileges, soon knew how to set himself above all law, and to abuse his power so far, as to preside by proxy both in this illustrious assembly, and in the Pythian games; of which games the Amphictyons were judges and Agonothetæ, in virtue of their office. This Demosthenes reproaches him with in his third Philippick; "When he does not deign," says he, "to honour us with his presence, he sends HIS SLAVES to preside over us." An odious, but emphatical term, and in the spirit of the Grecian liberty, by which the Athenian orator images the base and abject subjection of the greatest lords in Philip's court.

If the reader desires a further knowledge of what relates to the Amphictyons, the dissertations of Monsieur Valois[c] may be consulted, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, wherein this subject is treated with great extent and erudition.

SECT. IX. *Of the Revenues of Athens.*

THE revenus*, according to the passage of Aristophanes which I have cited above, and in consequence as they stood in the time of the Peloponnesian war, amounted to two thousand talents, that is to say, to six millions of livres. They were generally reduced to four species.

1. The first relates to the revenues arising from agriculture, the sale of woods, the produce of mines, and other funds of a like nature, appertaining to the public. Amongst these may be included the duties upon the import and export of merchandise, and the taxes levied upon the inhabitants of the city, as well natives as strangers.

The history of Athens often mentions the silver mines of Laurium, which was a mountain situate between the

[c] Vol. III. * Τέλη.

Piræeum

Piræeum and Cape Sunium; and those of Thrace, from whence many persons extracted immense riches. * Xenophon, in a treatise wherein he states this matter at large, demonstrates, how much the public might gain by industriously working these mines, from the example of the many persons they had enriched. [d] Hipponicus let his mines, and six hundred slaves, to an undertaker, who paid him an † obolus a day for each slave, clear of all charges, which amounted in the whole to a mina, about two pounds five shillings. Nicias, who was killed in Sicily, farmed out his mines, and a thousand slaves in the same manner, and with the same profit in proportion to that number.

2. The second species of revenue were the contributions paid the Athenians by the allies for the common expences of the war. At first, under Aristides, they amounted to only four hundred and sixty talents ‡. Pericles augmented them almost a third, and raised them to six hundred, and some time after they were run up to thirteen hundred. Taxes, which in the beginning were moderate and necessary, became thus in a little time excessive and exorbitant, notwithstanding all the protestations made the allies, and the most solemn engagements to the contrary.

3. A third sort of revenue was the extraordinary capitation taxes, levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as strangers, in pressing occasions and emergencies of the state.

4. The fines laid upon persons by the judges for different misdemeanors, were applied to the uses of the public, and laid up in the treasury; except the tenth part of them, which was consecrated to Minerva, and a fiftieth to the other divinities.

The most natural and legal application of these different revenues of the republic, was in paying the troops both by sea and land, building and fitting out

[d] Pag. 925.

* *De ration, redituum.*

† Six oboli made a drachma, one hundred drachmas a mina, and sixty mina a talent.

‡ A talent was worth a thousand crowns.

fleets,

fleets, keeping up and repairing the public buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But the greateſt part of them, eſpecially after Pericles's time, was miſapplied to unneceſſary uſes, and often conſumed in frivolous expences; games, feaſts and ſhows, which coſt immenſe ſums, and were of no manner of utility to the ſtate.

SECT. X. *Of the Education of the Youth.*

I PLACE this article under the head of government, becauſe all celebrated legiſlators have with reaſon believed, that the education of youth was an eſſential part of it.

The exerciſes that ſerved for the forming of either the bodies or minds of the young Athenians (and as much may be ſaid of almoſt all the people of Greece) were dancing, muſic, hunting, fencing, riding, polite learning, and philoſophy. It may be obſerved that I ſpeak generally, and treat very ſlightly theſe ſeveral articles.

1. *Dancing. Muſic.*

Dancing is one of the exerciſes of the body, cultivated by the Greeks with great attention. It made a part of what the ancients called *the Gymnaſtic*, divided according to *Plato, into two kinds, *the Orcheſtric*, which takes its name from the dance, and *the Palæſtric*†, ſo called from a Greek word which ſignifies *wreſtling*. The exerciſes of the latter kind principally conduced to form the body for the fatigues of war, navigation, agriculture, and the other uſes of ſociety.

Dancing had another end, and taught ſuch rules of motion as were moſt proper to render the ſhape free and eaſy; to give the body a juſt proportion, and the whole perſon an unconſtrained, noble, and graceful air; in a word, an external politeneſs, if we may be allowed to uſe that expreſſion, which never fails to prejudice people in favour of thoſe who have been formed to it early.

* Ορχεισθαι. Saltare. † Παλη.

Muſic

Mufic was cultivated with no lefs application and fuccefs. The ancients afcribed wonderful effects to it. They believed it very proper to calm the paffions, foften the manners, and even humanize people naturally favage and barbarous. [e] Polybius, a grave and ferious hiftorian, who is certainly worthy of belief, attributes the extreme difference between the two people of Arcadia, the one infinitely beloved and efteemed for the elegance of their manners, their benevolent inclinations, humanity to ftrangers, and piety to the gods; the other, on the contrary, generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality, and irreligion: Polybius, I fay, afcribes this difference to the ftudy of mufic, (I mean, fays he, the true and noble mufic) induftriouffly cultivated by the one, and abfolutely neglected by the other people.

After this it is not furprifing, that the Greeks confidered mufic as an effential part in the education of youth. * Socrates himfelf, in a very advanced age, was not afhamed to learn to play upon mufical inftruments. Themiftocles, however otherwife efteemed † was thought to be wanting in point of merit, becaufe at an entertainment he could not touch the lyre like the reft of the company. ‡ An ignorance in this refpect was deemed a defect of education; on the contrary, a capacity in it did honour to the greateft men. § Epaminondas was praifed for dancing, and playing well upon the flute. We may obferve in this place the different taftes and genius of nations. The Romans were far from having the fame opinion with the Greeks in regard to mufic and dancing, and fet no value upon them. It is very likely, the wifeft and moft knowing amongft the latter, did not apply to them with any

[e] Polyb. p. 288—291.

* *Socrates, jam fenex inftitui lyra non erubefcebat.* QUINTIL. l. i. c. 10.

† *Themiftocles, cum in epulis recufaffet lyram, habitus eft indoctior.* CIC. Tufc. Quæft l. i. n. 4.

‡ *Summam eruditionem Græci fitam cenfebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus— difcebantque id omnes; nec qui nefciebat, fatis excultus doctrina putabatur.* Ibid.

§ *In Epaminondæ virtutibus commemoratum eft faltaffe eum commode, fcienterque tibiis cantaffe Scilicet non eadem omnibus honefta funt atque turpia, fed omnia majorum inftitutis judicantur.* CORN. NEP. in præfat. vit Epam.

great induſtry; and Philip's expreſſion to his ſon Alexander, who had ſhown too much ſkill in muſic at a feaſt, induces me to be of this opinion: "Are you not aſhamed," ſaid he, "to ſing ſo well."

For the reſt this eſteem for dancing and muſic had its foundation. Both the one and the other were employed in the moſt auguſt feaſts and ceremonies of religion, to expreſs their acknowledgment to the gods with the greater force and dignity, for the favours they had vouchſafed to confer upon them. They had generally the greateſt ſhare in their feaſts and entertainments, which ſeldom or ever began or ended without ſome odes being ſung in honour of the victors in the Olympic games, and on other the like occaſions. They had a part alſo in war; and we know that the Lacedæmonians marched to battle dancing, and to the ſound of flutes. [f] Plato, the moſt grave philoſopher of antiquity, conſidered both theſe arts, not as ſimple amuſements, but as they had a great ſhare in the ceremonies of religion, and military exerciſes. Hence we ſee him very intent, in his books of laws, to preſcribe rules upon dancing and muſic, and to keep them within the bounds of utility and decorum.

They did not continue long within theſe reſtrictions. The licence of the Grecian ſtage, on which dancing was in the higheſt vogue, and in a manner proſtituted to buffoons and the moſt contemptible people, who made no other uſe of it, than to ſuggeſt or ſupport the moſt vicious paſſions; this licence, I ſay, ſoon corrupted an art, which might have been of ſome advantage, had it been regulated by Plato's opinion. Muſic had a like deſtiny; and perhaps the corruption of this did not a little contribute to the depraving and perverting of dancing. Voluptuouſneſs and ſenſual pleaſure were the ſole arbiters conſulted in the uſes made of both, and the theatre became a ſchool of every kind of vice.

[g] Plutarch, in lamenting that the art of dancing was ſo much fallen from the merit which rendered it eſtimable to the great men of antiquity, does not omit to

[f] De leg. l. vii. [g] Sympoſ. l. ix. qu. 15. p. 748.

 obſerve,

obſerve, that it was corrupted by a vicious kind of poetry, and a ſoft effeminate muſic, with which it was ill united, and which had taken place of the ancient poetry and muſic, that had ſomething noble, majeſtic, and even religious and heavenly in them. He adds, that being made ſubſervient to low taſte and ſenſuality, by their aid, it exerciſed a kind of tyrannical power in the theatres, which were become the public ſchools of criminal paſſions and groſs vices, wherein no regard was had to reaſon.

The reader, without my obſerving upon it to him, will make the application of this paſſage of Plutarch to the ſort of muſic which engroſſes our theatres at this day, and which, by its effeminate and wanton airs, has given the laſt wound to the little manly force and virtue that remained among us. Quintilian deſcribes the muſic of his times in theſe terms: [h] *Quæ nunc in ſcenis effeminata, et impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minima, ſi quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit.*

2. *Of the other Exerciſes of the Body.*

The young Athenians, and in general all the Greeks, were very intent upon forming themſelves to all the exerciſes of the body, and to go through their leſſons regularly with the maſters of the Palæſtræ. They called the places allotted for theſe exerciſes Palæſtra, or Gymnaſia; which anſwers very near to our academies. Plato, in his books of laws, after having ſhown of what importance it was in war to cultivate the hands and feet, adds [i] that far from baniſhing from a well regulated republic the profeſſion of the Athletæ, on the contrary, prizes ought to be propoſed for all exerciſes, that conduce to the improvement of military virtue; ſuch are thoſe which render the body more active, and fitter for the race; more hard, robuſt, and ſupple, more capable of ſupporting great fatigues, and effecting great enterpriſes. We muſt remember, that there was no Athenian, who ought not to have been capable of handling the oar in the largeſt galleys. The citi-

[h] Quintil. l. i. c. 1. [i] Lib. viii. de leg. p. 832, 833.

zens themſelves did this office, which was not left to ſlaves and criminals as in theſe days. They were all deſtined to the trade of war, and often obliged to wear arms of iron from head to foot of a great weight. For this reaſon Plato, and all the ancients, looked upon the exerciſes of the body as highly uſeful, and even abſolutely neceſſary to the good of the public, and therefore this philoſopher excludes only thoſe from them, which are incapable of ſervice in war.

[k] There were alſo maſters, who taught the youth to ride, and to handle their arms or fence; and others whoſe buſineſs it was to inſtruct them in all that was neceſſary to be known, in order to excel in the military art, and become good commanders. The whole ſcience of the latter conſiſted in what the ancients called the Tactic, that is to ſay, the art of drawing up troops in battle, and of making military evolutions. That ſcience was uſeful, but did not ſuffice. [l] Xenophon ſhows its defect, in producing a young man lately come from ſuch a ſchool, in which he imagined he had learnt every thing, though in reality he had only acquired a fooliſh eſteem for himſelf, attended with perfect ignorance. He gives him, by the mouth of Socrates, admirable precepts upon the buſineſs of a ſoldier, and very proper to form an excellent officer.

Hunting was alſo conſidered by the ancients as a fit exerciſe for forming youth to the ſtratagems and fatigues of war. It is for this reaſon Xenophon, who was no leſs a great general than a great philoſopher, [m] did not think it below him to write a treatiſe expreſſly upon hunting, in which he deſcends to the loweſt particular; and obſerves upon the conſiderable advantages conſequential of it, from being inured to ſuffer hunger, thirſt, heat, cold, without being diſcouraged either by the length of the courſe, the difficulty of the clifts and thickets, through which it is often neceſſary to preſs, or the ſmall ſucceſs of the long and painful fatigues, which they often undergo to no purpoſe. He

[k] Plut. in Lachete, p. 181. [l] Memorab. l. iii. p. 761, &c.
[m] De venatione.

adds,

adds, that this innocent pleasure removes others equally shameful and criminal; and that a wise and moderate man would not however abandon himself so much to it as to neglect the care of his domestic affairs. [n] The same author, in the Cyropædia, frequently praises hunting, which he looks upon as a real exercise of war, and shows, in the example of his young hero, the good use that may be made of it.

3. *Of the Exercise of the Mind.*

Athens, to speak properly, was the school and abode of polite learning, arts, and sciences. The study of poesy, eloquence, philosophy, and mathematics, was in great vogue there, and much cultivated by the youth.

The young people were sent first to learn grammar under masters, who taught them regularly, and upon proper principles, their own language; by which they attained a knowledge of its whole beauty, energy, number, and cadence. [o] Hence proceeded the universal fine taste of Athens, where, as history informs us, a simple herb-woman distinguished Theophrastus to be a stranger, from the affectation of a single word in expressing himself. And from the same cause the orators were greatly apprehensive of letting fall the least injudicious expression, for fear of offending so refined and delicate an audience. It was very common for the young people to get the tragedies represented upon the stage by heart. We have seen, that after the defeat of the Athenians, before Syracuse, many of them, who had been taken prisoners and made slaves, softened their slavery by reciting the works of Euripides to their masters, who, extremely delighted with hearing such sublime verses, treated them from thenceforth with kindness and humanity. The compositions of the other poets had no doubt the same effect, and Plutarch tells us, that Alcibiades, when very young, having entered a school in which there was not a Homer,

[n] Cyrop. l. i. p. 5, 6, & l. ii. p. 59, 60.
[o] Cic. in Brut. n. 172. Quintil. l. viii. c. 1. Plut. in Peric. p. 156.

gave

gave the maſter a box on the ear as an ignorant fellow, [p] and one who diſhonoured his profeſſion.

As for eloquence, it is no wonder that it was particularly ſtudied at Athens. It was that opened the way to the higheſt offices, reigned abſolute in the aſſemblies, decided the moſt important affairs of the ſtate, and gave an almoſt unlimited power to thoſe who had the talent of ſpeaking in an eminent degree.

This therefore was the great employment of the young citizens of Athens, eſpecially of thoſe who aſpired to the higheſt employments. To the ſtudy of rhetoric they annexed that of philoſophy: I compriſe under the latter, all the ſciences which are either parts of, or relate to it. The perſons, known to antiquity under the name of ſophiſt, had acquired a great reputation at Athens, eſpecially in the time of Socrates. Theſe teachers, who were as preſumptuous as avaricious, ſet themſelves up for univerſal ſcholars. Their whole art lay in philoſophy and eloquence, both of which they corrupted by the falſe taſte and wrong principles they inſtilled into their diſciples. I have obſerved in the life of Socrates, that philoſopher's endeavours and ſucceſs in diſcrediting them.

CHAP. II.

OF WAR.

SECT. I. *People of Greece in all Times very warlike, eſpecially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

NO people of antiquity (I except the Romans) could diſpute the glory of arms and military virtue with the Greeks. During the Trojan war Greece ſignalized her valour in battle, and acquired immortal fame by the bravery of the captains ſhe ſent thither. This expedition was however, properly ſpeaking, no more than the cradle of her infant glory; and the great exploits,

[p] In Altib. p. 194.

by

by which ſhe diſtinguiſhed herſelf there, were only her firſt eſſays, and apprenticeſhip in the art of war.

There were in Greece at that time ſeveral ſmall republics, neighbours to one another by their ſituation, but extremely remote in their cuſtoms, laws, characters, and particularly in their intereſts. This difference of manners and intereſts was a continual ſource and occaſion of diviſions amongſt them. Every city, little ſatiſfied with its own dominion, was ſtudious to aggrandize itſelf at the expence of its next neighbours, according as they lay moſt commodious for it. Hence all theſe little ſtates, either out of ambition, and to extend their conqueſts, or the neceſſity of a juſt defence, were always under arms, and by that continual exerciſe of war, formed in the univerſal people a martial ſpirit, and an intrepidity of courage which made them invincible in the field; as appeared in the ſequel, when the whole united forces of the Eaſt came to invade Greece, and made her ſenſible what ſhe was, and of what capable.

Two cities diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, and held indiſputably the firſt rank; theſe were Sparta and Athens: in conſequence of which thoſe cities, either ſucceſſively or together, had the empire of Greece, and maintained themſelves through a long ſeries of time in a power, which the ſole ſuperiority of merit, univerſally acknowledged by all the other ſtates, had acquired them. This merit conſiſted principally in their military knowledge and martial virtue; of which they had given the moſt glorious proofs in the war againſt the Perſians. Thebes diſputed this honour with them for ſome years, by ſurpriſing actions of valour, which had ſomething of prodigy in them; but this was but a ſhort-lived blaze, which, after having ſhone out with exceeding ſplendor, ſoon diſappeared, and left that city in its original obſcurity. Sparta and Athens will therefore be the only objects of our reflections as to what relates to war, and we ſhall join them together, in order to be the better able to diſtinguiſh their characters, as well in what they reſemble, as in what they differ from, each other.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Origin and Cause of the Valour and military Virtue by which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians always distinguished themselves.*

ALL the laws of Sparta, and institutions of Lycurgus, seem to have no other object than war, and tended solely to the making the subjects of that republic a body of soldiers. All other employments, all other exercises were prohibited amongst them. Arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, even husbandry itself, had no share in their applications, and seemed in their eyes unworthy of them. From their earliest infancy no other taste was instilled into them but for arms; and indeed the Spartan education was wonderfully well adapted to that end. To go barefoot, to lie hard, to shift with little meat and drink, to suffer heat and cold, to exercise continually hunting, wrestling, running on foot and horseback, to be inured to blows and wounds so as to vent neither complaint nor groan; these were the rudiments of the Spartan youth with regard to war, and enabled them one day to support all its fatigues, and to confront all its dangers.

The habit of obeying, contracted from the most early years, respect for the magistrates and elders, a perfect submission to the laws, from which no age nor condition was exempt, prepared them amazingly for military discipline, which is in a manner the soul of war, and the principle of success in all great enterprises.

Now one of these laws was to conquer or die, and never to surrender to the enemy. Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans, was an illustrious example of this, and his intrepid valour, extolled in all ages with the highest applauses, and proposed as a model to all posterity, had given the same spirit to the nation, and traced them out the plan they were to follow. The disgrace and infamy annexed to the violation of this law, and to such as quitted their arms in battle, confirmed the observance of it, and rendered it in a manner inviolable.

violable. The mothers recommended to their ſons, when they ſet out for the field, to return either with or upon their bucklers. They did not weep for thoſe who died with their arms in their hands, but for thoſe who preſerved themſelves by flight. Can we be ſurpriſed, after this, that a ſmall body of ſuch ſoldiers, with ſuch principles, ſhould put an innumerable army of Barbarians to a ſtand?

The Athenians were not bred up ſo roughly as the people of Sparta, but had no leſs valour. The taſte of the two people was quite different in regard to education and employment; but they attained the ſame end, though by different means. The Spartans knew only how to uſe their arms, and were no more than ſoldiers; but amongſt the Athenians (and we muſt ſay as much of the other people of Greece) arts, trades, huſbandry, commerce, and navigation, were held in honour, and thought no diſgrace to any one. Theſe occupations were no obſtacles to the valour and knowledge neceſſary in war; they diſqualified none for riſing to the greateſt commands and the firſt dignities of the republic. Plutarch obſerves, that Solon, feeling the territory of Attica was barren, applied himſelf to turning the induſtry of his citizens upon arts, trades and commerce, in order to ſupply his country thereby, with what it wanted on the ſide of fertility. This taſte became one of the maxims of the government and fundamental laws of the ſtate, and perpetuated itſelf among the people, but without leſſening in the leaſt their ardour for war.

The ancient glory of the nation, which had always diſtinguiſhed itſelf by military bravery, was a powerful motive for not degenerating from the reputation of their anceſtors. The famous battle of Marathon, wherein they had ſuſtained alone the ſhock of the Barbarians, and gained a ſignal victory over them, infinitely heightened their courage; and the battle of Salamin, in the ſucceſs of which they had the greateſt ſhare, raiſed them to the higheſt pitch of glory, and rendered them capable of the greateſt enterpriſes.

A noble emulation not to give place in point of merit to Sparta, the rival of Athens, and a lively jealouſy of their glory, which during the war with the Perſians contained itſelf within due bounds, were another ſtrong incentive to the Athenians, who every day made new efforts to excel themſelves, and ſuſtain their reputation.

The rewards and honours granted to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battle; the monuments erected in memory of the citizens who had died in the defence of their country, the funeral orations publicly pronounced in the midſt of the moſt auguſt religious ceremonies, to render their names immortal; all conſpired infinitely to eternize the valour of both nations, and particularly of the Athenians, and to make fortitude a kind of law and indiſpenſable neceſſity to them.

[p] Athens had a law by which it was ordained, that thoſe who had been maimed in war, ſhould be maintained at the expence of the public. The ſame grace was granted to the fathers and mothers, as well as the children of ſuch as had fallen in battle and left their families poor and not in a condition to ſubſiſt themſelves. The republic, like a good mother, generouſly took them into her care, and with great regard to them ſupplied all the duties, and procured all the relief, they could have expected from thoſe whoſe loſs they deplored.

This exalted the courage of the Athenians, and rendered their troops invincible, though not very numerous. In the battle of Plataea, where the army of the Barbarians, commanded by Mardonius, conſiſted of no leſs than three hundred thouſand men, and the united forces of the Greeks of only one hundred and eight thouſand two hundred men, there were in the latter only ten thouſand Lacedæmonians, of which one half were Spartans, that is to ſay inhabitants of Sparta, and eight thouſand Athenians. It is true, each Spartan brought with him ſeven Helots, which made in all thirty-five thouſand men; but they were ſcarce ever reckoned as ſoldiers.

[p] Plut. in Solon. p. 96. Ibid. in Menex. p. 248, 249. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

This

This ſhining merit in point of martial valour, generally acknowledged by the other ſtates and people, did not ſuppreſs in their minds all ſentiments of envy and jealouſy; as appeared once in relation to the Lacedæmonians. The allies, who were very much ſuperior to them in number, were in pain to ſee themſelves ſubjected to their orders, and murmured againſt it in ſecret. Ageſilaus, king of Sparta, without ſeeming to have any knowledge of their diſguſt, aſſembled the whole army, and after having made all the allies ſit down on one ſide, and the Lacedæmonians by themſelves on the other, he cauſed proclamation to be made by a herald, that all ſmiths, maſons, carpenters, and ſo on, through the other trades, ſhould riſe up. Almoſt all the allies did ſo, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, to whom all trades were prohibited. Ageſilaus then ſmiling, "You ſee," ſaid he, "how many more ſoldiers Sparta furniſhes than all the reſt of the allies together;" thereby intimating, that to be a good ſoldier, it was neceſſary to be only a ſoldier; that trades diverted the artizan from applying himſelf wholly to the profeſſion of arms and the ſcience of war, and prevented his ſucceeding ſo well in it, as thoſe who made it their ſole buſineſs and exerciſe. But Ageſilaus ſpoke and acted in that manner from the prejudice of his opinion in favour of the Lacedæmonian education; for indeed thoſe, whom he was for having conſidered only as ſimple artizans, had well demonſtrated in the glorious victories they had obtained over the Perſians, and even Sparta itſelf, that they were by no means inferior to the Lacedæmonians, entirely ſoldiers as they were, either in valour or military knowledge.

SECT. III. *Different Kind of Troops of which the Armies of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were compoſed.*

THE armies both of Sparta and Athens were compoſed of four ſorts of troops: citizens, allies, mercenaries, and ſlaves. The ſoldiers were ſometimes marked in the hand, to diſtinguiſh them from the ſlaves, who

who had that character impressed upon their forehead. Interpreters believe, that in allusion to this double manner of marking, it is said in the Revelations, that all were obliged "[q] to receive the mark of the beast in their right hand, or in their foreheads;" and that St. Paul says of himself, "[r] I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

The citizens of Lacedæmonia were of two sorts, either those who inhabited Sparta itself, and who for that reason were called Spartans, or those who lived in the country. In Lycurgus's time the Spartans amounted to nine thousand, and the others to thirty thousand. This number seems to have been somewhat diminished in the time of Xerxes, as Demaratus, speaking to him of the Lacedæmonian troops, computes only eight thousand Spartan. The latter were the flower of the nation, and we may judge of the value they set upon them, by the anxiety the republic expressed for three or four hundred, besieged by the Athenians in the small island of Sphacteria, where they were taken prisoners. The Lacedæmonians generally spared the troops of their country very much, and sent only a few of them into the armies. When a Lacedæmonian general was asked how many Spartans there were in the army; he answered, "as many as are necessary to repulse the enemy." They served the state at their own expence, and it was not till after a length of time that they received pay from the public.

The greatest number of the troops in the two republics were composed of the *Allies*, who were paid by the cities which sent them.

The foreign troops in the pay of the republic, to the aid of which they were called in, were styled *Mercenaries*.

The Spartans never marched without Helots, and we have seen that in the battle of Plataea every citizen had seven. I do not believe this number was fixed, nor do I well comprehend for what service they were designed. It would have been very ill policy to have put arms

[q] Rev. xiii. 16. [r] Gal. vi. 17.

into

into the hands of ſo great a number of ſlaves, generally much diſcontented with their maſters harſh treatment of them, and who in conſequence had every thing to fear from them in battle. Herodotus, however, in the paſſage I have cited from him, repreſents them carrying arms in the field as light-armed ſoldiers.

The infantry conſiſted of two kinds of ſoldiers. The one were heavy-armed and carried great bucklers, lances, half-pikes, and ſcymitars. The other were light-armed, that is to ſay, with bows and ſlings. They were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings as a firſt line to ſhoot their arrows, and fling their javelins and ſtones at the enemy; and when they had diſcharged, they retired through the intervals behind the battalions as a ſecond line, and continued their volleys.

[s] Thucydides, in deſcribing the battle of Mantinæa, divides the Lacedæmonian troops in this manner. There were ſeven regiments, of four companies each, without including the Squirites, to the number of ſix hundred; theſe were horſemen, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak further. The company conſiſted, according to the Greek interpreter, of a hundred and twenty-eight men, and was ſubdivided into four platoons, each of thirty-two men. So that a regiment amounted to five hundred and twelve men, and the ſeven made together three thouſand five hundred fourſcore and four. Each platoon had four men in front, and eight in depth, for that was the uſual depth of the files, which the officers might change according to occaſion.

The Lacedæmonians did not actually begin to uſe cavalry till after the war with Meſſene, where they perceived their want of it. [t] They raiſed their horſe principally in a ſmall city not far from Lacedæmon, called *Sciros*, from whence theſe troops were denominated *Scirites*, or *Squirites*. They were always on the extremity of the left wing, and this was their poſt by right.

Cavalry was ſtill more rare amongſt the Athenians; the ſituation of Attica, broken with abundance of

[s] Thucyd. l. v. p. 390. [t] Ibid.

mountains,

mountains, was the cause of this. It did not amount, after the war with the Persians, which was the time when the prosperity of Greece was at the highest, to more than three hundred horse; but increased afterwards to twelve hundred; a small body for so powerful a republic.

I have already observed, that amongst the ancients, as well Greeks as Romans, no mention is made of the stirrup, which is very surprising. They threw themselves nimbly on horseback.

——Corparo saltu
Subjiciunt in equos.—— Æn. l. xi. ver. 287.
And with a leap sit steady on the horse.

Sometimes the horse, broke early to that kind of manage, would stoop down before, to give his master the opportunity of mounting with more ease;

Inde inclinatus collum, submissus et armos
De more, inflexis præbebat scandere terga
Cruribus. Sil. Ital. de equo Cœlii Equ. Rom.

Those, whom age or weakness rendered heavy, made use of a servant in mounting on horseback; in which they imitated the Persians, with whom it was the common custom. Gracchus caused fine stones to be placed on each side of the great roads of Italy at certain distances from one another, to help travellers to get on horseback without the assistance of any body*.

I am surprised that the Athenians, expert as they were in the art of war, did not distinguish that the cavalry was the most essential part of an army, especially in battles; and that some of their generals did not turn their attention that way, as Themistocles did in regard to maritime affairs. Xenophon was well capable of rendering them a like service in respect to the cavalry, of the importance of which he was perfectly apprized. He wrote two treatises upon this subject; one of which re-

* Αναβολεως μη δεομενοις. This word Αναβολευς, signifies a servant, who helped his master to mount on horseback.

gards

gards the care it is neceſſary to take of horſes, and how to underſtand and break them; to which he adds the exerciſe of the ſquadron; both well worth the reading of all who profeſs arms. In the latter he ſtates the means of placing the cavalry in honour, and lays down rules upon the art military in general, which might be of very great uſe to all thoſe who are deſigned for the trade of war.

I have wondered, in running over this ſecond treatiſe, to ſee with what care Xenophon, a ſoldier and a pagan, recommends the practice of religion, a veneration of the gods, and the neceſſity of imploring their aid upon all occaſions. He repeats this maxim in thirteen different places of a tract in other reſpects brief enough; and rightly judging that theſe inſinuations might give ſome people offence, he makes a kind of apology for them, and concludes the piece with a reflection, which I ſhall repeat entire in this place. "If any one," ſays he, "wonders that I inſiſt ſo much here upon the neceſſity of not forming any enterpriſe, without firſt endeavouring to render the divinity favourable and propitious, let him reflect, that there are in war a thouſand unforeſeen and obſcure conjunctures, wherein the generals, vigilant to take advantages, and lay ambuſcades for each other, from the uncertainty of an enemy's motions, can take no other council than that of the gods. Nothing is doubtful or obſcure with them. They unfold the future to whomſoever they pleaſe, on the inſpection of the entrails of beaſts, by the ſinging of birds, by viſions or in dreams. Now we may preſume that the gods are more inclined to illuminate the minds of ſuch as conſult them not only in urgent neceſſities, but who at all times, and when no dangers threaten them, render them all the homage and adoration of which they are capable."

It became this great man to give the moſt important of inſtructions to his ſon Gryllus, to whom he addreſſes the treatiſe we mention, and who, according to the common opinion, was appointed to diſcipline the Athenian cavalry.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *Of maritime Affairs, Fleets, and naval Forces.*

IF the Athenians were inferior to the Lacedæmonians in respect to cavalry, they carried it infinitely against them in naval affairs, and we have seen their abilities that way make them masters at sea, and give them a great superiority to all the other states of Greece. As this subject is very necessary to the understanding many passages in this history, I shall treat it more extensively than other matters, and shall make great use of what the learned father Don Bernard de Montfaucon has said of it in his books upon antiquity.

The principal parts of a ship were the prow or head, the poop or stern, and the middle, called in Latin *carina*, the hulk or waist.

The PROW was the part in the front of the waist or belly of the ship; it was generally adorned with paintings and different sculptures of gods, men, or animals. The beak, called *rostrum*, lay lower, and level with the water: it was a piece of timber which projected from the prow, covered at the point with brass, and sometimes with iron. The Greeks termed it ἐμβολον.

The other end of the ship, opposite to the prow, was called the Poop. There the pilot sat and held the helm, which was a longer and larger oar than the rest.

The WAIST was the hollow of the vessel, or the hold.

The ships were of two kinds. The one was rowed with oars, which were ships of war, the other carried sails, and were vessels of burden, intended for commerce and transports. Both of them sometimes made use of oars and sails together, but that very rarely. The ships of war are also very often called long ships by authors, and by that name distinguished from vessels of burden.

The long ships were further divided into two species; those which were called *actuariæ naves*, and were very light vessels, like our brigantines; and those called only long ships. The first were usually termed *open ships*,

because they had no decks. Of these light vessels there were some larger than ordinary, of which some had twenty, some thirty, and others forty oars, half on one side and half on the other, all on the same line.

The long ships, which were used in war, were of two sorts. Some had only one rank of oars on each side; the others two, three, four, five, or a greater number, to forty; but these last were rather for show than use.

The long ships of one rank of oars were called *aphracti*; that is to say, uncovered, and had no decks: this distinguished them from the *cataphracti*, which had decks. They had only small pieces to stand on, at the head and stern, in the time of action.

The ships most commonly used in the battles of the ancients, were those which carried from three to five ranks or benches of oars, and were called *triremes* and *quinqueremes*.

It is a great question, and has given occasion for abundance of learned dissertations, how these benches of oars were disposed. Some will have it, that they were placed at length, like the ranks of oars in the modern galleys. Others maintain, that the ranges of the biremes, triremes, quinqueremes, and so on to the number of forty in some vessels, were one above another. To support this last opinion, innumerable passages are cited from ancient authors, which seem to leave no manner of doubt in it, and are considerably corroborated by the column of Trajan, which represents these ranks one above another. Father Montfaucon, however, avers, that all the persons of greatest skill in naval affairs, whom he had consulted, declared, that the thing conceived in that manner, seemed to them utterly impossible. But such a way of reasoning is a weak proof against the experience of so many ages, confirmed by so many authors. It is true, that in admitting these ranks of oars to be disposed perpendicularly one above another, it is not easy to comprehend how they could be worked; but in the biremes and triremes of the column of Trajan, the lower ranks are placed obliquely, and, as it were, rising by degrees.

In

In ancient times the ſhips with ſeveral ranks of oars were not known: they made uſe of long ſhips, in which the rowers, of whatever number they were, worked all upon the ſame line. [a] Such was the fleet which the Greeks ſent againſt Troy. It was compoſed of twelve hundred ſail, of which the galleys of Bœotia had each a hundred and twenty men, and thoſe of Philoctetes fifty; and this no doubt intends the greateſt and ſmalleſt veſſels. Their galleys had no decks, but were built like common boats; which is ſtill practiſed, ſays Thucydides, by the pirates, to prevent their being ſo ſoon diſcovered at a diſtance.

[b] The Corinthians are ſaid to have been the firſt who changed the form of ſhips, and, inſtead of ſimple galleys, made veſſels with three ranks, in order to add, by the multiplicity of oars, to the ſwiftneſs and impetuoſity of their motion. Their city, advantageouſly ſituated between two ſeas, lay well for commerce, and ſerved as a ſtaple for merchandiſe. From their example, the inhabitants of Corcyra, and the tyrants of Sicily, equipped alſo many galleys of three benches, a little before the war againſt the Perſians. It was about the ſame time the Athenians, at the warm inſtances of Themiſtocles, who foreſaw the war which ſoon broke out, built ſhips of the ſame form, the whole deck not being yet in uſe; and from thenceforth they applied themſelves to naval affairs with incredible ardour and ſucceſs.

The beak of the prow *(roſtrum)* was that part of the veſſel of which moſt uſe was made in ſea-fights. [c] Ariſton of Corinth perſuaded the Syracuſans, when their city was beſieged by the Athenians, to make their prows lower and ſhorter; which advice gained them the victory. For the prows of the Athenian veſſels being very high and very weak, their beaks ſtruck only the parts above water, and for that reaſon did little damage to the enemy's ſhips; whereas the Syracuſans, whoſe prows were ſtrong and low, and their beaks level with the water, at a ſingle blow often ſunk the triremes of the Athenians.

[a] Thucyd. l. i. p. 8. [b] Thucyd. l. i. p. 10. [c] Diod. l. xiii. p. 141.

Two

Two ſorts of people ſerved on board theſe galleys. The one were employed in ſteering and working the ſhip, who were the rowers, *remiges*, and the mariners, *nautæ*. The reſt were ſoldiers intended for the fight, and are meant in Greek by the word ἐπιβάται. This diſtinction was not underſtood in the early times, when the ſame perſons rowed, fought, and did all the neceſſary work of the ſhip; which was alſo not wholly diſuſed in later days. For [d] Thucydides, in deſcribing the arrival of the Athenian fleet at the ſmall iſland of Sphacteria, obſerves, that only the rowers of the loweſt bench remained in the ſhips, and that the reſt went on ſhore with their arms.

1. The condition of the rowers was very hard and laborious. I have already ſaid, that the rowers, as well as mariners, were all citizens and freemen, and not ſlaves or ſtrangers as in theſe days. The rowers were diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral ſtages. The lower rank were called *Thalamitæ*, the middle *Zugitæ*, and the higheſt *Thranitæ*. Thucydides remarks, that the latter had greater pay than the reſt, becauſe they worked with longer and heavier oars than thoſe of the lower benches. * It ſeems that the crew, in order to act in concert, and with better effect, were ſometimes guided by the ſinging of a man, and ſometimes by the ſound of an inſtrument; and this grateful harmony ſerved not only to regulate the motion of their oars, but to diminiſh and ſooth the pains of their labour.

It is a queſtion amongſt the learned, whether there was a man to every oar in theſe great ſhips, or ſeveral, as in the galleys of theſe days. What Thucydides obſerves on the pay of the Thranitæ, ſeems to imply that they worked ſingle. For if others had ſhared the work with them, wherefore had they greater pay given them than thoſe who managed an oar alone, as the latter had as much, and perhaps more, of the labour than they?

[d] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 275.

* *Muſicam natura ipſa videtur ad tolerandos facilius labores veluti muneri nobis dediſſe. Siquidem et remiges cantus hortatur; nec ſolum in iis operibus, in quibus plurium conatus præeunte aliqua jucunda voce conſpirat, ſed etiam ſingulorum fatigatio quamlibet ſe rudi modulatione ſolatur.* QUINTIL. l. i. c. 10.

Father

Father Montfaucon believes, that in the veſſels of five ranks there might be ſeveral men to one oar.

He who took care of the whole crew, and commanded the veſſel, was called *nauclerus*, and was the principal officer. The ſecond was the pilot, *gubernator*; his place was in the poop, where he held the helm in his hand, and ſteered the veſſel. His ſkill conſiſted in knowing the coaſts, ports, rocks, ſhoals, and eſpecially the winds and ſtars; for before the invention of the compaſs, the pilot had nothing to direct him during the night but the ſtars.

2. The ſoldiers, who fought in the ſhips, were armed almoſt in the ſame manner with the land forces. [e] The Athenians, at the battle of Salamin, had a hundred and fourſcore veſſels, and in each of them eighteen fighting men, four of whom were archers, and the reſt heavy-armed troops. The officer who commanded theſe ſoldiers was called τριηραρχος, and the commander of the whole fleet ναυαρχος, or στρατηγος.

We cannot exactly ſay the number of ſoldiers, mariners, and rowers, that ſerved on board each ſhip; but it generally amounted to two hundred, more or leſs, as appears from Herodotus's eſtimate of the Perſian fleet in the time of Xerxes, and in other places where he mentions that of the Greeks. I mean here the great veſſels, the triremes, which were the ſpecies moſt in uſe.

The pay of thoſe who ſerved in theſe ſhips varied very much at different times. When young Cyrus arrived in Aſia [f], it was only three oboli, which was half a drachma, or fivepence; and the * treaty between the Perſians and Lacedæmonians was concluded upon this foot; which gives reaſon to believe, that the uſual pay was three oboli. Cyrus, at Lyſander's requeſt, added a fourth, which made ſixpence halfpenny a day. [g] It was often raiſed to a whole drachma, about ten-pence

[e] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 119. [f] Xenoph. Hiſt li. p. 441.
[g] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 431.

* This treaty ſtipulated, that the Perſian, ſhould pay thirty minæ a month for each ſhip, which was half a talent; the whole amounted to three oboli a day for every man that ſerved on board.

French

French. In the fleet fitted out against Sicily the Athenians gave a drachma a day to the troops. The sum of sixty talents[h] *, which the people of Egesta advanced the Athenians monthly for the maintaining of sixty ships, shows that the pay of each vessel for a month amounted to a talent, that is to say, to three thousand livres; which supposes, that each ship's company consisted of two hundred men, each of whom received a drachma or ten-pence a day. As the officers' pay was higher, the republic perhaps either furnished the overplus, or it was deducted out of the total of the sum advanced for a vessel, by abating something in the pay of the private men.

The same may be said of the land troops as has been said of the seamen, except that the horse had double their pay. It appears that the ordinary pay of the foot was three oboli a day, and that it was augmented according to times and occasions. [i] Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian, when he marched against Tissaphernes, promised a darick a month to each soldier, two to a captain, and four to the colonels. Now a darick a month is four oboli a day. Young Cyrus, to animate his troops, whom a too long march had discouraged, instead of one darick, promised one and a half to each soldier, which amounted to a drachma, or ten-pence French a day.

It may be asked how the Lacedæmonians, whose iron coin, the only specie current amongst them, would go no where else, could maintain armies by sea and land, and where they found money for their subsistence. It is not to be doubted, but they raised it, as the Athenians did, by contributions from their allies, and still more from the cities to which they gave liberty and protection, or from those they had conquered from their enemies. Their second fund for paying their fleet and armies was the aids they drew from the king of Persia, as we have seen on several occasions.

[h] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415. [i] Xenoph. Expedit. Cyr. l. vii.

* About. 8400l. sterling.

SECT.

SECT. V. *Peculiar Character of the Athenians.*

PLUTARCH furnishes us with almost all the matter upon this head. Every body knows how well he succeeds in copying nature in his portraits, and how proper a person he was to trace the character of a people, whose genius and manners he had studied with so profound an attention.

"[k] I. *The people of Athens," says Plutarch, "were easily provoked to anger, and as easily induced to resume their sentiments of benevolence and compassion." History supplies us with an infinitude of examples of this kind. The sentence of death passed against the inhabitants of Mytilene, and revoked the next day: the condemnation of the ten generals, and that of Socrates, both followed with an immediate repentance and the most lively grief.

"II. † They were better pleased with penetrating, and almost guessing an affair of themselves, than to give themselves leisure to be informed in it thoroughly, and in all its extent."

Nothing is more surprising than this circumstance in their character, which it is very hard to conceive, and seems almost incredible. Artificers, husbandmen, soldiers, mariners, are generally a dull, heavy kind of people, and very gross in their conceptions; but the people of Athens were of a quite different turn. They had naturally an amazing penetration, vivacity, and even delicacy of wit.

I have already mentioned what happened to Theophrastus. ‡ He was cheapening something of an old woman at Athens that sold herbs: "No, Mr. Stranger," said she, "you shall have it for no less." He was strangely surprised to see himself treated as a stranger,

k Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 793.

* Ο δημος Αθηναιων ευκινητος εστι προς οργην, ευμειλασθετος προς ελεον.

† Μαλλον οξεως υπονοειν, η διδασκεσθαι καθ ησυχιαν βουλομενος.

‡ *Cum Theophrastus percontaretur ex anicula quadam, quanti aliquid venderet, et respondisset illa, atque addidisset: hospes, non pote minoris; tulit molestè, se non effugere hospitis speciem, cum ætatem ageret Athenis, optimeque loqueretur.* Cic. de Clar. Orat. n. 12.

who

who had paſſed almoſt his whole life at Athens, and who piqued himſelf upon excelling all others in the elegance of his language. It was, however, from that ſhe knew he was not of her country. We have ſaid, that the Athenian ſoldiers knew the fine paſſages of Euripides by heart. Theſe artificers and ſoldiers, from aſſiſting at the public deliberations, were beſides verſed in the affairs of ſtate, and underſtood every thing at half a word. We may judge of this from the orations of Demoſthenes, whoſe ſtyle we know is ardent, brief, and conciſe.

"III. * As they naturally inclined to relieve perſons of a low condition and mean circumſtances, ſo were they fond of converſations ſeaſoned with pleaſantry, and proper to make people laugh."

[1] They aſſiſted perſons of a mean condition, becauſe from ſuch they had nothing to apprehend in regard to their liberty, and ſaw in them the characters of equality and reſemblance with themſelves. They loved pleaſantry, and ſhewed in that they were men; but men abounding with humanity and indulgence, who underſtood raillery, who were not prone to take offence, nor over delicate in point of the reſpect to be paid them. One day, when the aſſembly was fully formed, and the people had already taken their places and ſat down, Cleon, after having made them wait his coming a great while, appeared at laſt with a wreath of flowers upon his head, and deſired the people to adjourn their deliberations to the next day. "For to-day," ſaid he, "I have buſineſs. I have been ſacrificing to the gods, and am to entertain ſome ſtrangers, my friends, at ſupper." The Athenians, ſetting up a laugh, roſe and broke up the aſſembly. At Carthage ſuch a pleaſantry would have coſt any man his life, that had preſumed to vent it, and to take ſuch a liberty with a † proud, haughty, jealous, moroſe people, of a genius

[1] Xenoph. de Athen. Rep. p. 691.

* Ωσπερ των ανδρων τοις αδοξοις καὶ ταπεινοις βοηθειν προθυμοτερος, ουτως των λογων τας παιγνιωδεις καὶ γελοιας ασπαζεσθαι καὶ προτιμα.

† Πικρον, σκυθρωπον, προς παιδιαν καὶ χαριν ανηδυτον καὶ σκληρον.

averſe

averſe to complacency, and leſs inclined to humour. Upon another occaſion the orator Stratocles, having informed the people of a victory, and in conſequence cauſed ſacrifices to be offered, three days after news came of the defeat of the army. As the people expreſſed their diſcontent and reſentment upon the falſe information, he aſked them, "of what they had to complain, and what harm he had done them, in making them paſs three days more agreeably than they would elſe have done?"

"IV. * They were pleaſed with hearing themſelves praiſed, and could not bear to be railed at, or criticiſed. The leaſt acquaintance with Ariſtophanes and Demoſthenes will ſhew, with what addreſs and effect they employed praiſes and criticiſm with regard to the people of Athens.

[m] When the republic enjoyed peace and tranquillity, ſays the ſame Plutarch in another place, the Athenian people diverted themſelves with the orators who flattered them: but in important affairs, and emergencies of the ſtate, they became ſerious, and gave the preference to thoſe, whoſe cuſtom it had been to oppoſe their unjuſt deſires; ſuch as Pericles, Phocion, and Demoſthenes.

"V. † They kept thoſe who governed them in awe, and ſhewed their humanity even to their enemies."

The people of Athens made good uſe of the talents of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their eloquence and prudence; but they were full of ſuſpicion, and kept themſelves always on their guard againſt their ſuperiority of genius and ability: they took pleaſure in reſtraining their courage, and leſſening their glory and reputation. This may be judged from the oſtraciſm, which was inſtituted only as a curb on thoſe, whoſe merit and popularity ran too high, and which ſpared

[m] Plut. in Phocian, p. 746.

* Τοις μεν επαινυσιν αυτον μαλιστα χαιρει, τοις δε σκωπτουσιν ηκιστα δυσχεραινει.

† Φοβερος εστιν αχρι των αρχοντων, ειτα φιλανθρωπος αχρι των πολεμιων.

neither

neither the greateſt nor the moſt worthy perſons. The hatred of tyranny and tyrants, which was in a manner innate in the Athenians, made them extremely jealous and apprehenſive for their liberty, with regard to thoſe who governed.

As to what relates to their enemies, they did not treat them with rigour; they did not make an inſolent uſe of victory, nor exerciſe any cruelty towards the vanquiſhed. The amneſty decreed after the tyranny of the Thirty, ſhows that they could forget the injuries which had been done them.

To theſe different characteriſtics which Plutarch unites in the ſame paſſage of his works, ſome others may be added, extracted principally from the ſame author.

"VI. It was from this * fund of humanity and benevolence, of which I have now ſpoken, and which was natural to the Athenians, that they were ſo attentive to the rules of politeneſs, and ſo delicate in point of juſt behaviour; qualities one would not expect to find among the common people. [n] In the war againſt Philip of Macedon, having intercepted one of his couriers, they read all the letters he carried, except that of Olympias his wife, which they returned ſealed up and unopened, out of regard to conjugal love and ſecrecy, the rights of which are ſacred, and ought to be reſpected even amongſt enemies. The ſame Athenians having decreed, that a ſtrict ſearch ſhould be made after the preſents diſtributed by Harpalus amongſt the orators, would not ſuffer the houſe of Callicles, who was lately married, to be viſited, out of reſpect for his bride, not long brought home. Such behaviour is not very common, and upon like occaſions people do not ſtand much upon forms and politeneſs.

"VII. The taſte of the Athenians for all arts and ſciences is too well known to require dwelling long upon it in this place. Beſides which, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it with ſome extent elſewhere. But

[n] Plut. in Demetr. p. 898.

* Πατριον αυτοις ϗ συμφυλον ην το φιλανθρωπον. In Pelop. p. 280.

we cannot ſee without admiration a people compoſed for the moſt part, as I have ſaid before, of artiſans, huſbandmen, ſoldiers, and mariners, carry delicacy of taſte in every kind to ſo high a degree of perfection, which ſeems the peculiar attribute of a more exalted condition and a noble education.

"VIII. It is no leſs wonderful, that this people* ſhould have ſuch great views, and roſe ſo high in their pretenſions. In the war Alcibiades made them undertake, filled with vaſt projects and unbounded hopes, they did not confine themſelves to the taking of Syracuſe, or the conqueſt of Sicily, but had already added Italy, Peloponneſus, Lybia, the Carthaginian ſtates, and the empire of the ſea to the Pillars of Hercules. Their enterpriſe failed, but they had formed it; and the taking of Syracuſe, which ſeemed no great difficulty, might have enabled them to put it in execution.

"IX. The ſame people, ſo great, and, one may ſay, ſo haughty in their projects, had nothing of that character in other reſpects. In what regarded the expence of the table, dreſs, furniture, private buildings, and, in a word, private life, they were frugal, ſimple, modeſt, and poor; but ſumptuous and magnificent in all things public, and capable of doing honour to the ſtate. Their victories, conqueſts, wealth, and continual communication with the people of Aſia Minor, introduced neither luxury, gluttony, pomp, nor vain profuſion among them. [a] Xenophon obſerves, that a citizen could not be diſtinguiſhed from a ſlave by his dreſs. The richeſt inhabitants, and the moſt famous generals, were not aſhamed to go to market themſelves.

It was very glorious for Athens to have produced and formed ſo many excellent perſons in the arts of war and government; in philoſophy, eloquence, poeſy, painting, ſculpture, and architecture: of having furniſhed alone more great men in every kind than any other city of the world; if perhaps we except Rome,

[a] De Rep. Athen. p. 693.

* Μεγα φρονει μεγαλων ορεγεσθαι. PLUT.

which

which * had imbibed learning and arts from her, and knew how to apply her lessons to the best advantage; of having been in some sort the school, and tutor of almost the whole universe; of having served, and still continuing to serve, as the model for nations, which pique themselves most upon the excellency of taste; in a word, of having taught the language, and prescribed the laws of all that regards the talents and productions of the mind. The part of this history, wherein I shall treat the sciences and learned men, that rendered Greece illustrious, with the arts also, and those who excelled in them, will set this in a clear light.

"X. I shall conclude this description of the Athenians with one more attribute, which cannot be denied them, and appears evidently in all their actions and enterprises; and that is, their ardent love of liberty. This was their darling passion and great principle of policy. We see them, from the commencement of the war with the Persians, sacrifice every thing to the liberty of Greece. They abandoned, without the least regret, their lands, estates, city, and houses, and removed to their ships, in order to fight the common enemy, whose view was to enslave them. What could be more glorious for Athens, than, when all the allies were trembling at the vast offers made her by the king of Persia, to answer his ambassador by the mouth of [p] Aristides, that all the gold and silver in the world was not capable of tempting them to sell their own, or the liberty of Greece? It was from such generous sentiments that the Athenians not only became the bulwark of Greece, but preserved the rest of Europe, and all the western world, from the invasion of the Persians.

These great qualities were mingled with great defects, often the very reverse of them, such as we may

[p] Plut. in Aristid. p. 324.

* *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes*
Intulit agresti Latio. HORAT. Epist. I. l. 2.

Greece taken, took her savage victors hearts,
And polish'd rustic Latium with her arts.

imagine in a fluctuating, light, inconſtant, capricious people, as the Athenians.

SECT. VI. *Common Character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

I CANNOT refuſe giving a place here to what Mr. Boſſuit ſays upon the character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The paſſage is long, but will not appear ſo, and includes all that is wanting to a perfect knowledge of the genius of both thoſe people.

Amongſt all the republics of which Greece was compoſed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the principal. No people could have more wit than the Athenians, nor more ſolid ſenſe than the Lacedæmonians. Athens affected pleaſure; the Lacedæmonian way of life was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty; but the liberty of Athens tended to licence; and controlled by ſevere laws at Lacedæmon, the more reſtrained it was at home, the more ardent it was to extend itſelf in rule abroad. Athens was alſo for reigning, but upon another principle, in which intereſt had a ſhare with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art of navigation, and the ſovereignty at ſea had enriched her. To continue in the ſole poſſeſſion of all commerce, there was nothing ſhe would not have ſubjected to her power; and her riches, which inſpired this paſſion, ſupplied her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedæmon money was in contempt. As all the laws tended to make the latter a military republic, the glory of arms was the ſole object that engroſſed her citizens. From thence ſhe naturally affected dominion: and the more ſhe was above intereſt, the more ſhe abandoned herſelf to ambition.

Lacedæmon, from her regular life, was ſteady and determinate in her maxims and meaſures. Athens was more lively and active, and the people too much maſters. Their laws and philoſophy had indeed the moſt happy effects upon ſuch exquiſite natural parts as theirs,

theirs, but reason alone was not capable of keeping them within due bounds. [s] A wise Athenian, who knew admirably the genius of his country, informs us, that fear was necessary to those too ardent and free spirits; and that it was impossible to govern them, after the victory at Salamin had removed their fears of the Persians.

Two things then ruined them, the glory of their great actions, and the supposed security of their present condition. The magistrates were no longer heard, and as Persia was afflicted with excessive slavery, so Athens, says Plato, experienced all the evils of excessive liberty.

Those two great republics, so contrary in their manners and conduct, interfered with each other in the design they had each formed of subjecting all Greece; so that they were always enemies, more from the contrariety of their interests, than the incompatibility of their humours.

The Grecian cities were against submitting to the dominion of either the one or the other; for, besides the desire of preserving their liberty, they found the empire of those two republics too grievous to bear. That of the Lacedæmonians was severe. That people were observed to have something almost brutal in their character. [t] A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers too haughty, austere, and imperious in power: besides which they could never expect to live in peace under the influence of a city, which being formed for war, could not support itself, but by continuing perpetually in arms. [u] So that the Lacedæmonians were capable of attaining to command, and all the world were afraid they should do so.

[x] The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable. Nothing was more delightful to behold than their city, in which feasts and games were perpetual, where wit, liberty, and the various passions of men

[s] Plat. l. iii. de Leg.
[t] Aristot. Polit. l. i. p. 4.
[u] Xenoph. de Rep. Lacon.
[x] Plat, de Rep. l, viii.

daily

daily exhibited new objects: but the inequality of their conduct disgusted their allies, and was still more insupportable to their own subjects. It was impossible for them not to experience the extravagance and caprice of a flattered people, that is to say, according to Plato, something more dangerous than the same excesses in a prince vitiated by flattery.

These two cities did not permit Greece to continue in repose. We have seen the Peloponnesian and other wars, which were always occasioned, or fomented, by the jealousy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But the same jealousies which involved Greece in troubles, supported it in some measure, and prevented its falling into the dependance of either the one or the other of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this condition of Greece, and accordingly the whole mystery of their politics consisted in keeping up those jealousies, and fomenting those divisions. Lacedæmon, which was the most ambitious, was the first that gave them occasion to enter into the quarrels of the Greeks. They engaged in them from the sole view of making themselves masters of the whole nation; and industrious to weaken the Greeks by their own arms, they waited only the opportunity to crush them all together. [y] The states of Greece in their wars already regarded only the king of Persia, whom they called the Great King, or *the king*, by way of eminence, as if they had already been of the number of his subjects. But it was impossible that the ancient spirit of Greece should not revive, when they were upon the point of falling into slavery, and the hands of the Barbarians.

The petty kings of Greece undertook to oppose this great king, and to ruin his empire. [z] With a small army, but bred in the discipline we have related, Agesilaus king of Sparta, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and showed it was not impossible to subvert their power. The divisions of Greece alone put a stop

[y] Plat. l. 3. de leg. Isocrat. Panegyr. [z] Polyb. l. 3.

to

to his conquefts. The famous retreat of the ten thoufand, who after the death of young Cyrus, made their way in a hoftile manner through the whole Perfian empire, and returned into their own country; that action, I fay, demonftrated to Greece more than ever, that their foldiery was invincible, and fuperior to all oppofers; and that only their domeftic divifions could fubject them to an enemy too weak to refift their united force.

We fhall fee in the feries of this hiftory, by what methods Philip king of Macedon, taking advantage of thefe divifions, came at length, between addrefs and force, to make himfelf little lefs than the fovereign of Greece, and to oblige the whole nation to march under his colours againft the common enemy. What he had only planned, his fon Alexander brought to perfection; and fhowed the wondering world, how much ability and valour avail againft the moft numerous armies and the moft formidable preparations.

END OF VOL. IV.

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